Thomas Machell's Collections Towards a History and Topography of Westmorland

Book 3



Edited by

Jane Platt

‘If I could spare time to Methodise these Rude Notes which are contained in my several books of Collections … I would’. These are the rueful words of Rev. Thomas Machell of Kirkby Thore (1647-1698), who died before he could complete his mammoth ‘History and Topography of Cumberland and Westmorland’.
328 years after his untimely death, Machell’s collections toward his History and Topography of Westmorland are published here, for the first time.

Thomas Machell's Collections Towards a History and Topography of Westmorland

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Edited by
Jane Platt

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Abbreviations

AVB	Authorised Version of the Bible (1611).
AWL	R.S. Boumphrey, C. Roy Hudleston and J. Hughes, *An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale* CWAAS Extra Series 21 (Kendal, 1975).
BL	British Library.
CAC(C)	Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle.
CCED	Clergy of the Church of England Database Online: http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk.
CFH	C. Roy Hudleston and R.S. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry* CWAAS Extra Series 23 (Kendal, 1978).
CW1, CW2, CW3	*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, old series (1866-1900); new series (1901-2000); third series (2001-).
CWAAS	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.
Dugdale, *Baronage*	William Dugdale*, The Baronage of England, or, An historical account of the lives and most memorable actions of our English nobility in the Saxons time to the Norman conquest, and from thence, of those who had their rise before the end of King Henry the Third's reign deduced from publick records, antient historians, and other authorities* (London, 1675-76).
Dugdale, *Monasticon*	William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum, or, The history of the ancient abbies, and other monasteries, hospitals, cathedral and collegiate churches in England and Wales. With divers French, Irish, and Scotch monasteries formerly relating to England* (1655-1673).
Dugdale*, Warwickshire*	William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656).
English Heritage List	The National Heritage List for England: http://list.english-heritage.org.uk.
Hyde & Pevsner	M. Hyde and N. Pevsner*, Cumbria: Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness: The Buildings of England* (New Haven and London, 2010).
Nicolson, *Misc. Accts*	R.S. Ferguson (ed.), *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle…by William Nicolson late Bishop of Carlisle,* CWAAS Extra Series 1 (London and Carlisle, 1877).
N&B1, N&B2	Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 vols (London, 1777).
Nightingale*, Ejected of 1662*	*B. Nightingale, The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland, two vols (Manchester, 1911).*
OAD	Oxford Alumni Database, online at 'Ancestry UK', http://search.ancestry.co.uk
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online version (Oxford University Press): http://www.oxforddnb.com.
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*, online version (Oxford University Press): http://www.oed.com.
Smith, *Place-Names*	A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, Vols XLII (1) and XLIII (2), English Place-Name Society (Cambridge, 1965-66).
Speed, *Historie*	John Speed, *The Historie of Great Britaine Under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans. Their Originals, Manners, Habits, Warres, Coines, and Seales: with the Successions, Lives, Acts, and Issues of the English Monarchs from Julius Caesar, unto the Raigne of King James of famous Memorie* (London, 1611).
Westmorland Place-Names	*Place-Names of Westmorland* (online), edited by A.H. Smith (1967). https://epns.nottingham.ac.uk/browse/Westmorland

English Glossary

Unless otherwise stated, these definitions have been adapted from the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

Agistment	Rate levied on or profit made from the pasturing of another person's cattle; the action or process of taking livestock to feed at an agreed rate; the opening of a forest for a specified time to livestock.
Alienation	Sale, mortgage, lease or other method of disposal.
Appurtenances	Rights and duties associated with holding land.
Arbitrary tenants	Evictable at the will of the Lord of the manor, who could also alter their fine at will: a 'tenancy at will'.
Baly or Baillie	Another form of the word bailiff.
Berryes	Tumuli.
Bishoprick	Diocese of Durham.
Boons and boon-days	Work done free for the Lord e.g. carting fuel, cutting crops, shearing sheep: as part of the rent.
Brassed (braced)	Interlaced.
Burgage	House or plot of land held by the inhabitant of a town or borough, or a tenure of land in an ancient borough.
Carucate	Measure of land, varying with the nature of the soil, etc., being as much as could be tilled with one plough (with its team of 8 oxen) in a year; a plough-land. The acreage of the carucate varied according to the system of tillage. If the land lay in three arable common fields the carucate, according to Fleta, contained 180 acres; 60 for fallow, 60 for winter corn, and 60 for spring corn. If the land lay in 2 fields the carucate consisted of 160 acres, 80 for fallow, and 80 for tillage. Commonly only the land under plough in any one year was reckoned, the fallow being thrown into common pasturage. Hence in ancient deeds the normal carucate is either 120 acres or 80 acres by the Norman number (5 score to the hundred) and 144 acres or 96 acres by the English number (6 score to the hundred).
Catadupe	Cataract.
Champion country	Variant of 'champaign': a large expanse of open country, as distinct from mountains and woods.
Clean marte	Pine marten.
Composition	An agreement for the payment of a sum of money in lieu of the discharge of some other obligation, or in a different way from that required by the original contract.
Constablewick	Township or tithing under the jurisdiction of a constable.
Copyhold	Tenure of manorial land with obligations to perform certain services for the lord.
Cornage	Feudal service, being a form of rent fixed by the number of horned cattle; horngeld.
Customary tenancy	Holding by copy of court roll under manor custom.
Deer leap	Opening to allow access to deer.
Drengage	Tenure or service of a dreng. A dreng was a free tenant holding by a tenure older than the Norman Conquest, the nature of which was partly military, partly servile.
Dubs	Deep & calm pools within a larger body of water (Machell, II.464); small and stagnant pools of water (*OED* Online).
Easter Book	Account book for recording Easter Offerings: money payable at Easter to the incumbent of a parish by the parishioners.
Escheat	An aspect of feudal law, whereby a fief reverted to the lord when the tenant died without leaving a successor qualified to inherit under the original grant. Hence, the lapsing of land to the Crown or to the lord of the manor, on the death of the owner intestate without heirs.

Escheator	An officer appointed yearly by the Lord Treasurer to take notice of the escheats in the county to which he is appointed, and to certify them into the Exchequer.
Escuage	Chief form of feudal tenure (literally shield-service), personal service in the field for a period of forty days in each year (see also scutage).
Escutcheon	Shield or shield-shaped surface on which a coat of arms is depicted; also in wider sense, the shield with the armorial bearings; a sculptured or painted representation of this.
Fee	Land holding (including the Marquess and Richmond Fees); such fees could divide townships in two.
Fee-farm	Kind of tenure by which land is subject to a perpetual fixed rent without any other services; the estate of the tenant in land so held.
Fee} simple Foe}	Freehold land which can be disposed of according to the wishes of the owner; one of the two (main) legal estates in land – correctly the 'fee simple absolute in possession'. (The other main legal estate in land is a term of years absolute, i.e. leasehold.) Machell appears to have understood 'fee' as derived from 'foedus': a contract or agreement: 'knights' foes.' It is also thought that 'fee' is derived from the Saxon 'fee' (cattle or goods of any kind): Low Latin, 'feudum'. See H.J. Todd (ed*.), A Dictionary of the English Language by Samuel Johnson; with numerous corrections …* (London, 1818), FEC-FEE.
Fine	Amount of money paid for a lease or admission to copyhold land: a premium.
Fine certain	A fixed sum.
First Fruits and Tenths	The First Fruits represented a customary gift or payment to the Church, by the new holder of an ecclesiastical benefice, usually equivalent to the first year's income. Tenths were 10 percent of the annual income, due each year. The Court of First Fruits and Tenths was established in 1540 to collect from clerical benefices moneys that had previously been sent to Rome.
Foul marte	Pole cat.
Freehold	To end copyhold status, freehold could be bought by a lump sum paid to the lord of the manor (see also Fee Simple).
Glebe	A portion of land assigned to a member of the clergy as part of a benefice.
Greenhew	Right to cut greenery for fodder.
Hag	Wooded enclosure; a coppice or copse; a hedge.
Heaven-water	'As heaven-water deals' – watershed; draining divide; boundary.
Hep/Hepp	Shap.
Heriot	Feudal service, originally consisting of weapons, horses, and other military equipment, restored to a lord on the death of his tenant; afterwards a render of the best live beast or dead chattel of a deceased tenant due by legal custom to the lord of whom he held.
Heriotable	Liable to a mortuary fine; paying a heriot in kind as part of the (re)admission fee to the holding.
Hundred	Subdivision of a county or shire, having its own court; formerly applied also to the court itself. Most of the English counties were divided into hundreds, in some counties into wapentakes, and in others, wards. It has been regarded as: denoting a division of a hundred hides of land; as the district which furnished a hundred warriors to the host; as representing the original settlement of the hundred warriors; or as composed of a hundred hides, each of which furnished a single warrior': (Stubbs *Const. Hist.* I. v. §45).
Hurrock	Way cairn. Machell defines a hurrock/harrock, as, 'a little heap for a boundary' [I.184].
Inquisition	Judicial or official investigation or inquiry, an inquest; also the document recording such inquiry and its result.
Kead	Sheep-louse.
King's Books	When the first-fruits and tenths were transferred to the English Crown by Henry VIII, it was enacted that commissioners should be appointed in every diocese to certify the value of every ecclesiastical benefice and preferment in the respective dioceses; according to this valuation the first fruits and tenths

	were to be collected and paid in future. This *valor beneficiorum* is what is commonly called the King's Books; see Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England in Four Books* (1753) *(with notes selected from various later editions, and a Life of the Author by George Sharswood, in Two Volumes* (Philadelphia, 1893), Vol. 1 - Books I & II. p.784 para 5.
Knight-service	The military service which a knight was bound to render as a condition of holding his lands; hence, the tenure of land under the condition of performing military service.
Lastage	Charge payable by traders attending fairs and markets; a duty levied at so much per last (commercial unit of weight) of goods bought or sold at a fair.
Lile	Little (e.g. Lile Langdale).
Leun	River Lune.
Li.	Pounds sterling.
Ling	Type of heather.
Lunn	Wood or grove.
Manor court	This could also take place in an inn or house.
Martes	Clean mart = pine marten; foul mart = pole cat.
Martlet	Heraldic swallow, never represented with feet, as swallows appear never to touch the ground: Fox Davies, *Heraldry*, 244-45.
Maunch	Manch – in heraldry, a sleeve, especially a medieval hanging sleeve.
Meal silver	Certain tithes could be altered by paying a modus (see below). The terms hay-silver, oat-silver, hemp-silver and meal-silver refer to the payment of tithes in money. See 'silver' in Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary Vol. V, R-S* (London, 1904), 437.
Messuage	Originally, a portion of land occupied, or intended to be occupied, as the site for a dwelling house and its appurtenances. In later use (chiefly in law): a dwelling house together with its outbuildings and the adjacent land assigned to its use. Viz. Its curtilage.
Modus	In full, *modus decimandi*. A method of paying tithes other than the one which is usual or prevalent; especially a money payment made in lieu of a tithe.
Moiety	Part of a larger whole; a small or lesser share, portion, or quantity.
More-game	Moor-game, i.e. grouse, particularly the red grouse.
Mortmain	From post-classical Latin *mortua manus*, *manus mortua* (dead hand). The condition of lands or tenements held inalienably by an ecclesiastical or other corporation. Alienations in mortmain, as being injurious to the rights of the crown and the mesne lords, were forbidden under English law by Act 7 Edw. I, statute 2, 1279, to impose limits on the Church's holding of property, This and other such Acts were known as the 'Statutes of Mortmain'. In practice, such grants continued after 1279, but required prior royal licence.
Multur	Multer, moulter or multure: the payment of a fraction of grain ground to the lord of the mill, or the miller. The proportion exacted was higher for those farmers within the lands of an estate on which there was an obligation to grind corn at a certain mill, than for those who came voluntarily from outwith its jurisdiction: *Dictionaries of the Scots language*, Online.
Noble	Coin worth 6s 8d.
Nonage	State of being under full legal age; minority, youth.
Norroy	The title of the third King of Arms, whose jurisdiction before 1945 lay in England to the north of the River Trent.
Nowt/Neot geld	Rent-payment in cattle; also, a tax levied on cattle.
Oxgang	Measure of land formerly in use in parts of northern England and Scotland, equivalent to an eighth of a carucate; so called because a carucate was the amount of land that could be ploughed by a team of eight oxen in a year.
Passes	Paces; rate of stepping; steps. Machell was aware that his passes were not standardised, see Warcop, I.318.
Peculiar	Ecclesiastical district (usually a parish) outside the jurisdiction of the archbishop, bishop or archdeacon. Peculiars were entitled to hold their own

	courts, hence, before 1858 they proved wills of people who owned property in their respective districts.
Pontage	Toll for the use of a bridge; a tax paid for the maintenance and repair of a bridge or bridges.
Poutes	Young of a game-bird. Modern form: pullet: *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (up to 1700)*. Online.
Prescription Money	Money paid out according to ancient or continued custom, especially when regarded as authoritative.
Procuration	Payment made by a parish, religious house, etc., in lieu of providing entertainment for a bishop, archdeacon, or other official visitor.
q.	Quarter of a penny: a farthing.
Quarry	Pane of glass, cut into a regular geometric shape.
Quire	Chancel or east end of a church.
Quit claim	*Quiete clamare*. To release or renounce all pretensions to right or title: *Jacob's New Law Dictionary* (1732).
Rag	Piece of hard or rough stone, especially of a kind suitable for paving or building.
Reader	After the Reformation, lay readers were appointed to lead worship and perform minor functions, including pastoral duties, in parishes which had no regular incumbent or minister. This situation persisted for longer in the north of England than elsewhere.
Saltier/Saltire	In heraldry, a St. Andrew's cross. Hence, 'in saltire': crossed like the limbs of a St. Andrew's cross. When the field of a coat, or any charge upon it, is divided by two diagonal lines, crossing each other, it is termed, 'per saltier'.
Scutage	Tax levied on knights' fees; chiefly in a restricted sense, such a tax paid in lieu of military service.
s.d.	Sans date: with no date.
Sesses	Assessments.
Settle	A flat ledge or wall foot.
Shrievalty	Office or jurisdiction of a sheriff. Sheriffs were deputies of the Crown and the main agent of the courts until the 14th century and were therefore of enormous executive influence in each county.
Sike	A small stream of water, a rill or streamlet, especially one flowing through flat or marshy ground, often dry in summer; a ditch or channel through which a tiny stream flows.
Socage	Tenure of land by certain determinate services other than knight-service.
Stallage	Tax or toll levied for the liberty of erecting a stall in a fair or market.
Stang	Pole or stake, a wooden bar or beam. To ride the stang: to be mounted astride a pole borne on the shoulders of two men, and carried through the streets to excite the derision of the spectators.
Stuart	Steward.
Suit and Service	Attendance at court and personal service due from a tenant to his or her lord; also used to describe certain forms of tenure that involve this obligation.
Synodal	Payment made by the inferior clergy to the bishop, properly on the occasion of a synod, and hence at an episcopal or archidiaconal visitation.
Taberdar	Name formerly given to certain scholars of The Queen's College, Oxford, from the gown (tabard) they wore as servitors (pauper puer); still surviving in the name of some of the scholarships at that college.
Tenement	Land which is held of another by any tenure.
Threave	'Thrave': two shocks or stooks of corn (or other pulse), generally containing twelve sheaves each, but varying in different localities; hence used as a measure of straw, fodder, etc.
Through/through-stone	A coffin made of stone; a sarcophagus. Also: a tomb, a sepulchre; a grave; a large slab of stone laid over a tomb or grave; a horizontal gravestone; also, a funerary monument consisting of a horizontal slab supported on columns; a table tomb.

Turbary	Land where turf or peat might be dug for fuel; a peatbog or peat moss. In law: in full common of turbary, i.e. the right to cut turf or peat for fuel on a common or on another person's land.
Usher	Assistant to a schoolmaster; under-master, assistant-master.
Vaccary	Cow pasture.
Viduity	Widowhood.
Vivary	[Latin] *vivarium*: enclosure for keeping deer etc., or a fishpond. 'Vivarium ... in Law … signifieth Parks, Warrens, and Pischaries or Fishings.' See E. Coke, *The Second Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England* (1642), 100.
Waif and Stray	A waif was an item of ownerless and unclaimed property found on a landowner's territory; a stray referred to a domestic animal that had wandered onto the same land. A grant of waif and stray permitted the landowner to take ownership of such goods or animals if they remained unclaimed after a set period of time.
Yeat	Gate.

Latin Glossary

Compiled by Jane Penman

a capella	from the chapel
ab aula	from the hall
ab ecclesia	from the parish church
anno ejusdem	in the same year
arbor vitæ	tree of life: the evergreen thuja
capital messuage	the chief house on an estate; the mansion-house of a manor
caput baroniæ	head of the barony; the chief seat of a nobleman
coram provincialibus	in the view of locals
cum pertinentiis	with appurtenances
de mense in mensem	from month to month
de quo infra	of which below
de quo quaere	about which enquire
durante vita	in his lifetime
durante vita patris	in his father's lifetime
eadem	the same
eadem anno	in the same year
ejusdem	of the same
eodem	with the same
fictilia	earthenware
forsan	perhaps
ibidem	in the same place
ideo quaere	therefore enquire
in capite	in chief; directly from the crown
infra	below
inter alios	among other people
membranula	skins from which a roll is composed; parchment
mense in mensem	every month / from month to month
miles	knight
ni fallor	unless I am mistaken
nuper	lately
ob	½d. From Latin 'obulus'
Pasce	Easter
penes	in the custody of
placitum inter	plea between
puto	perhaps
quo warranto	by what authority: writ or legal action requiring a person to show by what warrant an office or franchise is held, claimed, or exercised
ratio nominis	reason for the name
rotulus	roll
sc. (scilicet)	one may know; equivalent to the English phrase 'to wit'
sed dub[ito]	but I doubt it
sed parum ad rem	but little to the point
sed quaere/quere	but query this
sine prole (S.P.)	without issue
sine titulo	without title
ut puto	so I think
ut supra	as described or shown above
uxor	wife
valet per annum	worth per year
vidua	widow
viri clari	outstanding men
vix credo	I scarcely believe it

Part 2. Barony of Kendal

[Chapter 4. Beetham]

[II.265][1]

Bethom Parish {In Kendal Barony}

[II.276]

[Beetham Church]



Figure 2.4.1. Beetham Church. II.276.

L. 36 outside. B. 19 outside. 2 Rows of 6 p[illars.] 3 Bells.

[II.267]



Figure 2.4.2. 'In the High Quire on the South Side in wainscot: F.D. 1614'. II.267.



Figure 2.4.3. 'In the East window of the great Quire'. II.267.

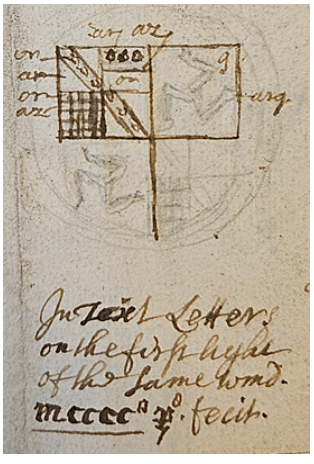


Figure 2.4.4. 'In the E. Window of the S. Ile quire. In Text Letters on the first light of the same window'. II.267.

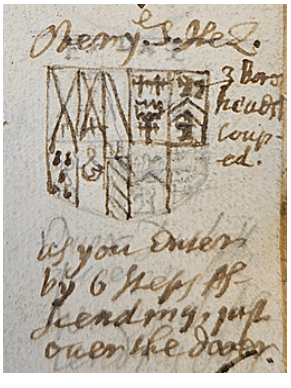


Figure 2.4.5. 'Over the S. Ile Q. as you enter by 6 steps Ascending, just over the dooer. 3 Bores heads couped'. II.267.



Figure 2.4.6. On the South Side. II.267.[2]

[2] Sir Thomas Middleton of Middleton Hall and Anne Beetham, his wife, c.1490. The effigy was badly damaged in 1647, see Hyde & Pevsner, 150.



Figure 2.4.7. 'In a midle window in the S. Ile.' II.267.

Note. A Brown Bulls head errased with a Ducal coller is in several Quarries of this window.



Figure 2.4.8. Beetham Church memorials. Foot of II.267.

This Pendent Coate is in the 2nd window on the North Side Ally. In which allso I Read These names.

Rogerus Lewyns | in artibus magister[3] | Reginaldus Lewyns | in Theologia bachalar'[4] | Jacobus Lewyns | vicarius de Cantley.[5]

And on another fragment beneath it.

Elizabetha Lewyns. | Isbella. Sebolla. Margareta. Edwardus. Johannes.[6]

[II.269]

The church is dedicate to Saint Leoth, or Lithe*.

{A Proverb: To St Lithe of Bethom, with many man Lates – from coming Pilgrimage for their absent friends.}[7]

[3] 'Master of Arts'.

[4] 'Bachelor of Theology.'

[5] 'Vicar of Cantley'.

[6] See Part 2, Ch.10, Itinerary, II.390, commenting on the name/meaning of Lewyn: 'Upper Levins Hall formerly writ (as I gather from the Inscriptions in Bethom church windows) Lewyns {q. le-vines – but it is writ in Ed. 3. time, Levens, Sc. Inq. in Part General} & belonging to an \ ancient / family That tooke name from Hence.'

[7] Nicolson and Burn have little to say on this, except, 'The church, according to Mr Machell's account, is dedicated to St Leoth or Lyth, otherwise called Lioba or Liobgytha; but according to Mr Brown Willis it is dedicated to St Michael. It is a vicarage in the patronage of the crown and in the presentation (under the crown) of the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.' *N&B1*, 217-18.

It is a neat building – Ruf cast all over on the Out Side; & pla[s]terd within with sentences &c.[8] – & is decently kept. The Church yard is pretty spatiouse & plane considering the country; and the places adjacent, notwithstanding the craggy fell which lyes above it towards the west, are very delightfull by reason of the woods & water.

The Parsonage House is on the N.E. side of the Church yard; which was formerly calld the College of St Maryes in Eccles[ia], & belongd to the monastry of St Maryes Yorke. But at the Desolution in the Time of King Hen. 8 it was held to the Crown. It is said that King James 1^{t} bestow'd it upon the Duke of Lenox – who Lett it in Lease to the Labournes of Wilder Slack; & was afterwards purchased \ in / to a fee farme by Sir Francis Ducket \ to his own use / {4^{0} Jacobi}[1606-07], paying yearly to the Crown therefore – 25^{li}, and to the vicar 13^{li} per Annum, & is now in the hand of Mrs ~~Hilton~~ \ Elizabeth / Hilton, widow \ and sometimes / Relict & 3^{t} wife of James Ducket of Grarig Esq. who[se] father Anthony sold of[f] The Tithe Barne of Farleton to the Wilsons of Underley of Helslack & Storth \ to Hugh Tomlinson, Yorke, who sold it / to Mr Ralph Buskell. & Whatside Tithe Barne he gave to Will his Eldest Son, by the 2nd ventor;[9] who sold it to John Girlington of Thurland-Castle in Lancs. Esq.
The College extended to above the dove cote as by the foundations doth yet appeare; and the old Vicaridge House, to which a new house (lately built by Mr Hilton) is now annexed, stood behind the old Parsonage House adjoyning unto the Church yard wall[10] {in memory.} But the Vicar now has not any House but what he farmes in another Town; Nor Church yard nor Glebe – nor so much as Smal Tithe, but surplice fees \ only /and the said salary. The King present to it.

[Machell's Notes: II.269]
*{See the *Aurea Legenda*}.[11] Lioba or Liobgytha. See Cressys *Ch. History of Britain*, lib. 24, cap 4, p.626.[12]

[II.274B]

The Indowment & patronage of the Vicars of Bethom: the Vicary of Bethom Contested

[II.274A]

May 18 1668
The Inhabitants of Bethoms Case[13]
The Rectory of Bethom fell into the hands of the Crown in K. Edward the 6th [1547-1553] upon the disolution of the Chantry of St Maryes of York, after which time the King had and his successors hath to this day the presentation to the Vicarage; which vicar stands charged with first fruits 13^{li} 7^{s} 6^{d} & Tenths 1^{li} 6^{s} 9^{d}; Subsid[i]es 2^{li} 8^{s} 0^{d}, besides pensions synodales and proccurations; which argues the vicarage to be endowed*. That the Rectory continued in the hands of the Crowne till the 4th yr King James [1606-07]; the Crowne Leaseing it from 21 yeares to 21 yeares under the fee farme rent of 35^{li}

[8] At this time, parish church interiors were often adorned with painted religious texts, e.g. Grasmere, Kendal, Beetham and Kirkby Lonsdale. See Andrew White, '"For his extraordinary paines in beutifying the church." The work of James Addison of Hornby, church painter', *CW3*, 18 (2018), 191-200.
[9] Or 'venter'; an obsolete word meaning one who sells or offers for sale; a vendor. *OED*.
[10] MS: 'And the old \ Vicaridge / House is now annexed stood behind the old Parsonage House ~~in~~ adjoyning \ unto / the ~~Court w~~ Church yard wall.'
[11] 'See *The Golden Legend.' Aurea Legenda* was a collection of hagiographies of the greater saints of the medieval church, written c.1260 by Jacobus de Voragine; it was one of the first books printed by William Caxton in English, appearing in 1483 and reaching its ninth edition in 1527: see Sherry L. Reames *The Legenda Aurea: A Re-examination of its Paradoxical History* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1985).
[12] The notes are not in Machell's hand and the style resembles William Nicolson's. 'Cressy's *Ch. Hist. of Britt.*' refers to Serenus Cressy, *The Church-history of Brittany* [Britain] *from the Beginning of Christianity to the Norman Conquest under Roman Governours, Brittish Kings, the English-Saxon Heptarchy, the English-Saxon (and Danish) Monarchy, from all which is evidently demonstrated that the present Roman Catholick religion hath from the beginning, without interruption or change been professed in this our island, &c.* (1668). St Lioba was a mid-8th century English nun; sometime after carrying out a missionary journey to Germany for St Boniface, she established a religious community there: see Robert Ellsberg, *Blessed Among Us: Day by Day with Saintly Witnesses* (Minnesota, 2016), 559. The church at Beetham is now dedicated to St Michael and all Angels.
[13] Not in Machell's hand, apart from margin queries.

per annum, paying 13[li] per annum to the Vicar as an Augmentation to the vicarage; and it was constantly leased by these words ~~totali~~

> "Totam illam Rectoriam de Bethom in comitatu Westmer[iae] et terris Gleab[alib]us et al[ijs] profittuis eidem Rector[i] Spectand[is]."[14]

By the grant the 4th yr K. James to Sir Francis Duckett, the Rectory is granted – reserving the antient Rent and payment to the Vicar – by these words.

> "Omnia et Singula Capella Cemiter[ium] mess[eria] molendin[um] Domos, Edificia Structur[as] horrea, stabula, hort[os], pomaria, Gardina, shopas, Cellar[ia], Sollar[ia], Terr[as] tenendum prat[a] pascua pascuar[ia] commun[ia] Terris Gleab[alibus], vias vaccua sum[ma] vasta jampna et Bruer[ia], moras moriscos aquas piscarias piscares boscos subboscos decimas Gerbar[um] Blador[um], Granor[um] et feni et lana[e] Lini et Cannabis et agnellorum nec non oblationes et obventiones ac omnes alias decimas quascunq[ue] tam majores quam minores."[15]

The K[ing] within this 4 yeares, presented one John Brockbank Clerke to the Vicarage;[16] who will be found to have it by reason of the great Impositions that are annually upon it. The K. could but grant quantum in se;[17] he could not grant the Church rights, whether it were possible to quash the grant in toto or in parte,[18] if the Vicaridge was endowed with lands, tythes or other rights. The Kings grant […][19]

[II.274B]

The Kings grant cannot take them away. But til it be known what the Endowment of the Vicaridge is, I cannot give any certane opinion, but conceive it is fit to search for the Endowments of the Vicaridge, which, appearing the granting of things there to belonging in the Patents, cannot prejudice the Vicar. Fran: Lindley.[20]

[Machell's Notes: II.274A]

{*I doubt that soe in tem. H. 8?}[21]

[II.270]

[Beetham Parish]

{Tithes}

The Tithes are in the said Mrs Hilton, or rather in feoffes in Trust for raseing Portions to her 3 Daughters \ which she had / by Mr Ducket as it [was] appointed by their father – and the over-plus to goe to the mother.

Corne hay & wool, Salt, fish, pigg, goose, & all but Lamb is payd in kinde, except som places where they pay a modus;[22] & for their Tithe lambes they pay 7d a piece. {T.}

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[14] 'All that Rectory of Bethom in the County of Westmorland and with its glebe lands and other income to be expected by the said Rector.'

[15] 'All and singular along with the chapel; churchyard, harvests, mill, houses, buildings, structures, barns, stables, potagers, orchards, gardens, workshops, store-rooms, upper storeys, arable lands, tenant-holding, meadows, pastures, common pastures, along with the glebe lands; ways, bare heights, wastes, furze-brakes, heaths, moors, marshes, waters, fisheries, fishings, woods, underwoods, tithes of sheaves, standing corn, grain, hay, wool, flax, hemp, lambs; also all offerings and income and all other sorts of tithes whatsoever, both greater and smaller.'

[16] John Brockbank[e] was ordained deacon in 1662, priested in 1663, appointed vicar of Beetham in 1664, appointed curate of Witherslack chapel in 1671 and is also recorded as schoolmaster at Witherslack Grammar School from 1684 to 1701. His CCED record ends in 1701.

[17] 'So far as in him lies'.

[18] 'In whole or in part'.

[19] Two lines of text at the foot of this page have been scored through; much is illegible because foot the page has been cut through. This was clearly intentional because the text continues seamlessly on II.274B; this time in Machell's hand.

[20] This last is apparently the opinion of learned counsel (Francis Lindley), but written in Machell's hand.

[21] Margin note in Machell's hand.

[22] Modus. In full, *modus decimandi*: a method of paying tithes other than the one which is usual or prevalent; especially a money payment made in lieu of a tithe. *OED*.

{Bounds} [23]
It is bounded on the East with Hutton Roofe \ in K.[24] / & Burton parish, which runs quite through ~~Burton~~ touching on Hutton Roofe. Which part is called Farleton & Akebanke. On the South it is hem'd in with Warton Parish in Com. Lanc.[25] – & divided from it as in the Generall Bounder of Westmorland. On the West, with Cartmel in Lancashire, by the said Bounder. On the North with Heversham parish – from which it [is] separated – from Powbrig to Bachouse Neuke by a streight line. & so by the like, to Milthrop Bridge – thence to Abs Well by the Water Beethae.[26] Thence ~~to~~ by Levens Close & Belliside hedge to Akenthwate Land,[27] which land follows to Whasset Yeat; Thence by the Ringd Okes of Bethom Lordship \ to / Overthwate Bridge.

{Division}
It is divide into the Preci[n]cts of the Mother Church and the Chappelry of Witherslack aliis Wilder Slack.
In Bethom are 3 Lordships:
1. Bethom ~~wher~~ within 40-yard of the church on the S. side.
2. Haverbrack – wherein the Church stands.
3. Farleton – E. from the Ch. 2m.
And in the Chappelry ~~Ease~~ the said One:
4. Sc. – Witherslack – N.W. 4 miles.

Rosemary Generall [in the parish]

[Arnshead Tower]
There is also a Place calld Arnshead Tower 2m½ SW ab Ecclesia. The Earle of Darbyes.[28]
N.B. Arnshead[29] Tenants appear now at Bethom but anciently there was \ & yett is / a Tower House calld Arnshead Tower with Demane Lands belonging to it,[30] now Let out in Lease for Lives by the Earle of Darby, lord of the same: to whose Ancestors it was given on {forfeiture of Sir Thomas Broughton, who had Wither Slack also – But takeing up Armes with Martin Swarth (whence Swarthmoore near Ulverston in Furness) & advancd as tis said as far as Trent,}
[II.271][31]
{they were discomfited; he, flying, dyed in obscurity & his Estate was Leased. Some will needs [have] him to buried in the Common of Witherslack at a place calld Broughton Stone.}[32]

{Arnside had Deere 12 years agoe. Wild cats. Goates in Arnside. Brocks. Foxes.}[33]

[23] Here Machell has placed a compass drawing with the church at the centre. Although this was his usual practice when describing parish bounds, such sketches are only occasionally reproduced in this edition.
[24] Kirkby Lonsdale.
[25] 'The county of Lancashire'.
[26] River Bela.
[27] Ackenthwaite.
[28] In the MS, this sentence appears on II.271.
[29] Arnside.
[30] Arnside Tower was burned down in 1602; see Smith, *Place-Names 1*, 65.
[31] Also numbered p.39.
[32] Machell is referring to the Battle of Stoke Field, 1487, in which Sir Thomas Broughton and other English landowners sought, with the Earl of Lincoln and German troops under Martin Swartz, to replace Henry VII with a usurper (Lambert Simnel). The main army landed at Furness, pitching its tents at Ulverston near Swarthmoor. Swarth moor means 'black moor' (see *Westmorland Place-Names*), though Machell derived it from the man, Swartz. Sir Thomas Broughton and Swartz were killed in the ensuing battle of Stoke Field, but a rumour spread that Broughton had escaped to live in concealment among his tenants at Witherslack; hence Machell repeated the local story that Broughton had been buried on Witherslack common. See a longer version of this tale in William Howitt, *Cassell's Illustrated History of England II* (London, 1858), 82-83.
[33] There are two more entries here, which appear to be 'Gentes' [perhaps Goates] and 'Martsil.' These creatures have not been identified, though Machell frequently referred to 'martes', i.e. martens or polecats [otherwise known as pine martens]. *OED*.

[Lordships]

1. Bethom Lordship
F[amilies] 85. Hale f[amilies] & Whasset 39. \ both a Towne. /
The College. A Schoole built 60 [yards] S. from the Church. Built out \ of the use of the / Church Stock – about 1663 – & the Sallary at present is the use of 100$^{li.}$ let out by feofees who elect a Schoolmaster.[34]
{Mr Leighton, Parson in Essecks, born in this parish.}[35]

Beathom Tower \ 1¼ S. / destroyd in the Civil Wars.[36] Now demolishd as the Manner House. {traditionally calld Bethom Castle.} But the Court is kept at the School; in [which] regard the Earle of Darby Lord of the Manner, gave a Ginny & Timber for the Building of it.[37]
Helslack Tower 1m. S. ab Ecclesia – demolishd.[38]

Cappleside Hall ¼ N.E.[39] {formerly} Buskils, then Prestons by purchase. Now Lord Cliffords. The Descent on the other Side.
{Margaret Hind[40] dyed a yeare since, being 106. Thom. Johnson yet living, 103 & yet sets netts.}

2. Haverbrack
F[amilies] 11; Wattress f[amilies] 3; Sandside 4.
Dallan Tower is the Manner House – But they never keep Court.
There is a fort calld Castle Tower a Dall[am] ¼; a[l]most as big as the Round Table.[41]
Ponds at Dallan Town. Troutes & Eales.
All Customary, Fine Arbitrary \ & Heriotable / except the Rectory which is 1d fine at death of ~~the vicar &~~ \ the impropriator / & a 6d fine upon Descent or alienation. Wid[ows] p. have halfe for life.[42]
Lord [has] Waif & Stray.

3. Farleton
F[amilies] 31. Overthwate & Akebank all one L[ordship] 29.[43]
No manner – A Beacon on Farleton Knot – where there are 3. There is a Place calld Chapl. hill where it is said a Chapl. has stood: – 2 m \ E. / ab Ecclesia & about a Quarter of a m. from Farleton.
Arbitrary & heriotable; no freehold.
In Farleton dureing pure widow[hood] they have all the Estate of their husbands – otherwise loose all.
Lord [has]Waif & Stray.
{The Descent}[44]

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[34] For the building of the school and master's house, see 'Inventory of the sums subscribed by the parishioners for the building a school [25 April 1620] & [house] for the use of the Master [1647]', in John R. Ford (ed.), *The Beetham Repository*, *1770*, *by the Rev. William Hutton, Vicar of Beetham, 1762-1811*, CWAAS Tract Series 7 (Kendal, 1906), 52-56.
[35] Ambrose Leighton MA (Christ's College, Cambridge), born at Leighton Beck, rector of Little Yeldham in Essex, gave a donation of £20 to Beetham School in 1663, see *The Beetham Repository 1770,* 71.
[36] This comment was repeated in the MS at the page top. The tower was destroyed in 1644. William Hutton gave a colourful description of its fall: 'Fairfax … came … to dislodge some Scotch men who had seiz'd it: and this he did, and threw down the East wing about their ears. A few were kill'd, and the rest after possessing it two or three months and slaughtering the sheep of the neighbourhood made their escape.' See *The Beetham Repository 1770*, 93.
[37] Machell was referring to the sum of one guinea; for 'ginny'. *OED*.
[38] Hazelslack Tower, a pele tower built in the 14th century; in ruins by the 17th: Smith, *Place-Names 1*, 70.
[39] The earliest date of a specific reference to a hall at Cappleside is 1585. It was demolished shortly after 1687, apart from the southern tower which was converted into a barn in 1763, and was ruinous by 1862, see Historic England Research Records, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk.
[40] Unclear word.
[41] Dallam Tower: a pele tower was built on the site c.1375 but demolished when the present house was built in 1720-23. There is a plan of 1614 showing a house with formal gardens on the east and west sides: http://www.parksandgardens.ac.uk. https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk
[42] Meaning: 'widows in pure viduity have half their husbands' estate for life'.
[43] This number is on the far right of a page which has perished at the edge.
[44] Descent of the lordship.

It was in Judge Hutton ~~who was born in Be~~ & descended by a D[aughter] upon Collonell Bierly of Grange in Yorkeshire.[45]

4. Witherslack
F[amilies] 37; Me\a/thop 7 & Ou\l/vay 3.[46] {which are in the Lordship but not in the chappelry.}[47]
Arbitrary & heriotable.
{[The Lordship] is supposed to have come with Bethom to the Earle of Darby – The House \ & Demane / sold circa 1660.}

Witherslack Hall was the manner [house] but the Demane being sold of, the Tenants appear any where in the manner where they are sumond. Dr Barwick, Dean of St Pauls, was borne hard by the chaple at a Place calld ~~Fellend~~ \ Halecat; who founded & endowd the Chapel & Schoole.[48]
Joh[n] Labourn – a Romish bishop. George his ~~brother~~ \ unckle / President of Dowa.[49] Nicholas – brother to the Bishop Procurator Ibidem.

Witherslack Park which is part of Witherslack demane is replenished with deer. Polecates.

Witherslack Well \ calld Holly well / purges by it, & urine & vomit, and is saltish & cures wormes.

Slate limestone and rag[stone].

[II.272]

[Descents]

{Descent of Bethom}
It was anciently in the Beathoms & after in the Standleys Earles of Darby, who made a foole of the heire and beg.[50] the Estate {Trad[ition]}.[51] And is now in William Earle of Darby, of Knowlesley in Lancashire.[52]

[Descent of] Haverbrack
\ In Haverbrack a Knight Templar[53] & Heversham / was in 2 Lords[hips]: the Prestons & Thornborrows – then purchased by 3 Londoners – Merchant & Knights – in hopes of a lead mine. Then sold to Mr Hen. Parker, second Brother to Lord Morley. & by him to Mr Edward Wilson & Thomas Wilson joynt purchaser, who outliveing him got the whol.
They[54] appear by consent at Heversham Hall. & now in the Home of Ed. Wilson – Justice of Peace.[55]

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[45] For 'Colonel Bierly' [in 1697] see *The Diary of Abraham De la Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary*, Surtees Society Vol. 54 (Durham, 1870), 137.
[46] 'Oulvay' is Ulpha.
[47] See also II.265, above, which remarks that Witherslack is a chapelry in Beetham Parish & Kendal Barony.
[48] For John Barwick (1612-1664), dean of St Paul's, see Part 2. Ch.7, Heversham, Heversham Free School, II.164; and see below, II.275-76.
[49] The English College at Douai was founded by William Allen in 1568 for Roman Catholic exiles from Protestant Elizabethan England, where it had become treasonable for Catholic priests to celebrate Mass. There, English students could train as priests. The 'College des Grands Anglais', as it became known, was key to the English mission for the re-conversion of England: see *Independent Catholic News*, 2 Oct. 2018. George Leyburn was president from 1652 to1670. He resigned in favour of his nephew, John, president 1670-1675/6. For more on this family, see Part 2, Ch.3x, Underbarrow, II.111; Beetham, II.280A and II.280B. See also *AWL*, 189.
[50] 'Beggared the estate'[?]
[51] A reference, perhaps, to the attainder of Richard de Bethom after the battle of Bosworth, and the grant of part of his estates to the Earl of Derby, which led to a dispute between Thomas Middleton and the earl, so that the manor remained in the possession of Middleton until his death in 1517. From Whitsuntide 1525, for one year, the manor was in the hands of the crown. See William Farrer and John F. Curwen (eds), *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale II,* CWAAS Record Series 5, (Kendal 1924), 211-38.
[52] William Richard George Stanley, 9th earl of Derby (c.1655-5 November 1702).
[53] A Knights Templar estate.
[54] The tenants.
[55] As these blotted notes are obscured by a modern repair to the binding, some have been omitted.

[II.273]

[Wilson Descent]
James ob. 1692 S.P.[56]
1. Ed. Wilson of Dallan T. Esq.? Just. of Peace = Jane d. of Gawen Brathwate of Ambleside Hall Esq.
|
Ed. Wilson of Park house in Tunsdl[57] Parish = Katherine d. of Sir Daniel Fleming of Ridal, Knight in Lancashire
|
Daniel aetat 12; Edward aetat 13

Milnthorpe

On Millthrop[58] Bridge a stone erected; somewhat resembling a Rom[an] Altar – with this Inscription {In Capital Letters} Fear God – Honour the King 1684.
A little above the Bridge is a Paper Mill; formerly an Iron Forge.[59]
My Lord Bishop of Carlile, Dr Thomas Smith, informes me that the fam[ous] Mathematition Dr [Blank] Rawlinson fellow of Queens Coll. (& Tutor to the E. of Northumberland, in which family he mostly lived? T.M.) was borne in this village.[60]

[II.280]

[Witherslack in Beetham Parish]

Wether-Slack in Bethom
It is in the ped[igree] Woder-Slacke but perhaps by the dialect as Wolsor.

[II.275]

Witherslack Chapel
{Chap[el] Long within, beside the steeple, 26. Broad, 7. 3 Bells in it.}

In the East Window, which is very ornamental, having 5 double lights.

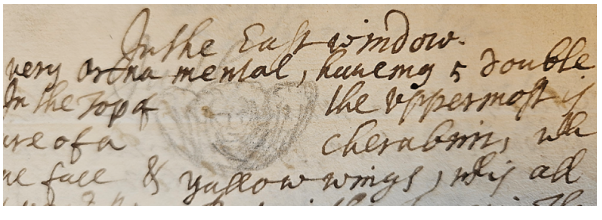


Figure 2.4.9. 'Cherubim' in Witherslack Chapel East Window. II.275.

In the Top of the uppermost is the figure of a cherubim, with humane face & yallow wings, which is all in that upper row. But in the Lower; the midle most has: ✠HIS in a circle \ globe of Blew / with Rayes of Glory about it – yallow & orange – and a scrowle with this Inscription

> THIS is my Body. | THIS is my blood.
> Mathew XXVI 26 | Mat XXVI. 28

On each side of which in the top of the next lights, are the heads of 2 cherubimes joyneing together & peeping as it were into that mystery. & At the tops of the 2 outmost lights, are These Coates of Armes.

[56] James died childless.
[57] Tunstall.
[58] Milnthorpe.
[59] Information repeated in *N&BI*, 201.
[60] Richard Rawlinson (c. 1616–68), born at Milnthorpe; plebeian at Queen's College, Oxford; matriculated 1636 aged 18; MA 1643; DD 1681. A royalist and a mathematician, he drew a plan of the garrison and fortifications at Oxford for Charles I; he was rector to the Duke of Newcastle. *OAD*.



Figure 2.4.10. Witherslack Chapel. Coats of Arms, 1 and 2. II.275.

1. Is a Quarterly Coate as followeth – of William George Richard Earle of Darby – wherein the 1. is Argent a Bend ~~Gules~~ \ Az[ure] / chargd with Bucks heads cabashed, 2. Gules – 3 Armd Legs & feat in Triang[u]ler Unity Argent. 3. is Gules – 4 Barrs Argent & a chief Or, chargd of all with a Lyon Rampant of the 3. (Sc. Or. Crowne of the first, Sc. G[ules].) The 4. is Quarterly ~~Or &~~ Gules & Argent, in a quarter of the 1., a Mullet of the second. The 5. Or a cheveron Gules betwene 3 eagles displayed Az[ure]. The 6. is Azure 3 flooredelices Or. The 7. the same with a Battoun Gules. The 8th is Or a serpent Azure devoureing a Childe from the feet upwards = the Impaled Coate which ought to possess halfe the field – Azure an Eagle volant Or. The Crist is upon a Ducal cap \ G[ules] / lined Ermin – an Eagle & Cradle Or, with a Childe wrapt in scarlet, & Tyed Or. & the mot[to] SANS CHANGE.[61]

[2.] The other Coate is the Deanery of St Pauls. Sc. Gules 2 swords in Saltier with Pointes to the Pointes of the Escutchion – hilted Or. In chief a Cross couped[62] of the 3rd Impaleing = Dean Barwick, which are Argent, a Reade Rose proper between 3 Beares heads erased proper bridled Gules, and this mot[to] Adversis servata fides.[63]

These of the Earle of Darbyes are painted agane on the Back Side of the Commandments & towards the Chancell. And these of the Deanes on Each Side of them in Diamond frames writte in triangles,[64] with Scripture Sentences on the Back side of the Creed & Commandments.

{Foundation}
Over the little dooer beneath the said Co[mmandments] in stone is writ

> REVEREND John Barwick S.T.D. Born in this | Hamlet, late | Dean St Pauls | Built this Chappel A.D. 1664

There is a [weather] Cock also, & a font in it.

[II.276]

There is also a monument of white marble which was sent down by Dr Barwick his brother*, who now lives with the Countess of Albimarle.[65]

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[61] Without changing.
[62] Here, Machell appears to have drawn a tiny symbol of a cross couped: a cross rendered with arms of equal length; but its small size makes recognition difficult.
[63] 'Faith maintained in adversity.'
[64] In the MS, Machell has drawn a triangle.
[65] In the 1650s, Peter Barwick married Anne Sayon, merchant's widow and kinswoman of William Laud. See P. Elmer, 'Barwick, Peter (1619-1705), physician'. *ODNB*. There is no mention here of Peter Barwick ever having

REVERENDUS &c
Reverendus admodum et Primævæ Pietatis vir,
Johannes Barwick, S. T. D.
Hic in vicinâ natus,
Qui post operam indefesso studio navatam,
Afflictiones infracto animo Toleratas,
Res tandem, licèt summè arduas, feliciter Gestas,
Pro Collapso Regni et Ecclesiæ Statu,
Ad CURAM et Dignitatem Decanatus
Primò Dunelmensis, Deinde Paulini,
Meritò Evectus
HANC ÆDEM
In Dei honorem et suorum gratiam,
Structam et Dotatam voluit
et Bonorum Residuum Egenis Legavit
A.D. 1664[66]

{Dedication and Consecration}
By John Cestriensis – which was Bishop Wilkins – by his Instrument of Consecration. Date 22 Junii {Iovis} 1671.[67]
In nomine Dom[ini] Amen cum nuper Eruditus et Discretus vir &c. – ex fundo – pia devotione \ præ /nob[ilis] Domi[ni] D. Caroli Com[it]is Darbiæ – Witherslake – being Indowed with 26 sterling ad minimum[68] pro Presbytero seu Ministro Ordine presbyterij constituto for Praying, Preaching, Administering the Sacraments & Burying the Dead. Cæteraque &c. – quæ in alijs cap[itibus] recte fieri possint.
"Consecram[us] et Dedicamus per nomen Capellæ Divi Pauli in villa de Witherslake \ p[ar]ochiæ de Beethom / nominand[um] et appelland[um] fore decernimus et nominamus &c. – salvo semper Jure et Interesse matricis Ecclesiæ de Beethom prædict[o] In omnibus suis Decimis privilegijs et Com[m]oditatibus Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque Juribus Etiam nostris &c. – Reservatus – pro Archidiacae Richmo[n]diæ 1s p[er] annum ad festum Pasc[ae]. pro synodalibus 2s pro Procurationibus Triennale – Episcopo Cestriensi. {The minister to be Examined, Licensd & Admitted by the Bishop} {Absque ulla Diminatione vel de falcatione Juris Ecclesiastici Decimarum o[b]lation[um] vel obventionum quarumcunque ad dictam Matricem Ecclesiam de Beethom praedict[am] – seu ad vicarium ejus pro tempore existentem spectand[arum] et pertinend[arum] precip[it]em? in futurum.} [69]

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lived with a Countess of Albimarle; the Countess of Albemarle [?] was not made countess until 1701 (after Machell's death). The first Duchess of Albemarle died just after her husband (General Monck), in 1670. Christopher Monck, second duke of Albemarle (1653-1688) had a wife, the (mad) duchess of Albemarle, who married Lord Montagu, convinced that he was the Emperor of China, in 1692. See 'Lady Elizabeth Cavendish', *The Peerage.com*.

[66] 'That much revered man of outstanding piety John Barwick D.D., born in this neighbourhood, who, after working with unflagging zeal and perseverance, enduring afflictions with unbroken spirit, found a happy issue from all these troubles of collapse of the Kingdom and Church, deservedly was translated to the Position and Dignity of Dean, first of Durham, then of St Paul's. This building erected and endowed to the honour of God and the delight of his people, was his wish; and he bequeathed the rest of his goods to the poor. A.D. 1664'. See *N&B1*, 233, which gives the history of Dr Barwick alongside this inscription.

[67] Thursday 22 June 1671. John Wilkins was Bishop of Chester from 1668 until his death in 1672. CCED.

[68] The ending is blotted.

[69] 'In the name of God, Amen. Whereas of late that learned and discreet man etc., at the expense and devoted piety of the most noble Charles [?] Lord Derby, Witherslack being endowed with £26 sterling at the least for the priest or minister in the Holy Orders of priest duly constituted for Praying Preaching Administering the Sacraments & Burying the Dead, and other things etc. in other areas which can rightly be done by him –We consecrate and dedicate by the name of the Chapel of St Paul in the Township of Witherslack and Parish of Beetham, to be named and called [as now] we do decree and name it etc. Saving always the rights and interests of the mother Church of Beethom aforesaid in all its tithes, privileges and ecclesiastical easements whatsoever, according also to our rights etc. – Reserved for the Archdeaconry of Richmond 1 shilling per annum at the Feast

[Machell's Notes on the Barwick Family: II.276 & II.278]
*{Peter Barwicks wife brought forth a daughter = Sir Ralf Dutton of Gloucestershire}[70]
[II.278]
{1. Nicholas. 1 s[on] & 2 d[aughters] 2. Will 3 d[aughters] & 1 s[on].
John. Doctor. Dean of Durham then of Thersfielde – he kept a Curate.[71]
{John Barwick Dr in Divinity [died] in a consumption. [He requested] to be buryed with as much privacy & little pomp as may be.}
Peter = Ann. 1 d[aughter]

[II.277]



Figure 2.4.11. Witherslack Chapel and East Window. II.277.

{2. Foundation; Dedication}
It began \ to be built / in 1664. And was consecrated to the service of God & for Parochial uses by the name of St Paules \ Chappell / June 22 1671 – by Doctor Wilkins Bishop of Chester, Dr Thomas Smith afterwards Bishop of Carlile being present at it. {After consecration, all that pertained to the old Chapl[72] [was] added to the New by an Instrument under the Hand & Seal of John Cestriensis, Sc. Dr Wilkins Bishop of Chester; Bearing Date 26 June 1671.}

{Parsonage Vicarage} {to teach scholars}
The Chaplaines house {a Capella circa 30 yards} is on the S. side of the same chapl. & is Designed

of Easter; for synodals, 2s, for the proctors, payment for a triennial mass for the Bishop of Chester. The minister to be examined, licensed and admitted by the Bishop and receive that profit without any deduction or shortfall of tithes, offerings or sources of income whatsoever in Church Law belonging and pertaining to the said Mother Church of Beetham aforesaid – or to its vicar incumbent at the time, or right into the future.' See *N&B1*, 231: The chapel of Witherslack 'was consecrated by Bishop Wilkins… by the name of the Chapel of St Paul in the town of Witherslack in the parish of Betham, with a clause, as is usual in like cases, that the same shall be in no wise prejudicial to the mother church'.

[70] Dr Peter Barwick (1619-1705). 'Of his four children (three daughters and one son), only one daughter, Anne (b. 1662), survived him. She married Sir Ralph Dutton of Sherborne in Gloucestershire in 1679'. P. Elmer, 'Barwick, Peter, Physician'. *ODNB*.

[71] Dr John Barwick (1612-64), is remembered as a royalist spy under Charles I. After the Restoration he was appointed Dean of Durham Cathedral, then Dean of St Paul's in 1661. See J. Elligott, 'Barwick, John, Dean of St Paul's'. *ODNB*. For a colourful description of Dean Barwick's life and connections with Beetham, see the *Mail* (Cumbria) 26 May 2019, which reports, 'The Witherslack farmer's son born in 1612 was "quite a character" … He managed the correspondence of both Charles I and Charles II, was imprisoned in the Tower of London for being a Royalist spy, and became Dean of St Paul's Cathedral in London. When he died in 1664 [he] left money for a church and school to be built in the village where he grew up. His brother Peter – a doctor who rose to be physician-in-ordinary to King Charles II – ensured his wishes were carried out, with St Paul's Church consecrated in 1671. "Lots of people in Witherslack know the name Dean Barwick – we have the school and the Dean Barwick Trust – so it's known in the village but kind of forgotten in other ways," said the vicar.'

[72] MS: 'After consecration on [Blank] all that pertained to the old Chapl…'

for a Schoolhouse as well as a Dwelling house, the Chaplain being obligd to teach gratis the children of the said Inhabitants, but foreigners[73] as they can agree with him*.[74]

{Patronage or Disposal}
The said Dr John Barwick \ Dean of St Pauls / reserved the disposal thereof to him selfe – dureing his life and after his death. And after his \ whose / death It was to be in the disposall of \ transmitted to / feoffees in Trust who Recommend one unto the Bishop \ of Chester, & he admits as to him seeth good (with the approbation of the vicar of Bethom†) dureing his life; who was born at Halecat (a Capella circa 200[yards]) & who founded both the Chaple & Schoole; the Earle of Darby Lord of the Manner allowing so much of the Common \ Town green / as was ~~necessary~~ \ sufficient / for a chapple yard, & the Schoolhouse to stand on.

{Old Chappel Sallary}
There was an old Chapel heretofore near Witherslack Hall adjoneing the gardine \ not 20 yards S. from the Hall – & ~~a Sallary of~~ \ xx nobles / 6: 13: 4, belonging unto it, which was payd by all the Inhabitants by known proportion \ according as they sat higher or lower / {no Inhabitant being abov 3s nor non under 1s 6d except the Lord, who was [charged] 1. 6. 8. out of his Rents} by the name of Sallary.

{Endowment}
(& there was an House about a m. S. from this chapel, which belongd unto it, which he holdes) which was annexed together with the said old Sallary to the N[ew] Ch[apel] [75] \ because the owner of Witherslack hall would sell no ground for a ch. yard. / & as a further Augmentation, the Dean of Pauls[76] [gave] 26 per annum payable by the said Trustees.

[Machell's Notes: II.277]

*(The Armes are in another Paper.)
†{It should have bin but this is now of q.}
{Will at S.P. Dat. 21 October 1664. Obser[v]e the clause for keeping the Mother Church Indemnifyed.}

[II.278]

Out of the Will[77]

4 li for Repares [to] Utensils & Ornaments every year by the Chaple wardens with consent \ the advice / of the Curat.
10li per annum for the following uses. Sc.
1. To place apprentices. {bond with}
2. Mend highways.
3. To give as portions in marriage with made[s] borne in the chapelry – by such Orders as his executors exp[r]ess in the settlement.
He also gave 300 [li] to St Johns in Cambridge for the Library or som other public use.
100li towards the Rep[are of St Pauls Church London besides what he gave with the Chapter for that noble use.
Item, 40li worth of Bookes to Sedber School Library. The rest to the poore.
(To each of his brothers & Mary the daughter of Peter, 100li. George son of Will. his brother 200. & the 3 d[78] of Will. 100li apiece. 500 in all to Peter.

[73] People from outside Witherslack.
[74] MS: '& is Designed ~~as well~~ for a Schoolhouse as ~~for that purpose~~ \ well as / a Dwelling house, the Chaplain being obligd to teach gratis the children of the said ~~of the~~ Inhabitants ~~to be taught gratis for others~~ but foreigners ~~& they a~~ as they can agree with him.'
[75] MS: '(& there was an House \ about a m. S. / from this chapel \ which belongd unto it / ~~belong'd the Chaplane, but a mile S from the old Chaple~~, which he holdes) ~~together with the said old Sallary~~, \ which was annexed together with the said old Sallary / to the N[ew] Ch[apel].'
[76] MS: 'Dean of Polls.'
[77] Out of John Barwick's will.
[78] Three daughters.

Historia Bizantini Parisijs – to the Archbishop {of Cant.}[79]
The Works of Kg Marter, 2 voll. in folio to ~~Sir~~ John Otway Esq. \ as / now Sir J. Otway \ as a memor of his thankfulness / for the great paines & Her[t] he underwent at his Intreaty towards the Restoration of the said King.[80]

Given by Peter B[arwick] Dr in Phis,[81] Brother of the said Dr Barwick:
All the furniture of the said chapel, Sc. an Hanging behinde the Altar made of read leader, & a covering for it of the same to be usd every day. Allso printed Tammy[82] of Purple & Read with read silke fringe, for festival time, Sundayes & Hollidayes, with a cushion & purple cloth of the same . Also, Damaske of the same for Communion, with a large Green flowerd Silke cushon for the Pulpat upon great occasion.[83]– These given before the Consecration*.

Tis the best glaz'd[3] flaggd[1] & plaster[2] of any ~~church or~~ chapl in the Barony of Kendal;[84] & the windows thereof – which are very good ones – have bin kept whol for 21 years by the caer of Sir John Brockbank, 1st Minister,[85] with the expence of 10d.[86]

[Machell's Notes: II. 278[
*{Query of Dr Thomas Fuddergill President of St Johns i.e. pert[aining] to the matter. Was tutor to Dr Barwick.}[87]

[II.279]

{New Chap[e]l Sallary}
Tithes out of the Rector of Lazenby & P[l]umpton, & Hareskew[88] in Kirkoswald Parish*; in the ~~said~~ County of Cumberland \ which Purchase in Kirkoswald was made after the Dean was deceased because the Rectory of Lazonby did not answer the Rent which he had designed.[89] / {To whom he gave also 40 per annum out of the Rent Charge.}[90]
And £10 per annum for the marriage of poore mades borne in this chapelry– And for putting out Apprentices & mending the highways; \ & £4 per annum for the Repares of the Chapl & Schoole / to p[ay] a Chapl[ain] thereto annext to the chaple of W[itherslack] and to Endow & make it Parochial. The ressidue of the said Rents if any be (after necessary charges deducted out of them) to be disposed \ as the said x li / to any of the said uses.

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[79] Archbishop of Canterbury was then Gilbert Sheldon (1598-1677). Several books have been published with the title, 'Byzantine History'. As the book named here was published in Paris before Barwick's death in 1664, it might have been the *Historia Bizantina* of George Acropolita (b.1220), an edition of which was published (in Greek and Latin) in Paris in 1651.
[80] Sir John Otway (c.1620-93) of Ingmire Hall, Sedbergh. For his academic and parliamentary career, see History of Parliament Online; for more on Barwick's will see J. Elligott, 'Barwick, John (1612-1664), dean of St Paul's'. *ODNB*.
[81] Physic.
[82] Tammy: a fine worsted cloth of good quality, often with a glazed finish. *OED*.
[83] MS: 'All the furniture \ of the said chapel / Sc. an Hanging ~~& Covering~~ \ behinde the Altar / made of read leader, & a covering for it of the same to be usd every day. Allso \ printed Tammy / of Purple & Read ~~Tamy printed~~ with read silke fringe for \ festival time / Sundayes & Hollidayes\ with a cushion & purple cloth of the same /Also – Damaske \ of the same / for Communion ~~Times~~. ~~And a Pulpat Cloth & cushion of the said Read & Purple Stuff for every Sunday~~ with a large Green flowerd Silke cushon for the Pulpat upon great occasion.'
[84] Note that Machell changed his preferred word order by using the numbers 1, 2 and 3 to guide the reader.
[85] John Brockbank (as vicar of Beetham) became the first minister of Witherslack, see II.274A, above.
[86] MS: 'the windows \ thereof which are very good ones / have bin kept whol for 21 by the caer of Sir John Brockbank, \ 1[st] / Minister thereof ~~have bin kept whol~~ for 21 years, with the expence of 10d.'
[87] This is problematic because no Dr Thomas Fuddergil (or even Fothergill) was ever president of St John's College, Cambridge [see https://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/masters-st-johns-college-cambridge]. An alternative might be Dr Thomas Morton (bap.1564 d.1659), a moderate Calvinist who rose to become bishop of Durham; he was an alumnus and fellow of the college. John Barwick was his chaplain, his executor and preached his funeral sermon. See B. Quintrell, 'Morton, Thomas (bap. 1564, d. 1659), bishop of Durham'. *ODNB*.
[88] Now, 'Haresceugh'.
[89] In the MS on II.278, this scored-through text appears in the margin: {~~Plumpton near Kirkoswald was added after the Deans death because the Rectors of Lazonby did not answer the Rentel he designd~~}.
[90] '40' might have 's' for 'shillings' above it, but it is squeezed onto the end of a line, and is unclear.

{Curate 26 s[hillings] (per annum) if in Order of Priesthood Teaching a School. But not preach unless sufficiently inabled & licenced per Episcopum ei Cestrensis [91]

[Machell's Notes: II.279]
*{Purchased I thinke of Sir Thomas Dakers in his brother Peters name}

[II.279]

[Witherslack Chapelry]

{The Bounds} {Division into Manners]
It is Bounded on the E. with Lithe in the Chaplry of Crosthwaite & Parish of Heversham; from which tis divided by a Little \ Rill / at Far Fell end. On the South by Meathop & Oulvah[92] in Bethom precincts. By which tis divided by the Moss; as the Lordships \ goe there / divide: on the West by Cartmel in Lancashire \ from which it is separated / by the River Winstar – on the N. with Crosthwate, \ in Heversham Parish, / by which tis divided by the Bounds of Powbanke in Crosthwate. It is one Entire Lordship,[93] \ for tho / some of the Lordship that are in Heversham Parish are by ancient custom obliged to pay Sallary to the other places as being permitted to come to the Chaplaines for their Ease & Convenience, \ yet are they within the chapelry of Witherslack, pay[ing] a salary here & for their Ease frequenting this Chapel; though they pay all their dues to the church of Heversham {S[c]. Pow Bank & Far Fell End alias Heefell.}

{Descent of the Manner}
This Manner is said to have formerly bin the Broughtons of Broughton Tower in Kirkby in Furness & opposite to Millum, the River Duddon running betwixt them. But is now in the Earle of Darby.

[II.280A]

{Labourns Pedigree}[94]
The Armes in Parchment are quarterly,
1. Azure, 6 lyoncells Argent Langued & memb[ered] G[ules]. By the name of La-born.

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[91] 'But not preaching unless sufficiently enabled and licensed by the Bishop of Chester.'
[92] Ulpha. Machell's version is much altered and overwritten.
[93] MS: 'by which tis divided by the Bounds of Powbanke in Crosthwate. {Is in the Lordship.}\ ~~There is but one Lordship~~ that chapelry / It is one Entire Lordship, But…'
[94] The Leyburn (Labourn, Labourne, Layburne) family was closely aligned with the Roman Catholic Church in England during the 17th century. John Leyburn (1620-1702), vicar apostolic of the London district, was the fourth son of John Leyburn of Cunswick Hall, Beetham (where he was born), and his wife, Catherine Carus. A nephew of Dr George Leyburn, president of the English College at Douai, he was educated there and followed his uncle as president in 1670. He resigned in 1676 and moved to Rome to become secretary to Cardinal Philip Thomas Howard. Cardinal Howard, at the request of James II, recommended Leyburn as vicar apostolic of all England, to which the pope agreed. He was consecrated at Rome with the title of 'Bishop of Adrumetum, in partibus.' [Vicars apostolic were given titular dioceses in areas in Asia Minor etc – 'in partibus infidelium' – that had fallen to the Turks.] See T. Cooper & G. Bradley, 'Leyburn, John (1620-1702), vicar apostolic of the London district. *ODNB*. Bishop Leyburn served as James II's Catholic vicar apostolic from 1685-88, organising the funding of English Catholic chapels, clergy and education. In 1687 he toured England to dispense the sacrament of confirmation to Catholic laity. This involved 12 confirmations at Corby (Cumberland), 23 at Greystoke, 28 at Sizergh, 37 at Dodding Green and 161 at Witherslack: Michael Mullett, *Carlisle in Revolution and Restoration, c. 1648-1688*, CWAAS Tract Series 30 (Kendal, 2022), 119-120. Alison Wright has remarked on how close-knit this community was: 'Only six of the sponsors of the communicants mentioned out of the 45 on his progress were not related to him … or neighbours in the North West or had not been educated at Douay.' Wright, 'Loyalty and Tradition II. Networking among the north-western Catholic Gentry, 1640-1720: The Case of the Layburnes', *CW3*, 14 (2014), 103-24, at 113. Bishop Leyburn's social and political networking is noted in *The Diary of Dr Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester commencing at the time of his elevation to that see, August M. DC. LXXXVI. And terminating with the visitation of St. Mary Magdalene College, Oxford, October M. DC. LXXXVII* (Camden Society, London, 1843). The last Leyburn to inherit Cunswick was another John Leyburn who joined the 1715 Jacobite rising and was captured at Preston. In London, he was tried and attainted for treason, but not executed. Alison Wright, *The Layburnes and their World circa 1620-1720, The English Catholic Community and the House of Stuart*, PhD Thesis (University of St Andrews, 2002), 25-27.

2. Argen[t] a Bend Sable chargd with 3 Annulets Argent which a Trifol. S[able] in sinister point.
3. Gules 3 bores heads Couped Or langued Azure.
4. as the 1.
The Crist on a wreath Argent & Azure. An Hauk Regardant Azure.
A maid \ G[ules] hair Or / riseing out of a coronet with a Diamond ring in her right hand.

TO HIM THAT DESERVES IT BEST.

Trad. {Which Coate was subscribed to by Will Ryley, Norroy, King at Armes & coll[ected] out of an old Ped[igree] Somerset cxiii.}

Witham = Labourn.
Or a Bend Gules betwene 3 (eaglets say they but rather blackbirds) Sable.
A Coate produced of 6 quarters –
1. Witham.
2. Gules a Chief Argent.
3. Argent a fess Gules charged with 3 escallops Argent \ betwene 3 parrots prop. /
4. Argent a Chevron between 4 [cross-crosslets] Gules.
5. as the 3.
6. Argent a Chevron Sable chargd with Bucks heads cab[ossed] Argent.

[Machell's Notes [II.280A]
An Eccho from the Green Hill before the Hall.
Well whom Witherslack passeth by being [blank]

[II.280B]
Out of an Old Eaten Parchment Roll, Intitled, 'Certain notes taken out &c. and in the memory of man, of matches of the ancient house of Leybourne.' {[Arms] Azure 6 lyoncells Argent.}
Rogerus de Leyburn Tenuit in Com West. Castrum de Burg sub Staynemore manerium de Morton, de Appelby, de Meaburn, de Clinton, de Kirkby Stephan, Castrum de Mallerstang, forresta de Whinfell. Eyworth in Cartat' Beds, Anno Regni Regis Edv. 1. xij^{0} [1283-1284].

{Labourns Pedegree}				James Layburne[95] of Cunswick Esq. =	Jane d. of John Bradley of Bethom			[II.280A]
				William of Cunswick =				
	George Dr of Divinity & President of Doway	Thomas = Mary d. of [Blank] Bradley of Arnsides	Nicholas	1. John Leyburne = of Cunswick = who had by his 2nd wife had isue	[1.] Katherine d. of Xt. Carus of Halton near Lancaster [2] M. d. of Will. Croft of Claughton in Lancashire	Frances = George Dabrish-court of Stratfield-sea[96] in Hantsh.	Dorathy = Weaver	Elizabeth m. to Ant. Ducket of Grarig

[95] In remarks related to a review of Jane Ewbank's *Antiquary on Horseback* (1964), the CWAAS *Transactions* reviewer (T.G.F.) commented on Machell's inaccuracy here. 'James Leyburne of Cunswick Esq. who heads the pedigree is stated to be the father of William Leyburne who married Jane, daughter of (John) Bradley of Beetham. Yet does not all the evidence go to show that William's father in point of fact was Nicholas Leyburne (born 1516) who married Elizabeth daughter of John Warcop of Smardale Hall? (vide William Wiper, "The Layburnes of Cunswick", *CW1*, 10 (1889), 124-57'. See this review in 'Recent Publications 2, *Antiquary on Horseback* (1964) T.G.F.', *CW2,* 64 (1964), 414.
[96] Stratfieldsaye, Hampshire.

		3. Charles	2. Nicholas Vice-President of Dowa		1. George de quo infra	Many daughters wherof 1 Frances only is living &c. unmaried			
5. William Obijpa…	4. John Bishop of Adrumetum	3. James, Governour of Fair Castle in France	2. Thomas Lab. of Witherslack = Dorathy d. Will Lasselles of Breckinbrough in Yorks.	William Layburne of Cunswick obijt durante vita patris	= Elizabeth d. of [Blank] Thomlinson a Londoner Remarried to R.B. [97] 1 Girl dyed in minority	Lucy = Thomas Kitson of Killington	2. Elizab. = to [Blank] Wiseman in Mary Land	1. Jane = Richard Sherburne of Hesum[98] in Lancashire	
[Children of Thomas Laybourn of Witherslack, and Dorathy]									
	1. John dyed unmaryed	2. Katherine maryed = to Dr Marmaduke Witham of Clif in Yorks.	2. Elizabeth innupta- ad huc[99]		3. Ann	4th daughter			
Co-heireship Son of John abovesaid									
			George L. of Witherlack & of Neateby in L. heir of Cunswick		= Ann Stanley of Dalgarth in Cumberland				
James	Nich.	George	John aet 23		4.	3. Ann	2. Kath.	1. Mary,[100] to Marmaduke Tunstal of Baringham	

Juliana filia Thomæ de Leyburn = uxor de Hastinges filij Comitis Penbrockie Anno R. Regis Ed. 3. 1^0 [1327-1328]. Or, a manch Gules impaleing Leyburn.[101]

Idonea de L. Uxor Johannis de Cromwell tenuit manerium de Leyburn in Com. Nottingham conjunctim cum marito sue,[102] – Argent a Chief Gules over all a bend Azure*.

Juliana de L. Uxor Willielmus Clinton Comitis Huntingdoniæ. Anno R.R. Ed. 3. xlj^0.[103] Of whom my Lord Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton & the Fitzwilliams of Strotsburgh are descended – Argent 6 cross crosslets[104] Sable: on a Chiefe Azure 2 mullets Or pierced Gules – impaleing &c.

{Dom. Jacobus de Leyburne}
Anna filia Domini Jacobi de Leyburne, Nupta Willi[am]o Domino Montegomerico. 1557.[105] Argent a Bend Azure charged with 3 Buckes heads cabossed Or: & in Chiefe a crescent[106] Gules. Impaleing.

[97] R.B. was Roger Bradley; see 'Recent Publications 2. *Antiquary on Horseback*', *CW2*, 64 (1964), 414.
[98] Heysham.
[99] 'As yet unmarried.'
[100] Mary died without issue and was buried at Spofford on 25 June, 1705. See 'Recent Publications 2. *Antiquary on Horseback*', *CW2*, 64 (1964), 414.
[101] 'Juliana, daughter of Thomas de Leyburne, wife of Hastings the son of the Earl of Pembroke, 1. Edward III.'
[102] 'Idonea de Leyburne, wife of John de Cromwell, held the manor of Leyburn in Nottinghamshire conjointly with her husband.'
[103] 'Juliana de Leyburne, wife of William Clinton, Earl of Huntingdon in 41. Edward III.' [1367-1368].
[104] Cross-crosslet symbol.
[105] 'Ann daughter of Lord James de Leyburn, married to William Lord Montgomery. 1557.'
[106] Crescent symbol.

Elizabetha filia Dom. Jacobi \ de / Leyburne militis, nupta Domino Thomæ Dacres de Septentrione Anno 1558.[107] Gules 3 escallops Argent impaleing.

dicto Elizabetha L[eyburne] relicta Thomæ de Dacres de Septentrione 3 uxor Thomæ Ducis Norfolciæ. Anno 1567.[108] Gules a Bend (betwene 6 cross-crosslets[109] Argent) Chargd with the Scotch Escutch[eon] Gules & Or†.

[Machell's Notes: II.280B]

*{This I take to be Idonea de Veteriponte 1. Maried to [Blank] Leyburn by whom he had those lands in Westm'land above said. See Clifford [pedigree].}

†{N.B. This signifieth ale or nothing to the Labournes of Witherslack & Cunswick; onely we may suppose that they have bin of Kin to, & came into Westmorland with this Labourne who was married to Idonea de Veteripont, but they are not descended from him, for he dyed S. P.[110] & his wife was remarryed to Cromwell S. P. so that all returned to the Cliffords.}

[II.284]

{Tenure}
All Customary ~~few~~ Arbitrary & Heriotable to the Earle of Darby

[II.272]

{Bethom} Mostly customary – Except 4 or 5 Freholds. The Lord has Waif & Stray.

{Custome}
Of a man marrying an Heiress & \ she / set him Ten[an]t. The Estate goes to his Heir not hers. The widowes pay Heriots - & has halfe, dureing (pure) widow[hood].

[II.272]

{Bethom}Widow duering p[ure] viduity [enjoy] ½ the Estate.

[II.281][111]

{Tithe}
2 Houses ~~that~~ \ whose lands / adjoyning on the Parke payes corne in kinde: at Beckhead. Sc. John Pow & Frances Bowes. All the rest of the Chapelry pay Prescr[iption] Hay. Also prescription Hay money. Wooll in kinde, & Lamb. 1d Tythe Lamb, ~~& they Reckon~~ (for 1– ob, 2 – 1d, 3 – 1d ob. &c.)

For 0d. A custom that if they sell afore Candlemas the Buyer is to pay the Tithe – & if after Candlemas the seller payes – which Holds in all Goods*. And for sheepe tis a penny a sheepe.

{Manner House}
Witherslack Hall was anciently the manner house (but the Court is kept in the School) where there are Coates of Armes. No.[112]

[Machell's Notes: II.281]

*{?} But q[uery] when it commences.

[II.277]

[Witherslack Hall]
{Wideslack hall; one little wooded \ Parke / & all about Trees of Laurell as high as the house.}[113]

[107] 'Elizabeth, daughter of Lord James de Leyburne, had married Lord Thomas Dacre of the North in 1558.'
[108] 'The said Elizabeth, widow of Thomas de Dacre of the North, was third wife of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, 1567.'
[109] Cross-crosslet symbol.
[110] 'Without issue.'
[111] The page top begins, 'The School is in the papers taken there.' [Where is not known.]
[112] 'No' was written in different ink.
[113] Written in pencil and scored through.

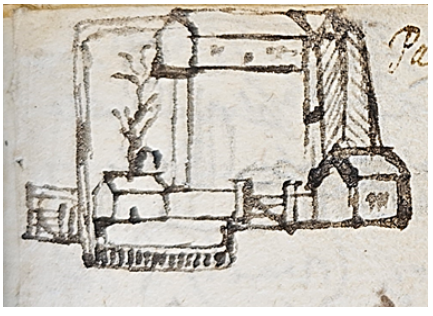


Figure 2.4.12. Witherslack Hall. II.277.

[II.281]

There is an Ile calld Holme below Medop, a Bethom 4m. W. ~~S.W.~~ twixt Arnside & Cartmell – sometimes in Westmorland & payes Sesses to it; sometimes in Lancashire and payes Sesses to it – whence som call it the Floateing Iland. But all the mistery is in the Bonder Beck calld Pull, which is Pow, which sometimes Runes on the one Side of it; sometimes on the other.

{Eminent Men}
Dr \ John / Barwick – Dean of Durham & St Pauls – Dr Peter Barwick his Brother Dr in Phisic/ John Labourn Bishop of [Blank] Sir Thomas Broughton.

[Rarities of Art and Nature]
In Yeakwood in Witherslack near Jacks beck a Capella ½ m. S.E. on the ~~left hand~~ N. side the Way to Kendall, where there are 2 long stones set on Edge.

{Parke}
Witherslack having Fallow Deere, Goates. Many clean & foule marts. Many wild cats {8d a Skew-Cat,[114] 3s a mart, foul mart 8d.}

Heston Tarne – Twixt Lancashire & Westmorland 200 yards long & as broad – lyes in the Pow. Water is 14 fathom deep & has in it Pikes Buss & Eales – a Capella ½ a mile N.W. & is part in Lancashire part here. 6 or 7 Swans at a Time. Ravens in Whittbarrow.

[II.280B]

{A Cave} at Howridden \ i.e. Hill Ridden / a Capella 2m. N., & from the Hall 1m. N.; a Strait Entery so that you goe \ in / sidewas. But within is a [square][115] Roome 3 yards & more, & an Hole descending god knows how deep; as by stones into water. In the Entery are 2 little wells which petrify.

[II.281]

{Witherslack Well}
There is a well calld the Holy Well a Capella 1m. South

[II.282]

which hat[h] don diverse Cures: and thereupon hathe received its name, as having som thing of Sanctity in it. {It was found by accident, by Ann the daughter of Mathew Layfield one of th[ose] who getting strawberryes ~~about~~ \ in / this place in 1656 and being thirsty dranke of the water and wondering at the brackishness of it (& the manner of its operation) told her father, who tried the Experiment first himself & then Recommended it to other. Upon which it grew famous having don many cures & these more Especially:}[116]

[114] Skewbald cat.
[115] Sketch of a square shape.
[116] This narrative is repeated, lightly scored through, on MS.II.284; it has been omitted from this edition.

Method for [describing the curative properties of] wells

1. Anno Domini
2. Person
3. Place
4. County
– Age
5. Distemper
6. The method of cure
[7.] What remarquable in it

{§1} Circa 1671.
Katherine \ Borwick – now Katherine / Hartley~~son~~ of Halecot in Witherslack (who~~se~~ was neece to Deane Borwick) \ and at whose house I lodged / being then about the age of 9 yeares, was so very feeble for halfe a year, that she could not goe 20 yards without resting. And with Drinkeing 9 cups of the said water, her face and all her body turn'd yallow: upon which she tooke a Drinke for the Jaundice, and so Recover'd: But doth belive the well would have ~~don It~~ \ cured her / without the said drinke.

{§2} Anno Domini 1674
Robert Warton of Sidgewick in the Parish of Kendall ætat 18. Being pained at his stomack, and so very feeble that they were forced to carry him the water because he could not walke to the well; drank thereof till It ~~caused~~ \ made / him ~~to~~ vomit; & cast up 5 wormes out of his stomack all hared over like unto ulboades (as they call 'em here), which are your Palmerswormes,[117] being in length one inch & ½. After which he Recovered Speedily; and in a weekes time could walke a whole mile.

{§3} A.D. 1678
A woman of Gresing\h/am in the County of Lancaster (whose name I have not) Being in a Timpany,[118] was cured thereof in 4 or 5 dayes by drinkeing this water; in so much that she ~~could~~ \ was able to / Shear (or Reape corne) in the next Harvest following. Vide (4).

(§4) Anno Domini 1689.
John Watheman of Carneforth in the Parish of Warton & County of Lancaster; being 50 yeares of age, was cured of a Leprocy or Long-runing Itch, by batheing herein & drinkeing the water. (Vide 5°)

{§5} About a year since – Sc. A.D. 1691.
It brought a worme \ in shape / like a fluke from a man \ by / purgeing; ~~by flooke~~ which worme was above 2 inches in breadth, & somwhat longer than it was broad, The Colour Yallow; & the Back all plated like the End puding[119] of an Horse when he dungeth. After which the man became very well.[120]

{§6} {1692}
And this very last f[r]om about 3 weekes afore I was there – A woman of Russendall in the Bottome of Westmorland

[II.283][121]

having an akeing in her arme, and no use of it; at the first drinkeing (it caused her to vomit & remov'd the Paine into her neck; & before she came from ~~It~~ \ the well / she could hold the pot in her hand, & in

[117] Palmer-worm: A small terrestrial invertebrate with many legs; a centipede or millipede, a woodlouse, a caterpillar. *OED*.
[118] From the 16th to the 18th centuries, a morbid swelling or tumour of any kind was known as a timpani. *OED*.
[119] End-pudding = rectum. See Bertil Hedewind, *The Dialect of Dentdale in the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Upsala, 1967), 326.
[120] A fluke is a parasitic worm of several species, found especially in the livers of sheep and so called from its resemblance to a fluke or flounder. *OED*.
[121] MS.I.283 contains a first draft of the cure-narratives on II.281; it has been omitted from this edition.

three dayes time was \ perfectly / well {ab Hinc 3 weeks}.[122] There is a well near it Turnes peat into Stone.

[Other Rarities of Nature in Beetham Parish]

{Winstar flu}
The River Winstar Runns into the Sea twixt Lindal & Meathop – a Capella 2m. S. It springs about Winstar Chaple & comes on the W. side of Calmer Hall & so W. from this Chap. ½ mile. {The Brigges first, then the Brierlyes}[123]

[II.284]

{Notable Springs}
Beckhead, a broad flowing spring in the road from Kendal a Capella 1m. E. Drives a Mill within 2ce[124] 12 score [yards.]

{Rare Woode}
Hundreds of Ewes,[125] som [of] them large ones, at Arnside Parke & Hagg. & at Slack head young ones, & elsewhere.[126]
Large Ewe 5 fathom[127] (in the parke near the Hall & plenty of Ewes up & down, tho now much destroyed – Juniper everywhere which they hear call Savin.[128]
Savons; great store all over especially at Witherslack.[129]
Holly Store, Box, Laurrell & Bayes \ Rosemary / in gar[dines].

{Fruites}
Raspberryes (bleaberryes few) Strawberryes enow. Wineberri: gardines onely.
Good store of Orchards all over.

{Earthes}
Fuel plenty – in the mos[s]. S.W. a Capella ¼ mile
All the parish richly provided of Turfe & peat and near at hand.[130]

{Stones}
They have a sort of stone, like Rockwork, as if it were made of petrify'd water, of a white brownish colour, & just like the Artificial Stone at Water Crooke, & Plumton in Cumberland.[131] This they call marle. But have no pit marle. They sell it to Kendal to scower wooden vessel. It is at Far \ Hee / Fell End in Witherslack, just ~~betwixt~~ on the Edge of Heversham Parish.

[122] 'She was perfectly well three weeks afterwards.'
[123] Machell's meaning: Cowmire Hall belonged first to the 'Brigges', then to the 'Brierleys'. Cowmire Hall was owned by the Briggs family. Thomas Briggs' daughter and coheir, Agnes, married Sir Richard Hutton (c.1594-1645) of Goldsborough, Yorks. The Goldsborough estate eventually came to their grandson Robert Byerley, MP for Knaresborough from 1695 to 1714. See https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/hutton-richard-1594-1645. In the margin at this point there is a heading, 'Armes', but there is no further text.
[124] Twice.
[125] Ewe = yew.
[126] This line has been removed from notes on MS.II.272.
[127] In circumference.
[128] 'Savins': small bushy junipers, Juniperus sabina, native to Europe and Western Asia, with overlapping scale-like mature leaves and blue-black berry-like cones. Later, more fully: savin juniper. *OED*. Savin coal was fine charcoal made from juniper wood, prized in the making of gunpowder, see William Rollinson, *Cumbrian Dictionary of Dialect, Tradition and Folklore* (Otley, 1997), 141.
[129] This line has been removed from notes on MS.II.272.
[130] This line has been removed from notes on MS.II.272.
[131] Voreda = Old Penrith.

A Veine of Spar 2 yards broad & above 50 long a Capella ¼ m. S. called Halecat – The House, Rakefoot house.
Limestone all over. No fre stone.[132]
Blew walling stone, & black blewish Slate near Blea Cragg Brigg, ¼ [m.] W. a Capella.
They fetch their Hewing Stone from Hesum[133] in Lancashire 12m. S.*.
Mr Bellingham sought for a gold mine at the South End of Whitbarrow 7 \ 8 / yeares since: But lost all that he had before he found any.
{Memorandum: a white huen stone quarry just now discovered in Lythe S. a Capella Crosthwaite 1m. – & from Heversham iiij N. ad Crosthwaite.}[134]

[II.272][135]
In Hale Moss, white marle ab Ecclesia 1m. S. where there are diver[s] pitts calld Roche pits.[136]

[Fish]
Beethom Hall: There are ponds formerly stored with tench.
The Lord of Darby has the fishing (except with the Rod) in his own Lordships.
In ~~Kent is~~ Beethom is taken Salmon, Sallans,[137] morts,[138] sprots,[139] Troutes, Eales, Smelts,[140] Forke Tales,[141] The like & more plentiful in [the river] Kent. Pike are yard longe.

Great Store of Duck & Mallard, Teal, widgeon. Quantityes wild geese.
Lizards Black.

[132] This line has been removed from notes on MS.II.272.
[133] Heysham.
[134] In the MS, Machell added a codicil to this information, 'But Note in the margent above a white hewn stone quarry lately discovered.'
[135] A note page, presenting transcription difficulties; the ink has blotted in many places.
[136] This phrase is unclear. 'Roche' could be a name for a large piece of stone, a boulder; or it could represent alum, especially rock alum. E.g. in 1700, 'C. Leigh, *Nat. Hist. Lancs*. iv. 76: Allum may be divided into three Classes, the Roch, the Feather'd, and the Trichites.' All *OED*.
[137] Insecure transcription. No fish of this name has been found, although a 'solan' or 'sollen' is a gannet. *OED*.
[138] Mort: a young salmon, especially a young salmon in its third year. *OED*.
[139] Sprot: a sprat (*Sprattus sprattus*, family *Clupeidae*); also, occasionally, a smelt. *OED*.
[140] Smelt: a small fish (*Osmerus eperlanus*) allied to the salmon, emitting a peculiar odour; the sparling or spirling. *OED*.
[141] Forktail: a name given to the salmon in its fourth year. *OED*.

Part 2. Barony of Kendal

[Chapter 5. Parish of Burton]

[II.296]

{Burton Parish in Kendal}

[Machell's Initial Notes and Queries]
Burton Parish in Kendal, & Preston Chapel.
Q. for L. & B. of the church, a bounder & things of note.
Dalton Hall.
Holm parke house.
Qu. of Richard Claughton Balif of Burton. Thomas Jackson his brother in law, Stuart of Dalton.
Draw the Steeple.
See the Easter Booke.[1]
The old Ruine.
Qu. of James Dawson for the Tenure & Succession of Holm Skale.
Of Mr T[…][2] Banke about Claythorp descent &c.
Mr Wood ~~vicar~~ Schoolmaster. Send Word to Mr Thomas Wood Schoolmaster of Burton.
Mr Batty Curate.[3]
Mr Usher[wood] Vicar.[4]
The Town of Burton is distant ab Ecclesia about [Blank] m. S.

[II.287]

Burton Parish; Preston Chapelry

Burton Parish, so called from the Town where the Church stands, is in Chester Diocess, & Barony of Kendale. It is bounded on the East with Kirkby Loansdale parish; on the West with Bethom & Heversham; on the North with Kendale; & on the South with Warton in Lancashire {from which tis divided by Heerin-Sike. This divide[s] the countyes not the parishes.} Yet there is a little Town in Lancashire belonging to it, which is called Doulton.[5]
The form thereof is oblong extending it selfe from (some stragling houses called) Holm-Scales in the North to Hearin-Sike in the South about 6 miles;[6] and from Dawkton in Lancashire in the East, to Halemoss in the West about 2 mile broad.
The Soyle is a blackish clay & blackish sand but for the most part limestone; & affordes both woodland, arable, pasture & meadow: neither very fertill nor very barren. Their fuell is peat, which are fetch'd from a place calld Burton Moss, about a mile from the Church. They have used no Hollyes in memory of man;[7] neither now doe they make any bone fires on Midsommer eve;[8] But on St Jam[es']s day[9] they have a Rushbearing, the young mades who performe the solemnity being entertaind with musique, &c. and such sort of Junketts as the countrey affordes, and there they dance about the May poll; but none of their mirth is sufferd to be acted in the church or church yard. {Dr Am[…]er[10] found som, being in the Black Book at Yorke.}[11]

---

[1] An account book for recording money paid at Easter by parishioners to the incumbent of a parish. See S.J. Wright, 'Easter books and parish rate books: a new source for the urban historian', in David Reeder (ed.), *Urban History Yearbook* (Leicester, 1985), 30-45.
[2] The name could begin, 'Trin' or 'Tim', but the word is unclear.
[3] CCED records show only that one William Batty was ordained deacon at Rose Castle, Carlisle, in 1638.
[4] John Usherwood, Vicar of Burton in Kendal, 1691-1694. CCED.
[5] Dalton [in Furness]. Machell originally used the spelling Doukton, but erased the 'k' and added the 'l'.
[6] As the numeral is blotted, it is difficult to decipher. Ewbank (p. 46) and Godwin (MS) read it as '6' but it might be '4'. See Jane M. Ewbank (ed.), *Antiquary on Horseback. The First Publication of The Collections of the Rev. Thos. Machell Chaplain to King Charles II Towards a History of the Barony of Kendal*, CWAAS Extra Series 19 (Kendal, 1963), and see Jeremy Godwin, Machell MSS, CAC(C), DX 1974/H9410.
[7] The reference is to the custom of burning branches of holly at Christmas time. See Machell's Preface, I.81-82.
[8] Machell refers to bone fires or bean fires (burning bones of dead dogs or horses). Machell's Preface, I.82.
[9] 25 July.
[10] Parts of this name are obscured by the binding.
[11] An almost illegible margin comment. A 'Black Book' could be a record book or ledger (bound in black) relating to finance or administration (as used in cathedrals etc.); but if this comment is understood in its context, it might refer to the recording of unacceptable practices, in which case a 'Black Book' recorded names of people

[The Church]

{L[ength] 33. Br[eadth] 16 on the outside.}
The name of the Church is said to be St Hellens there being a well about 3 score yards northeast from the church which bears that name; howbeit, the feast or wake \ Rushbearing / being yearly celebrated \ observed / on St James his day, it may more probably be dedicated to him. It is built of stone with a Square Tower having 3 bells in it, and in the body of the church ~~are of stone~~ \ two / row of pillers.
{1 Oratory, now ~~Leighs~~ Daltons Quire wainscoted by Sir Peter Leigh – 1628 on the end of the North Ile;[12] 1 in the end of the South Ile – wainscoted by Sir John Preston – of H[olker] 1634.}

II.290

Church visited in a preamble: visited 16 Sep. 1678.



Figure 2.5.1. Small sketch of Burton Church. II.291.

II.289

In the Body
On the screen – 1.[13]

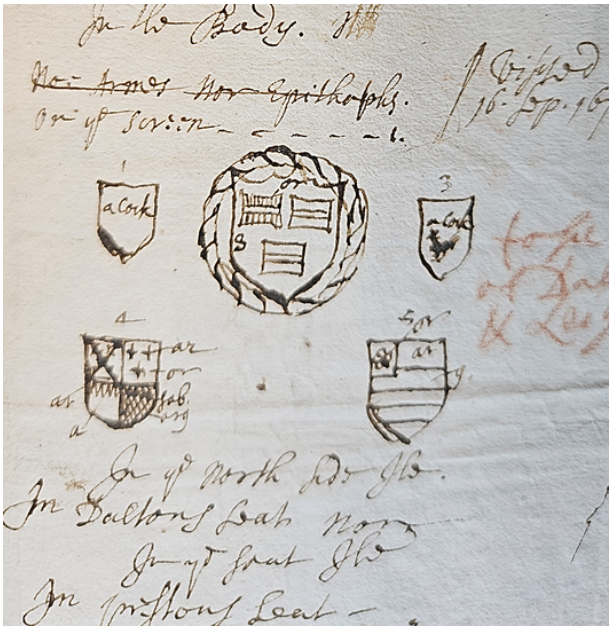


Figure 2.5.2. Burton Church Arms, Sketches 1-5. II.289.

In the North Side Ile in Daltons Seat Non. In the gr[e]at Ile in Prestons Seat [see below]

liable to censure or punishment. The name was allegedly given to an official report prepared in 1535-36 for King Henry VIII, after an investigation into the condition and administration of the monasteries. *OED*.
[12] Sir Peter (Piers) Leigh of Lyme Hall, Disley, Cheshire.
[13] '~~Nor Armes nor Epitaphs~~. On the screen – 1. On the Screen.' To the right of these coats of arms is an unclear note in red crayon referring to the 'crest' of Dalton and Leighton.
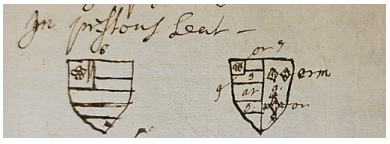


Figure 2.5.3. Arms, Sketches 6-7. II.289.

On the Capital of the \ farthest / pillar on the South Side the Chancel – is this Coat of Arme which seems to have bin the founders*.

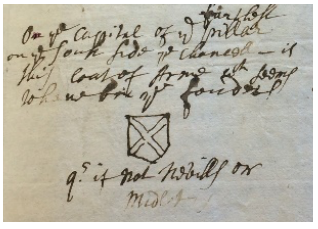


Figure 2.5.4.'Arms on the Capital of the farthest pillar.' II.289.

[Machell's Notes: II.289 and II.290]

*q? if not Nevills or Midletons.

{Leighs. Mr \ James / Moore sayes are in Wiggin church on an ~~Pennen~~ escutch[eon] A bloody hand in medio Gules he thinke. Q. of Tho. Jackson of Dalton,[14] Stuart.}

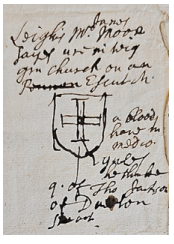


Figure 2.5.5. Leigh Arms. II.289.

[II.290]

At Burton Armes

Prestons has tenants & held in – Preston C H. Holmbeck 1 per mile ab Ecclesia w.

[II.291]

{Court Baron at Burton}

{Anywhere pro arbitr[i]o Senescalli.[15] – for there is no manner house.}

[II.287]

[Families] {Out of the East[er] B[ook]}

1. Burton ½ query S. ab Ecclesia = (47) fam[ilies.]
2. Claythrop[16] NE ab Ecclesia ¼ m[ile]
3. Holm = N. ab Ecclesia 1 mile (34 [families])
4. Dalton ab Ecclesia S.E. 1 m[ile] – f[amilies] 20*.
5. Preston Patric fa[milies] 50

[6.] Holm Scales – most of it free purchased time out of mind. How many Tenements? – fam[ilies] 12 Very poore –

[14] A blotted word, some letters illegible.
[15] 'At the discretion of the steward'.
[16] Clawthorpe.

The old Vic[arage] ~~sold of~~ deteined in the 8th of King James I [1610-11], there being a contest betwixt Mr [?] Midleton, the Patrone,[17] \ & Curwen [who] dyed in the R[oad] from Lond[on] s[ine] suspitione veneni.[18] /
{An ancient Hall on the side of the Church yard – now too converted to Tenency, where Ruins yet appear.}

[Machell's Notes: II.287]

*? Memorandum, they talke of one end of Dalton being formerly calld High Burton; [er]go Alter if so the Bounder.

[II.288]

Ex Informatione John Lucas of Holm ætat. 44. Richard Claugh~~th~~ton ætatis 45.

[Tithes.1.]
The Place is a Vicaridge, the Great Tythes being impropriate, and now belonging to Sir Thomas Preston of the Manner in Lancashire.[19] But the Smal Tythes belong to the Vicar, such as calves pigs geese wool & lambes; but many of them are not payed in kinde; for if there be X calves, he has 4s for his Tythe; if V, 2s; if under then he has paid ~~him~~ 2d½ for every calfe.
{In kinde for the 1t year}
So for lambes, \ the 1t 2 years in kinde, / he has 10d for the tenth Lamb ~~& so a penny a Lamb be they more or less~~ \ as in other places.[20] /
But there is no Glebe except the church yard, which makes the place very inconsiderable, not much exceeding 30li per annum; and which to be pittyed as well as admir'd, there is not an house to put his head in.
{Lord Montgomery has [tithe of] Burton, Holm & Dalton: Lord Clifford has Tith of Preston Patric & Holmskale. But Montgomery [has] the Manner house & Demane of Preston Patric} [where] there is one chapel called Preston, belonging to the parish. Distant ab Ecclesia 3 miles Norwards.

[II.291]

[Tithes. 2.]
{Hay} In Burton they Pay ~~hay~~ to the Vicar 8d per Annum, for leeses – for their meadowes – so much a piece, as in the Vicars Composition Booke. Corn as in the other paper.
Wool in kinde all the parish over – to the Vicar by flece = the Parishioner having 2 head choyces before he ~~begin~~ takes his if they be ten; if 9 the same; if at 8 [the same]; but at 7 they take 3 & he a flece, pay[ing] them nothing. If 6 they take 3 & he a flece out of the Remander; If 5, he takes up halfe a flece; if iiij – he has 1d a piece & so on to 1[at] 1d. Lambe as in the other paper. & This is general over the Parish.

[Burton Market and Cross]

[II.296]

[Burton Market]
Burton was made a Market Towne ~~The~~ by a Charter from King Charles the 2. in 1661. The market to be kept every Tuesday, & 2 fairs every year, Sc. on St George his Day[21] & St Bartholomew.[22] Procurd by Sir George Mildleton \ Kt & Baronet / Lord of the Manner, & of Leyton in Lancashire – with Toll & 1d a Beaf;[23] & a Quart a Loade for whea[t], Peas, Beans & Barly;[24] & nothing more, how much

[17] The first name is unclear. According to Nicolson and Burn, the advowson in the reign of Elizabeth I was granted to Edward, earl of Lincoln, and Christopher Gough, gentleman. Soon afterwards, the advowson was in the hands of the Middleton family of Leighton in Lancashire, the last of whom was Sir George Middleton. In subsequent years it passed through many hands. See *N&BI*, 235.
[18] 'Without suspicion of poison.'
[19] The beginning of this sentence appears on MS.II.287.
[20] Other sentences on tithes and impropriations relating to milch cows, such as '…a cow in milk there 2 years in kinde; after, as in other places, 5[d] …[etc.]' are obscured by the binding.
[21] 23 April.
[22] 24 August.
[23] A 'beef' was an ox. *OED*.
[24] MS: '& a Quart ~~at a Load~~ a Loade – ~~& no more for~~ for ~~whea~~ whea Peas Beans & Barly.'

soever he bring in on that day. & for Oates 3 handfulls, as at Kirkby Loansdal. & Stallage,[25] ½ if all their goodes present[ed] to sale be worth 13s½.[26]

[Burton Cross]



Figure 2.5.6. Burton Cross. '3 yards & ½ y[ard]. 6 stairs, 10 inch hig[h]'
Drawing in red pencil. II.290.

[II.288]

[Lordships]

There are 4 Lordships in the Parish: Burton; Holm \ ab Ecclesia 1 m N.; / Preston [Patrick]; Dalkton. & Note that Farleton \ in Bethom / comes in between Holm and Preston, cutting the parish into 2 parts.

[III.321][27]

Carta Antiqua

[Charter of Richard I, confirming to Gilbert, son of Roger, son of Reinfred, and to his heirs, a carucate of land and a fishery at Levens; four carucates of land at Farleton, four carucates of land at Beetham; four carucates of land at Preston and in Holm; two carucates of land at Burton; one carucate of land at Hincaster; one carucate of land at Preston; and three carucates of land at Hopperton.]

{Cart[a] eiusdem Gilb[ert]i}
Rich[ard]us dei gr[ati]a Rex Ang[lie] etc. O[mn]ibus fidelibus suis Sal[u]t[e]m: Sciatis nos dedisse, et concessisse, et prouti Carta mea Confirmasse Gilb[ert]o fil[io] Rogeri, fil[ij] Reinfr[edi], et heredibus suis, unam Carucata[m] terre in Levenes cum piscaria eiusdem Vill[ae]. et 4 Carucata[s] terr[e] in Farleton, et in Betene, et 4 Carucat[as] terr[e] in Prestona, et in Holm: et 2 Carucat[as] terr[e] in Berton et una[m] Carucata[m] terr[e] in Hennecastre, et una[m] Carucata[m] terr[e] in Prestona, et 3 Carucat[as] terr[e], in Hopp[er]etona [?], et una[m] piscaria[m] qua ad easdem terr[as] p[er]tin[et], pro homagio, et Servicio suo, et pro ut sterlingone[s] quas nobis dedit. Scilicet ei et heredibus suis tenere, de nobis et heredibus meis in Feodo et he[re]ditate, cum o[mn]ibus p[er]tinen[tij]s suis p[er] Serviciu[m] unius Feodi militis p[ro] o[m]ni Servicio : Quare Voluimus et firmiter p[re]cipimus, quod p[re]d[i]c[t]us Gilb[er]tus et heredes sui h[ab]eant et teneant p[re]d[i]ct[as] terr[as], de nobis et he[re]dibus meis in Feo[do] et he[re]ditate, bene, et in pace, libere, et quiete, et honorifice cu[m] o[m]nibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus in eccl[es]ijs in bosco in plana in vijs et semitis in piscarijs et vivarijs in stagnis et aquis et molendinis in pratis et pasturis in Burgo et extra Burgum, et in o[m]nibus locis, liberas et quietas, de geld [tax] et Denegeld et de Montegeld[28] et de Hornegeld[29] et

[25] Stallage was a tax or toll levied for the liberty of erecting a stall in a fair or market. *OED*.
[26] 13s 6d.
[27] In the MS, this charter is placed in Volume III, among various Shap charters.
[28] Tax on animals brought back unsold from market.
[29] Cornage.

de Blodwithe et de Frithewite[30] et de Seirwitha [?] et de Ferdwitha[31] cum Soca et Saca[32], et Toll, et theam […?], et insangthe […?] et cu[m] o[m]nibus libertatibus et liberis Consuetudini[bus], que ad easde[m] ter[ras] p[er]tinent.
Test[ibus]
Ld Dunelmensis Etc. et multis alijs: Is erat tenor Cart[e] me[e] in primo Sigillo meo Q[u]e quia aliquando p[er]ditu[m] fuit et du[m] Carti essen[t] in Alemania in aliena pot[es]tate constituti mutatum est: huius autem Innovac[i]o[n]is testes sunt hij Ld Sarum Ep[iscop]us, Unnanus [?] Archiadiaconus dereb. R. I. et B. Capellani.[33]

[II.288]

{**1. Burton Lordship**}

The Lordship of Burton is a sandy soyle & hath much lime \ stone / in it, but no wood worth speaking of. Their measure of Land is 6 yards & ½ to the Rood; & 4 Roods to the Acre*. And their Arable & pasture is generally worth per annum 7s; meadow 10s; moss 1s {[Lord of the manor of] Burton has bin always know to take stray good.}

{Tenants & Tenure}
There are no \ valuable / freeholders in this Lordship. The Lord payes a free-rent of 31s \ to Crowne anciently due / to Kendall Castle of which he holdes the tenants by an Agreement with the Lord & Decree in Chancery. [They] pay Rent & fine certain, which fine is only double the Rents, & Due upon death of Lord & change of Tenant.

{Court & Court House. Q. If not the Vicaridge. The people call part of it the Vicaridge.}

The Lords House is called Claythorp hall† & part Fryer Flatts, not far from the church, on the North Side of it, to which there is a Demain belonging, farm'd for about 40li. It is good land and of all sortes excepting woodland. Another place calld Burton H[all] \ 80 yards from the church / {which pays Rent to the King. Held by Jo. Lucas, one Thomas[34] and others.}

{Descent of the Manner}
It belonged ~~anciently~~ \ formerly / to the Midletons, Sir George Midleton of Leightone in Lancashire (2 mile hence) who daughter & \ heir / Mary Midleton, transferrd the Right (by marryage) to the

[30] Fine for breach of the peace.
[31] Fine for not doing military service.
[32] Suits and jurisdiction.
[33] 'Richard by the grace of God King of England etc. sends greetings to all his loyal subjects. Know that we have given and granted and thus by my charter confirmed to Gilbert, son of Roger, son of Reinfred, and to his heirs, one carucate of land at Levens along with the fishery of the same Vill and four carucates of land at Farleton, also at Betene [Betham?], and four carucates of land at Preston and in Holm; also two carucates of land at Burton and one carucate of land at Henncaster [Hincaster] and one carucate of land at Preston and three carucates of land at Hopperton [Hoppergate?] and one fishery which pertains to the same lands, in return for his homage and service and likewise the money which he has given us. Indeed, [we have granted] to him and his heirs to hold [them] from us and our heirs in fee and inheritance with all their appurtenances through the service of a fee of one soldier for all service. Wherefore we have willed and we have strictly ordered that the aforesaid Gilbert and his heirs should have and hold the aforesaid lands from us and my heirs in Fee and Inheritance, well, and in peace, freely and undisturbed, honourably and with all liberties, and with customary freedoms in the churches, in the woodland, in the field, in the roads and the paths, in the fisheries and fish-ponds, in the pools and waters and mills, in grassings and pastures, in the Town and without the Town, and in all places freely and peaceably; in matters of tax and Danegeld, of Montegeld and Cornage, of Bloodwit, Frithwit, Seirwit, and Ferdwit along with suits and jurisdiction, and Toll and […?] and […?], and with all liberties and free customs which pertain to these same lands. Witnesses: Lord Dunelm Etc. and many others. This was the sense of my charter under its first seal, which, because it (Sc. the seal) was at some time lost, and as long as the charters were in Germany, being in the power of others, it was changed: however, the witnesses of this confirmation [sc. of the charter] are these, The Lord Bishop of Salisbury, Archdeacon Unnanus [?] dereb… [?], R. J. and B. Chaplains.' [The last few words here are uncertain.]
[34] The rest of this name is obscured by the binding.

Oldfields of Sommerforth in […], whose son George is present […][35] thereof & his mother at present Patron.

[Machell's Notes: II.288]

*{yards – rods; 6 – perch; 4 – a rood; 4 – an Acre. This to the General}
†{which has bin called the Parsonage house […] Moore house}[36]

[II.291]

[Bounder]
It is bounded on the East, with Hutton Roofe in the parish of Kirkby [Lonsdale]. Accord[ing] to the Bounder of that Chappelry: On the South with Warton P[arish] in Lancashire, being divided from it By Dalton Parke fence \ & Deerslat[37] / on the W. with Bethom P[arish] ~~being distinguished~~ which strikes quite through as like a Tonge – adjoyneing \ on the / East to Kirkby Parish: By a Ring fence commonly knowe = On the N[orth] – when, this Parish comes in agane, with Hutton Chapl in Kendal parish.



Figure 2.5.7. Orientation diagram from Burton Church. II.291.

See It[inerary][38]

{Soyle}
{Generally Limestone excepting Preston}

{Division} into \ Chapelries & / Lordships}
Wee have Burton, Dalton & Holm. The chaple & manner of Preston Patric, & the Hamlet of Holmskale. {See the E[aster] Booke for fam[ilies.]}

Burton
In Burton is the Lordship of Burton & the Hamlet of Caythrop. Som good Houses in Burton lately built – a Free School near the Ch. yard wall on the E. side thereof. Sallary about 5li 10s 0d per Annum – given by several of the Town. a Grammar School = when it shall be taught by a Master of Artes there is 10 li per Annum given by John Hutton of Hindon in Bishoprick, being Borne here in Holm: But while it is not so taught

[II.293]

as above said, it goes to the poore of Burton & Bethom as by his Will {In Registry at Richmont of which diverse [persons] have copyes.}

[Machell's Notes: II.292 and II.293]

Claythorp answers at Heston – at the Manner house there {Claythrop ab Ecclesia ½ m. NE}
{Tr[adition}: [Burton] Anciently to Studleys of Hornby L. ~~formerly~~ belongd to the Midleton of Leighton. Now to Oldfields of Sommerford in Cheshire.}
[II.293]
They clame a Beacon on Farleton Knot: Sc. that which is next \ S. / to Holm Parke.
Homeskale – q. the Tenure – Lords & […]?[39]

[35] Some words are obscured by the binding.
[36] Some of this note is obscured by the binding.
[37] Deerslack, Deerslet, Durslett: flat meadow frequented by deer, see *Westmorland Place-Names*. The word following this is unclear.
[38] 'See Itinerary', is written below the compass diagram. See Part 2, Ch.10, Itinerary.
[39] An illegible word is followed by Machell's question mark.

Claythrop \ all / Customary Tenants fine Arbitrary Heriotable – Belinghams til ~~of~~ 1689. Now Col. James Graham.

[2.] Holm

All Arbitrary, one halfe Heriotable the other not – for formerly this Lordship was divided twixt Tonsdal[40] & Preston, whereof Tonsdal were & are free of Heriots to this very day; but are deeper charged in their Rents, so that they are knowne & distinguishd by the Rentalls, but not otherwise; lying sparsim.[41] In Holm \ & Burton & Claythorp & Dalton / the Widdowes enjoy but ½ [of the deceased husbands estate] dureing non-couverture.[42] But in all the rest ~~them~~.[43] But in Preston Patric, as there for Holmskales qu[ery]*. But a 2nd wife &c. has but the 3rd.
Anciently the Prestons of the manner & Tunsdalls, but afterwards came into Prestons hand only, & is now in the Lord Montgomery†.

[Machell's Notes: II.293 and II.294]

*Qu[ery] of Holm Skale.
†{They are said both Howcar & Mon[tgomery] to have come out of Ireland. Query.}
[II.294] Oldfield of L[eighton] has[44] an house ¼ [mile] NE over against Moss Loan. 100 Acres.[45]

[II.295]

Holm takes Stray. 5 or 6 Freeholds. Ab Ecclesia 1m. Northwards. Lawyer Pinder Inherited 60li.
{Holm C. Barronial. No Manner House – Holm pays 4s per Annum for all their hay.}
{Holm Soyle} Holm is much of the same quality, but hath som wood in it, most of which is Ash.

{Bounder, Tenants & Tenure}
On the East it hath Kirkby [Lonsdale] Lordship; on the West Bethom; on the north Heversham. & no manner house but old Lodge in the parke, which parke is well stored with fallow Deer, being a mile long & about 3 in circumference, And there is no Demain unless this be one, which for the most part is course earth.
{Holm payes a Rent [to] Col. Howard; Rent to som of that n[ame], & another Rent 3li to the Crown.
{None pay to the vicar, but 15s to the Impropriator.}

{Descent of the Manner}
It belongs to Sir Thomas Preston [Lord] of The Manner – But now to the Lord Montgomery.

[Holm: N[otes] G[eneral]}
Foul & clean marts. Wild cates & foxes; to[o] many all over.
{White marle plentifull in all the Mosse 1 yared deep.}
Bayes & Laurell pretty common in Gardine.
Store of Orchards. Raspberry Crouneberryes.[46]

[3.] Preston Patric

3 miles Northw. [Ecclesia]. Preston hath on the East, Kirkby [Lonsdale]; on the West Burton; & Heversham, N. Kendal on the South. It hath one \ little / parke, but now disparked*. The manner house is Preston hall†.

{How now disposed of}
It belongs to Sir Thomas Preston [Lord] of the Manner.

[40] Tunstall? See Smith, *Place-Names 1*, 60.
[41] Latin: 'scattered'.
[42] 'Non-couverture': the legal position of a widow; the opposite of 'coverture': the condition or position of a woman during her married life, when she is by law under the authority and protection of her husband. *OED*.
[43] Transcribed as seen.
[44] An unclear word (in red pencil) follows. It could be 'bu[ilt]'.
[45] Notes in red pencil placed at the top right of the page.
[46] The crown berry: a lingonberry or cranberry. *OED*.

Holmskale‡ distant 5m. N. East. {Holmskales joynes with Preston Patric in the payment of the said 15 li.} {They pay hay T[ithe] \ in / Burton.}.

[Machell's Notes: II.295]

*~~No~~ \ a / Demain unless ~~this~~ a Parke.[47]
†See my other paper.
‡q. if a Lordship.

[II.293]

Preston Chaple
Anciently to Preston of Preston Patrick, which [family] was extinguished in 2 daughters co-heire. One maryed to Preston of Howkar, the Preston other manner, & hence the names [of Preston] & Richard{Trad[ition}. Now in the Lord Montgomery.

[II.300]

Sir Thomas Preston
1. Mary P. maryed to Herbert Lord Montgomery.
2. Ann P. maryed to Lord Clifford*.

[Machell's Notes: II.300]

*{Ex infor. George Hilton[48] who calls him Hugh Lord Clifford, but q. if not […][49]}

[II.297]

Preston Chap. in Burton Parish
The Hall stands in a Bottom; the chaple upon an Hill. A fine Dale from the Hall west[wards] & South west & N. west. An Inscription above the Dial with the chaple wardens names {Mr Usherwood Mr Batty}[50] & the Year of Our Lord 1685.
{L[ength] 23, b[readth] 8} outs[ide] S. Quier. Wardens}
In what Saints name this chapel was dedicated is not certainly known; but there is a well about 200 yards E. \ wards / from it cald St Gregoryes well, which gives occasion to suppose it was dedicated unto that Saint{?}[51] Howbeit their Rushbearing is at St James tide.[52]



Figure 2.5.8. Chapel and Hall at Preston Patrick. II.297.

[47] Possible meaning: but no demesne unless this park[?]
[48] The surname here is unclear. If the informant had been George Hilton of Beetham (1673-1725), he would have been only 19 years old at the time Machell visited the area. For George Hilton, Jacobite and diarist, only son of Thomas Hilton (1651-1691), of Hilton House, Beetham, see https://www.cumbrianlives.org.uk/lives-index/h.html, Hilton, George.
[49] The name is obscured by the binding.
[50] CCED records show only that John Usherwood was vicar of Burton-in-Kendal, c.1691-94, and William Batty was ordained Deacon at Rose Castle, Carlisle Diocese, in 1638.
[51] For St Gregory's well, see Peter Lucas, 'A South Westmorland Medieval Holy Well? The Case of St. Gregory's Well, Preston Patrick', *CW3*, 14 (2014), 125-38.
[52] 25 July.

[Tithes]
The Corne Tithe is pay'd in kinde to Trinity College {?} in Cambridge & Leas'd by the Lord Montgomery in right of his wife, one of the Daughters & Coheires of Sir Thomas P[reston] of the Manner in Lancashire. \ [Lord] Clifford has Demanes & Hall & Holme Parke in Holm in Burton and Nether Levins in Hersham. / The hay tithe is pay'd in prescription money unto the College.[53] The wool & Lam is pay'd in kinde unto the Vicar which when they compound after 2 years at 10d a Lamb. but the wool \ always / in specie.[54]
There is no House belonging to the Chaplain, but \ a / Sallary of 5 marke per Annum payable out of the Respective Tenements proportionably according to an ancient settlement charged upon them [is] payd.

[Bounder]
It is bounded on the East with the Lordship of Lupton in Kirkby L[onsdale] parish; on the south with Farleton in Bethom parish from which tis divided by Farleton Beck; on the West with Preston Richard in Heversham P[arish] [from which it is divided] by Gate beck water; on the N. with Old Hutton Chapelry in \ the parish of / Kendal ~~Parish~~.
It is one Entire Lordship calld by the name of Preston Patrick. The occasion of which

[II.299]

is by Tradition that the 2 Prestons – Patric & Richard (whereof this lyeth on the East Side of Gatebeck, the other on the West), were formerly given to 2 Sons of those names*.

{Tenants. Vall.}[55]
The Tenants are Generally (excepting only 3 or 4 free holds) Customary Tenants payin[g] fines Arbitrary, Boones & Heriots, and Waife & Strayes &c. in the Lord of the Manner. And the Tenants have the Customs of the Barony of Kendal in relation to their Widdowes & heiresses.

{Lord[ship]}
They hold of Preston Hall {E. a Capella ¼ m.} where Court Baron is kept; which now belongs to the Lord Montgomery in right of his wife. There are other places calld Hals: Sc.
[1.] Braken Hal. N.E. a Capella 1 mile, a freehold Estate ~~Chan~~nel hall a Customary Tenement under Wharton who has a 3[rd] part of the Lordship, but no Demane Lands†.
[2.] Preston Parke {N. a Capella ½ m.} in the midle of the chapelry standeth; in the North End of which the ~~Ruines of the~~ Keepers house standeth yet know[n] by that name; & [the park] has bin replenished with fallow Deer & wood in the memory of man.

{Ponds [and rarities in nature]}
There are ~~9 or 10~~ several ponds lying together in a place calld Moss Ends {a Capella S. ¼ m.} which afford Eales & Tench.
There is plenty of Black Cocks, & Gray hens with their pootes[56] on Preston fell {E. a Capella 1m.}
There is an Ewe Tree in the Chaple yard – very old & decayd – which shews the Antiquity of the Chaple. Not much wood of any kinde excepting fruites which are very plentiful. Strawberryes ~~resb~~ common.
They have little fuel – And that only turf fetched from Preston fell about a mile of.
Their Stone is generally a Blew Ragg; but yet there is Lime Stone near the West End of the Chapel in Preston Parke.[57]

[Machell's Notes: II.299 and II.300]

*de quo qu?[58]
†{? q. how he came by them?}

[53] MS: 'The hay is pay'd in prescription money, ~~part~~ to \ unto / the College ~~& part to the vicar~~.'
[54] 'In kind'.
[55] Value.
[56] A gray hen is a female black grouse. Poots, poults, or pullets are young domestic fowl, or simply, game birds, irrespective of age. *OED*.
[57] This sentence is placed at the top of MS.II.301.
[58] 'Query this'.

[II.301]

[Preston Hall]
It has bin in the Prestons time immemorial, & gave name unto them – but was odly Quitted by Sir Thomas Preston (who being a Priest before it fell to him by the death of Sir John Preston his Brother) maryed & had Isue 2 daughters (maryed to the Lords Montgomery & Clifford);[59] and being in widowhood, was over persuaded by the Romish priest that the Estate would not prosper unless he returnd to his \ former / function \ ~~agan~~e / upon which he settled it on his 2 da\u/ghters, have[ing] first given his Estate in Lancashire calld the Manner (formerly an Abby)* unto the Jesuites, & so went beyond Sea, putting a period to \ the continuation of / that ancient family upon this Estate. Upon this Grant to the Jesuites discovered by Oates \ & others, / there was a Trial in the Exchequer Tempore Carl. 2.[60] And it was adjudgd forfæted to His Majesty who ces'd upon it & granted a Lease for yeald of the same to Mr Thomas Preston of Howkar Esq.[61]

[Machell's Notes: II.301]

*{No}
Corne; Big vjs.[62] – 0 […] Gal 24 PB.[63]
Arable 2. From 10-20
Meadow 1.
Pasture from 5 to 10.
Fam. 10 to 20.

[II.302]

Gatebeck – so calld at Preston – & Cocklet Tarne
It springs at Lilly Tarne in Killington Lordship – the South ¼ m. off the East Side of Benrig (3. [miles]). Thence S. West ~~to Coe~~ through Branthwate (2.) Thence Through Brigg End ½ m. Thence W. to Beckside Mil \ (4.) / which is on the E. side; thence W. to Low Bleas {½ [mile]} which stands on the N. (Bleas H. ½ m. North from it). Thence S. by the W. Side {2m.} of Gate beck. Thence S. ~~Through~~ \ inter[64] / the 2 Prestons {1m. to Pesza-Brig.[65] Thence W. on the N. Side of Ourthwate[66]

[59] 'Maryed to the Lords Montgomery and Clifford', is encircled, and in the margin is written, '? Place this elsewhere'. '[In]1647 Sir Thomas Preston of the Manor and of the Abbey entered the Society of Jesus; he died at Watten in 1709. Between these dates he created trusts giving the whole of his estates to the Jesuits. Titeup and other property was vested in the name of his sister, Lady Catherine Stourton, and, probably by this means, was secured to the Jesuits when the principal trust (illegal because of the anti-Catholic laws) was discovered either by Titus Oates or by enquiries set on foot by the heir-in-tail, Thomas Preston of Holker. As a result, the rest of the estate was forfeited to the Crown.' F.J. Butler, 'Chronological Record of Tytup Hall and Bibliography of Father West, S.J.', *CW*2, 42 (1942), 180-82, at 181. Titus Oates was an instigator of the Popish Plot panic of 1679, which exploded in response to allegations of a Jesuit conspiracy to murder Charles II, restore the Roman Catholic faith as the state religion and establish a French-backed tyranny under James, duke of York. Richard Cavendish penned a highly coloured demolition of Oates's character: 'Titus Oates, fantasist and virtuoso liar. A former naval chaplain, expelled from the service for homosexuality, he was in his late twenties in 1677 when, "lulled asleep by the allurements of the Popish Syrenes" as he later put it, he was received into the Catholic church. He went to the English Jesuit College at Valladolid in Spain, where he was described as "a curse" and soon expelled, then wheedled his way into a Catholic school at St Omer in France, to be quickly expelled once more. Deeply dislikeable, ugly, foul-mouthed, unsuccessful and painfully poor, he seems by this time to have been bent on revenge on the world that had rejected him, and he came back to England with the tale of a sensational conspiracy.' See *History Today*, 55, 7 (July 2005).
[60] In the reign of Charles II.
[61] See Butler, 'Tytup Hall and Bibliography of Father West, S.J.', *CW2*, 42 (1942), 181; see also, Anne C. Parkinson, *A History of Catholicism in the Furness Peninsula, 1127-1997* (Lancaster, 1998), 33.
[62] Barley, 6 shillings.
[63] These notes on crops were written in large, pencilled script, much of which is unclear.
[64] Inter = between.
[65] Pesa Brig = bridge over Peasey Beck: see Emanuel Bowen and Thomas Kitchin, *A New Map of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland Divided into their Respective Wards, scale about 4 miles to 1 inch* (London, 1760).
[66] Overthwaite.

{2m.} Thence W. through Bethom {1m.½} (the Church on the South Side). Thence W. by the ~~west~~ \ South / End of Milthrop {1m.} ~~by the same~~ in to the Sea.}

[II.295]

[4. Dalton]

Da(uk)ton. Writ Dalto[n] 60 years ago. 1. mile S.E.[67]
[Dalton Hall] Over the Hall dooer

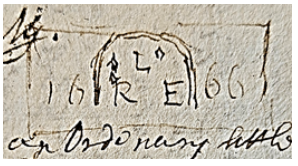


Figure 2.5.9. R \ L / E, 1666, 'Over the hall door'. II.295.

{How it came Dalton.}

Lee of Lime.
In Lancashire. Belongs to Mr Lee \ son of Sir Peter, of Lime in Cheshire / which I shall not touch upon being out of the County.[68]

Peter Leigh of Lime in Cheshire
|
Richard L. of Lime – who built the house.
|
Peter L. of L.

Near the Sea; an ordinary little Hall; The Demaine well wooded. [They say] that Martin Swarth came in at Peel[69] and destroyed the old House, but built agane in Mem[ory].[70]

[General Notes]
A parke at Dalton destr[o]yd time immemorial – foul & clean marts. Well woode[d] is Dalton parke.
Gray Slate in Dalton ab Aula 1m NE at Russbrig.
Dalton a Court Barron – 1 or 2 freeholds.
{Q. of the bounder, of Thomas Jackson Stuart at Dalton Hall}
Dalton tenants are Leasers for 3 Lives.
It is said that Leighton & This [Lordship] belongd to 2 Coh[eirs.] The Lady Midletons – & yet they both came by marriage.
Mem[orandum] a part of the Ruine appear like a Castle wall yet about a yard high {2 m[iles] W. above Yellan.}[71]

[67] Dalton: 'Valley farmstead': dæl, tūn, in allusion to the valley between Dalton Park Wood and Dalton Hall: *Westmorland Place-Names*.
[68] See II.287.
[69] Piel island, Morecambe bay: the location of Piel Castle.
[70] For Martin Swarth (Swartz), see Part 2, Ch.4, Beetham, II.270-II.271.
[71] Yealand.

Part 2. Barony of Kendal

[Chapter 6. Grasmere Parish]

[Grasmere]

[II.156]

[Machell's Contents Page] [1]

[All numbers refer to paragraphs marked '§' on the following pages]

{Gresmer Church}

Bounders	4
Dedications	§13 from; a well 16 in Margine
Dimentions of the Parish	10
Discription: Bells a paper	§12
Endowment	§22
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Parsonage house	§16. 21 }
Patroneage	20 }
Incumbents	22 }
Soyle	32
Stile Arm[es] mo[numents]	27
The fig[ures]	§13 in Marg[in] 33

{The Parochial Manner of Gresmer}

Consistes of Grasmer, Loughrig	24
Tarne	30
Easdal & Coldal Tarne	16[2]

1. Gresmer

Gresmer. Why	24
Bounds	25
Copper	26
Court Baron	35[3]
Custom	38
Descent of the manner	40 & a Paper
Dumbal raise	25
Eagles &c.	31
Hal-steads	27
Long lived men	29
Lord[ship]	36
School	26
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[1] Editor's Note. Machell wrote this chapter as a series of notes in numbered sections, introduced by a Contents page. Although most of the paragraphs were numbered sequentially, they were not necessarily positioned thematically; neither were they always labelled correctly. Where paragraphs on the same theme were separated, this edition brings some of them together. Additionally, discrete narrative elements – described by Machell as 'Papers' and positioned randomly – are now inserted between relevant paragraphs, to illuminate particular notes. N.B. Not all of Machell's projected 'Papers' were actually written.

[2] Machell numbered this incorrectly; he placed these tarns with the others at §30.

[3] Machell numbered this incorrectly; he placed information on the Court Baron at §39.

2. Loughrig.
Loughrig. Why? 35. 63.
Cite 41
Descent 46
Discrip. 42[4]
Manner house 47. 48
Rarityes in margine[5]
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3. Great Landale.
Why. Infra?[7]

Ambleside Chapel

(Some in Windermerside) §11[8]
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Clappergeat?[10]
Dedication? Discrip. 71
Made Parochial 20. 72. 90
Marc[et[fairs & charters §17
Paper Mil 18
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Manner of Ridal
Armes §5 & 9
Crist & motto ibidem.[11]
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Descent of the manner 66
Discription of the manner – extent 61
Lordship: Priviledges, M. house, Gardens, Orchards, Easnot, Mill, Grotto[12] Trees frutes, herbes 65
Name 61
Pedigre 76
Rarityes [&] tenure 64. 66
Village 63

Great Landale Chapel

Fig. & Descript. 34
Rud 16
Bounder 80
Endowment. Disposal. Succession. School [blank]

[4] §42 refers to Base Brown, now known as Baysbrown: *Westmorland Place-Names*.
[5] Find most rarities at §18.
[6] §41-50 relate to Baysbrown.
[7] See §51.
[8] More correctly at §9, 20, 66, 90.
[9] More correctly: {(74) Disposal} i.e. 'The Curate is recommended by the majority, and approv'd by the Minister. He teaches for 6d per quarter of the tenants: & of other what can get.'
[10] See §6.
[11] The MS strikes through 'Armes §5 & 9. Crist & motto ibidem', but the Fleming arms are indeed to be found on §5 & 9.
[12] MS adds, 'In margine'.

Division into 1. Great Langdale, 2. Little Langdale 3. Basebrowne: ~~32 a paper~~

1. Great Landal, Why	
Chaple School & Sallary	27. 32 – a paper
Tenure	32 a paper
Breathey Head	52
2. Little Landale. Why	
Bounds	56.
Breathey head	52
Descent	(Site 41. Ten. 45.) 60.
Extent	48[13] 51
Hardknot & Wranose	ibid. & 53. 54. 55[14]
Iron ore	in the margines & at 52[15]
Lingmer Tarne	30
Old Chap & Hall	51
Soyle	57
Tenure	59
3. Base Browne. Why	
A sword	79. 32. – a paper.
Descent	42. 44. 46. 50.
Elterwater house	48
House	44. 47. 48. 49
The Bounder of Westmorland Continued	89. 91. 92.

[Machell's Notes: II,156 & II.157]

Ridell in Yorkshire. Dugd[ale]
[II.157]
Langdale forsan Longedal.
Dugdal. *Bar[onagium]* p. 423.
Gresmer Parish.
Qu.{Bounder} farther 1692.

[II.123]

[The Parish of Grasmere]

[§1-9. Machell's Initial Notes and Queries]

[§1] {Read over the places marked thus & get them Answered.} {The Easter Booke}
N. The King of Patterdal calls it Garsemer.[16]
Mem[orandum] the Courses of Rivers. Upon the old Q[ueries] I should Alter this Method & put the Mannerhouse &c. according to my second paper of Queries.

§2. N.B. In what Lordship or Township – Parish & Chapelry.
Clappergate. Basebrowne. Elterwater 9m. Landale Chap.
A place calld Cawsa in Windermer – in which Hamlett; how far ab Ecclesia said Capella & what akin to the family of Philipsons ad §60.
Fine Certane Arbitrary[17] in Ridal.

[13] This information is at §58.
[14] Hardknott and Wrynose can be found on §52, 54, 55.
[15] In the margins of §41 and 51.
[16] Unclear word.
[17] Two Latin words: 'ad h…' appear here, where the page-edge has perished.

1. Grasmire R.[18]
2. Windermere R.
3. Kirkby Kendal V.[19]
4. Hersham V.
5. Beathom ~~Wether church. When built?~~ \ V /
?6. Burton. V.
~~?~~7. Kirkby Lonsdal V.[20]

Note ad Westm'land General – and 25 in the Bottom of Westmorland.
§.3. In all 32. Speed says but 26.

[II.150]

In Gresmere Parish are[21]

Church & Chappelry	& Familiyes E.W.N.S.
1. Gresmer Church. Mr Loic[22]	Mannor of Gresmer & great Landal
2 Ambleside Chapple L.B. Ded[ication] Indow[ment] Bells Armes Bounder fig.	The whole Town in the Mannor of Windermere yet the chapples above the Stock in Gresmer Parish
3 Langdal Chapple[23] The same as in Ambleside	Mannor Little Langdale. Great. the Q[ueen][24] Baise Brown q. of Bass or Pearch in it?

The Armes of Gresmer church & Ridal are done: & the Pike jaw at Ambleside, per Dugdal.[25]

[II.123]

§.4. Note General ad Gresmer ad Windermere
Measure of Ground about Kendal. Sc. in Grasmer & Windermer.
6 yards & ½ square T[h]ey call a Fall of Ground.
40 Fall make a Roode.
84 Roode – make an Acre.
Gresmer Church hath had
1. – Ambleside Chapel; 2. – Great Langdale; 3. – Lile Langdale

[18] Rectory.
[19] Vicarage.
[20] Numbers 1-7 have been crossed through.
[21] Above this line of the MS, the sentence, 'See the Easter Booke?', has been written and crossed through.
[22] 'Loic' This name refers to John Ambrose, an absentee incumbent, who, nominated by the Flemings of Rydal, was rector of Grasmere both before the Civil War and after the Restoration. During the Interregnum this situation was complicated by the competing influences of the Presbyterians and the Flemings. Ambrose was a nephew of John Fleming of Rydal Hall, whose sister Dorothy (his mother) had married the lord of Lowick. Ambrose inherited the lordship and Lowick Hall by surviving five brothers. He died in 1684 and was followed as rector by Henry Fleming. See M.L. Armitt, *The Church at Grasmere: A History* (Kendal, 1912) 82, 162. For analysis of the clerical changes in Grasmere during this period, see Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662,* 2, 1059-70.
[23] An unclear word here could be a shortened form of 'bounds.'
[24] After 1688, Mary II, wife of William of Orange (William III of England).
[25] See Part 2, Ch.8, Windermere. Fishing was important to monks and population alike, as seen in this extract from William Dugdale's *Baronagium*. 'William de Lancaster the third, [temp. H. 3.] for the health of his Soul, and the Soul of Agnes his Wife … gave to the Monks of Furnesse, all his Lands of Scathewaite, and Egtone; as also four Boats, one to carry necessaries upon Thurstan-Water [Coniston], another to Fish therein; a third to be used on Wynendermere, for carriage of Timber and other commodities, and a fourth to Fish in that Meer. And bequeathing his Body to be buried in the Quire of the Abby of Furnesse, near to the Tombe of William his Grandfather, departed this life without issue.' Dugdale, *Baronage*, 422-23.

[II.124]

{Flemings Armes}[26]



Figure 2.6.1. Seal stamped with the Fleming Arms. II.124.

§.5 [Notes on the seal containing] Flemings Armes.[27]
1. Gules a fret Argent, Single in the Study. Per nomen Fleming.
2. Argent, on a Bend Sable. 3 Lozenges (or fusils) of the 1ᵗ charged with as many (Saltiers forsan) Gules. Per N. Urswick of Conyston in Lancashire: and this is impaled[28] with the former Coate in the Study.
3. Argent. 2 Barrs Gules on a Canton of the 2nd a lyon passant gardant Or – Lancaster.
4. Gules ~~ar~~ frettee Argent – Hudleston.
The rest are the Coates with the H[udlestons]; then Quartered. Sc.
5. Argent a Bend inter 2 Mullets Sable – Millum.
6. Argent a Cheveron inter 3 Bullock heads cabbosed Sable. Boyvill.
7. Parted per fess Gules & Argent. 6 martlets coun[ter]ch[arged]. – Fenwick.[29]
8. Argent a Lyon Rampant, Sable. Armed & Langued Gules – Stapleton.
9. Argent a Lyon Rampant, Azure armed & Langued Gules – Fauconbridge.
10. Barry of 8, Or & Gules – Fits Allan.
11. Sable a fret Or – Maltrevers.
12. Parted per pale Or & Vert a cross moline Gules (alias Argent & Gules) a [cross crosslet][30] Or – Ingham.
13. Azure a fess inter 3 Leopard heads Or – de la Pool.
14. Parted per pale Argent & Gules, a Bend counterchargd Cha[…]cer.[31]
15. The 15 as the 1ᵗ. Sc. Fleming.

These are in the parlour 2ce.[32] One of them being with the Crist, placed there 1617. The same agane above, sine Crista.[33] The motto – PAX COPIA SAPIENTIA.[34] Sometimes, Sapientia Pax Copia, when over the Crist which is a Serpent nowed,[35] with a Garland of Olives & 3 vines in her mouth all prop[er]. Under Sir William Dugdals owne hand in his visitation, at Kendall 20 March 1664: per me W. Dugdal, Norroy, King of Armes.[36]

[26] The Flemings of Rydal Hall.
[27] Red seal, containing 15 coats of arms, affixed to the top left hand of the page.
[28] MS: 'implae'd'.
[29] In 1690 John Fenwick of Northumberland bought New Hall in Over Burrow, Lancs, see *AWL*, 115-16.
[30] Machell has drawn a cross crosslet here.
[31] Part of this name is obscured by the binding.
[32] Twice.
[33] Without the crest.
[34] 'Peace Plenty Wisdom'.
[35] This is often described as a 'serpent erect tail nowed', the tail being interlaced in a knot. See S.C. Fox-Adams, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (New York, 1978), 257.
[36] See Joseph Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees recorded at the Heralds' Visitations of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland made by Richard St. George, Norroy, King of Arms in 1615, and by William Dugdale, Norroy, King of Arms in 1666* (Carlisle and Kendal, 1891). Dugdale's visits were made in 1664 and 1665.

{In the Hall}
1. Fleming Impaleing Ducket with quarterings.
2. Fleming Impaleing Kirkeby of K. in Lanc[ashire] Sc. Argent 2 Bars Gules, on a Canton of the second a cross moline Or.}

§6. [Families][37]
Grasmere 78. Loughrig F[amilies] 27. Clappersgate 4. Ridal F[amilies]14. Elterwater F[amilies] 9.
In Langdale Chapel: Little Langdale F. 25. Great Langdale F. 47. Ambleside 29 f.

[Assessments]

§7. [Easter Book Tithe Assessments]
Stiles[38] – 1, Clerke 1[d]
Smook,[39] ob[40]
(garth \ i.e. gardine / 1[d]) Hay money.
Corne money.
Newcle[41] 2[d]
Why[42] 1[d] ob
Hand: a whol Calfe – 5 groates
& milke \ money / beside oblations 1[d] ½.
Bees 2[d] per hive disposd.
Foles 2[d]
Chick[ens] a brood ½.
(Easter Eggs)[43] 2 for an hen. 1 for a chicken.
Geese and Grise[44] in kinde.

§8. The[y] sett down their Assessments not in writeing but on a stick thus:

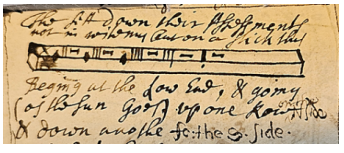


Figure 2.6.2. Assessment Stick. II.124.

Beg[inn]ing at the Low End, & going (as the sun goes) up one Row \ on the / N Side & down another[r], Sc. the S Side. X is the 1[t] house. A notch, ~~& strokes drawne with a knife stands for~~ through is 4s. Halfe through 6d. A Rake or Scratch with a knife is 1d. A pop with the point on the underside is ob[45] &c.[46]

[37] In the MS at §6., the following sentence has been scored through: '{~~MS A p.106~~ …~~John Crack Mabel of …Cooper Xtopher 2 Richard 3 George 4~~ … ~~See the Pedegree to this Richard Ibidem~~.}'
[38] Perhaps, 'stile-boot': wood claimed of the Lord by an owner of lands within certain manors, for making a stile. *OED*.
[39] 'Smook', 'Smuik': to suffocate by means of sulphur; a term applied to a mode of destroying bees to gain their honey. *OED*.
[40] A halfpenny.
[41]' Neucle' and variants of this word = a newly calved cow. *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, Online.
[42] Perhaps 'Quey' (pronounced 'why'). In the north of England and Scotland, a quey was the name given to a young cow before it had calved, i.e. a heifer. *OED*.
[43] Paid to the clergyman at Easter.
[44] Young pigs.
[45] Ob = ½d.
[46] For the use of tallies at Langdale, see Bill Bevan, 'Nick Stick Seat, Great Langdale', *CW2*, 89 (1989), 281.

§9 {19 fox skins being in the Hall. Laurrell in large trees. Maiden hare, a Grottoe, 2 Parkes – 2 orch[ards.]}

[Machell's Notes: II.124]

{King of Patterdal for the continuation of the bounder.}[47]

[II.125]

Grasmere Parish

{East of the Church T.}
{Consider if it may not be convenient to End with Ambleside in Windermer & begin with it in Gresmer, being in both parishes}
{~~q. Dumbal Raise~~}

{§10. Length & Bredth}
Is in the Diocess of Chester & in Kendal Ward; it takes its name from a village called Grasmere \ Grismer antique / \ & Grosmer / where the church stands & conteins in lenth from Stockbrige in ~~Hole~~ Ambleside to \ Dumbal / ~~the~~ Rais (the top of a mount which parts Westm'land & Cumberland) 6 miles: In bredth from the top of Ridal Fel to the \ River / Brathey (which separates Westm'land from Lancashire) about 5 miles & ½ by common estimation.

§11. Ad Windermer
{2 Bags of Coyns, whereof 6 Gold coins, 66 Silver, & 250 in Brass Coper &c. Given the 6. of Nov, 26. Car. 2. Anno Dom. 1674, to Doctor Barlow Provost of Queens for the Library of Oxford – which he received at the hands of Sir Daniel Fleming. July 03 1685. Collected & purchased in several places by 1. Thom. – 2. Gawen – & [3.] Thom. –}[48]

§12. Bound[er]
It is bounded on the East by Patterdale (a chappelrae belonging to Barton-Kirk \ ~~Westmorland~~,) / from which tis divided by the very ridge or top of the mountains \ as heaven water deales; / on the West which part of Lancashire \ Sc. Furness fells / from which tis divided by the River Brathey; on the North with part of Cumb'land, from which tis divided by the Ridge of the Mountaines calld Langdale Fells, \ as the heaven water deales / ~~runns of to each side of the mountain~~; on the South with the parish of Windermere in the County of Westm'land \ from which tis divided by Stockbrig Water & the Boundes of Windermere. / It consists of Arable pasture & meadow, but ~~a great~~ \ the most / part is mountainouse. Sc. the ~~commons~~ moores or Commons.

[II.132C]

[Paper 1.] The Bells at Gressmere

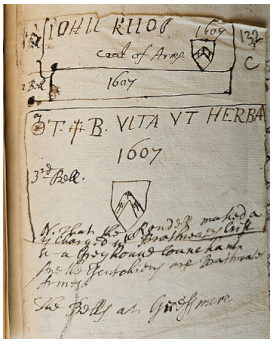


Figure 2.6.3. Bells at Grasmere Church 1607, with Arms and Inscriptions. II.132C.

[47] The king of Patterdale was John Mounsey of Patterdale Hall, see Part 1, Ch.5, Barton, I.714.
[48] Thomas Dixon (father and son) and Gawen Brathwaite.

3rd Bell. T.† B. VITA VT HERBA 1607[49]

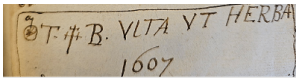
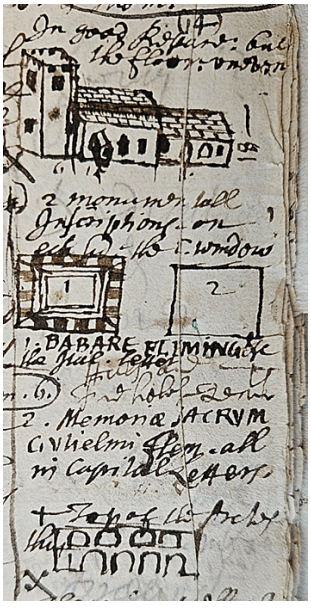


Figure 2.6.4. Grasmere Church, 3rd Bell Inscription. II.132C.

N[ote] that the Rondell marked a. is charged with Brathwates Crist, Sc. a Greyhound Couchant. And the escutchions are Brathwates Armes.

[§13-16] Grasmere Church and Parsonage]

§13, §14. {The Church} See 33.



The Church is a stone building with a Square Steepl or Tower; and is commonly calld Grasmere church from the towne where it stands, but is dedicated to St Oswald.
[Length of quire] 11; [of body] 15; [south side of steeple] 6; [breadth of quire] 18.[50]
{In good repare: but the floore uneven.}
[It is] \ built like a dou[b[le church,[51] with a row of 4 pillars & 5 arches; & above them 4 other arches meeting at the {Top of the Arches}.

{2 Monumentall Inscriptions on each side the E. window.
1. BABARÆ FLEMING &c.[52] The italic letter.
2. Memoriæ SACRVM Gulielmi Flem.[53] All in Capital Letters.}

Figure 2.6.5. Grasmere Church. Memorials and Arches. II.125.

\ A fine level Church yard. / {There is a well about a Bowshot W. ab Ecclesia calld St Oswalds, whence we suppose the church.} The Dale little but level meadow ground excepting one Hill calld Butterlep How & a little crag by it, a mere.

[49] 'Vita ut herba': life is as grass. Psalm 103, v.15: 'As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth' (*AVB*). This is an anagram of the Braithwaite name. See Part 2. Ch.9, Windermere, II.351.
[50] Measurements in yards: see illustration of the church.
[51] A double nave.
[52] See the complete inscription in *N&B1*, 171. Barbara Fleming (née Fletcher) 1634-75, was the wife of Sir Daniel Fleming and the eldest daughter of Sir Henry Fletcher of Hutton-in-the-Forest; after her marriage in 1655 she produced 15 children, dying soon after the birth of the final child. See Scott Sowerby and Noah McCormack (eds), *The Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall from 1633 to 1688*, CWAAS Record Series 23 (Kendal, 2021), 413, 426.
[53] See the complete inscription in *N&B1*, 164. William Fleming (1609-53) of Skirwith, Esq., was the father of Sir Daniel Fleming. see Sowerby and McCormack, *Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming*, 397, 431-32.

§15. Armes
Q. What Armes Monumental Inscriptions &c. They are to be Had in Mr Dugdalls Visitation of West. & Cumb'land 1664. att the Heralds College near St Pauls London,[54] which may save me a Labour. Patronage §20.[55]

[II.128]

{Armes} & Monuments in the church. One in painting on the wall being of Flemings with the Crist &c. & another in the East window under an Inscription in Glass: which is Fleming & Kirkby – Sc. Argent 2 bars Gules, on a Canton of the second – a Cross Moline Or. But they are in Dugdalls *Visitation* {or Mr Fleming Rector will send them.}[56]

[II.125]

§16. The Parsonage house
W. ab Ecclesia about 40 yards:[57] See §21. Endowment §22. Sessments §8. […] of Easter b. §7. Fam[ilyes] §6.'

Ambleside

§17. {Ambleside Market is kept in that part which is in Windermer – ad Windermer.}
At Grasmer formerly, was a sort of Commerce held amongst the Neighbourhood ~~Inhabitants~~ in the manner of a market – kept upon Mondayes (as they have now at Bowness on Fridays). But by the consent of the people ~~there~~ it was Transferd to Ambleside as the more Commodiouse place;[58] w[hi]ch Towne obteined a charter to hold one market:

die mercuri qualibet septimana, et duas ferias annuatim Quaru[m] una in die Mercurij proxim[a] post festum Penticostes, et altera ad Decimum octavum diem Octobris (per ordinem Parliamenti) et curiam Pedis pulverizati – temporibus feriarum predictarum ibidem p[ro] eisdem Tenent[ibus]. Ad usum et com[m]odum Inhabitantium. Testibus nobis ipsis etc.[59]

And King James the 2. By his Letters Pattent of July 25 Anno Domini 1688 & the 4th his Reigne, Granted to Brathwate Otway Esqs,

[II.126]

& Francis Topham Esqs and others, inhabitants of the said Town:

{Ambleside Charter by K. James 2.} N.B. See Bloms *Britannia*.[60]
"Quod ipsi unam mercatum die Mercurij apud villam de Ambleside sub loco vulgo vocat[o] The Stock etc. tener[ent] ac duas ferias quolibet anno ten[erent] ibidem quaru[m] unam die Mercurij Proxim[o] sequen[te] post festum penticost[es] et sup[er] crastinam istius diei. Alter[a] die Sancti Luc[ae] Evangelist[ae] (si non iste dies non nisi sit dies Domenicus) et si sit, die Lune prox[imo] sequent[e] et in Crast[ina] istius diei incipiat ac per totos illos dies duratur[a] in perpetuum : ac etiam una[m] feriam sive nundinum super quemlibet diem Mercurii in qualibet ... septimana, & a die Mercurii fest[i] Penticostes ad diem S[anc]ti Lucae Evang[elistae] & John … et profec[...] inde pro venien[...] sibi et heredibus suis percipiend[...] etc.

[54] The College of Arms.
[55] See II.127.
[56] For Dugdale's Visitation, see II.124, above. For Henry Fleming, rector after the death of John Ambrose in 1684, see II.123, above.
[57] Machell lists where similar information can be obtained, such as the parsonage house: 'See §21. Endowment 22. Sessments §8. of Easter 9. Fam[ilyes] 6.'
[58] See *N&B1*, 188-9.
[59] 'On a Wednesday in any week, and two fairs annually, one of them on the Wednesday next after the Feast of Pentecost, and the other on the eighteenth day of October (by decree of Parliament) and a Court of Piepowder – at the times of the aforesaid fairs in the same place on behalf of the same tenants. We ourselves being witness to the use and convenience of the Inhabitants etc.' See also the extended charter below.
[60] 'Ambleside, seated near the great lake of Winander, hath an indifferent good market for wool, yarn and provisions, on Wednesdays.' Richard Blome, *Britannia, or, a Geographical Description of the Kingdom of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1673), 235. There is no description of the charter.

Pro emptione et venditione omnimodum omnimodum uberiorum, pecorum, bonorum Mercionum, merchandizorum etc – et teneant et custodiant curiam Pedis Pulverizati[61] tempore respectivarum feriarum. Consensia eorum Brathwate Otway etc. – et Heredum et Assignatorum suorum in ea parte Assignan[tium] et App...and[...] una cum omnibus Libertatibus ratio… …Tolnet, Theolon, Stallag, Piccag. furium a...ciament[...] et omnibus alijs etc. – ad curiam pedis pulver[izati] pertinento.[62]

{Ambleside Tenure}
The Tenants are all Customary under the Crowne & appear (but have a distinct jury) at the Court Baron holden at Gresmer. q. if both above & beneat[h] the Stock.[63]

§18. {Rarityes}
{Paper Mill in Gressmer Parish. Ages, see §29. Tarnes 30. Eagles 31.}
There is \ in Ambleside / (a Capella ½ m N.) on the River Scandall – which divides it from Ridall, a Paper Milne for Browne paper.

[II.127]

[Parish Church and Chapelries]

§19. {Division into Chapelryes}
There are 2 chappels belonging to this church: 1. Ambleside & 2. Langdale,[64]

§20. Ambleside Chapel [Patronage]
the ~~latter~~ \ former / of which [chapels] is lately made a Parochial chapple: ~~of a noted~~ \ in 1674 by a grant from the Bishop {of Chester, who referr'd it to the 2 parsons of Grasmere & Windermere, provided they should loose nothing of their dues or Rights. It is in good Repaire, & the Towne of Ambleside \ presents, / repares the chaple & raises a stipend for the ~~minister~~ \ chaplan, / out of every Tenement proportionately. He allso increaseth his Revenu by teaching School. ~~The parsonage is worth by common estimation about 30li per Annum, &~~ the Right of Patronage is the Famaly of the Flemings of Ridal.[65]

§21. Parsonage of Gresmer.
The Parsonage house (~~for tis commonly calld~~) \ 40 yards W. ab Ecclesia / was an old stone building hard \ close / by the church in the midle of the Towne \ hamlet; / and seated upon the ~~banke~~ \ N. side / of the Raisebeck (which runns ~~by~~ \ by the church & near / the end of the house.) \ But is lately Rebuilt

[61] Court of Piepowder: a summary court formerly held at fairs and markets to administer justice among itinerant dealers and others temporarily resident. Word origin: 'a wayfarer; dusty foot.' *OED*.
[62] 'On Wednesday in the town of Ambleside below the place commonly called the Stock, etc.; and two fairs every year, one on the Wednesday next after the Feast of Pentecost, and on the Feast of St Luke the Evangelist, Sundays excepted (if it fall on Sunday, to be held on the following Monday and on the day after), to begin on those days and be held for ever after; and also that one festival or fair may be held on any Wednesday in any second week between Pentecost and St Luke's Day for those who come, by him and his heirs etc., For the buying and selling of all kinds of produce, cattle, goods, commodities, merchandise, etc. – and let them hold and keep the court of Pie-powder at the time of the respective fairs. By agreement of these Brathwate Otway etc. – and of their heirs and assigns during the time of each fair at the house of the Steward of Mr Braithwaite, Mr Otway etc.; For the maintenance and use of the poor living in the same town of Ambleside. Without making a computation for the king.'
[63] The boundary of Windermere parish is at a place called the Stock. All below the Stock is in Windermere parish; all above the Stock is in the parish of Grasmere: see *N&B1*, 188.
[64] MS: '2. Langdale, & 1. Ambleside.'
[65] According to Nicolson and Burn, 'The curate, Mr Machel says, is recommended by the majority of persons paying the said salary, and approved by the rector. But Sir Daniel Fleming, who was patron of the church of Grasmere, says, the curates of this chapel have been nominated by the patrons of the advowson of Gresmere, in which parish it is seated.' *N&B1,* 189.

by Mr William Fleming in 1691.[66] / \ It is / at 6 mile distance from ~~Ambleside which is th~~ Hawkside in Lancashire, which is the nearest market.

§22. Indowment [income, rents]
\ Glebe 5 acres & the Church yard. /
Corne in kinde to the Rector in Gresmere, \ but for hay, prescription money; / In Ambleside ~~so much a Tenement~~ for hay & corne, money calld Field-Tithe – so much a Tenement according to their Rent ~~q. what Stipend?~~ But in Langdals, Loughrig & Ridal, Prescription \ & boon / for Hay & 1d a Stooke for every 10th Shock of Corne.
Wool & Lamb
Wool in kinde all over the parish, except Ambleside Hall & Ridal Hall, which Prescribe for all Tithes; & for Lambs a tenth Lamb.

Allow 14 succession of parsons?
Mr Wilson before the Civil wars.[67] Mr Ambrose ~~the~~ Lord of the Manner of Loic \ or Lowick / in Lancashire the present Incumbent.[68]

Mannors & Townships in this Parish

§23. Division
Townships & Mannors
sub Ecclesia. Gresmer manor; Ridal manor.
sub Capella de \ part of / Ambleside; de Landal: Magna, Parva.[69] {Home Bearthay.}
There are 4 Mannors & Townships in this Parish, Sc. Grasmere, Little Langdales, Ridall \ & Base-Browne. / And part of Ambleside – Grasmere Lordship.[70]

§24. [Parochial Manor of Grasmere]
Gresmere & Great Langdale & Loughrig Grasmere.
Grasmere \ or Grossmere – q. Great-meere – / takes its name from a great lake \ or / mere near adjoyning commonly called Grossmere from Reason of the plenty of grass which grows upon the Banks thereof [and] from it[s] comparative greatness with that other of Ridal upon the same River.[71] / {NB The King of Patterdale calls it (cum vulgo) Garsmer – i.e. Grassmere.}
This Lordship is in lenth, from[72] Elterwatter ~~to the top of it is 2 miles in bredth~~ Bridge in the W. to the top of Grasmere fells in the East (3 miles); in bredth, from Ridal Waterhead in the South to the top of the Rais in the north (2 mile); the circumference 11: see 32.[73]

[66] The rector of Grasmere, 1685-1728, was Henry Fleming (1659-1728), second son of Sir Daniel Fleming and younger brother of William Fleming. Sir Daniel was still living; he died in 1701. See Sowerby and McCormack, *Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming*, 428-29.
[67] Henry Wilson, rector of Grasmere (1628-39): St John's Coll., Oxford, 1623; BA 1626-27. CCED. Ousted from his cure in the first Civil War, he died penniless in 1647, having borrowed money from the family at Rydal Hall, who regarded him as their ally during Grasmere's Presbyterian ascendancy. In 1646, parliament named him 'a notorious malignant and articled agent', possibly referring to his journeys on behalf of the Flemings. See Armitt, *The Church of Grasmere*, 78-83; see also Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662, 2*, 1059-70.
[68] John Ambrose (died 1684) succeeded to the manor of Lowick in 1666. He was a senior fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. See *Victoria County History, County of Lancaster* Vol 8 (1914), 360-62. Ambrose was also a (largely absentee) rector of Grasmere, both before and after the Restoration. See above, II.150.
[69] 'The townships and manors of Grasmere are under the care of the parish church. Ambleside and Great and Little Langdale are under the care of Ambleside chapel.'
[70] MS: 'There are 4 ~~Lordships or~~ Mannors \ & Townships / in this Parish, Sc (Grasmere \ Bais-Browne /) \ Great Langdale / Little Langdales & Ridal, \ & Base-Browne / ~~of Windermere &~~ And part of Ambleside ~~Sc the North End which belong to this {parish because part of the Mannor of Windermer of which see these~~.'
[71] As one line (c.18 words) of this sentence has been thoroughly scored-through and partly overwritten, it has been omitted from this edition.
[72] 3cm of illegible text has been crossed through here.
[73] This is not mentioned in section 32 (II.129C).

§25. {Gresmer Bounds} [Dunmail Raise]
It is bounded in the East with Patterdale, being part of Barton parish; on the west with Little Langdale; on the N. [blank].

[II.132B][74]

Dunbal Raise Stones
From Wiburne[75] in Cumberland

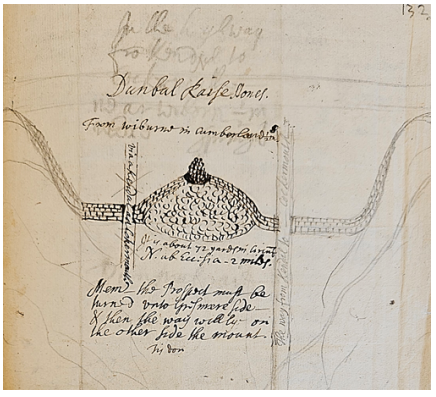


Figure 2.6.6. 'Dunbal Raise Stones'. II.132B.

In the highway from Kendal N. to Cockermouth, Dunbal Raise Stones* from Wiburn in Cumberland, ½ m. It is about 72 yards in Circumference. N. ab Ecclesia 2 miles. Memorandum – the Prospect must be turned unto Gresmere Side & then the way will lye on the other Side the Mount.[76]
Tis don.

[Machell's Notes: II.127B]
*{Q. Dumal Rase: Se a Note in Camden of Cumberland. Did Regulus[77] ibidem the[…][78] See all M.S. Cumberland per Denton.[79]

[II.132A][80]

Rex Edmundus adjutorio Leolini Regis Dernetiæ fretus Cambriam totam Cuctij omnibus spoliavit, &c. (Duobus filijs Dunmaili eiu[s]dem provinciæ Regis oculorum luie privatis) Regnum illu Malcolmo Scotorum Regi, de se tenendum concessit, ut Aquilona res Angliæ partes terra inarique ab hostium adventantium incursione tuenetur.'[81]
Might not this be the occasion of that great heap of Stones on the Confines of Westm'land & Cumb'land called Dunmale Raise Stones, at the head of Wythe-burn near Gresmere. Camden: de Cumbrianis Rasibus.[82]

[74] On M.III.156, Machell names this particular page, p.2.
[75] Wythburn.
[76] The 'prospect' refers to Machell's sketch.
[77] Regulus: 'a petty king or ruler; a sub-king.'
[78] 'Did Regulus then […]' The last word has perished.
[79] An edition of Denton's 'Cumberland' can be found in MS.VI.1.146-76.
[80] A small page: 12cm x 8cm. The reverse reads, 'ffor Mr Thomas Machell Recktor of Kirkbythure' (address part of a letter).
[81] 'King Edmund, by the helpe of Leoline Prince of South-Wales, wasted and spoiled all Cumberland, and having put out the eyes of both the sonnes of Dunmail King of the same Province, hee granted that kingdome unto Malcolme King of Scots, to be holden of him, that he might defend the North parts of England by land and sea from the inrodes and invasions of the common enemies.' See 'Cumberland' in Camden, *Britannia* tr. Holland (1610), 787. Camden attributes the passage to Florilegus, the 'floure gatherer of Westminster', once thought to be the author of *Flores Historiarum* (who probably never existed). The work has been linked to Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*, and to Westminster Abbey, where it was partially written. S. Lloyd & R. Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c.1200-1259), historian, Benedictine monk, and polymath'. *ODNB*.
[82] 'Of the Raises of Cumbria.'

[II.128]

§26. Gresmer School
A School erected circa Anno 1685 in the Church Yard at the N.E. corner. Builded by the Towne & Endowed by Mr Ambrose, Late Rector here, who gave 50li. And Anthony Dawson of Gresmere who gave 7li. The use[83] of which is for the maintenance of a Schoolmaster, who has also 9d per Quarter, or as they can agree, of every Scholar.

§27. Hall [Halsteads]
A place calld Ha[l]steeds ¼ m N. from the Church lately full of Borrans[84] = Now in Tenancyes divided amongst them. There is an ~~Hall~~ Hill near it call'd Butterlep-How.

§28. [Great Langdale Chapel] {Note. See also the paper on the other side marked Thus ~~I I~~.}[85]
Att Great Langdale there is \ a / Chaple ~~of ease but~~ in very good Repare, where they have prayers every Sunday & hollyday at the cost & charge of the neighbourhood in that Dale; who also ~~instruct~~ \ have their / their children instructed by Him, for which they pay him according to agreement; The Stipend for officiateing there is rais'd by proportion upon every Tenement, & is call'd by them the Priests Sal\u/d {Sallary Saled, or Salid} \ i.e. ut opinor[86] The Prieste's aide. /
q. to that monument Arms Inscription: None.[87]
§29. Gresmer ætas.[88]Miles Birket of Wrea in Gresmer (c.d.e.) buryed 50 years since, lived to 100 & 6. Old Mr Gawen Brathwate came to see him maw[89] after he was 100 – & gave him 1s for his panes. Test. Herd.[90]

§30. Tarnes
Gresmere \ Tarne / – ab Ecclesia \ halfe / ¼ S.E. an Ile in it of acker of ground. Large Pikes tench Trouts Eales.
Easdale Terne 2m. N.W. [ab Ecclesia] Bass, Trouts, Eales.
~~Currell~~ CodaleTerne, nothing but Eales – tis above Easdale Terne.
(N. Lingmer Tarne[91] in Little Langdale a Capella 1m. West, has tench in it, put in by Mr. Gawen Brathwate or Solomon Benson.)

{Rivers [and Meres]}
Rasbeck springs at Rasegil head – ab Ecclesia 2m. N.E. comes down \ almost to Dunmail Rase; thence West down the Dale & / by the S side of the Church & Parsonage runns into Gresmere Water – & about a bowshot \ below / into Ridal &c.
Gressmere is long 1m. b[road] ½ m. Ridal Water l[ong] ½; b[road] ¼ inde Gresmere.

§31. Gresmere
Eagles Build in Blea-Crag. 2m. ab Ecclesia N.W.
More of more game.[92] Q. in what Chapelry or Lordship.
Marts & wild cats – som.

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[83] I.e. the interest from the capital.
[84] Borrans = burgæsn: tumuli or cairns: *Westmorland Place-Names*.
[85] See II.129B, {Great Langdale Chapelry}, below.
[86] 'As I think.'
[87] A scored-through sentence here comments, '~~Sent to Mr King at the Heralds Office, or Mr Fleming parson of Gresmire~~.'
[88] 'Period of life.' Machell aimed to research long-lived people; see 'curiosities in nature' passages, throughout.
[89] 'Maw': To cut (especially hay, also corn etc.) with a scythe; in contradistinction to cutting or sheering corn with a hook. *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Online. More simply, 'maw' and 'maa' are Cumbrian dialect words for 'mow'. William Rollinson, *Cumberland Dictionary of Dialect, Tradition and Folklore* (Otley, 1997), 103, 106.
[90] John Herd, Machell's source. See II.154: '§89. Bounder of Westm'land', below.
[91] Lingmoor Tarn.
[92] A moor of moor-game, i.e. grouse, particularly the red grouse.

{Codded Arsmart in the Highway.[93] Rosem[ary].}
{Good Blew Slate ½ m. S.}
{Peate 1 mile. plenty; Lead in – None found; Copper at Hawhead ¼ S.E.}

[II.129]

[Paper 2]
[Bensons in Grasmere Parish]

{Fold House}
There is a place in Lough Rigg, call the Fold house (a freehold estate which has of old belonged to the Bensons.) One Francis? Benson of this Place maryed a daughter of Gilpine of Kentmer Hall, & had ~~isue~~ iiij daughters; whereof one was maryed to Judge Hutton,[94] another to Mr Brathwate of Ambleside, a Third to Davis of Winder in Barton, & the 4th cald ~~Frances~~ \ Margaret / to Michael Benson of Coat-how: Old black Michael maryed fair Margaret.
{Richard Hutton married Agnes, daughter and coheir of Thomas Briggs of Cowmire. Of the Huttons of Huton Hall, Penrith.}



Figure 2.6.7. {'Ergo this Coat, had he 2 wives – for Briggs was one of Calvmir.'}. II.129.

It now belongs (if I be not mistaken) to one Bernard Benson. And diverse Coates of Armes are there (as I am informed) which I must see: for those do not imply it the best house of the Bensons.[95]
There is Clan of this name in Gresmer parish \ This of the Fold. / Sc. Benson of the High Close; a Third at Coat-How, all in Lough-Rigg; a 4th at Elterwater; & a matter of 15 or 16 more familyes dispersed here & there about the parish: But none of any great account.
To Coat-How belongd the Tith[e] of Crosthwate, some Tenants in Lough Rig; of which High-Close & the Fold bough[t] themselves free of Thomas Benson about 40 years since (ab anno 1692). L. Benson the Informant sayes Coat how & the Fold paid a Rent & were Customary Tenants to it. {How can this

[93] Codded Arsmart = *impatiens noli-tangere* or touch-me-not. The name refers to the explosive release of seeds from the seed pods when touched, rather than to any irritant properties of the plant. John Gerard, *The Herball Or Generall Historie of Plantes* (1597), 361.
[94] Possibly Sir Richard Hutton (bap.1561-1639) of Hutton Hall, Penrith. He originally studied for the Church at Jesus College, Cambridge, but was persuaded to change to law, entering Gray's Inn in June 1580. By 1592, he had become escheator of the West Riding of Yorkshire, purchasing Goldsborough manor while continuing to buy land in Cumberland and Westmorland. He accumulated honours and offices as a member of the Council of the North (1599); serjeant-at-law (1603); receiver-general and chancellor of the bishopric of Durham (1608–09); and recorder of York, Doncaster and Ripon (1608-10). His rise was assisted by powerful clients and friends, including George Clifford, third earl of Cumberland. There is a dichotomy between the official biography and Machell's assertion that 'judge Hutton' married a Benson. The biographers claim that Hutton married Agnes, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Briggs of Cowmire, in 1591, and, on sketching a coat of arms (*Figure 2.6.8.*), Machell, too, saw a connection to that family. See *CFH*, 177; see also W. Prest, 'Hutton, Sir Richard (bap.1561, d.1639), judge'. *ODNB*.
[95] MS: 'for those do not imply (them then the best of) \ It the best house of / the Bensons.'

be? That High Close & the Fold should be purchased free of T.B. of Coathow; and[96] yet Coathow & the fold pay a Rent and be Customary Tenants to It.}
There are Bensons (of Bensons Hall corruptly) near Kendal: on the right hand of the Road to Apalby, who are descended of the Fold house. N.B. Dorathy Benson of the High Close, has a silver seale of the same Armes as Bensons of Dodsford, which L. Benson caryed to him, which differ from those at Amb[le]side impaleing B[rathwaite].[97]

[II.129C]

§32. Soyle. Grasmire Vall.
{?} The Soyle is sufficiently fertile for hay, corn, meadow, pasture ~~& som wood~~. But hath little wood, or other fuel, there peats being plentiful but so far of[f] that poore people can hardly \ procure them. / There are 3 villages in this Lordship; Grasmore, Great Langdale & Loughrigg. Grasmere: the houses most slated, which is got upon the common.

§33. Grasmere Church
Fam[ilies] 78.
The parish church stands in Grasmere; ~~& it is al~~ where allso is[98] an high stone bridge of one single Arch \ over / the River, \ which / affords Trout ~~pike~~ & eales; & the Mere (or Lake there) are pikes allso in it.

§37. Tenure Grasmere
The Lord has Rent Fine & Heriot \ waif & stray; / & the Tenants ~~hold according to the custom of the Mannor, &~~ have one notable Custom or Priviledge –

§38. Customs of Grasmere
– That if a man marry a wife who is heire of a tenement, alltho she dye without Isue the estate shall goe to him & his heires & not to hers; which is more than Curialitas Angliæ: The Curtisye of England.
The Tenants are Admitted & pass away their Estates by which freehold & where they appear.

[II.369B]

Ad Gressmere
I heard this custom proved in Court at Appelby Aug. 29. 1690 – before Justice Dolbin.[99]
That if a Man maries an heiress in Gresmire – 1. He was thereupon admitted Tenant and might aleen[100] the Land to whom he pleased – if Land purchased by a virgi[n] afore marriage. But it did not appear that it was so wher Lands fell to a feem covert,[101] or were given to her after Mariage, as that judge observed.

[II.131]

§39. Court Baron
The Queens Stuart, or his Deputy, ~~keeps a Court Barron~~, (these lands being settled upon her in joynture) keeps a Court Baron once every year at som of the Tenants houses in Grasmere, for mannor house there is none. & all the Tenants doe Suit & Service there – But there is a Court Leet allso kept at Kendall by the Queens Stuart (every thre weeks)* for all the Crown Tenants; ~~app~~ & \ som of / these appear there ~~once in~~ 2^{c}ye[102] in the year.

[96] MS: 'any'.
[97] For the pedigree, see Part 2, Ch.7, Heversham, II.167.
[98] 4cm of crossed-through illegible text follows here.
[99] This was probably Sir William Dolben (bap.1627, d.1694), judge, knighted in 1677: S. Handley, 'Dolben, Sir William (bap.1627, d.1694), judge'. *ODNB*.
[100] 'Aleen' = Alien, frequently in form Aliene: to transfer or surrender ownership of (property rights); to make over to another owner. *OED*.
[101] 'Feme Covert': a married woman, considered as under the authority and protection of her husband, and (formerly, in English common law) as having no separate legal identity or rights to her own property; opposed to *feme sole*. *OED*.
[102] Twice.

§40. Descent
The ancient Proprietors of this Lordship (as is said) were the Duke of Richmond & Earle of Marquess (forsan Marshes), whence the 2 different foes; & that they were forfeited to the Crown. Sed de hoc Quære. {Non se Sense[runt] ergo Qu.?}[103] {See my map of England.}
The Kings Arms & pedigree I have.

[Machell's Notes: II.131]

*{Kendall. This cannot bee, for they are kept but twice.} {Sc. 2 in a Constablewick.}

{Great Langdale Chapelry}

[II.150]

§70. [Notes]
{Qu. In the Chappelry of Langdale} Qu. of the Division from Lancashire, from the head of Brathey (or Skellet beck) to the Shire Stones and thence to Dunbalraise Stones – See it in Great Langdale Chapelry.

Out of Dugdal *Monasticon* p.708.
Divisio Montanor[um] Furnesij – per Registro Abbatiae de Furnesio f.130
Henricus Rex Angliæ et Dux Normaniæ et Aquitaniæ et comes Andegaviæ archiepiscopis (etc) salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et carta mea confirmasse conventionem quæ facta fuit coram me, inter monachos de Furnesio, et Willielmum filium Gilberti de Montanis [de] Furnesio. Quæ talis est. Montana de Furnesio dividuntur a Kendala, his terminis, sicut iuratum est præcepto meo [iura]mento xxx hominum. Desicut descendit de wremeshales in Langdene-little; et inde in Helterwatra: et inde per Braitha in Winedermer: et inde in Levenam: et inde usq[ue] mare. etc.[104]

[II.153]

§79. Langdale Chapel



L[ength] 26 [yards] Br[eadth] 9 [yards]
Under a Cragg. Ewe trees near the west end. In pretty good r[epair]but for the floore ~~& the~~ Eagles & Ravens build very frequently in many places of this chapelry.
{Dedication} The dedication is not known.

Figure 2.6.8. Langdale Chapel. II.153.

§80. [Langdale] Bounder[105]
This Chapelry is bounded on the East, with ~~Ambleside~~ with Loughrig in this parish of Gresmer, from which tis divided by the Meere Sike; on the South \ with / Fourness fell in Hawkside in Lancashire,

[103] 'They did not agree with each other; therefore query it.'
[104] 'In the register of the Abbey of Furness f[olio] 130. Out of the "Division of Mountains" p.708 – Henry King of England and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou sends greetings to the archbishops (etc). Know that I have granted and by my decree have confirmed the agreement which was made in my presence between the monks of Furness and William son of Gilbert concerning Furness Fell. It is like this. Furness Fell is divided from Kendal by these boundaries, as it was sworn under my direction by the oath of 30 men. It runs down thus, from Wremeshales to Little Langdene; from there to Helterwatra; from there through Braithsa to Windermere; and from there to Levens; and from there right down to the sea. etc.' See William Dugdale, *Monasticon… Vol. V. Abbeys* (London, 1846 edn), 248-49.
[105] Under this word are scored-through headings, Disposition, Division, Descent, as if drawn up, then discarded.

divided by the River Colleth {? Course};[106] on the West with [Blank] in Cumberland, from which it is divided by the River Dudden; on the \ Nor West with Crosthwate in Cumb. / North with Gresmer the Mother Church from ~~the former of which~~ \ both which / it is div[id]ed as heven water deals.
{q. if Bale Brown be in this Chapelry.}

[II.129]

§34. Great Langdale
Fam[ilies] 47.
At Great Langdale there is a little Tarne with Trouts & Eales in it. So calld from the great long Dale. Som lands in it calld Gilpin Lands, the Tenements whereof belong to Miles Atkinson of the High house in Hugil in the right of Mr Brathwate his wife; & to one Thomas Benson of the High Close. Yet do Suit & Service at Gresmer Court. Great Langdale is about 2 miles from Hawkside Market.[107]
{See §53 Rasps & Bleaberryes.}
{Slate allso here.}

[II.129B][108]

{Divisions}
There are in this Chapelry, 1. The Township of Great Langdale, if it may be so calld, which is in Gresmer Lordship.[109] 2. The Manor of Little Langdale. 3. The manor of Base Brow.

[II.129C][110]

[Bounder]
On the North with the Fells twixt Westmerlnd & Cumberland; & on the South with Ridal, from which tis divided by [Blank]

[II.129B]

{Great Landale Chap[el] Endowment}
~~H~~[111] This chapel hath belonging to it an House a Capella about 20 yards being the next but one: & ½ an Acre of Meadow. S.E. a Capella about 30 yards of adjoyneing the Highway. – Allso 5^{li} & a Marke old Sallary & more, which has been formerly Sest* of Bordering People in Lancashire & elsewhere. Which is Charged upon their Several Tenements according as the Seates which are allotted thereto; as they are higher or lower in the Chapl. The highest being 2s a Seate – Their wives Seates Being free in at it. & a Schoole taught by Him at 6^{d} near the Chapelry; & forreigners as they can agree.

Machell's Notes: II.129B
*It is disposed of by Sir Daniel Flemming & the In[habitants] the parsons approveing.[112]

[II.129C]

§35. [Loughrigg Tarn]
{A mile to Langdale chapel; 1 mile ½ from [Grasmere] church; 3 miles from Hawk[side].}
And at Lough-rig a great one of a mile in Circumference which they fish with botes & take great store of Pikes & Eals \ & Trouts. This Tarne, which the Scotch cal a Lough, on which the Towne stands, gives name to the place. \ There is a great ridge of a fell from this lough called Lough Rig. / There are slates got on the hight over against Ridal in the comon belonging to this place. This Lordship being Crown land, & ~~ergo held of none. But~~ it is said to have escheated to the King; and is a mixt foe.

§36. [Lordship]
For there \ are / som Tenants in Grasmere hold (according to the Custome of the mannor) of Richmond foe, & som (according to the Custom of the mannor) of Marquess foe; yet appear but at one and the same court \ Sc Grosmer / & likewise at Great Langdale, & (Quaere de) Lough-rig.

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[106] River Colwith (1722), Collath (1800), Callah, also Colwith Bridge (1794). See *Westmorland Place-Names*.
[107] Hawkshead.
[108] Reverse of II.129A, bound into the volume by modern paper tape.
[109] MS: 'There are in this ~~Lordship~~ \ Chapelry/ ~~the manor of~~ \ (the ~~Lordship~~ Township of) / Great Langdale if it may be so calld \ which is in Gresmer Lordship.
[110] The left-hand-margin text on this page is illegible; the rest is caught in the binding.
[111] A continuation symbol; see §28 on II.128, above.
[112] MS: 'appro~~bation~~\veing. /' The word, 'Sest', is probable here, despite being blotted and unclear; the meaning of 'ses' or 'sess' is, 'to assess or determine officially the amount of (a tax, contribution, wages, or prices)'. *OED*.

[II.129A]

The Tenants of Great Langdale where the said chapel stands, appear at the Queens Court baron in Gresmerr. And there are no freehold lands (yet q. of the Haa Steads & Chaple in Litle Langdale which I remember are now purchased free) But som of ([…] ? vix)[113] Leonard Bensons of Elter-water which is in Base-Browne.

[II.129][114]

Lough-Rigg is an Hamlet of it selfe, opposite to Ridall on the other side of the River [Blank] which being conjoined with a wooden-bridge make as it were one entire village; yet are in 2 mannors, & (q. of) chapelryes.

[II.131]

The Lordship of Bais-Brown in Great Langdale Chapelry[115]

§41. Bais-Brown

Bais-brown is a little Lordship laying betwene Little & Great Langdale, conteining in Lenth from [Blank} in the [Blank] to [Blank] And is bounded on the \ N. & / East with Great Langdale in the Lordship of Grasmere; on the North with Great Langdale; on the West with Little Langdale; [116] q. how separated. On the South with Lough-rig, from which it is separated by [blank]?

[Minerals]

{Fierstone at Rusbriggs amongst the blew Slate
At Wranose a Capella 3m. W. – Iron ore plenty; & 2 miles thence S. at a place cald Greenburne in Lancashire, Copper[117] plenty.}

§42. Bais-Brown

{¾ m \ West / from Langdale Chap.; 3 \ West / [from the] Church; 4 ½ N. to Hawk.}
It containes nothing in it, but ~~the Hamlet~~ Baise Brown, which is rather an Hamlet than village (for they count none villages but such as are a Constablewic of themselves) \ the houses lyen dispersed. It is a Clay-ground & consists mostly of meadow & pasture.

§43. Village

There is nothing but a forge remarkable in it, and \ yet / the Lordship neither affords Iron nor Coale; the 1[t] being fetched out of Cumberland, & the latter from Lancashire.
{Blea Tarn – Tench, put in at first by old Gawen Brathwate.}

§44. Descent. See §46.

It is held of [Blank] and payes quit rent. It ~~descent~~ descended to Miles Atkinson by Dorathy his wife, daughter of Robert, yongest son of Gawen Brat\h/waite Brother of A[m]bleside, who gave it to him.

[II.132]

§45. Tenure of Baise-Brown

The Tenants are Customary (at a Fine Certane) at Doubl the Rent: & it is in dispute whether Heriotable or not. The ~~manner~~ house is \ calld / Baise Browne – an Ordinary House & has a Demane made out of several parcels[118] belonging unto it. ~~which to~~ \ The Tenements / formerly in the Bensons

§46. Descent

& sold by John Benson to Thomas Brathwate about 100 years agoe; in which name they continued till they came into the Hands of Miles Atkinson by his marriage with Dorathy the daughter & heir of

[113] Transcribed as seen; there is an unclear word before the question mark; 'vix' is a Latin adverb which can mean 'scarcely' or 'with effort'.
[114] Scrap page measuring 19cm x 13cm. Added to on several occasions in various shades of ink.
[115] Baysbrown: also known as Basebrun; Basebrown(e); Bays(e)browne; Baisbrowne. See *Westmorland Place-Names*.
[116] MS: 'on the North with Great Langdale ~~allso q? How or with what separated~~ on the West with Little Langdale.'
[117] MS: 'cope'.
[118] This word is obscured by the binding.

Robert Brathwate of High house in Hugill – brother & heire of Thomas, son & heire of Gawan, son of Thomas Brathwate of Ambleside, the Purchaser.

§47. [Tenements] Baise Browne house – see §49.
As for the House; it was made out of several Tenements. Purchased of Tenants by Mr Gawen Brathwate, & so made up into a Demane which came to Miles Atkinson, as the Tenements aforesaid. {There are Tenements in Great Landall ~~afor~~ cald Gilpine Lands, the tenants of which are the said Atkinsons & Thomas Bensons of High Close & doe Suit at Grosmer.}[119]

§48. Elterwater House
There is no other freehold but Elterwater House (vulgo Hall) which was made of Tenements united together & after purchased into freehold, doing Suit of Court onely & paying 20s Rent \ now / to Miles Atkinson of Baseburne It was sold by [Blank] Benson to [Blank] Benson the now owner of it. This perhaps being in Baise browne Lordship, may give name to the place where the Tenants live – which is called Elterwater in the Easter Booke, where there are 9 familyes. I thinke they are in the Chapelry of Langdale for Mr Benson of Elterwater Hall went with me thither and was one of those that gave Informacion. q. tamen.[120] Yes. It is soe.[121]

[II.133]

§49. Baise Brown House
The Cheife house {? What the name it?} stands on an hill side with a medow before \ it, / down the midle of which runs a little-brooke which upon a great Rane over flows the meado\w/ & makes it very fertile. The house is on the west side the ~~meadow~~ River, which springs ~~an~~ \ near / Langdale Steäke {a stone set up for a way marke} & runs down hence into Elterwater Tern, being the chiefe head of it from which it is fed. \ & / Thence it descends into Breathey att \ a / little distance. The House is from Langdale Chaple 1m.; from the parish-church 3; from Hawkside market 4.

§50. The descent of Baise-Brow
It was formerly the Seat of the Bensons, and sold to Gawen Brathwaite of Ambleside Esq. about 30 years agoe; & ~~is~~ now belongs to Robert Brathwate of High-house in Hugil in the parish of Kendal, who was a younger son of Gawen. – (whose mary d[aughter] = a country fellow.)[122] There Armes & Pedigre I have.
{Marts & Wild cats all over}

{[Notes on the] Freehold}
It hath considerable free hold. There but so many freehold, the other tenants. The[y] are admitted by [blank] & pass their estates by [blank]. The tenants ~~pay~~ \ are lyable to / Rent, Fine Certane ~~& Heriots~~; \ in dispute / ~~except such as have bought themselfes free, onely paying a Rent. I thinke there are scarce so many Tenants as to make up a Jewry so that no Courts \ Baron / are kept there~~. {There need not be many to a Court Baron. See Kitchen of *Keeping Courts*.}[123]

The Manner of Little Langdale

§51. [Manner]
The Manner of Little Langdale {in the same chapelry now}[124] \ The Chapel demolished. To which perhaps som part of Furness.[125] / It takes its name from a little dale which extends it selfe along from

[119] They attend the manor court at Grasmere.
[120] 'But query.'
[121] At the foot of the page is a small piece of paper, pasted onto the page, comprising faded pencilled notes.
[122] Whose daughter married a country fellow.
[123] John Kitchin, *Le Courte Leete et Courte Baron & Hundred Courte &c., Collect by John Kitchin de Grais Inne, an apprentice in Ley* (London, 1592 & later editions).
[124] In the same chapelry as Great Langdale, Baysbrown and Elterwater.
[125] Perhaps once attended by people from some part of Furness.

north to south, & is ~~litt~~ calld little in oposition to great Langdale – \ alias Mickle Dale[126] / of which we spoke in the \ 2 / Grosmere ~~parish~~ Lordship. It conteines in lenth from the Bridge below the Mill which is near ~~the forge~~ Baisbrowne forge \ to the fell foote from S. to north. 1 mile and ½. / & in bredth from one fell top to the other E. to West 1 ~~of a~~ mile.[127] ~~The whole circumference~~

[Chaplemire]
There is a place calld Chaplemire in Little Langdale chapelry {1½ m. a Capella S.W.} where tis said a chaple did stand, which was removed and adjoyned to that of Great Langdale,[128] & the sallary Annext. & a Place near it called Hall Steads being a Close, ~~now~~ in Tenancy, now purch[ased] f[ree].

[Little Langdale Notes]
{They have Waif & Stray}
{Eagles & Ravens build all over the chapelry.}
{Iron ore at Wranose – a Capella 4m. N.E.}

[II.134]

§52. [Breathey Head] Breathy[129] springs in 2 sever[a]l-heads.
At Wrynose Top in Little Langdale – thence E. by the Iron Forge calld Hacket. & Colloth[130] mill (for cloth) till it meets the other head in Elterwater Tarne {q. Ealtern Water} which springs in the head of Great Langdale alias MickleDale – & thence runns E. on the S. side the Chaple – to the said Terne: Thence E. on the N. side of Brathay.[131]

§53. Rasp[berries] – Bleaberryes in Great Langdale
Ewes[132] ~~saverin~~; Juniper – Rose-mary – Lawrel & Bayes \ Box / in Gardines

§54. §55. [Wraynose & Hardknot]
Wraynose, from the crookedness of the way which leads from little Langdale up into Cumberland by the Shire Stones & so \ directly / up Hard-knot. ~~&~~ They are each of mile high. There is Reine & Storme there when none att all in the lower part of the country. On Wrynose there ~~are~~ \ is a / little pieces of wall built in manner of a T., hard by the High way, which hath bin about 2 yard high; but are \ now / not above 1 & ½ {4 yards in a Branch} a little beyond the Shire Stones but in Cumberland. There are allso of the like form in the High way over the mountains which leads from the high end of Ambleside into Patterdale ~~& so to Penrith in Cumberland~~ so to Bo\a/rdal & so to Barton Kirke & so to Penrith in Cumberland, which they call Cammerton builds, ~~being~~ from one Cammerton of I suppose, either the Builder or Contriver of them\ or build them. / There use is to defend & Shield from the great Stormes of raine winde & snow on those lofty mountains; which they will secure on one side or other wherever the winde sit*.
The mountains are so hye that this Rithme is commonly spoke of them.

God Bless us & Saine[133] us ~~from~~
From Hart-knot & Warynose
And they faw down theil main[134] us.

[126] Mickleden ('large valley') is at the very head of the Langdale Valley beyond Dungeon Ghyll, just below the Pike o' Stickle axe factory location. It is in the chapelry of Langdale and parish of Grasmere. *Westmorland Place-Names*.
[127] The distance appears to have been originally written as ¼ mile, but then altered to 1 mile.
[128] Its duties and congregation were then adjoined to Great Langdale chapel.
[129] River Brathay.
[130] Colwith.
[131] 'North' is blotted.
[132] Yew trees.
[133] 'Sain': to make the sign of the cross on a thing or person as a consecration or blessing; or for the purpose of exorcising a demon, warding off the evil influences of witches, poison and so on. *OED*.
[134] 'And if they fall down they'll main us.' 'Main': to maim or mutilate, *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Online.

Hardknot, so to Eskdale, so to Raven Glass att the Sea Side.

[Machell's Notes: II.134]
*{They are but sheep builds or Shields or perhaps for Travailers.}[135]
{Ashe.}

[II.135]

§56. Bounder of Lile L[angdale] Lordship
It is bounded on the East with ~~the Lordship of~~ Great Langdale, from which tis divided with the Ridge of the fell which lyes betwixt them commonly calld [Blank]; On the West with Furness Fell, part of which (with som by houses) are in this Lordship \ ~~commonly calld Tilburts Thwaite~~ / for it reacheth as far as the Top of Wranose or Wranose-hight, one of the highest mountains ~~&~~ \ in / Westm'land: where are 3 long stones pitch'd up at about a yard distance & a spring ~~in the midle of~~ \ near /them which are calld the Shire Stones; being the place where thre countyes meet, Sc. Westm'land Cumberland & Lancashire.

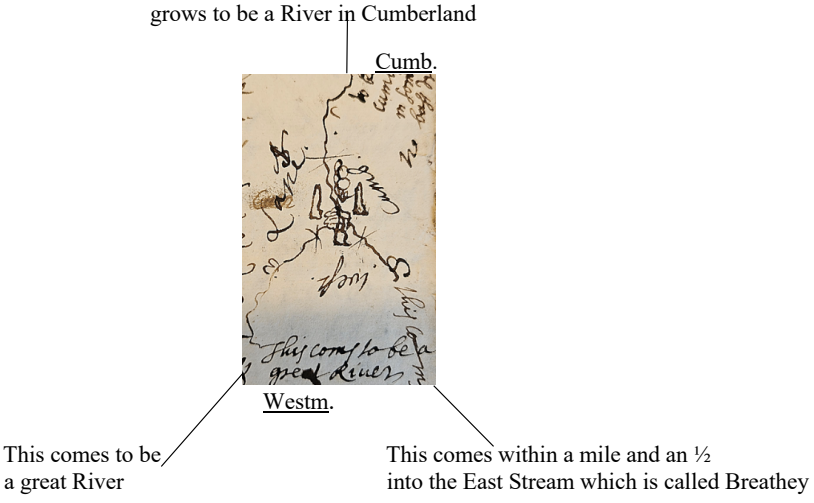


Figure 2.6.9. The three Shire Stones and the rising of rivers. II.135.

& the spring sends forth thre veines, which are partitions to the 3 countyes, 2 of which make 2 considerable Rivers, Sc. E. & N.W. 1. called Brathy, 2. calld Dudden [which] grows to be a River in Cumberland, which in summer time you may cross dry shod.[136] In winter in great sto[r]ms & showers it tears down Rock & Crags as big as horses, to the great amaisment & terrour of the Beholders.[137] This coms to be a great River, while this coms within a mile and a ½ into the East stream which is called Breathey.[138] {Alter this to bring it in at the last.}
On the North, it[139] is bounded with part of Wraynose, being divided from Cumberland by the Ridge of the mountaine; On the South its bounded with Lough-rig & part of Lancashire, from both which it is ~~parted~~ \ divided / with the River Breathey.

§57. Soyle of Little Langdale
It is no very good soyle, yett hath som good meadow in it, with som pasture & arable but in little parcels more like gardens then fields; & very little or no wood in the Lordship. Yett they are so careful of keeping their corne & hay dry while it is in the Shock or Cock,[140] that they bring out all their bedclose & through over them upon the approach of a Shower of Raine: & bring it in without

[135] 'Bield': a refuge or place of shelter. *OED*.
[136] The last few words have perished at the page edge.
[137] Written at the page top; it appears there upside down.
[138] Adapted from the information Machell provided on his map. See *Figure 2.6.10.*
[139] Little Langdale.
[140] Stook of corn. At this point Machell has written, {'This must be out'}, in the margin.

helpe of Horse, in Burthens upon their Backs. \ More Scotorum, venter Magistri Artium ingenij quibus Largîtor.[141] /

[II.150A]

(57) If Ridal be not in this Chapelry?[142]

[II.135]

§58.[143]
It has no villages in it, being onely a Dale, excepting onely that there are 2 or 3 houses out of the dale called Tilburth-Thwait \ in Lancashire / as was said before, on Furness Fells, which doe Suite & Service at the Court of Langdale; & they are 2[144] mile distant from Great Langdale Chaple, 4 from the parish church & 4 from Hawkside Market. {They are in another parish, Sc. in Lancashire: q. what parish church: Ulv[er]ston, Hawkside or Conished;[145] & what Lordship.}

[II.136][146]

[Notes]
? q. of a place in Westmorland called Cawsa[147] – Jo. Philipsons[148] and what he is to the other familyes. {Brathwate} – from Breathay-Thwaite forsan som better so called – by the River Breathey. Or Brea Thwate from the Banke of the River called a Brea.[149]
Rydale – from Rotheydale. – Rotheey: bestow.[150]

[II.137][151]

§59. Tenure of the Langdales [152]
Of whom it is held? \ by / Knt Rent.[153]
The Lord hath Fines Arbitrary, Heriots Rents Waifs & Strayes,
\ There are [blank] freeholds which appear in it & the other / Tenements[154] hold by Custom of the Manner, their Estates descending from Ancestor to the Heir Generall. & doe Suit & service at the ~~Manner House~~ best house in the manner calld Fell-foote in Langdale, \ which is / the same distance from Ch. & M. There is no demaine now nor manner house.
{? How doe they admit to estates & pass the M. away}

§60. Lands of Little Langdale
The Lordship. It belongs to the family of the Penningtons of Moncaster in Cumb'land; and is thought to have don of old – Sir William Pennington is the present proprietor about ~~20~~ \ 22 / years of aige; & ~~lately~~ made Baronet since he came to his estate. {The most part are purchased free about 7 years (ab 1692) of Sir William Pennington who has sold the Rest, being Customary Tenent to Jo. Philipson Proprietor of Cawsa in Windermer parish ~~whose Armes & pedigree you have before~~}.[155]
N.B. Q. whether I have his Armes & pedigree or whether it be in Dugdal. Dugdal has Pen[nington] of Seaton.[156]

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[141] 'In the manner of the Scots, for whom the stomach is "Master of the Arts", a bestower of ingenuity.' [I.e. Necessity is the mother of invention.]
[142] Here Machell refers back to §57.
[143] Text written beside this numeral is largely obscured by the binding.
[144] Overwritten and difficult to read. Machell first wrote ½, then turned the '1' into '0' to make 0/2.
[145] Conishead is a chapelry of Ulverston.
[146] This (otherwise conventional) page has information on Braithwaite and Rydal written on a small scrap of paper pasted onto it.
[147] Machell thought this place to be in Windermere: see II.123, II.137.
[148] See §60, below.
[149] 'Brea': a hill or hillside; the high ground adjoining a river bank, *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Online.
[150] Rothay's probable meaning is 'Trout river', from Old Norse, 'rauđi': 'the red one', which was used as an appellative for the trout. See Smith, *Place-Names 1*, 12. For Machell's understanding of this, see below, II.138.
[151] Most of the left-hand margin of this page is obscured by the binding. Visible words have been transcribed.
[152] Here, in the margin, there is a folio number: {f[olio]25}.
[153] Free rent by knight's service: scutage (see the English Glossary). Sergeanty/serjeanty: a form of feudal tenure dependent upon rendering a personal service to the king. *OED*.
[154] MS: 'in it & the other / The Tenements'.
[155] William Pennington (c.1655-1730) was created baronet in 1676; he was High Sheriff in 1685, see *CFH*, 258.
[156] For Pennington of Seaton, see *CFH*, 258-59.

Of the manner of Ridall

§61. Ridall
The Manner takes its name from Rydale or may be \ from / Wry-dale because the Parke & Demaine lands wry[157] or Tur[n]e them ~~them~~selves in betwixt 2 \ mountaines / fells.
{Vallis in curvato forsan,[158] if it should not rather be Ridell and so called from a family of that name which came in with the Conquest. See Batle Abbey.}[159] {Ergo the Roll is suspicious.}[160]
{q. if it be ever writ Wridale in Evidences or Roathadale from the River which [was a] common way of naming places.} It conteines in Lenth (from the little Stone bridge att Ambleside field head, \ South / to Grasmere from Ridale Water on the west, to the Ridge of Ridal Fell East – 1 mile & ½. In circumference [Blank].

§62. Bounds
It is bounded on the East with the Lordship of Hartsop, from which tis divided by the Ridge of ~~Patterdale~~ \ Kirkstone Fell; / on the West with Loughrig ~~Lands~~ from which tis divided by the River ~~Ridal~~ Roathey; on the North with Grosmere, from which tis divided {?} by a ~~wall on the~~ streight line from Stean Stone to the old wall & to the Scar Top; & on the South with ~~the Lands of~~ Ambleside \ fields / from which tis divided by ~~the~~ Scander beck {?}
It is generally good Land, both Arable & meadow & pasture, and very well wooded ~~both~~ with Timber & underwood {oak; Ash &c.} especially ~~up~~ the Demaine Lands.
{See}Armes &c. Hujus §5 & 9.[161] In the Study Parlour Hall.

[II.138]

[Notes]
In a peat moss upon Lough-rigg Fell was once found a crude canoe made of a hollowed trunk of a Tree.
{Rothey-dale Correpte Roydale, & Corrupte, Ridale.}

Memorandum.
In Ro~~a~~they (which runs by Ridal being cald Ridal [beck] there & receives that name afterwards) and in Breathey, there is this Remark~~e~~able – That where \ they / run both (~~almost~~) together into the head of Windermer Water, in that Lordship, 2 several sorts of fish come out of that lake and follows the several streames. Sc. Troutes & Rase (or Case) a fish like a char \ sort of char / so that for several miles you shal finde none but Case in Breathy, & none but Trouts in ~~the other~~ Rothey, the Reason of I shall impute in the margent to Nature of the fish & currents of the water – for the Trout loves a streame, the char a calme; & therefore Brathey being a calme water, abounds with the charrs; & Rothey being fierce, abounds with Troutes – And Sir Daniel Fleming have a Lock on either River [which] abounds with them both.

[Rydal]

[II.139]

§63. Description villæ
{Fam[ilies] 14} There are noe villages ~~But~~ \ save the Hamlet / Ridall onely;\ tis only one / in this Lordship. {~~at vill~~} But on the other side the water, as if it were one Town, is Lough-Rig which wee spoke of before, & they 2 make 1 Constablewick.
The houses in Ridall are all of stone. And there is a wood bridge over the River betwixt it and Loughrigg, & a stone bridge by Ridall hall over a little brooke, being the High way to Ambleside

[157] 'Wry': to wend or to swerve and turn aside. *OED*.
[158] 'It perhaps means, the curved valley'.
[159] The Battle Abbey Roll is a commemorative list of the companions of William I, once held in Battle Abbey, Hastings. It is known from 16th-century copies in Leland and Holinshed, but neither list is regarded as accurate. Camden and Dugdale suggested that names were added by the monks. See Catherine Lucy Wilhelmina Powlett, Duchess of Cleveland, *History of Battle Abbey* (London, 1877), 325-28.
[160] See Machell's Paper on the Ridells (II.140), for another version of this sentence.
[161] 'Of this, see sections 5 and 9.'

where the Hall appears well.[162] There are quarryes of slate att White-Moss near unto the Town; by reason of which convenience most of their houses are slated. ~~There are none but the~~ \ There is nothing of Note / but the Mannor House of which anon. All the Demaine Grounds are very well wooded with Oake, Ash & plenty of ~~and allso with~~ underwood.
It is held of [blank].

§64. Tenure
The Lord has Rent \ fine Certaine or Arbitrary? / heriot, waifs & stray {?} with Service & Boons from his Tenants. And there are [blank] freehold. And the Tenants hold by the Custom of the Manner. ~~Appearing at the Lords Court Baron~~ {The rest hold by [blank].}

§65. [Old Hall; Manor House]
\ There is a place called the Old Hall, ab aula[163] ¼ S. & from the Chap[el] 3m, on the right hand to Ambleside by the High way whence Sir Dan[iel] lead stone to build a barn. /

The Manner house is called Ridall hal.
{3m. from the church; 1m.¼ to Ambleside Chapel; 4m. from Hawkside.}
\ The hall is a good old house / ~~Stone building~~ (3 storyes high) \ said to be built at 9 times; more of convenience than usually; / situate upon the side of ~~a little hill or~~ Banke, so that you ascend from the highway (which lyes west of it \ windeing up by degrees / ~~up~~ to the house; on the east side ~~of which~~ is a little brooke with a stone bridge over it, which turns a corne mill belonging ~~to the Hall~~ \ adjoyneing to the Gardene. / And the other River \ Rothy / runns by the hyway on the west side the house at about the distance of 2^{ce} 12 score [yards];[164] on which there is store of Pike Eal Trout & Pearch, which are \ taken / with a waterlock made over the River. In the other are Troutes and Eals only ~~but no pikes att all~~.

[II.149][165]

There \ are / fine ~~Gardens &~~ Walks about the house & tis well fence'd with trees planted on every side {most of which are Black Cherrys which Sir Daniel Fleming has ~~reard~~ in his Time reared from stones.} There are large trees of Lawrell almost as high as the Hall – A Row of Scotch Firrs in the walk next the House – maden hair great store upon the walls there. Coded Arsmart in the Hole next the Bog House – Peaches growing upon Standards not plashed[166] – a Grotto in the orchard with a Catadupe}[167]
There are 2 parkes, called the High & Low Parke. The High Parke is distant about ½ a mile \ N.E. / & is very well wooded with timber trees Ash &c.

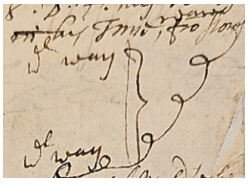


Figure 2.6.10. {'Which Way - Which way'}. II.149.

[162] MS: '~~Ridal is a pretty populous place & theire houses~~ \ The houses in Ridall are / all of stone: And there is a ~~stone~~ \ wood / bridge over the River betwixt it and Loughrigg: & a stone bridge by Ridall hall over a little brooke ~~calld~~ ~~which turns a \ corn / mill belonging to the Hall~~…'
[163] '… from the hall'.
[164] 480 = twice twelve score.
[165] Much margin comment on II.149 is obscured by the binding; it has not been transcribed.
[166] 'Plashed': bent down and interwoven (stems partly cut through) so as to form a hedge or fence. Cf: pleach. *OED*. Machell preferred to see the peach trees grown as standards.
[167] 'Catadupe': a cataract or waterfall. *OED*. Machell was referring to Rydal Hall's grotto, the subject of one of Wordsworth's poems. '…Then, while I wandered where the huddling rill / Brightens with water-breaks the hollow ghyll /As by enchantment, an obscure retreat / Opened at once, and stayed my devious feet'. See William Wordsworth, 'An Evening Walk', in *Poems in 2 Volumes, Vol. 1* (London, 1815).

{Which way – Which way}[168]
The Low Parke is distant about a mile \ S. / & the Lower part of it is good arable medow & pasture, ~~but~~ \ & / the higher clad with great Oakes and other wood; But there are no Dear in either of them. There is one Demain of which the parkes are parcel.
{I was pleased to see The Hall Richly hung; with 18 or 20 fox skins stufed – an argument of a Good Common Welths man and a great Pa[t]riot.}[169]

[II.139]

The Hall though placed amongst rocky mountains on the right hand & left, yet hath a most pleasant & delightfull aspect towards the S.S.E. of the Gardine, meadowes, woods & \ Windermere / water for 6 or 8 miles with Scotch firs, squirrels, Codded Arsmart (a yallow flore) & rill of water running fiercely through the Gardine & Bog house & driving a mill.

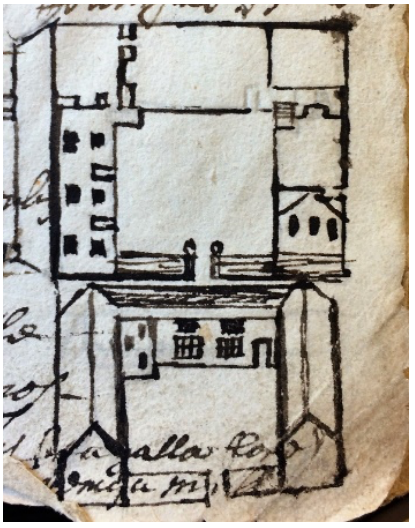


Figure 2.6.11. Rydal Hall. II.133.

[II.149]

§66.[170]
No freeholds but the Lord. \ But there are som Customary Tenants from Grasmere & Loughrigg who appear at the Court. / The present Proprietor is Daniel Fleming Esqs {Now Sir Daniel Anno Domini 1692. Their ancient estate is in Lancashire}, who came to the estate upon defect of the male of [Blank] Fleming who \ as may be seen by the following pedigree / had 1 Son that dyed unmarryed &

[168] See *Figure 2.6.11*. Machell was possibly unsure of the geography of these two parks.
[169] Fox-hunting became popular during this period, possibly because hunters had made virtually every other huntable species extinct, but arguably because foxes were genuinely regarded as pests. James II was a keen fox huntsman, both in England and in exile, see W. Speck, 'James II and VII (1633-1701), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland'. *ODNB*. Machell complained several times in these texts that there were far too many foxes in Westmorland. Of Patterdale, he wrote, 'Badgers and Foxes more than enough, al these Creatures being fatall enemyes to their Ews and Lambs' [Part 1, Ch.5, Barton, I.708]. According to the *OED*, a 'Commonwealth's Man' at that period could be described as, 'a man who is devoted to the interests of a commonwealth: a patriot [a term now] obsolete'. *OED*. The apparent meaning of Machell's remark, then, is that Daniel Fleming killed foxes for the common good. But the phrase, 'Commonwealth Man', had deeply political meanings. In the 17th century it referred to a follower of Cromwell; in the late 17th and 18th centuries a 'good commonwealth man' was a Whig radical retaining the political objectives of Cromwell's Commonwealth, predictably derided by Tories. Thus, Dryden in 1681, 'Never was patriot yet, but was a fool', and Johnson's, 'Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel'. As a High Tory, did Machell quietly deplore Fleming's role with Sir John Lowther in bringing down James II, leading to this wry comment; or, as a great admirer of the gentry, and of Daniel Fleming in particular, are his observations simply to be taken at face value? My thanks to Professor Emeritus Michael Mullett, the instigator of this debate.
[170] Text within the margin is obscured by the binding here.

2 daughters – One maryed to Sir Jordane Crosland of [Blank] in Northumberland; The other to Mr Collinwood &c. – There ped[igree] Arms &c. I have. See hujus §5.9.[171]
There is allso in this ~~Lordship~~ \ parish / part of Ambleside, Sc. the North End of it: But that being in the Lordship of Windermere I shall refer it to thither as its proper place \ It is treated of there / beside those in Windermere Parish below the Stock.

[Machell's Notes: II.149]

Qu. whether Brathwates House be in Windermer or Gresmer.
Memorandum – That Brathwate is a numerous name in Furness fells, \ near adjoyneing /most of the familiyes being of that Sirname; but none has arrived to the Reputation & degree Gentlemen except those of this House. Whence – The Bra-

[II.140]

[Paper 3.]

{ Descent of Ridall}
This Lordship & Mannor House (now removed)[172] may seem to have formerly belongd to the Ridals; and to have given name to that Ancient Family; which is said to com in with the Conqueror (in Battle Abby) And of which name I finde one Stephen Ridel, Chancellor to Earle John, who was brother of King Richard 2. (*Hollinshed*, p.130. Col. 2).[173] But whether \ & how / he was related to this place & family I may \ dare / not determine. {But he could not com in by that name; which render the Roll[174] \ not / a little suspicious} See something of the Flemings & Harringtons in Camden: of Lancashire, p.682.[175]

[II.143][176]

[Letter to Thomas Machell from Daniel Fleming]

For the Reverend & his much honoured friend Mr Thomas Machell, Rector of Kirkbythore, these at Kirky-Thore.

[II.145][177]

Rydal, Feb. 9. 93/94
Sir
Having often occasion to consult Dugdale's *Baronage of England*, I hope you'l be pleased to return mine hither as soon, & as safely, as you can. I am glad to know that you, Mr Arch-deacon[178] and Mr Todd[179] are concerned for Westmorland, Northumberland & Cumberland in the new edition of Mr Camden's *Britannia*;[180] not doubting but that those three counties will be very well done. I long to hear of that book being published. I have here sent you a copy of a pedigree, which I omitted to deliver unto you at your being in this country, and which is more correct than that which was more

[171] For the Fleming pedigree, see II.141-42. 5:9 refers to arms at Rydal Hall: see II.124.
[172] Removed to its present site.
[173] A crossed-through margin note on MS.II.139 gives identical information. John Holland, first earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter (c.1352-1400) was the second son of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent (c. 1315-1360), and Joan (d. 1385), daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent. John was half-brother of Richard II, son of Joan and Edward, the Black Prince, whom Joan married in 1361 after the death of Thomas Holland. M. Stansfield, 'Holland, John, first earl of Huntingdon and duke of Exeter (c. 1352-1400)'. *ODNB*.
[174] Roll of Battle Abbey, see above: II.137, §59.
[175] See Camden, *Britannia* tr. Holland (1637), 755D: 'More Eastward standeth Aldingham, an ancient hereditament belonging to the family of Haveringtons, or Harringtons, unto whom it came from the Flemmings, by the Cancefields; and whose inheritance descended by a daughter unto William Bonvill of Somersetshire; and at last by him unto the Greies, Marquesses of Dorset.'
[176] Letter address-sheet, 15cm x 19cm.
[177] II.145 comprises a letter from Sir Daniel Fleming, referring to his family pedigree, for which see II.141-42.
[178] William Nicolson, future bishop of Carlisle.
[179] Rev. Dr Hugh Todd, canon of Carlisle cathedral (4th canonry), 1685-1728. See David W.V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), 146.
[180] The editor was Edmund Gibson (1669-1748) born in Bampton, graduate of Queen's College, Oxford, antiquary, bishop of Lincoln (1716), bishop of London (1723). Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* was published in 1695: see D.J.W. Mawson, 'Dr Hugh Todd's account of the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2*, 88 (1988), 207-24, at 220 fn.4.

hastily taken here by Sir William Dugdale. I wish we had any thing in these parts that would invite you to cross our mountains, your company being very acceptable unto
Sir
Your most faithful servant
Dan: Fleming.

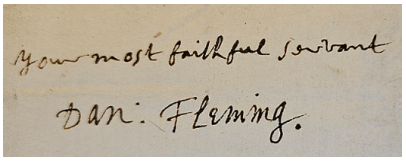


Figure 2.6.12. Daniel Fleming's Signature. II.145.

[II.141-142][181]

The Pedigree of the Flemings of Rydal Hall in Westmerland

Sir Michael le Fleming, Knight {he lived at the time of the Conquest &c.} being related unto Baldwine the 5 Earl of Flanders was sent into England with some forces to assist William the Conqueror the said Earl's son in law. This Michael had given him by King William, the Castle of Gleaston and Caernarvon, with the Lordships and Manors of Aldingham, Bec\k/ermet &c. in the Counties of Lancaster and Cumberland. He married [Blank] the daughter of [Blank] and had isue

{Henry 2 &c.} Sir William le Fleming, Knight, Owner of Gleaston Castle Aldingham Mitchel Land &c. in Lancashire who married [Blank] and had issue	Sir Richard le Fleming Knight, his 2nd son, who had Caernarvon Castle Beckermet &c. in Cumberland and Lancashire who married [Blank] and had issue	Daniel le Fleming Anselm de Furness Jordan de Furness Godith le Fleming	
{Henry 3} Sir Michael le Fleming Knight who died without issue	Alice le Fleming married to Richard de Cancefield who became heir to her brother	Sir John le Fleming Knight, who married [Blank] daughter of [Blank] and had issue	
		Sir Richard le Fleming Knight, who married Elizabeth daughter of Adam de Urswick and heir to Adam and Jo. Her brethren, by whom he had the manor of Coniston &c. in Lancashire, and by her he had issue	
{Edward 1}		John le Fleming who married [Blank] and had issue	
{Edward 1 &c.}		Raynerus le Fleming who married [Blank] the daughter of [Blank] and had Issue	Hugh le Fleming his second son who had issue Mary, married to Ralph de Frisington in Cumberland
{Edward 2}		Sir John le Fleming Knight, who married [Blank] daughter of [Blank] and had issue	
{Edward 3}	William le Fleming who died without issue	Sir John le Fleming Knight his second son who married [Blank] daughter of [Blank] and had issue	Joan le Fleming married to Jo. Le Towers of Lowick in Lancashire
{Edward 3 &c}		Sir Richard le Fleming Knight married Catherine	Robert le Fleming his 2nd son

[181] Pages written in a hand which appears to be that of Sir Daniel Fleming.

		daughter of Sir John de Kirkby knight and had issue		
{Richard 2 &c.}		Sir Thomas le Fleming Knight married 1t Eleanor daughter of [Blank] 2ndly Isabel daughter of Sir Thomas Leyburne Knight and had issue by his 2nd wife	- Jos le Fleming - James le Fleming -Richard le Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln - Robert le Fleming, Dean of Lincoln - Joan le Fleming	
{Henry 4 7c.}		Sir Thomas le Fleming Knight married Isabel daughter and coheir to Sir John de Lancaster Knight, by whom he had the Lordship of Rydal &c. in Westmorland and he had issue	John le Fleming his 2nd son	
{Henry 6 &c.}		John Fleming senior Esq. who married 1. Joan daughter of Sir [Blank] Broughton Knight 2. Ann daughter of [Blank] and by his former wife he had issue	William Fleming his 2nd son	
{Richard 3 &c.}		John Fleming Junior Esq. who married Joan daughter of Sir Hugh Lowther Knight & had Issue		
{Henry 8}		Hugh Fleming Esq. married Joan daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Hudleston of Millom Castle Knight and had Issue	- Agnes Fleming married to Richard Ducket Esq. - [Blank] Fleming married to Richard Kirkby Esq. - Margaret Fleming married to Thomas Stanley Esq. - [Blank] Fleming married to William Bardsey Esq. - [Blank] Fleming married to [Blank] Thwaits Esq.	
		Anthony Fleming Esq. married 1. Sir Jeffrey Middletons daughter and had no issue 2. Elizabeth daughter to William Hoton Esq. 3. Jane daughter of John Rigmaden Esq. By his 2nd wife he had issue	- Thomas Fleming - David Fleming - David Fleming - Joan Fleming married to Lancelot Lowther gent.	
Elizabeth		William Fleming Esq. who married 1, Margaret daughter of Sir John Lamplugh Knight 2. Agnes sister of Sir Robert Bindloss Knight. By his 2nd wife he had issue		
James 1 &c.		John Fleming Esq. who married 1. Alice daughter of Sir Francis Ducket Knight and had no issue	- Thomas Fleming 2* - William Fleming 3* - David Fleming, 4, who	- Joseph 5 - Dorothy Ambrose. - Mary Senhouse.

		2. Bridget daughter of Sir William Norris Knight of the Bath Sir Thomas Bolds widow and had no issue 3. Dorothy daughter of Sir Thomas Strickland Knight of the Bath by whom he had issue	married Isabel daughter of James Braithwaite Esq. and had issue	- Grace Barwise. - Eleanor, Lady Lowther.
Charles 1 &c.		William Fleming Esq.*	Bridget Lady Crosland. Agnes Collingwood	
Charles 1 &c.		William Fleming Esq. next heir male to William Fleming Esq. next abovesaid, married Alice daughter of Roger Kirkby Esq. and had Issue	- John 2 - Thomas 3 - Jos. F. 4 - Dan. F. 5	- Agnes Dudley - Dorothy Hudleston - Mary Browham
Charles 11 &c.		Sir David Fleming of Beckermet &c. aforesaid, knight married Barbara eldest daughter of Sir Henry Fletcher Baronet and had Issue	- Roger F. 2 - Will. F. 3 - Jo F. 4	- Jo F. 5 - Isabel F. - Alexander F. 6
James ii &c.		William Fleming Esq. 1	- Henry F. 2 - David F. 3 - John F. 4* - Thomas F. 10*	- Fletcher F. 11 - Catherine Wilson 1 - Alice F. 2 - Barbara Tatham 3 - Mary Bouch 4

In this pedigree I have omitted divers things for brevity sake which you may see at large in MS. A. page 59, and MS. P. Leaf 1. &c.[182]

> Nam genus & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
> Vix ea nostra voco.
> Ovid.
>
> Nil decus aut splendor, nil Regia nomina prosunt,
> Splendida Divitiis nil juvat ampla Domus.
> Omnia fluxerunt, virtutis sola remansit
> Gloria, Tartareis non abolenda rogis.
> Ibid. 722.[183]

[II.140]

The [old] Hall is said to have formerly stood on the top of a woody hill on the left hand as you goe to Ambleside about [Blank] from it; & Sir Daniel Fleming tells mee he fetched stones from som ruines there to build with […][184] See more of Ridal Hall in my Itinerary.[185]

[182] See Daniel Fleming's MSS: D/Lons/L12/2/1 and 15: the latter consists of 2 volumes.
[183] 'Birth and ancestry, and that which we have not ourselves achieved, these things I scarcely call our own.' 'Not honour nor splendour nor a royal name profits us; a great house of magnificent wealth cannot help us. Everything alters; the glory of virtue alone remains, not to be extinguished by the funeral pyres of Hell.' From Ovid, *Metamorphoses* Bk. 13, lines 140-41, 722.
[184] The rest of this sentence is obscured by the binding.
[185] See Part 2, Ch.10, Itinerary, from II. 382.

[II.150][186]

[Windermere]

§70[A].
In Windermere the Best Arables is worth 20^{s} or 30^{s} per Annum
The Midle for 15.
The worst pasture – is worth 5.
Informante T. Dixon Senior



Figure 2.6.13. Windermere. Islands near Bowness. II.150.[187]

[Ambleside]

In Ambleside the most of the familyes are of the Mackriths, but none of the quality of a Gentleman.

[II.151]

Ambleside Chapel in Gresmire is parochial.

[186] Most of the right-hand margin of II.140 is obscured by the binding and cannot be transcribed.
[187] See also II.313.

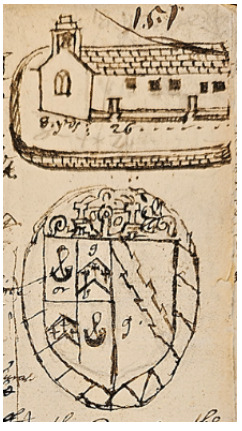


Figure 2.6.14. Ambleside Chapel, ‘ In the Quier on the right ha[n]d window near to great East window’. II.151.

In the Quier on the right ha[n]d window near to great East window. The 1ᵗ is the Coat of Bentham in Yorkshire. 2. Brathwate of [Blank] Impaleing Penruddock.
[Breadth] 8 yards [length] 26. {In Good Repare all but flags.}

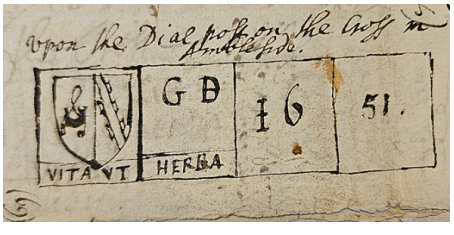


Figure 2.6.15.‘Upon the Dial Post on the Cross in Ambleside’. II.150.

§71. Bounder of Ambleside Chapel
It is bounded on the E. with Troutbeck Chapelry in Windermere divided by Wansfel wall – (made by the 2 Hamlets); on the S. with ~~windermer~~ Holbeck-gill & Windermer water – divided by ~~the bottom of the water of~~ Holbeck Sike; on the W. ~~with the~~ & N. with the proper precincts of the mother church, divi[d]ed by Rowthay &. Scandal beck.
To whom it is Dedicated is not known, but they have their Rush beareing about St James tide.[188] So has all places I thinke in the Barony.

§72. Made Parochial
It was made a burying place (~~about 15 years since~~) by Bishop ~~W~~ Pearson. Sc. 10 of July 1676.[189] Upon a Petition to the said Bishop suggesting that the Inhabitants within the said chapelry within the Parishs of Gresmergh & Windermer [190]



Figure 2.6.16. Inscription on ‘Ambleside Chappel Bell’. II.150A.

[188] 25 July.
[189] John Pearson (1613-86). In 1662, Pearson became master of Trinity College, Cambridge; he was bishop of Chester from 1672 to 1686. See H. Quehen, ‘Pearson, John (1613-1686), bishop of Chester’. *ODNB*.
[190] The inhabitants in the chapelry had leave to use it for this purpose. See below, §90.

[II.154]

§90. were far distant from the said churches, & by reason of the heat in sommer & great snows & sudden Inundations of water in winter, could not without great difficulty & danger carry their dead thither for Burial, Earnestly requesting Liberty to Bury & Baptise at the said Chappelry.[191] And promising to pay all ancient & accustomed dues to the Parishes of Gresmergh & Windermergh.
In consideracon of the promises, & of the Consent of the said Rectors given to the said Petition, [the Bishop] issued out an Order impowering the Inhabitants of said Chappelry to Bury their Dead & Baptise their children at the said chapple. Provided they continued to pay all ancient & accustomed dues whatsoever to the Parishes of Gresmergh & Windermergh as before and not otherwise.

Given under our hand & seal the 10 of July – in the Year of our Lord 1676. & in the 4 year of Our Consecration – John Cestriensis.[192]
Sub Sigillo.[193]

[II.151]

§73. Indowment
The ancient Sallary was abo[u]t 14li per Annum, given by the charity of well disposed persons ~~to~~ in a curate laid upon the respective Tenements, ~~at so much yearly, for which they mortgage a~~ parcell ~~of land~~ pledgeing their Lands by Certaines Deeds for so much of it as they receivd. Which writeings were in the hands of Thomas Brathwate Esqs. \ And ordered by Jo[hn] Cestriensisto (i.e.) be deposited in such a persons hand or place as the majority may com to them. Dated under his hand & Episcopal Seale the 3. July 1674 & the 2nd year of his Consecration. / D. Pearson, who also gave license to bury there.}

§74. Disposal
The Curate is recommended by the majority [of the inhabitants], and approv'd by the Minister. He teaches for 6d per quarter of the tenants: & of other what [he] can get.

[II.152]

An inscription brought from Borwens

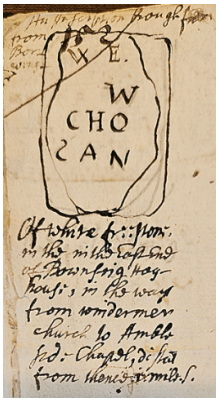


Figure 2.6.17. Inscription from 'Borwens'. II.152.

Of white freestone in the East End of Bownsrig Hog-house,[194] in the way from Windermer Church to Ambleside Chapel, distant from thence 1. Mile S.

[191] Requesting the Bishop of Chester.
[192] John, Bishop of Chester.
[193] 'Under my seal.'
[194] According to the *OED*, hoggs/hogs are pigs, but see *The Cumbrian Dictionary*, where hoggs, hogs and hoggets are terms used for yearling sheep. As weaned lambs, they would have sheltered against the winds of winter in a hoggas/hoggast/hogus (hog house). Rollinson, *Cumbrian Dictionary*, 82.

[II.153]

§77. [Rothey]
Rothey ends in this Chapel[ry] by running into – Breathay: at a place called the Ee or Eye, where it stands like a pool.

§78. Rothey alias Rase Beck
It spring in Grossmere \ near Dumbal Rase whence it runs S. / ~~Thence~~ See there §31. Pearles are said to be in the foote of Breathay,
Great store of Holly – & large all over; Rosemary Lawrell & bayes \ & Curran[t]s / in their gardines – Rasp[berries] common in the fields, & Strawb. & bleab.; Store of Orchards; with Black & Read Cherryes.
Blew Slate good & plentifull, & Blew Lime Stone in great postes, but will not rise in beds. Peat plenty – by Cove moss – a Capella 2m. N. Wood plenty.

§79. A sword at Elterwater Hall
[From pommel to hilt] 1 foot 2 inch [From hilt to point] 40 inch and one inch broke of

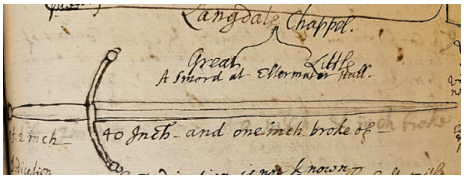


Figure 2.6.18. 'A sword at Elterwater Hall'. II.153.

{Ad Generalem}

§76. {Ad Generalem Westmeriæ Disc[riptionem]}
The Bounder of Westmorland from Windermer – water head – westwards 7 miles to the Head of Breathay \ Brathy / (which at several places assumes several names) till you com at three Stones standing like the feet of a Brandreth[195] on the Top of Wranose (all along divisening from Lancashire).[196] And here the 3 countyes of Westm'land, Cumberland & Lancashire meet: & where Cumberland comes in.) Thence N. on the Ridge of Bowfell in a streight Line {to Langs […] beck head.} {Thence westward in a streight line to […] den granes, 1m.}[197] And so ~~dow~~ (Eastwards) down the said Beck to {The Gate Foote*. Thence Southwards up Mear Sike to the Back of Stickle (a little Crag) 1m. Thence ~~Eastward on the Ridge of Blakerig as heaven water divi~~ \ thence ½ m / {to the Hee-Rase: q. if not Dunbal R.}
Test. Mr Benson of Elterwater, the Curate and others.

[Machell's Notes: II.153]
*But note that Borradale pretends to have a right to the Gate head.

[II.154]

§89. Bounder of Westm'land[198]
a. Mr Henry Fleming Rector
b. Thomas Knot Schoolmaster
c. John Herd
d. John Hawking
e. Michael Knot
& a Bounder in 1639.

[195] 'Brandreth': gridiron; tripod or trivet of iron; originally a grate supported on three legs on the hearth. *OED*.
[196] MS margin adds,'{to the head of Breatha (calld by several names) till you com at the [perished] of Wranose, where it springs.}'
[197] Parts of the margins here have perished
[198] A list of Machell's informants.

From the Hee \ High / Rase SE on the top of the fell as Heaven Water deals to Sergeant Crag ½ mile.
Thence – even N. (by a Streight Line) to the 3 Standing Steanes 1m.
Thence N. (in a Streight Line) to the – Lang-hil oth'moor ½ a m.
Thence N. (in a Streight Line) to the – Master Cragg – ½ m.
Thence NE (in a Streight Line) to ~~the High~~ Glead Pike – ½ m.
Thence N. (in Streight Line) to – Lower Glead Pike – ¼ m.[199]

§91. Bounder of Westmorland [continued]
From the lower of Glead Pike directly East ~~to~~ (downe a Sike & wall) to \ an Hatterell[200] of st[ones] calld Dunball Rase ¼ m. /
Thence, E. up the said Walls & the Peatgate \ to / Great Riggald Kno[tt] ¼ m.
Thence E. (up the said Peatgate to the Bounder Stones \ which stand near together on Willy-wise moore ¼ m. /
Thence, E. (In a streight Line, \ to the / Top of Skelly Stone \ ¼ m. /
Thence S.E. (in a streight Line) to the Dike head: an old \ Casten-Dike / where Patterdale comes in and adjoynes on Cumberland \ ¼ m. /
Thence, directly N. (on the ridge of the mountanes as heaven water divides) to Lile-Cove head, a place like a cokpit calld Cauk cove (¼ m.).
Thence N. (by the Ridge of the mountanes to The Midle Cove (like C[ove] Head or Caud[ale] Head) ¼ m.[201]
Thence N. (by the Ridge of the mountanes to Great Cove […][202] alias Blea-berry C[ove] ½ m.
Thence N. (by the Ridge of the mountanes to the Top \ Man / of Helvellin ¾ m. {Qu. In Patterdale.}
[II.155]

§92. Co[n]tin[uation] of the Bounder of Westm'land. Ad Gresmer.
From the Man {an heap of Stones} on ~~the~~ Helvellin head \ down / N. \ as heaven water divides / to the top of an hill calld The {Top of the Raise 1m ¼.} Where Glen Kuen […][203] comes in.
Thence \ down / N.W. in a Streight Line to the Top o th' Sticks. ¼ m.
Thence \ up / N. in a direct line to an heap of Stone on Stiveray \ Stiresay / Dod. ¼ m.
Thence \ down / Northw[est] by the Ridge or Edge of a fell calld Green Side to / {Withysike head} takeing in Lencoun alias Glenkoine dale head where the Beck springs. ¾ m.
{Thence down the said \ Sike / to the middle of Ulswater – King of Patterdale sayes those within the course of that Sike are in the chapelry of Patterdale & pay county sesses for bridge (with them), for Westm'land & their Constables appeared the Sessions for Westm'land.}
Thence – N.E. to the midle of Ulswater – Ushewater 1m.½
~~But Query where that part of a Tenement called Lencoune on this {?} side the Beck~~.
But Query \ whether / the Withysike at Gowberay new parke yeate be not reputed the Bounder of Westm'land.
Thence \ N.E. / downe the midle of water till you be over against How Towne (2½ m.)
Thence N. to Pooley – 1m. ½.
Ulse water ~~6~~ \ 7m. / Long. & Broad – ½ a m. – & 1m.
Harrisons & Wilsons} \ most / generally in Patterdale.[204]

[199] 'Glead': the kite (Milvus regalis). Now chiefly northern and Scottish (in form gled). Also locally applied to such birds of prey as the buzzard, osprey and peregrine falcon. The kite is sometimes distinguished as the fork-tail(ed), red, or salmon-tailed gled, while blue, brown and white gleds are hen-harriers. *OED*.
[200] Hatterel, or hatterell: A confused heap; a jumble; a large number, *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Online.
[201] Much of this sentence is obscured by the binding.
[202] Two unclear words.
[203] An unclear interlineated phrase follows here.
[204] Sentence written roughly in red crayon.

Part 2. Barony of Kendal

[Chapter 7. Parish of Heversham]

[II.159]

Hersham Parish Baronia de Kendale

Hersham General Account.[1]

Hersham alias Heversham hath
1. Hersham which hath The church.
Free School.
Hersham Hall.
with their Raritys of any sort
1. The Parish Church wherein are
1. Hersham Parish Church
2. Crosthwate, a Parochiality
2. Crosthwate Chapel, wherein are [Blank][2]

[II.160]

Heversham – Mr Farmer Vicar.[3]
Qu. A Medicinal well there = pergeing by stoole & urine, good for.
See som part of Hersham parish in the Lordship & Chapelry of Witherslack.
Also a quarry in †thwate Chapelry.
See ibidem in margin.

[II.161]

[Heversham Church]



Figure 2.7.1. Heversham church. II.161.

This church was burnd dow[n] about 90 years agoe. 40 [long] 23 [broad].

{Dedication}
It seems from the well[4] 200 yards distant N. West \ ab Ecclesia / calld St Maryes well, to be dedicate to the Virgin Mary. But the Rush bearing is on St Peters near Midsommer.[5]

[1] This heading was originally placed on MS.II.163.
[2] Crosthwaite and Lyth.
[3] George Farmer, ordained priest (Lincoln) September 21 1689; vicar of Heversham, 1691-1724; buried at Heversham, 7 February 1723/4. CCED. *N&B1* lists Farmer as vicar of Heversham from 1692, see *N&B1*, 198.
[4] MS: 'weall'.
[5] 29 June.

{Indowment}
The Vicaridge House is distant westwards about 6 score yards – And the Patronage is in Trinity College in Cambridge, who have allso the Rectorye. The Vicar has Tithe hay \ in kinde / of the soale medows of the Ancient Demane of Heversham hall; and Tythe Corne in kinde of all the said Demanes, but nowhere else. But has Prescription money for hay in severall places elsewhere in the Parish.[6] And all other small Tithes; as also wool in kinde ~~al over~~, & 10d a Lamb – & 1s 6d ~~groates~~ a Tith Calfe throughout the Parish. The Impropriators have Corne in kinde but no Tithe of Hay.

{Bounder}
It is bounded on the E. with Preston Chappelry in the parish of Burton – divided from it by Beetham alias Hotton \ beck /or Lilly Beck. On the S. with Bethom: divided from it by Kent; & Sam Poole. On the west with the Chappelry of Wither-slack, divided by the Ridge of Whit-barrow to the Fell end. On N. with Cartmell fell Chappelry from which 'tis \ divided by the River Winstar*. / It has but one Chappelry calld Crosthwate Chappel.

In the East window of the S. Ile or Alley: Richard Buskel 1601[7]



Figure 2.7.2. Heversham Church East Window. 'Richard Buskel 1601'. II.161.

In Prestons Seat in the S. Alley [and] Three more Thus.



Figure 2.7.3. 'In Prestons Seat' and 'Three more thus'. *II 161.*

[6] Prescription money: money paid according to ancient or continued custom, especially when regarded as authoritative. *OED*.
[7] Buskel or Buskell. '…1602 Richard Buskell, gent., lately deceased, long before his death was seised of the manor of Eversham, a capital messuage called Evershamhall, 6 cottages, 72 a. land, and of one burgage or messuage in Kendal; that on the marriage of his son Thomas he settled the premises upon the issue of that marriage; that the said Thomas died in his said father's lifetime; and that Jasper, son of the said Thomas, is heir of the said Richard and is now aged 15 years and 2 months.' William Farrer and John F. Curwen (eds), *Records Relating To the Barony of Kendale II*, CWAAS Record Series 4 (Kendal, 1924), 141-67. 'In 1613-14, Jasper Buskell, counsellor-at-law, conveyed to Edward Wilson of Nether Levens, gent., the capital messuage of Heversham Hall and the demesne together with his manor of Heversham.' *N&B1*, 201.

[II.165]

In Hersham Church[8]
Heversham Church. l[ength] 40. b[readth] 23. See also in the General Account for Armes.
{On a Pillar. Mem[orial] Mr Henry Bellinghams lady.}
{Bellinghams [Arms] with Quarterings in the farthest window of the N. Ile.}

Above a Capital of a Pillar in the N. Ile



Figure 2.7.4. 'Above a Capital of a Pillar in the N. Ile'. II.165.

On the E? window of the north Ile.



Figure 2.7.5. 'On the E? window of the North Aisle'. II.165.

[8] On II.165, some inked comments and three inked margin sketches are superimposed over pencilled text and sketches which are now almost illegible.

On a Marble-Grave-Stone in Prestons Pew. S.



Figure 2.7.6. 'On a Marble-Grave-Stone in Prestons Pew S.'. II.165.

[II.161]

{Lordships}

1. Heversham & Milthrop \ d[istant] 1m. S. /
2. Leavins Up[per] \ 1m. N. /
3. Preston Richard.
4. Sisars \ 2m. N. / consisting of: Sidgewick \ 2m. N.E. / Hencastar \ 1m. S.E.[9] / Staneton \ 2m. E. /
5. Crosthwate & Lythe in the Chappelry of Crosthwate. N.W. 5m.
6. Nether Levens.

[Quarters]
1. Crosthwate – has in the Chaple Quarter 64 f[amilies]; in Lithe 52; Townend Quarter 45.
2. Milthrop has in that quarter 80; in Akenthwate 17; Rowell 8; Woodhouse 20; Heversham 27.[10]

[II.162]

3. {Sidgewick 39; Hinkister 30; Mabbin Hall and Leesgill 16}
{Quarter calld the West side of Kent 59 ; Brigsteer 17.}
4. Preston Richard 66; Milton 19; Staniton 60.

[II.161]

{I. Heversham Manner House Court}
{A Parke but no Deere in them} \ d[istance] ab Ecclesia 200 yards W. /
The Manner House is Heversham Hall, where a Court \ Leet / & Court Baron is kept.

[II.162]

{Descent}
Formerly belongd to the Bouskill (and Milthrop allso, which was said formerly to be a member of the manner but is not so now) from whom it was sold[11] with a 3rd part of the Tenants by Richard B[ouskill] to Mr Edward Wilson of Nether Levins about 50 years since {ab Anno 1692}.[12]
And Parke House – d[istant] ¼ m. S. – was sold with Heversham Parke, an other Parcell of the Demane, by the said B[ouskill] to Sir James Bellingham of Upper Levins 2 years afore. The former remane in Mr Edward Wilson, son of Thomas ~~Son~~, kinsman to the said Purchaser, on whom he bestowd it. The lat[t]er is passed by Mr Allan \ Bellingham /(son of James, son of Allan, son of James the Purchaser) to Col[one]l James Graham, circa anno Domini 1687.

[9] Unclear compass direction.
[10] In the MS, the Lordships were renumbered, the new numbers being superimposed over the first.
[11] MS: '~~It is said~~ formerly ~~to have~~ belongd to the Bouskill ~~with Milthrop to~~ and Milthrop allso, which was said formerly to be a member of the manner but is not so now – from whom it was sold ~~B to Mr Edward Wilson~~.'
[12] Machell wrote this in 1692. For more on the descent of the manor, see above, II.161.

{Tenure}
The Tenants are most of them customary at Fine Arbitrary & Heriotable – there being only about ~~6~~ 12 \ consid[erable] / freeholds.

[II.163]

{II. Preston Richard} I have it.[13]

[II.162]

{III. Upper Leavens}
Manner House is Upper Levens Hall {Court Baron} which was purchased either by the said Sir James or Allan his father of Mr Readman of Thornthon near Engleton Yorkshire. & was sold by young Allan aforesaid to the said Mr Graham.
{1 Parke stord with deer, & Kent runs in the midle & a Catadupe at the head.}[14] {Clean martes there.}
The Tenants are mostly Customary

[II.163]

at Fine Arbitrary & Heriotable; & but few freeholds in it.

{IV. Manner of Sisergh}
The Manner House is Sisors Hall. ~~Where~~ \ but / they kept their Court \ Leet & Baron / at Croscrake Chappel. Till they bough[t] themselves free of ~~Mr Walker~~ Sir Thomas Strickland[15] about 18 years since {ab A.D. 1692} & were Arbitrary & Heriotable as other Tenants. Now the Royalty & all is in the Tennants but \ they keep no / Courtes; but the Manner House & Demanes continue still in the name of the Stricklands & is in Kendal Parish.

[II.164]

{V. Crosthwate ~~Lordship~~ & Lith \ Manner /}
Has no Manner House, nor Demane Lands now appertaneing to it \ but tis said ~~ther~~ Calmer Hall was the manner house. / It was & is part in the Crown & part in Mr Graham, who have 2 Stuarts & joyne together in keeping a Court.[16] But the Queens Tenants are at Fine Certaine, Sc. Double the Rent at the Death; & 3ble[17] upon descent or Alienation. But the other are Arbitrary & Heriotable. The Queens part still remanes in the Crowne: But Bellinghams part is transferred by purchase to the said Mr Graham.

[II.163]

{VI. Under Levins Lordship}[18]
The Manner house is Nether \ Under / Levens Hall – (which has 2 Demanes, one of which is called Ninesergh.) And the Court is kep at the Hall*. It was anciently in the Prestons in the Manner of Furness in Lancashire, and fell by Descent to Sir Thomas by the Dea[th] of Sir John his elder

[13] In the MS, Machell left space here for information on Preston Richard, but did not use it.
[14] The rest of this margin note is blotted.
[15] The royalist Sir Thomas Strickland (1621-94) J.P., of Sizergh Castle, was captain of foot (1642) and lieutenant colonel (1644) in the first Civil War. His estate was settled on him before the second Civil War, in which he fought and was fined £943 on an annual income of £397. After the Restoration he became MP for Westmorland (1661-77). A Roman Catholic, from 1675 he did not attend the House: the Speaker was not informed of his recusancy until Sir John Lowther III was of age to succeed to the seat. Sir Thomas was disabled from sitting in 1677. Financial need compelled him to alienate his Yorkshire estate and salt farm to his cousin Sir Roger Strickland. In 1687 James II offered him the governorship of Carlisle, but he had expected 'something more suitable', so was sworn in as a Privy Councillor. Having entered exile in 1688, he died in France in 1694. https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/strickland-sir-thomas-1621-94.
[16] 'James Grahme (Graham) (1650-1730), MP for Carlisle (1685-87), was keeper of the privy purse, first to the Duchess, and then to the Duke of York (1679-88). One of the court's 'Anglican-Tory circle', Grahme and his brother, Viscount Preston, entered the Jacobite underworld in 1688. Preston's capture in 1690 led to Grahme's arrest and seizure of his Westmorland estates 'upon the notion of his being a papist'. He was released but pursued again for 'abetting and adhering to his Majesty's enemies'. From the mid-1690s, Grahme lived quietly at Levens, purchased for £24,000 in 1688. Although he claimed to have experienced financial problems associated with his loyalty, his estates are estimated to have been worth over £1,000 p.a. in the 1690s. He was mayor of Appleby (1705-06, 1717-18), and MP for Appleby (1702-1708) and Westmorland (1708-1727): http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1690-1715/member/grahme-%28graham%29-james-1650-1730.
[17] Treble.
[18] MS: '{VI. ~~Nether~~ \ Under / Levins Lordship}.'

Brother.[19] And now by Marriage of the one of his Daughters,[20] is the possession of the Lord Montgomery.

{Tenure}
The Tenants are Customary Arbitrary & Heriotable except som freeholds.
This I hear is lately purchased of my Lord [Blank] by Mr Wilson of Dallan Tower {Som[time][21] in 1694}

[Machell's Notes: II.163]

*{q. if Leet.}

[II.164]

{Heversham Free School}

At Heversham ab Ecclesia 200 yards NE is erected a free Grammar School founded by Mr Edward Wilson of Nether Levins*, as by the figures over the Door in 1613.[22] And endowed by him with 20li per Annum & 2 Exhibitions of 6.1.3 4d a piece – the one to Queens College in Oxford, the other to Trinity College in Cambridge. And there is another Exhibition given by one Rig sometime Stuart of Levins, of 10li per Annum in the Hands of the College. The 2 former is limited to such Boyes as goe from this School their parents being poore; the other chiefly for those of this School, or from any other according to the Discretion of the said College. {Dr Bor \wick/ Dean of St Pauls;[23] & Dr Borwick, a physician, his Brother;[24] Dr. Rawlinson Fellow of Queens College[25] – all educated here.}

A place \ in Heversham /of from the [church] ½ a quarter [mile] NE – calld Battle Place but on what occasion is not known†.

[Machell's Notes: II.164]

*{There he farmed only, & tho he had many, never lodged in an House of his own.}
†[Source:] {The woman that lives in it.}

[19] Colonel (Sir) John Preston (1617-1645), son of Patrick Preston of The Manor, Dalton-in-Furness, succeeded his father in 1642 (baronet, 1644). A recusant family, the Prestons' large iron interests in Furness allowed them to raise a fighting force against the Parliamentarians. In 1644 Colonel Preston was wounded, fighting in Furness. Sir Henry Slingsby noted, 'His horse kill'd, and it may seem that being down, some of the foot ... gave him a knock on the head ... He lay in a swoon ... many days ... his perfect sense and understanding he recovered not for half a year after.' He was dead by the end of 1645, after which his estates were partially sold to settle the debts of John Pym: a fierce enemy of Catholics: P.R. Newman, D.Phil. Thesis, 'The Royalist Army in Northern England 1642-45' (Two Vols., University of York, 1978), Vol. 2, 166. See also, Anne C. Parkinson, *A History of Catholicism in the Furness Peninsula 1127-1997* (Lancaster, 1998), 30-33.
[20] MS: 'And now by Marriage of the one of this of his Daughters'.
[21] Or 'Sommer'.
[22] Founded in 1613 but with later endowment, see below.
[23] John Barwick (1612-1664) was born in Witherslack in 1612, third of five sons of George Barwick, a husbandman. He entered St John's College, Cambridge, in 1631; graduated BA,1635; elected fellow of the college, 1636; MA, 1638. An Arminian and a Laudian, he was ordained deacon in Lincoln Cathedral in 1640 and in 1641 was made canon of Durham Cathedral and chaplain to the bishop. A devoted royalist, he was ejected from his fellowship in 1644, upon which he went to London to be chaplain to Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham. He was said to be a secret royalist spy, communicating with the king in Oxford. After the regicide he was imprisoned for high treason but freed on bail in 1652, after which he negotiated with people of influence for the return of the monarchy. In 1660 Charles II awarded him a DD. He was appointed dean of Durham Cathedral on 1 November 1660 and dean of St Paul's in 1661. He died of consumption in 1664. J. Elligott, 'Barwick, John (1612-1664), dean of St Paul's'. *ODNB*.
[24] Peter Barwick (1619-1705), physician, was born at Witherslack, a son of George Barwick (see above). Like his brother, John, he was educated at Sedbergh School and at St John's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted sizar in 1638; BA, 1642. In 1647 he became MA and studied medicine. In 1651 he attended Charles II at Worcester. Throughout the Interregnum he and his brother continued to support the royalist cause. In 1655 he received his MD and became a member of the Royal College of Physicians. After the Restoration (1660) he became a medical advisor to the king: P. Elmer, 'Barwick, Peter (1619-1705), physician'. *ODNB*.
[25] For Richard Rawlinson, see William Poole, 'A royalist mathematical practitioner in interregnum Oxford: the exploits of Richard Rawlinson (1616-1668)', *The Seventeenth Century* 33, 5 (2018), 557-86.

{Goates in Whitbarrow.}
{Dr Sands Archbishop of York in ? – was Vicar here.}[26]

[II.170]

[Letter to Thomas Machell from Edward Wilson of Nether Levens]

Chester Dioces
Heversham Free School was founded by Edward Wilson of Nether Levens, owner of Heversham Hall in the Barony of Kendall & countie of Westmorland, gentleman, in or about the yeare of our Lord 1619,[27] & by him endowed with Severall Burgage lands to the yearely value of 21^{li} -03^{s} -10^{d}, & with a yearely Rent Charge of 3^{li} issuing out of other Lands within the same Barony; & by his Last will & testament with 2 Exhibitions of Twentie Nobles a yeare – th'one to Queenes in Oxon, th'other to Trinity College in Cambridge – yearely for ever, besides tenn poundes yearely for ever to the poore of the said parish. Schoolmasters have been severall; of greater remarke = One Rowland Lucas of Christs College in Cambridge Master of Arts, whoe was Schoolmaster there to Peter Borwicke Dr of Phisicke; to Dr Rawlinson \ Fellow of Queens College Oxon / famous in the Mathematikes & tutor to the last Earle Percy & severall others of eminent learning. The present Schoolmaster is Mr Thomas Lodge. The feoffees of Heversham Schoole at present are 12: to witt Edward Wilson Esq, grand child of him the said Edward, & Patron thereof; Sir John Ottway Kt; James Bellingham Esqs; Curwen Rawlinson Esqs;[28] Mr Thomas Bigge Vicar of Heversham; Edwin Saule; Anthony Saule; Rowland Parke; Thomas Benson; Geoffray Park; & William Holme.

This for Mr Christopher Wase from \ Mr / Edward Wilson.[29]

[II.166]

[Rarities in Nature]

{Fowle} ~~Swans~~ willd \ swans / (20 together) are some times in winter seen \ here / aboutes. & wild gees usually on the mosses at the said season. Scarples,[30] Sheldrakes, plenty of wild Duckes by 100 together, Teales & Widgeons & Didappers.[31]
{Springs Petrefying} In \ Upper / Levins Parke ½ a m. ab Aula, ther \ is / a well called Makerig well. Turnes Moss into Stone: Sic dict[um] \ forsan / quia fabricus lapides fabricando Lapides.[32]

{Trees} 2 Rare Trees in Levins Parke –? q. how great.[33] Ewe Large & plentifull all over the parish, \ Sweet / Savin \ i.e. Juniper / all over, Lau\r/ell & Bayes & Rosmary great store.

---

[26] Edwin Sandys (1519?-1588) was born at Esthwaite Hall near Hawkshead. Cambridge BA (1539); DD (1549); Cambridge vice-chancellor (1553); Bishop of Worcester (1559-70); Bishop of London (1570-76); Archbishop of York (1576-88). Sandys's name appears in CCED as vicar of Heversham from 1551-1554. See also P. Collinson, 'Sandys, Edwin (1519?-1588), archbishop of York'. *ODNB*.
[27] Edward Wilson of Nether Levens Hall, founded a Grammar School on Heversham Head in 1613, see R.D. Humber, *Heversham: The Story of a Westmorland School and Village* (Kendal, 1968), Ch.1. In 1619/20 an Indenture was made between Wilson and Thomas Kilner of Helsington, yeoman, Edward Fisher of Kirkby Kendall, clothier, Thomas Wilson, clothier, and Robert Crosfield of Stricklandroger, yeoman, to provide further for the school. See Farrer and Curwen (eds), *Records Relating To the Barony of Kendale II*, 141-67.
[28] Curwen Rawlinson (1641-1689), Gentleman, of Cark-in-Cartmel, entered Queen's College, Oxford, in 1656-7; married the niece of General Monck, duke of Albemarle, in 1672; became MP for Lancaster in 1689. The only member of his family to enter Parliament (as a moderate Tory), he died at Warwick in 1689. When his sons died without issue, the property was divided by the heirs of his sisters, see *OAD*; see also https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/rawlinson-curwen-1641-89.
[29] For Wase, see P.J. Wallis, 'Westmorland schools about 1676: Christopher Wase's Survey', *CW2*, 67 (1967), 168-85.
[30] Unknown, but possibly scart/scaurt: cormorant or shag; or, scaurie or scorie: the young of any type of gull, see Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary, being the complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in use, or known to have been in use during the last two hundred years* (London, 1898), 245, 248. The *OED* suggests, scaup duck, scoter duck, scale-drake (sheldrake).
[31] Dabchicks. *OED*.
[32] 'So called perhaps because the stones [are like a] craftsman, fashioning stones.'
[33] The rest of this sentence is obscured by the binding.

{Fruite} Rasberryes plentifull ~~& Currants~~ Great store of orchards.

{Fuele} Turfe or Peat – ab Ecclesia \ ¼ / W[est] near [Blank]

{Stones} Firestone \ i.e. Sulphur / on Hersham head ab Eccleia ½ quarter m. North.
Limestone plenty. Except \ in / Preston Richard.

{Heversham Long Lives; 100 y.}
Agnas Story of Heversham buryed here 9 years agoe, was above 100 years of Aige.
Ed Saul & his wife – about 20 years since lived to make up together above 200.[34]
And there is \ one / Thomas Benson at Levins Parke now living {1692}, who is above 100 old. He frequently Angled & hunted on foote, & came to the Church 2ce a day on foot,[35] within these three yeares. Has \ house / ab Ecclesia ~~a~~ \ 2 / m. {from which Bensons name is desended; a notable family in [Blank] as appears by this pedegre}.[36]

[II.167][37]

[Benson Family Pedigree]

A Pedegre shewn me by Lancelot Benson of Ambleside, who was Born Elterwater Hall, 2 son \ (& Brother of Michael) / of Mich, son of Mich. of the same. {See the Northumberland Booke in the Heralds Office London.}This ped[igree] was taken by Mr King, Deputy to Mr Sandford, Somerset Herald – the last visitation of Northamptonshire, 1683. & entered in the Northumberland[38] Booke – being compared by Mr Lane.[39]

Benson Descent.

		Richard Benson of Heckam, alias Hersham† near Kendal in Westmerland	= Katherine daughter of Greenwood*		
George B. merchant ob. S.P. 1642	Nicolas B. 6th son & Hugh Benson Son 7th	Richard B. of Alesbury in Bucks Obijt 1639	= Martha d. of Richard Taylor of How in Hambledon Pasture Bucks	2. Will B. killd at Ostend[40]	3. Hen. B. Sine P.
	1. Will Benson Isue Rich. Benson of Chadshunt in Northampton Now living in 1691	2. Henry Benson of Charwelton in Com. Northants Esq? Ob. 1664	= Francis elder coheire of George Dumbleton of Dumbleton in Glos Esqs.	3. George B. of Towchester m. = the 2nd coheire of Dumbleton Obijt 1687	Mary

[34] In the 1669-71 Hearth Tax Roll, Lay Subsidy 195, n.73, m.3., 'Widow Saul' paid tax for one hearth. See Farrer and Curwen (eds), *Records Relating To the Barony of Kendale II*, Heversham and Milnthorpe hearth tax roll, 1669-71, 141-167. Machell's informants, Anthony and Edwin Saule, were feoffees of Heversham School, see below, II.170, II.174.
[35] MS: 'He frequently Angled, & hunted ~~upon his feet~~ \ on foote / & came to the Church 2ce a day on ~~his~~ foot,'
[36] See II.167.
[37] For other Bensons, see Part 2, Ch.6, Grasmere, II.129.
[38] Machell appears to have written 'Northumberland' over 'Northamptonshire'; unsurprising, given the similarity of the county names and the fact that the Bensons appear to have lived in both counties.
[39] The name 'Lane' is an insecure transcription; it is the last word at the (damaged) page foot.
[40] The siege of Ostend, in which an army of about 20,000 royal troops confronted a garrison of about 5,700 defenders, took place from July 1601 to September 1604, during the Revolt in the Netherlands. See Werner Thomas, 'How a defeat became a victory: the siege of Ostend in contemporary Dutch war coverage and post-war chronicles (1601-15)', in Raymond Fagel, Leonor Álvarez Francés, and Beatriz Santiago Belmonte (eds), *Early modern war narratives and the Revolt in the Low Countries* (Manchester, 2020), 125-45.

		Rich. Benson of Charwelton Esq? ob. 1671	= Ann d. & coheire of John Wirly of Dodford in Northumb. Esq.	George Benson of Little Boyton in Northumb'land	= [Miss] Knight of Stapton & had [Blank]
	2. Rich. Benson of Sulby, celebs[41]	1. Hen. Bens. of Dodford Esq. ~~obijt~~ now living 1671	= Eliz. eldest d. of Thomas Lord Gray of Grooby, eldest son to Henry Earle of Stamford[42]	George Benson now living 1691	
	Anna Maria Benson obijt 1674	~~Anna Maria~~ Christiana Elizabetha Benson. Borne in Bourges in France. Now living 1691		Jane Gray Benson, born 1685 at Dodford now living 1691.	

{Mich. Benson of Elterwater}
|
{Mich. Benson of Elterwater}
|
{Mich. Benson of Elterwater}
|
{1. Mic. Benson who sold it to 2. Lancelot Benson of Ambleside}

[Machell's Notes on the Benson Pedigree and Arms: II.167]

*A mistake; suerly never so called.
†Never of any account there. Yet there is one Benson an old man in that Parish, above 100, who had a son at Oxon.
{N. If these Bensons came from Hersham, it shew they neither had armes then, because they differ.}
{But N[ote] These arms differ much from those of the Bensons impaleing Brathwate of Burnaside. T.M.}



Figure 2.7.7. Benson Family Arms. II.167.

[Left] A seale – Benson quartering Dumbleton.
[Right] Benson quartering Whirly.
[Centre] Argent on a Bend (inter 3 goates heads \ errased / Sable langued G[ules] armed Or & S[able]) 3 Escallops of the 1st. The Crest a Goates head S[able] chargd with an Escalop Argent.

[41] 'Unmarried.'
[42] Thomas Grey, Lord Grey of Groby (1622-1657), was MP for Leicester during the English Long Parliament, a member of Cromwell's New Model army, and a regicide. He was the eldest son of Henry Grey, 1st earl of Stamford, and Anne Cecil, daughter of William Cecil, 2nd earl of Exeter. E. Bradley & S. Kelsey, 'Grey, Thomas, Baron Grey of Groby, regicide'. *ODNB*.

[II.169]

[Further Notes and Queries relating to Heversham]

Westmorland Heversham Free School.
Mr. Brigs Vicar.[43]
The Free School at Heversham: The Schoolmaster August 1692 – was Mr [Blank] Green, an Apalby scholar – who promised to send me the Monumental Inscriptions,[44] & som Armes to be drawn by Mr Webster.
? q. How the Church was Build and repared?
Qu. of the Medicinall well. How far distant ab Ecclesia. E.W.N. or S. with its vertues, & names of People cured by it, & of what diseases, with their age Condition & place of Aboad.

[II.171]

Preston Richard in Heversham

{ab Anno 1692}
{Soyle – sandy & limestone}
{B[ounded] on the East divided by Preston Patrick divided by Gatebeck on the S. with Farleton in Bethom divided by St Sunday which is here called Deepthwate beck, 2 waters meating on the West with ~~Milthrop & in~~ Hersham parish – d[ivided] by Deepthwate or St Sundayes becks: on the N. with Holm Scale divided by Gatebeck – so that there is not 2ce score [acres] of Land uncompassed about with water.}

Preston Richard is an Hamlet on the N. side {of St Sundaye which is here calld Deep Thwate Beck} ~~Of~~ \ & the West side of / Lilly-beck alias Gatebeck, consisting \ 1 / of free-hold[ers] which bought themselves free of Sir John Lowther of Lowther about 18 years since. {They bought themselves free paying only the old Rent & Suit of Court to him.} (who purchased halfe the Tenants of Mr Preston of Howskar[45] \ & / allso Kirkby Tenants with all the Demane lands which he had there). The other halfe are Customary Tenants: Pay fineable Rents at Fine Arbitrary but no Bonds & Services; & pay Greenhew 2d per Annum (they never heard of Cornage.) The Widdow has the whol Estate if she neither Mary nor Miscarry dureing her life, or else she looses it \ all. / But in freehold the W[idow] has her thirds dureing her life whether she marry or not {but 2nd &c. has but halfe.}

The \ Free / Tenants \ appear / at any House their Lord doth appoint within his Libertyes, he having no Manner house of his own. And the Customary Tenants \ likewise / appear at any house ~~of their~~ Lords ~~which he shal~~ \ doth / appoint within his Libertyes \ for the same reason / And both Lords have liberty of Waife & Stray upon the Common as they com \ 1t / to them or upon the Remand[er] as they happen to be in the Lands of their Tenants.

{Manner House}
The Manner is held of the Earle of Darby as Capital Lord; & formerly payed a noble Rent to him. But Penningtons Ancestors bought of their halfe; and the \ other / halfe is still continued upon the Tenants of Sir John Lowther. It is said heretofore to have belongd to the name of the Bensons, whose manner house (lately Customary ~~Land~~ \ Estate now Sir John Lowthers part purchasd free* /) is called Auld Hall (where Courtes were kept), of which Mr Bankes has seen Courtes Roll & Thomas Fletch[er] hath heard so reported. And is said by 2 Daughters & Coheirs, to [have] passd in marriage to 2 different Lords – And the Prestons of Howcar; & Penningtons of Moncaster (who hold

[Machell's Notes: II.171]
*Time. Query – how long free the Bensons?

[43] Thomas Briggs (Bigge or Big) was presented to Heversham vicarage in 1638, although his name does not appear in the parish registers until 1641. He was sequestered c.1645 but continued to live in the neighbourhood and was restored to the vicarage in 1663. He died in 1676. See Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662, 2,* 972-74, 977-79. See also CCED; and see *N&B1*, 198.
[44] In Heversham church.
[45] Holker.

[II.173]

one halfe still) have continued Lords of it time immemoreal; till now of late that the Prestons sold their part to Sir John Lowther of Lowther in Westmorland*. {annis ab hinc 20*.}[46]

There are Trenches & Bulworkes upon Milton More {ab Ecclesia 1m. S.E. ab Aula S. ¾} of diverse forms, of which 2 are hills cast up with Trenches about them 6 or 8 yards diameter & 1 yard high, which I suppose to have bin Tumuli. There ~~are~~ is a Square one 7 Score from thence towards the S. East about 8 yards broad & 16 long. Another like the Carpenters Square – haveing 2 sides only – 40 yards North from the former – But of what use they can not imagin.
A place calld the Deere Parke adjoyning the old Hall – now in Tillage & \ ½ of it / a customary estate – as has bin sayd.

Holme Moss Tarne – 60 Broad & \ ½ a quarter mile long {ab Aula N.E. ½ m} has Eales only in it And in Holm Moss ½ in the Lordship ~~&~~ ½ in Holm in Burton parish – in a Dike Gutter 2 yards wide, not cast above 2 years before – an Eal was taken – 1691, about 3 quarters long & 9 inch about, 1m. from Parke ½ m. West. In which they say is white marle[47] & many pikes. {Mr Moore.}

There were Swanes formerly kept on the foote of Deepthwate; which sat & bread there but they belongd to Nether Levins. Gate beck ends in Deepthwate, a m[ile] S. below the Old Hall - well stord with orchards. Rasberryes up & doen,[48] but few.
Their Fuel Turfe or Peat ~~scarce &~~ 3m. West ab Aula at Foulshaw. Large gray Limestone in great plenty all over.
{Tenants & Tenure is before the Descent of the Lordship.}

[II.174]

[Machell's Notes. II.174]

1f	1f
1f	2f

Frame: 3 inch; 2 inch: ½ ciferd off

{Hersham: Mr Farmer vicar. Anthony Saul. James Beck. James Hinde. Mr Green Schoolmaster}[49]

[II.175]

[Upper Levins]



Figure 2.7.8. Upper Levins Hall. II.175.

[46] 'Twenty years ago from this present date.'
[47] 'White marle': an earthy deposit, loose and unconsolidated, comprising clay mixed with calcium carbonate, formed in prehistoric waters; used to improve the texture of sandy or light soil. Also, a calcareous deposit found at the bottom of present-day lakes and rivers, composed of the remains of aquatic plants and animals. *OED*.
[48] 'Up and down.'
[49] Machell's informants.

Arms at Upper Levins Hall
{N.B. Many of the Caps supernumeraryes may be omitted}[50]

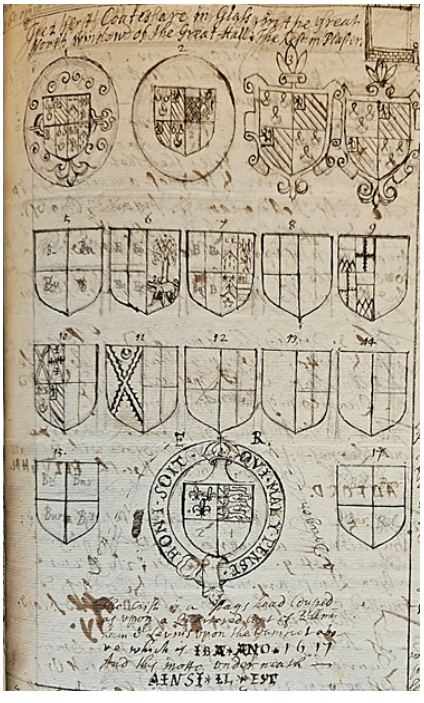


Figure 2.7.9. Arms at Upper Levins Hall. II.175.

[On the 'Royal' Arms, placed centrally, supporters are dexter, a lion; sinister, a dragon].
The Crist is a Stags head couped as upon a Quartered Coat of Bellingham with Levins upon the wainscot above, which is, IBA*ANO*1617. And this motto underneath: AINSI*EL*EST.[51]

The 2 first Coates are in Glass, in the Great North window of the great Hall; the Rest in Plaster.
1. The 1^{t} is Bellingham whose armes are Argent 3 Bugles Sable tiped [and] tined [blank] quartering Levines who bears armes ~~Barry~~ Argent \ 3 Bendlets / Gules on a Canton of the 2nd, a Lyon Rampant of the 1^{t} = impalein[g] Sandford ~~&~~ quaterd with English whereof the former is parted per the cheveron S[able] & Ermin, 2 Boares head couped Or. {N[ote]} latter is Sable, 3 Lyons Rampant Argent.}
2. The 2nd is Bellingham with the said Quartering Impaleing = Curwen (Argent a frett Gules over all a chief Azure) quartering a Lyon Rampant. Argent debruised of [a billet][52] Gules by the name of [Blank]
3. 4. N. Al the rest are in Plaster above the wainscot, whereof the 2 first, marked 3 & 4, are on each \ side / the dooer as you enter; And are the same with Bellingham &c. – as at fig. the 1^{t} without the Impaleing.
5. The 5th is \ the Same with / Bellingham Quartering Levins.
6. The 6th Bellingham with Quarterings – Impaleing a wilde bore leaning against a Tre: by the name of [Blank]

[50] Placed in the top left margin and unclear, but perhaps, 'Many of the headings in excess of the required number may be omitted.' [?]
[51] 'So it is.'
[52] Machell provided a small sketch of a billet, instead of the word.

7. The 7th is Bellingham with the said Quarterings Impaleing Sandford with its 3 quarterings, whereof the 2nd is English, the 3 is Crackenthorp with a floredeluce chargd upon the cheveron for a younger House: And the 4 is Lancaster of Howgill Castle.
8. The 8th is Bellingham Quarterly &c – Impaleing Curwen with its Quarterings as at Fig. 2.
9. Is quarterly Sc. 1. 3 cheveronell Brassd in Bass and a chiefe – by the name of [Blank] Quartering a † Ingraled = Impaleing Bellingham with quarterings as above.
10. is a Saltier – quartering in the 2 quarters a Saltier betwene 4 Cross ✠. In the Third Bellingham; in the 4th Levins = Impaleing Bellingham quartered ut supra.
11. The [11th] is a Saltier ingraled, with a [crescent][53] in Chief = Impaleing Bellinghams Quarterd ut [supra]
12. 13. 14. Are Impaleing of B[ellingham] with Blankes.
15. 17. Bellingham with Burn[eside]} quart[erly] ut supra.[54]

[II.176]

{Bellingham Quartering}
18. In the Parlour window are 1. Bellingham Quartering Burnaside wherin the first is Argent, 3 Bugles. Lined & Tipped of the Field – {And on a Scrowle on one side
AMICUS AMICO ALANVS – on the other BELLIGERVS BELLIGERO BELLINGHAMVS}[55]

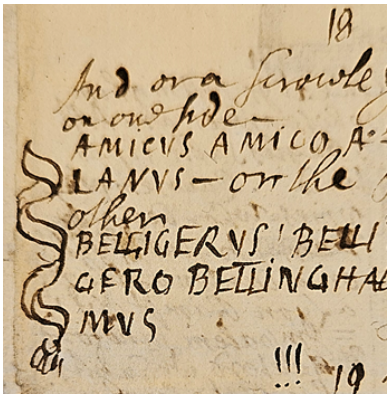


Figure 2.7.10. Scroll 'in the parlour window'. II.176.

The Second is Argent – ~~on a qua~~ 3 Bends Gules, on a Quarter of the 1t a Lyon Rampant of the second – (N.B. where Note, the other was Barry {!!!} but this is fairer – & this the most ancient Coate in the Hall.)

{Bellingham Single}
19. The 2. is Bellingham Sc. Argent: 3 Bugles S[able][b] Tippd & Tasselld Or,[a] Lin'd Gules.[56] With a wreath Argent & Gules upon a side faced Helmet, & above for the Crist, a Staggs head erased Or, And herein, the motto is the same with that in the Hall.

[53] See *Fig. 2.7.11.*
[54] This paragraph is crushed into the bottom right of the page and heavily abbreviated.
[55] At the end of the 18th century, the window was noted by Capt. Joseph Budworth (1756-1815), aka (from 1811) Joseph Palmer, who used the pen-name, 'A Rambler': 'This couplet was made upon Alan Bellingham, who purchased Levens, alluding to his social, and, at the same time, martial disposition.' A Rambler, *A Fortnight's Ramble to the Lakes in Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Cumberland* (2nd edn, London, 1795), 19. The play on words could, perhaps, be translated as, 'Alan's a mate to his mates; Bellingham's a bastard to bullies.' (My thanks to the incomparable Jane Penman. Ed.)
[56] Note that Machell decided to order the sentence differently using superscript a. and b.

{With Quarterings}
20. The 3. don by the same hand, with the same Crist & motto, excepting that on the scrowle is Bellingham with Lines gules, Tip'd & Tasseld Or, Quartering Burnasides in the 1[t].
21. The 4. is Bellingham ut supra. Quarterly with Burnaside = Impaleing Sandford with its quart[erings] Sc. English. And writ underneath BELYNGHAM SANDFORD.
What color are the Bores heads – with Sandford {?}[57]
22. The 5[th] is Belling[ham] Quartered as aforesaid Impaleing = a Quarterly Coate of [Blank] Argent ~~above~~ \ on / a frett G[ules] a Chief Az[ure]; 2ly. Azure a lyon rampant Argent langued &c. Gules. debruised on the Shoulder with 3[58] \ billets / of the second. The motto SI JE NESTOY {with Curwen}.[59]
23.\ The 6. / is Bellingham quarterly as aforesaid, Impaleing a quarterly Coate of 12. Whereof the 1. is Or; a fess betwene 3 Crescents Gules. The 2. Or a cross Sable. The 3. Argent; a chevron[60] Azure betwene 3 Roses {with ?} Gules seeded leaved propper. The 4. Argent, {great many quarterings…)[61] a fess Gules charg'd with a mullet Or, betwene 3 Birds Vert. The 5[th.] is Argent, 2 Barrs wavy Azure. The 6. Gules a cross[62] Moline Or, I think Invecked. The 7. is Sable a Bend fleury[63] Argent. The 8. is Azure a fess ^^^ Ermin, between 6 Cross Crosslett Argent*. The 9. is Azure a Chief Argent chargd with 3 chapletts of Roses Gules. The 10. is Argent a fess, betwene 6 floredelices Sable. The 11. is Ermin on a Canton Gules an […][64] Or pierc'd of the field. And the 12. is the same with the first, under which are these figures – 1613.

[Machell's Notes: II.176

*three & thre.

[II.177]

{Bellingham with Burnaside ut infra}
24. In the Bow window in small Quarryes are these Coates of Armes [see figure below]. Sc. 1. Bellingham – Argent, 3 bugles Sable tiped Lined & Tassled Or (N.B. which differ from all the foregoing Bearings) ~~and on one is writt~~ Impaleing Argent 3 Bars.
25. and a Chanto[65] Gules chargd with a Lyon Rampant Argent. And on one side is writ Bellingham, on the other Burnaside.

{With Salkeld}
26. The 2. is Bellingham as aforesaid, Quartering Burnaside (~~which I calld before Levins, till I saw this: ergo Qu~~) Impaleing Azure frette Argent – On the one side of which is writ Beling[ham]. On the other Salkeld.

{With Barburne}
27. The 3. is Bellingham quarterly \ ut / supra – Impaleing Argent 3 chaplets of Roses seeded Or & writ &c. – sc. on the one side Bellingham & on the other side Barburn.

{With Tunstall}
28. The 4. is Bellingham ut supra Impaleing Sable 3 Combes Argent, & writ by it Tunstall.

---

[57] Written in different ink in Machell's hand, as if added later.
[58] Machell drew a small rectangle after this word.
[59] Machell's execution of 'JE' is overwritten and blotted but William Nicolson rendered it clearly when he wrote in his diary on 20 Sept. 1702/3, 'In the great Dineing-Room at Levens (and the Lodgeing-Room at the end, where I lay) are the Bellingham Arms with their matches with the Fords &c. in Glass, & well carved in wood, with this motto. – *Ainsi il est si je nestoy, 1595*. The Crest a Buck's Head, and, in one place, two Stags supporters.' See Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness [Henry Ware], 'Bishop Nicolson's Diaries, Part II', *CW2*, (1902), 155-230, at 208. Translation: 'So it is as if I'm not there.'
[60] Here Machell drew a chevron symbol.
[61] The rest of this comment is obscured by the binding.
[62] This has been drawn as a cross-crosslet.
[63] Here Machell placed a tiny sketch.
[64] Here Machell placed a small sketch of a shield.
[65] Canton.

{With Gilpine}
29. The 5 &c. ~~is or~~ \ Impaleing / Or a Bore passant Sable, & writt by it Gilpine.

{With Beck?}
27. The 6 Bell[ingham] &c. – Impale[ing] [Blank] & writ by it Becke. But the armes are faln out.

{With Sandford}
28. The 7. is Bellingham &c. Impaleing Sandford, as in the Glass before at fig. 21 & writ – Bell[ingham] &c. Sa\n/dford.



Figure 2.7.11. Figures illustrating text. II.*177.*

{With Salkeld}
29. The 8. is Bellingham &c. – Impaleing Argent a frett Gules \ charg'd with a / Chiefe Azure – Quartering the Lyon Rampant Argent debruised of more than 3[66] \ billets / Gules, in a field Azure. But no name writ.[67]

30.}
31.} Over the 2 Dooers in it, are cutt in wood, Bellingham Quartering Burnyside.

32. And over the Chimney Piece – 1. The Royal Arms with Lyon & Dragon for supporters – & these fig[ures] 1595.

33. – 2ly. The Coate Crist & Motto AINSI. IL EST.[68]

34. – 3. Bellingham Quartering Burnaside, the Same Crist & motto & 2 Stags for Supporters.

35. – Bellingham with quartering ut Ante[69] = Impaleing as at fig. 22. SI JE NESTOY.

[II.178]

In the N[orth] Servants Hall in stone Lintal over the chimney and above in wainscot, Bellingham quartering in the 2 place; the frett & Chiefe 3. Burnishead – 4. a Lyon Rampant.

[66] Here, Machell sketched a rectangle.
[67] But he has written 'Salkeld' in the margin.
[68] Partly blotted.
[69] As before.

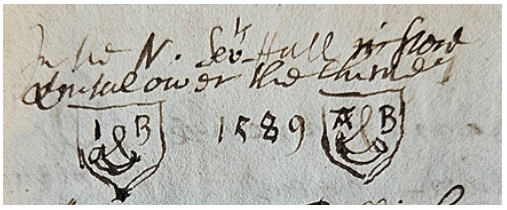


Figure 2.7.12. Bellingham coat of arms in wainscot. II.178.

Collonell James Graham \ Privy Purse to King James 2 / Brother to Sir Richard Graham of Netherby in Cumberland, Baronet & afterwards Created Lord Preston by King James the 2nd upon his Returne from an Embassy in France. Beareth Or on a Chiefe Sable Thre Escallop Shels of the first (charged with Ulsters Armes in the fess) & with his distinction for a younger Brother.[70] They are said to descend of a Second Son of the Earle of Monteith in Scotland, who about the Time of King Henry 4. maryed the Lady Ann Vere, daughter to the Earle of Oxford:[71] Bloomes *Guillam*.[72]

[II.179]

[Under Levins]



Figure 2.7.13. 'Under Levins Hall'. II.179.

[Notes]
[On sketch] Alter this side*.[73]
Mary Preston = Lord Montgomery.
Arms at Under Levins Hall {N.B. These may all be be don in 2 Rows of 5 a piece The key head say it belongd to Brigs or Redman!}

[70] Graham/Grahme, of Levens: see above, II.163.
[71] 'Though Malise, earl of Monteith, is said by some authorities to have married, first, Ann Vere, daughter of Henry, earl of Oxford (see Wood's Douglas' *Peerage*, vol. ii. p. 228), there was never, however, an earl of Oxford called Henry … All that is positively known of his wife or wives is … it appears that his widow was called Marion …' Sir Harris Nicolas, *History of The Earldoms of Strathern, Monteith, and Airth* (London and Edinburgh, 1842), 25-26.
[72] John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldry* (London, 1610). Enlarged editions were published by Jacob and Richard Blome after the author's death in 1621, e.g. John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie… The fourth Edition… Printed by T. R. for Jacob Blome* (London, 1660). In this volume, Vere or de Vere appears on 7, 9-10, 176; on the last of which is the comment, 'The Boare hath been much honoured by being the crest of an Earle, which seemeth to be given to the House of Vere, because Verres is the name of a Boare in Latine.'
[73] See the asterisk to the right of the sketch.

Arms at Under Levins Hall
In the Dineing Roome there:

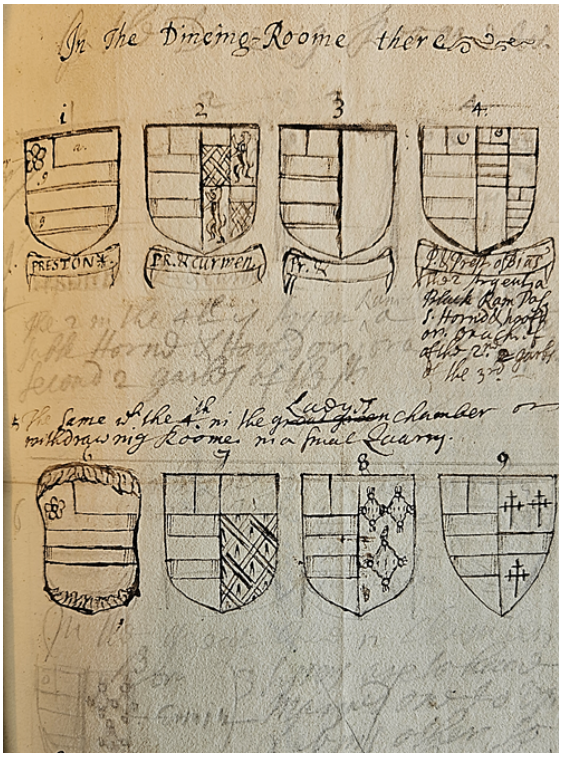




Figure 2.7.14A & 14B. Arms at Nether Levens Hall. II.179.

[Under Fig 4.]
The 2 Argent, a Black Ram Pas. S. Horn'd & hoof'd Or. On a Chief of the 2nd garbs of the 3rd.
1. Is Prestons. Sc. Argent 2 Barrs Gules: on a Canton of the 2nd a Cinquefoile Or, pierced of the 1t.
2. Preston ut supra. & Curwen which is Quarterly; in the 1t & 3rd Argent a fret Gules. Over all a chiefe Azure. In the 2nd & 4th Azure a Lyon Rampant Argent. Debrus'd of a Billet Gules as in Upper Levens
3. Is Preston, & the Impaleing broke out.
4. Is Preston Impaleing Preston of Bi'ans (a younger house) who bear in the 2nd & 3rd Quarter Argent; A Ram passant S[able], Arm'd and hoofed Or.[74]
5. The same with the 4th in the ~~great green~~ Ladyes chamber or Withdrawing Roome. In a smal Quarry.[75]
6. The same with the 1t.

[74] Bi'ans could be Biggins i.e. the Preston Family of Biggins Kirkby Lonsdale: see *AWL*, 238.
[75] This paragraph is repeated in the right-hand margin.

7. Preston Impaleing Thornburrow who beareth Ermin Frettè & chiefe Gules.
8. Preston Impaleing Readman, who beareth Gules: three Cushions Ermin, Buttoned and Tassaled Or. If they be not Rather Pillows. Concerneing which add the account which Guillam hath published of the occasion of this Coate of Arms at p. 228. If it be not already added elsewhere.
9. {?} Preston Impaleing Bradley who beareth \ a fess / between 3 cross cross[l]ets fitche S[able] which as I remember is in the Hall window: As also
10. {?} Preston Impaleing Curwen as in the (2nd above) But with this Difference That the 1t & 4th Quarters are Freettè. Which gives us occasion to q? farther into this Coate.

{Descent of the Hall}
This Hall did antiently belong to the Readmans, as tis reported, & may partly appear from the Coate of Armes in the Roome which is called the Green Chamber.[76] Of whom they say there were Three sister, one whereof was maryed to {or had} Heston Leathes. Another to Upper Levins, & the 3r. This – {de quo Qu?}[77]

[II.181

Epitaph to an unknown lady

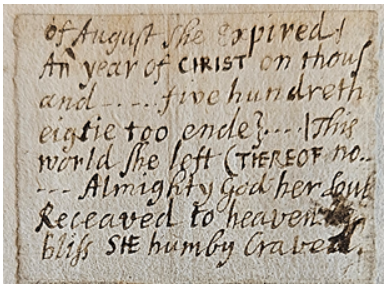


Figure 2.7.15. Slip of paper 4cm square: epitaph to an unknown lady who died in August 1582. II.181.

Of August She Expired |
An year of CHRIST on thous
and … five hundredth
eightie too ende} … | This
world She left (THEREOF no …
… Almighty God her Soul
Receaved to heavenly
bliss SHE humbly Craved.

[Machell's Notes: II.181]

Referenda.
Levines – A Rume Oval – & a dropping well. See MS. Y. \ Sir Daniel Fleming.[78] /
This Nether Levins came by marriage of Sir Thom. Prestons Daughter to the Lord Montgomery who sold it to Mr Preston of Dallen Tower circa 1695.[79]
{Cawmer Hall the Briggses in Crosthwate Chaple in Hersham.}[80]

[76] The Redman family owned Levens until 1562. Matthew Redman (b.1528) died without issue; his sisters (probably his co-heirs) included Matilda (d.1624) who married, 1. Christopher Irton of Threlkeld; 2. Thomas Leigh of Isel; 3. Sir Wilfrid Lawson. See *CFH*, 275.
[77] 'From whom was this story?'
[78] Written on paper, 15cm x 4cm, pasted to the page, reminding Machell to research Daniel Fleming's papers.
[79] A note, probably added, contains '98' [possibly 1698, the year Machell died] and 'I Do', plus 3 or 4 letters now illegible but possibly 'WME', followed by 'T.M.' [Thomas Machell].
[80] For the Briggs family of Cowmire Hall, see H.S. Cowper, 'The history of the house may be disposed of in a few words. It was owned by a family called Briggs, who seem to have lived there at the end of the sixteenth century, and probably built the tower. They entered a pedigree of two generations in the 1615 Visitation of

[II.183]

Sisargh

[Initial Notes]
{Siserge – The Descent of the Man[or] – Mr S. Strickland marriage & Dower – Marq[uess] & Richmond Foe.}
The Stricklands came from Micle Strickland, \ & / Little Strickland Melkinthorp \ Hall in / Morland. And maryed here with one of the Daughters of Dainecourt[81] (who give the 3 Water Budgets – perhaps it should be Par) by which they had the manner of Sisar, Lordships of Natland Sedgewick Stenton[82] & Henkister[83] on the West Side of Kent: So \ old / Mr Shepherd quondam Stuart to the family.[84]
{St James Chapl.}



Figure 2.7.16. 'Silver found About Siserge Hall 15 years since'. II.183.



Figure 2.7.17. 'Silver found there at the same time.' II.183.

Westmorland, but as the family ended in daughters, Briggs of Cawmire is heard of no more.' H.S. Cowper, 'Cawmire or Comer Hall', *CW2*, 1 (1901), 119-28, at 119, 122, 125-26, 127.
[81] D'Eyncourt.
[82] Stainton.
[83] Hincaster.
[84] 'Old Mr Shepherd, formerly steward to the family.'



Figure 2.7.18. 'Silver which came out of Yorkeshire perhaps from about Fountains Abby near Rippon'. II.183.

[II.185]

At Sisargh Hall
In the Dineing Roome Window. The Same with that in the Hall, at the Letter. C.[85]
And a dilicate Chimney-Piece of Wainscot with these Coates of Arms



Figure 2.7.19. Sizergh. Arms on 'a dilicate chimney piece of wainscot' in the dining room'. II.187.

The 1[t] marked (g) is Stricklands quarterly coat Impaleing a Quarterly Coate.
(h) Strickland quartering 3 Coates – Sc. 1. [Blank]
(h) Supporters & Crist as att (e.) in the Parl[our.]

{1.) Is Strickland with the said quarterings impaleing a 4[rly] Coat. Sc. 1. A bend ingraled betwixt 6 martlets.
2. A Cinquefoyle pierced betwene 8 crosses florry, the 1[t] with a Crescent charged upon it?

X. A Curiouse Chimney Piece of Carving.[86]
In the Kitchen window the same with that in the Hall marked (b).

[85] The heading and body text are superimposed upon notes made in pencil.
[86] Marked with a cross because Machell had repeated himself.

[II.187]



Figure 2.7.20. Arms in the Hall at Sizergh Castle. II.187.

In Sisergh Hall on the East Side the Hall Skreene.
N. The (a.) is in wainscot on the Hall Screene.
(b). In the 1. window on the East Side of the Hall.
(c). On that side also. In the next
(d). is of Canvas set in a frame, which hangs against the wall above the wainscot, behind the End Table & gives us the colours.

(a.) Not in colours but Blazoned below at ~~fig~~ d.
(b.) A Quarterly Coate the 1[t] & 4[th] Argent a Fess Danse inter 9 Billets, 3. above 3. & 2. Below, Sable, by the name of [Blank] The 2[nd] & 3[rd]. Sable 3 Escallops Argent by the Name of Strickland which is Quartered by the former = Impaleing Or a Fess of iiij Fusils Azure by the name of [Blank]
(c.) The same Quarterly Coate with (b.) Impaleing another Quarterly Coate whereof the 1[t] and third is [Blank] Thre Gorges or water-budgets – by the name of [Blank] Quartering in the 2 & 3[rd] Argent, 2 Barrs Azure the Higher charged with a mullet of the 1[t]. \ But note those in Par C. are in a B[ordure] [invected].[87]
(d.) Quarterly. The 1 & 2[nd] as above (onely 9 billets) The 3 Gules on a Saltier Argent a Mullet Sable The 4?

[Funeral Escutchion]
There is an Escutchion from som \ funeral / Sc. Azure a lyon Rampant Gardant betwene xi [cross crosslets] Argent langued &c. Gules.[88]

[Chimney Piece]
(e.) In the Parlour is a Curiouse Bold well carved Chimney Piece of noble foliage, better than I was able to describe, being so much in haiste: and in the Midle this Coate of Armes.

[87] Here, Machell drew a series of small semicircles with the points turned inwards.
[88] The cross crosslets are represented by a symbol.



Figure 2.7.21. Detail of the parlour chimney piece (e); arms under a window of the tower (f). II.187.

(e.) Strickland and his Quarterings as at a. & d. iiij times over in the 4 Chiefe Quarters alias Stricklands Quarterly Coate, Quartered.
(f.) Stricklands quarterly Coate & Crist in stone; under the second window of the great Tower, which is on your Right-hand as you enter into the house.

[II.190A][89]

Crosthwate Chapl in Hersham Parish

{[Notes] Thors 17 day Oct. 91}
There is one chappelry called Crosthwate-Chappel.
It hath an handsom square tow[er] and 3 Bells in it. / \ quier leaded. /
[Length of body] 20 [breadth] 8; [length and breadth of quire] 8.[90]

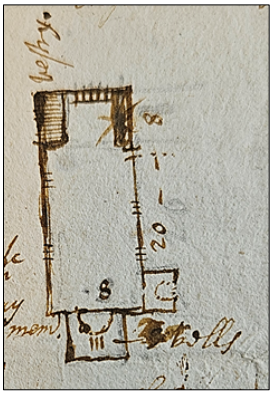


Figure 2.7.22. Plan of Crosthwate Chapel. II.190A.

{2. Bounder}
It is bounded on East with the Chappelry of Hutton; South with Heversham – the Mother Church; West with the Chapelry of Cartmell Fell; [91] N. with the Chapelry of Underbarrow, from which divided by Winsterbeck.

[89] II.190A consists of a full-sized page, bound in at right angles to the volume. It has been heavily overwritten with paragraphs woven through one another, and is a fine example of Machell's handwriting at its most obscure…
[90] Measurements taken from the sketch of the chapel.
[91] This is St Anthony's: built as a chapel of ease to Cartmel c.1504 to fulfil the will of Anthony Knipe (d.1500). See Hyde & Pevsner, 273.

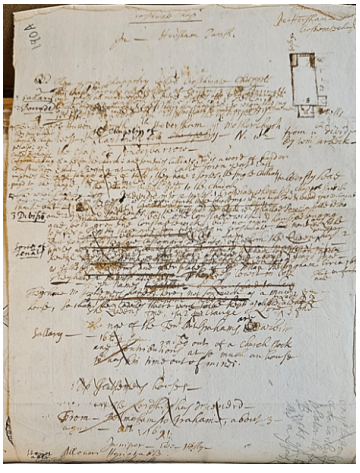


Figure 2.7.23. Example of Machell's MS. II.190A.

{3. Sallary}
This chapel hath Parochial rights of Cristening & ~~of~~ Buriing &c. But payes all manner of dues & dutyes with sesses[92] also, for Reparation to the Mother Church, & finds their own Chaplaine; to whom they pay 16li per Annum raised out of a Church Stock and contributions at so much an house which has bin time out of minde.[93]

{4.} [Culliats]
Their sesses whereof they pay to their church & chappel also are called Kirk Casts (from casting of a Sess for the church. And sometimes Culliats, which is a word of harder construction but begining at a place calld Town Yeat \ from the Ch. ¼ mile thence / imports the same thing; and of these they have 2 Sortes: the Single Culliat payd to the chapel, & the double Culliat payd to the church.[94]

{5. The whol Chappelry}
To which divided into 2 partes. 1. Crosthwate where the chapel standeth, and 2ly, Lithe; but one Constablewick and but 1 Lordship, where is a fair church-like building with a high Tower & leaded quire Circa 60f.

{Division; Sortes of tenants}
Both are one Constablewick; but no manner house to either. They say there are som freeholds in Crosthwate, not any in Lithe.[95] Som \ 24 / houses on the west side the beck {a little below}, which is calld Powe. But generally they are Customary Tenants of whom the Queen \ douger[96] / has 2 Partes.[97]
They keep Court in both. They have 2 Stuarts.
They have no Gentlemens houses here, not so much as a manner house, so that the Courtes were wont to be kept at a little ale house. The Queens Fine is a 2^{d} fine [on] change of Lord; 3^{d} Fine [on] change of the Tenant but Grahams are Arbitrary. All over, Heriotable.
The Lordship descended from Bellingham to Grahame, about 3 agoe – Oct. 1691.

[92] Assessments. *OED*.
[93] One of two matching sentences referring to the salary per annum; the second has been omitted.
[94] In the margin Machell has written, 'Hubbersty Head'.
[95] MS: 'They say ~~Crosthw. Vel capel~~ there are som freeholds in Crosthwate ~~but~~ no~~n~~t any \ in / Lithe.'
[96] Dowager.
[97] Here, several scored through lines are almost illegible (see *Figure 2.7.23*). One line refers to a sale 'of Levins and other places by Mr Allan Bellingham circa 1689, that unfortunate… purchased about 3 yeares since … Mr James Graham', a reference to the sale of Levens Hall. This last sentence was reprised at the page foot.

[Rarities]
{Juniper ewe holly}
{On the Bottome […] of an Earthen plater this fragment.}
{Bricks a foot broad with a Lyons paw.}[98]

[II.191]

Calmire }
Cawmer} Hall[99]



Figure 2.7.24. Calmire Hall. 'Old Ivy Building'. II.191.

Belonged to one Bierly who sold it to Henry Nuby, father of William Nuby the present proprietor.[100]

Arms in the Hall

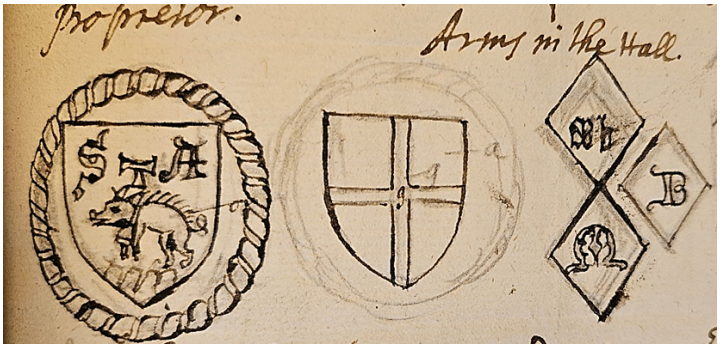


Figure 2.7.25. Arms containing 'wantaracks' at Calmire Hall. II.191.

In the Clay Roome windows are Escutchions in Glass – one with these letters [see *Figure 2.7.27.*] in Chiefe; the M. & B. in yallow, the wantarack[101] in black; & a man in yellow with a Pike Staff on his right shoulder & a whip in his left hand driving 4 Pack Horses. In anothe[r], I.B. in Chief & a spining wheal with cardings – & a Basket with wool & hand cards Or. In several other quarries M⚘B,[102] another sort of wantarack.

[98] The last two sentences were written in pencil on a corner of the paper; they clearly belong with comment on Roman antiquities elsewhere in the volume.
[99] Cowmire (or Cawmire) Hall.
[100] For Bierly, see Machell's Itinerary, Part 2, Ch.10, II.398; see also Part 2, Ch.4, Beetham, II.271.
[101] 'Wantarack' appears to be a name for a merchant's mark, i.e. an emblem or other distinctive figure or device adopted by a merchant and placed on the goods sold by him (in the Middle Ages often used as a quasi-heraldic symbol, e.g. on seals or monuments). *OED*.
[102] The symbol chosen here merely approximates to that in Machell's sketch, see *Figure 2.7.28*., 'another sort of wantarack.'

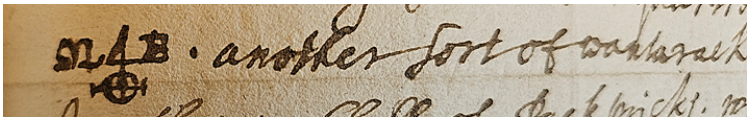


Figure 2.7.26. Calmire Hall. 'Another sort of wantarack'. II.191.

In another, a Shaff[103] of Pack pricks,[104] which \ shews / by what trade he inriched himselfe.

[Machell's Notes: II.191]

{Winster. q. of Mr Rich. Dixon.}
? Sold the Tenants free. Will Nubyes wife sayes shee thinks it belongd to Crosthwate & Lithe; an that the people thereabouts go[e]th both to Crosthwate and Car[t]mel Chapel. But q. if they bury there?[105]

[II.85][106]

Croscrake in Hersham

ab [Ecclesia] 3m. S. & by East; where the minister is Mr Farmer.[107]
{Families} about 40 and above. Crosthwaite.
{Croscrake is [also] 1 or 2 houses in Staneton}
Ward [blank]
[Chapel] Long 9, broad 5 but has bin much longer. No bell.

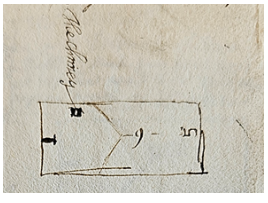


Figure 2.7.27. Crosscrake Chapel. 'The chimney is made in the corner, yard long in the lintal – which lyes a yard high, & a yard above that the funnel goes out'. II.85.

{Sallary} None, nor prayers read. Thomas Wells, master. John Hinde aetat 79.[108]
50 well fac'd children.
1. No dedication.
2. Once a bell. But now none. Nor place for a bell. The bell sold to make a school house, repard 8 years since by a contribution. Ruind in the Civil Wars. They gave 12d per annum.
[3.] No quire. No seates.

[Bounder]
Bounded on the East with Preston Chapelry; South, the parochial church; on the North with Natland Chapelry; on the West side with Sisars Chapelry.
It is a Constablewick: one Constablewick, one Lordship – if it be not the same with Sizars and a member of it. The [tenants] were customary under Sir Thomas Strickland of Sizar & payed Rent, fine

[103] 'Shaf(f)': sheaf or bundle. *OED*.
[104] Pack prick: a skewer, probably made of wood; it secured the pack cloth in which goods were wrapped. *Yorkshire Historical Dictionary*. Online.
[105] The next page contains at its foot a number of faded notes written in pencil. Almost all are illegible.
[106] Also numbered p.25.
[107] George Farmer. Trinity College, Cambridge, 1683; Pembroke, 1684; Matric. Trinity, 1685; Scholar, 1687; B.A. 1687-8; M.A. 1691. Priested (Lincoln) 1689. V. of Heversham, 1691-1724; buried at Heversham, 7 Feb., 1723-4: *Ancestry.co.uk. Cambridge University Alumni, 1261-1900*. In 1696, Farmer signed the Anti-Jacobite 'Association' for the protection of William III: Kendal Indictment Book, 1692-1724, in John F. Curwen (ed.), *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale III*, CWAAS Record Series 6 (Kendal, 1926), 222-33.
[108] James Hinde was one of Machell's informants, see II.174.

service & heriots. But purchasd the fee simple at 60 years purchass, according to their annual, to a peppercorn upon demand.

{Tythes}
Tythe Corne to Siser in dry stooke – som payes hay money for their board – i.e. Bottom Meadow, nothing for the rest, & the Hay money of these that doe pay to the vicar. 4d c[h]urching. Strickland farmd of Trinity College. But now the lease in Mrs Dalton.

{Castlehead} On the back of Natland a Capel[la] almost 1m. N.

{Fuel}Peates which they call also turves. Limestone all over. Gravel enough.

Som wildcats, & marts of both sortes.
In the Strickland of Sizars time out of minde.

Part 2. Barony of Kendal

[Chapter 8. The Parish of Kirkby Lonsdale]

[II.199]

[A.] {N[otes] Generales an Divis. Kirkby L.}

{Sat. July 1692}
Manner 1. Kirkby Loansdal. Sir Joh. L[owther].[1] Kirk[by] Court Leet & Court Baron.
2. Lupton \ Lordship. / Sir C. Musg[rave][2]
3. L[ordship] Hutton. Parke H\ouse. / Sir Thomas Wentworth.
4. Mansergh \ Lordship. / Mr Tho. Godsalve.[3]
5. Barbon. Sir Rich[ard] Shotleworth.[4]
6. Casterton. Queen Dowager.[5]
7. Midleton \? Jo[hn] Hebleth & thwate & James Crag. By marriage Midletons.[6]

II.200

[1.] {ad Kirk[by Lonsdale]}

Free Stone out of Lancashire at Sellet ½ m. S. Great Store of Walling Stone & lime; Gray Slate from Gragarth – by the County Stone {ad Casterton} E. ab Ecclesia – 1[7] mile – in Casterton q[uery]?
Plenty of peat all over the parish
Som wild cats, Badgers & foxes. Otters.
Wild Ducks bread on the Mosses. Bitters bread on Kirkby Moore[8] – Squirrel & Hedhogs plenty.
{K[irkby] [pays] Boone hens & 1[d] a Cock – Plowing Harrowing & Shearing formerly.}
Chaplanes admitted without the Vicars hands, who approves or rejects.

[II.199]

The Town & Lordship of Kirkby-L. or Manner of K.L. consistes of [9]
[1.] K[irkby Lonsdale] 60 f[amilies] {a library in that church} {Mr John Briggs Vic.}[10]
[2.] Upper Biggins \ S.W. ½ m. Lower Biggin[s] \ ¼ Ibidem. 10 f[amilies] both Hamlets.
Biggins \ Hall / in Upper Biggins is the manner house {one of these belongd to the Applegarthes 2 or 300 years agoe & was lately sold to?}
[3.] Tearne Side W. 1m. – 13 f[amilies] – a Chappel there formerly. Man[or[house] Underley Hall – & Far Underley – Mr Wilson {Wild cherries in the fields.} Flags[11] in Ternside.
[4.] Kestwick N.W. 1m. f[amilies] 25 & Dane\s/Biggins hall.
[5.] Spittle – which payes no Tithe.

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[1] Sir John Lowther (1655-1700) of Lowther, 2nd baronet: see Part 1, Ch.15, Lowther, I.725C.
[2] Sir Christopher Musgrave (1631-1704) of Edenhall.
[3] Thomas Godsalve bought the manor of Mansergh some time before 1664. On his death in 1696 it passed to his son Thomas Godsalve of Rigmaiden, gent. https://www.british-history.ac.uk/kendale-barony/vol2/pp374-397.
[4] The manor of Barbon was held by the Barbon family from the late 12th century, descending by marriage to the Lascelles family by 1239. In the mid-15th century it passed by marriage to the Pickering family whose heir Francis Vaughan held it into the later 16th century. By 1588 it was held by Sir Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe. 'Interim Draft history of Barbon': https://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/township/barbon.
[5] Charles II gave the Richmond and Marquis Fees (including the larger part of the township of Casterton) to his wife, Catherine of Braganza. In 1669 she granted a 96-year lease to Edward Wilson of Park House, Burrow (later of Nether Levens), on condition that Edward's three sons should still be alive at the end of that period. See *N&B1*, 249-50.
[6] See Machell's Itinerary, Part 2, Ch.10, II.385.
[7] This numeral is almost covered by the binding; it could equally well read as '7'. The distance from Casterton to Kirkby Lonsdale is 2.2 modern miles, according to Google Maps.
[8] 'Bitterns breed on Kirkby Moor.'
[9] Near this line, a separate phrase gives, 'a large & [blank]'. Presumably, Machell was referencing one large settlement and several smaller ones in the lordship.
[10] John Briggs of Lancaster entered Peterhouse, Cambridge, in1666, aged 18; he migrated to Clare College in 1667; took his B.A. in 1669/70; was made deacon,1670; priested, 1671. He was preferred to the rectory of Heysham, but was deprived for simony in 1674. He was then presented to Kirkby Lonsdale (2 Nov. 1676) on the death of Henry Hoyle, the previous incumbent. See R.P. Brown, 'The Vicars of Kirkby Lonsdale', *CW2*, 29 (1929), 166-92, at 188 . See also below, II.261.
[11] Flagstones.

[II.208][12]

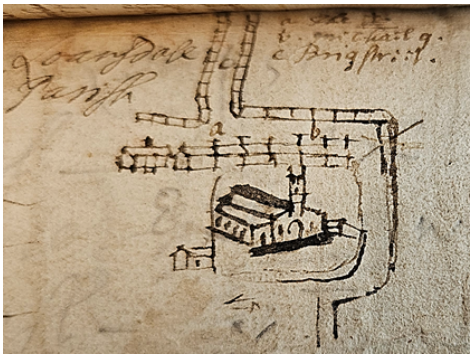


Figure 2.8.1. 'Kirkby Loansdale Church, Michael gate and Brigg Street.' II.208.

Kirkby Loansdale Church. Parish. Charter. Schoole. Cross. Gibbet.
a. The †
b. Michael g[ate]
c. Brig Street
q. of Mr Brigs where his fire stone was found. The farmer at Midleton says sulphur will do the like.

[II.202]

{Kirkby Manner}
A Court Leet & Barron. Waifes & Strayes. The Baly for the Time being Corroner: electing & swearing their Constables & all other officer.

[V.53]

Deans Biging was the old Manner house; & now held with the Demane Lands by Free Tenent. The Lord[ship] formerly in the Caruses – Then Curwens tis thought by marriage – Then Witheringtons by marriage – Then to Preston of Howkar[13] by purchase – Then to Lowther of Lowther by ~~marriage~~ \ purchase / about 20 year agoe.

[II.202]

Abbots-Hall belongs to the College[14] and is said to be a Priviledged place. \ It stands at the S. East corner of the church yard, an ordinary house. /[15]

Ten[ures]: Som Free, som Copy, some Customary at fine Arbitrary - & som of them Heriotable.

A moat of water near the vic[arage] 100 yards ab Ecclesia. N[ow] calld – Castle hill & said to be cast up as a Defence against Scottish Invasion. {& a little below this nearer the water standeth the School which is a good Building 2 stories high & kept very neat by Mr Farran or [Far]rer the Schoolmaster there.}[16]

Terribanke Tarne {L[ength] 2ce. xii score;[17] b. 12, Sc. Broade.} Reported that Brass & P[…][18] were found); ab Ecclesia 2m. N.W.

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[12] On the right side of this page, pencilled text in pencil has been overwritten and is now illegible.
[13] Holker, Cartmel.
[14] Trinity College, Cambridge.
[15] An additional sentence, written in different ink. Presumably, Abbot Hall was seen as an ordinary dwelling rather than an 'ordinary house', which in the 17th century referred to a drinking house regarded as a step-up from the common ale house. See Anna Groundwater, 'Ben Jonson's Walk', University of Edinburgh, 15 July 2013: https://www.blogs.hss.ed.ac.uk/ben-jonsons-walk; see also *OED*.
[16] According to Machell, the name of the schoolmaster at Kirkby Lonsdale was 'Farrer'. Two people of this name appear in this chapter: Joseph Farrer and S. Farrer. Both acted as Machell's informants, their names recurring regularly throughout.
[17] Length: twice 12 score = 480; breadth: 12 score = 240.
[18] The word is obscured by the binding.

Terribanke Tarne (& Burrow beyond Leun),
Were the 2 farest cityes in all Xt Doome.[19]

Troutes (Eales) large, at the head of Underleigh beck (& by Keastwick). Un[der]leigh hall is on the N. side.
Kirkby [town] & Lordship, Casterton, Lupton, Barbon & Mansor. ~~Close~~ \ And / Churchwardens here, being 7, & com to the Mother Church.[20]

[II.203]

Here in this Parish They call a Conjurer a Scoomer, or Corruption perhaps of Schemer.[21]

[II.204][22]

[Monuments]
An Altar above a yard high, dig'd up in a Banck call'd Abbots Brow adjoyneing the N. East Side of the Church-yard, circa 1684, & now lying in the High Street for a Seat at a Doore.



Figure 2.8.2. Altar at Kirkby Lonsdale, used as a door seat. II.204.

Memorandum. There is a Stone like an Altar \ lately / set up on the Bridge,[23] with a Dial upon it, & an Inscription upon the Three Sides. Which that they may not amase men hereafter.[24]

KIRKBY L | FEAR GOD. HO | LOANSD
WARD | NOVR YE KING | AL WARD[25]

See more in my Papers [sent] to Dr Mil.[26]

[19] Christendom.
[20] A scribbled note at the page foot.
[21] Conjuror: one who practises conjuration; one who conjures spirits and pretends to perform miracles by their aid; a magician, wizard. *OED*.
[22] Text on this page is in landscape form, in 3 columns.
[23] Known as the Devil's Bridge. In 2010, Historic England described it as 'one of the finest medieval bridges in England' https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1086899?section=official-list-entry)
[24] Amase or amuse? Because of Machell's formation of 'a' and 'u', this sentence could equally well read, 'that they may not amuse men hereafter'.
[25] 'Kirkby L. Ward. Fear God & Honour ye King. Loansdal Ward'. In 2010, Historic England transcribed the sundial's inscription as, 'N: CONSTABL C: LONSDALE WAR'; 'FEARE GOD HONER THE: 1673'.
[26] For Kirkby Lonsdale antiquities and Dr Mill, see Part 3, Ch.3, Roman Antiquities, VI.257.



Figure 2.8.3. Carus with Curwen descent. V.53.

[II.205A]

[Notes on Wilson of Underley]
(No Armes that I know of ~~of~~ (& Dug[dale] has disclamed them sed […][27] Yet I saw an Escutcheon which they had assumed at one of their funeralls – Sc. Argent! A wolf (Rampant) Sable with a flordeluce in Chiefe G[ules]. Inter 2 O[28] Azure), which I only mention as a Private memorandum but will take no notice at all of Armes where I know there are none.[29]

[II.205B][30]

Wilson of Underley. Never heard of.[31]
Edward W. of Kirkby yeoman & as of
1. Thomas Wilson (of ~~Helm End~~ Kerkby) = Margaret B. of Steabankes & had for her portion Helm End. Sister to Wilsons wife of Dallam Tower.
Henry Wilson Just[ice] of Pea[ce], to whom Mr Henry Wilson of the Blackwell Hall Company gave Underley. He dyd […][32]

[27] 'But …'. The following word has been obscured by the binding.
[28] The circle drawn here suggests 'annulets'.
[29] Machell was disdainful of those whose arms were suspect: see Editor's Introduction.
[30] A group of very rough notes, difficult to interpret, written on a small scrap of paper. See *Figure 2.8.4.*
[31] A revealing statement, given the importance of the Wilsons in the town of Kendal, see fn.32, below.
[32] For the Wilsons: kin of 'the rich clothier of Underley', see R. Percival Brown, *Edward Wilson of Nether Levens (1557-1653) and his kin*, CWAAS Tract Series 12 (Kendal, 1930), 3ff. Black Hall (69. Stricklandgate) is

Edmond of Wor[…]par in Yorkeshire.
Thomas Wilson = Jane, daughter of Miles Penington of Seat[on]. Esq.[33]
Thomas Miles.[34]

[II.208]

H. Wilson of Underley buried the 29 May 1684.



Figure 2.8.4. Machell's use of small scraps of paper. II. 205B.

[II.202]

[2.] {Lupton}

A Lordship – N.W. ab Ecclesia 2m. Stragling. It comes to the Church [at Kirkby Lonsdale] and are nearer to it then any Chapel.
Thomson Houses }2 f.
Lupton Row } [In all:] 56 f[amilies.]
? Mr Thom. Heblethwate is to informe of Fellowships & Exhib[itions] Given by one Lupton.
1. Hall Lupton Hall – belong to the Huttons (by Purchase From?). Richard Hutton Barrister at Law the last owner of it.
Tenants – Now in Sir Xt. Musgrave by Gift from Mr Hutton.
Lupton Moor. Juniper.
Lupton Tarne – ab aula ½ m. N.W. A smal Tarne affording large Round Troutes shaped like a maccrel & read like a char – 1 foote long.[35]

[II.199]

[3.] Hutton Roofe[36]

20[37] f[amilies] an Hal. & Newbiging \ Ham[let] a Capella N. 1m. / 8 f[amilies.]
Se\a/lford. A single h[ouse] a Capella N.E. 1m.
Winyeates. 4 or 5 f[amilies] 1m.½ N.W.

{Hutton Chaple had 6 li per Annum Chaple Stock. Capella. Manerij.[38] Now 4 or 5 li. Manner house.}
{Hotton is a Chapelry and a Lordship, & Parkhouse is said to be the manner house, which belongd to

a 16th-century building. In 1575 it was the home of Henry Wilson, First Alderman (Kendal's equivalent of mayor), https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/quakers/links/kendal_black_hall.html. In the City of London, the Blackwell Hall Company was the national centre of the wool and cloth trade; here, cloth manufacturers and clothiers from the provinces brought their material to sell to merchants and drapers. See Machell's Itinerary, Part 2, Ch.10, II.413. See also *N&B1*, 248.

[33] For the Penningtons of Seaton see *CFH*, 259.

[34] There is an interesting but almost illegible comment here: 'q. How he was an [...] a poore boy not worth 40s.' R.P. Brown, discusses discrepancies in the interpretation of the Wilson family history in *Edward Wilson of Nether Levens and his kin*, 3 ff.

[35] Many fish found in UK waters are round fish, i.e. cylindrical – round in the centre of their body, tapering to a tail. Examples include cod, bass, whiting, pollack, mackerel, red mullet, gurnard, bream, trout. https://www.directseafoods.co.uk/fish-glossary/round-fish/.

[36] MS: '{Hutton Roofe ~~& Casterton~~}'.

[37] The numeral '2' has a circular blotted shape next to it: possibly the numeral '0'?

[38] 'Chapel of the manor.'

the Prestons of the Manner in Lancashire,[39] & now – by marriage of 2 to coheires – part to the Lord Montgomery. It formerly belongd to Judge Carus {Temp Ed. 6. [1547-53], & was purchasd to the Prestons \ & Bellinghams. / No Armes in.

The upper part of the parke belongs \ now / to Sir Thomas Wentworth – which he had in marriage with Mistress Elizabeth, daughter of Sir \ Hen[ry] Bellingham. & was purchased {by Bellingham of Rig[maden], who purchased of Miles Man.} The ~~other~~ \ nether / park is \ the E[arl] of / Montgomery – which came to them by Prestons d[aughter].
{Spittle – an house in Hutton a Capella 1m. ~~SW~~ N. – for wid[40] – payes no Tithe.}
{Tenants}The Tenants have purchased [blank]
{Sir John & all [the tenants] are the (Kings) Queens Tenants.}
The Tenants are all Free[holders] & have bin time out of mind.

[Rarities]
{The fl[umen] Kear[41] sp[rings] in Cowan Moss, a Capella S. 1m. [and runs] by Borick hal in Lancashire & into the Sea at Warton Sands.}
Good flags. Troughs[42] & Hewn Stone & Lee stone[43] a Capella 1m. S.W.
Hanging Stone[44] 3 yards diameter; not half a yard Bass.[45] S. west side of chapel.
Cole at Casterton, a Capella 3m. East. Colepit Hills [belong] to the K[ing].

[4.] {Lordship Mansergh}

Mansergh belongd as tis said to the family of that name; after was in Brownsword & Symson of Kendal by marriage of [Blank] & purchasd of them lately by Mr Tho. Godsalve, a merchant. The Tennants all fineable, & some Heriotable[46] & som Freehold Estates.
No manner house – a place calld Rigmaden hall & wood where there are mart and Goates.[47]
It belong formerly to the Wards – moriâ.[48]

{Rarityes}
In 7 Acres Close, being the vicars, & places adjoyneing upon Limestone ground {S. ab Ecclesia 11sc[ore]} ar cast up in molehills pieces of Transparent Stone of Several Shapes – Cutt like Diamonds – & are so Hard as to Cutt Glass: white. {A shilvering stone only, with shinie partickles in it.} {This is only Spar, a mark of Lead Ore.}[49]
Large fresh museles calld Horse Muss about (Rigmaden) {3m. N. ab Ecclesia.}
{Raspberryes all over & Curraberryes Generally.}

[39] MS: 'Hotton is a Chaple is a Lordship (~~& no more in it)~~ ~~Sir Thomas Wentworth Lord~~ & Parkhouse is \ said / the manner house, which belongd to the Prestons of the Manner in Lancashire.'
[40] Widows?
[41] River Keer.
[42] This word could be 'throughs', with a missing 'h'.
[43] Limestone?
[44] There is a field called Hanging Stone near Kirkby Lonsdale: see *Westmorland Place-Names*. Alternatively, hanging 'coal' is a common type of coal, Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary 3* (London, 1898-1905), 53.
[45] Bass: a miner's term for dark coloured shale; a form of impure coal. *OED*. See also Robert Plott, *Natural History of Staffordshire* (Oxford, 1686), iii. 131: 'Bass or freestone above, and Ironston or earth, below.'
[46] One illegible word has been crossed through here.
[47] References to the presence of goats appear twice on this page.
[48] Moriâ: post-classical Latin for folly or foolishness. In medicine: impairment of the intellectual faculties; mental dullness; retardation. *OED*.
[49] Two margin comments have been added in different ink. The word 'shilvering' can be traced to 'shelyng' and 'shelyng'/'shelving stone', dialect words for a type of blue slate. See Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary 5*, 376-77, 385. The other comment says that the rock is only spar.

[II.201]

{L[ordship] Mansergh. V[u]lgo Manser.}
An Hamlet which on the N. side the [town of Kirkby Lonsdale].
F[amilies]. In all circa 30 fam[ilies]? & Manserge houses V. f[amilies]
{Manser Hall freehold […];[50] but no m[anor]}
{Wid[ows]?}
Manner House: Rigmaden Hall \ Mr Godsalve there Lord – 3 or 4 freehold, the rest Customary, no heriots. Boones.
Nether Hall \ ad / Cooke, Vintner. Freehold.
Hegham Hall (John Andland, Jo. Walker).
Great horse matches at Blackbrow in Manser a Rigmaden ¼ S.E.[51]

[5.] Barbon

[Barbon Well & Holms Well]
Within Barbon Libertyes at the Lords Seate is a well cald Barbon well (by som Dent well & Makeber well[52] from a M[ountain] of that name out of which it springs) belonging to Barbon, a Capella 5m. N & by [blank]; a Dent 3m. SW; a [Barbon] fell 3m. Has cured:
1. Scale heads – in 3 weeks.
2. A frettish, or chilness or numness like a dead palsy – occasiond by Buges[53] \ or otherwise. / George Woodhouse \ at Casterton / who could not stir his fingers \ & was ill all over, was cuered in forthnight by drinkeing & hot bathing with Linnen Raggs: John Addison of Casterton a Streain in his side with a Lift after a quarter of a year Ilness, was cured with once coming. James Fawcets wife, being very weeke & sore paind in her back for ½ a year ocasiond through childe bearing. was cured by cold bathing & drinkeing in a forthnight or less. It tastes of iron, colours stones yallow, purges & vomits. Helps Hearing.
~~Christ~~ Holms well in Holm meadow near Beckfoot cures Sore Eyes & dimness. A Capella 1m. West.

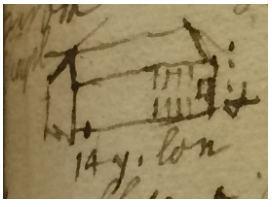


Figure 2.8.5. Barbon Chapel. II.201.

Barbon Chapl
14 y. lon[g] 4 [wide]. No Bells.

Barbon \ the East side the W[ell][54] / an Hamlet. Barbon & Beckfoot: f[amilies] 30.
& Fel House \ alijs Underbanck / 1m.½ N.E. F[amily] 1. No M[anor] H[ouse]. Anciently the Midletons,[55] & for diverse Generations to the Shutleworths of Fawcet in Yorkeshire. Purchased by Shutleworth.[56]

[50] Indistinct word which might be 'Harling' i.e. roughcast.
[51] For horse racing at Mansergh, see Emmeline Garnett, 'Mansergh', in F. Edmonds and S.A. Rose (eds), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Westmorland, Volume I* (Martlesham, forthcoming).
[52] In Machell's MS, the letters W and M are sometimes used interchangeably. Machell is probably referring to Wakeburgh well and Wakeburgh Scar. See II.214; II.223; II.231; II.234B.
[53] Bug: an insect, as in this quotation from 1594: 'This medecine caused many times, a certaine blacke bugge, or worme to come forth which had many legs, & was quicke.' All *OED*.
[54] An editorial suggestion, as Machell wrote the letter, 'W' only.
[55] MS: 'Anciently the ~~Thorstats~~ the Midletons.'
[56] See Machell's Itinerary, Part 2, Ch.10, II.384.

Bar[bon] Parke = no dear in mem[ory] but \ clean & / foul marts. But d[eer] 80 years since – Fallow & read. {Applegarth pond & Close behind the Chaple on the Parke edge: i.e. no H.}[57]
Woods cut down in Barbon Parke & ~~much~~ som remaneing.
It was purchasd by Midleton, of on[e] Vernon or Vaughan \ about / 80[58] year since, but enjoyd by them a few years onely, having Borrowed money of \ Serg. / Judge Shutleworth, to whom it was Transferd. The Judge gave it his Nephew, Richard Shutleworth of Gauthorp = Barton of Barton of Gauthorp near Preston in Lancashire. {[Informant] Robert Ustinson Balive.}

Sir Richard had:
1. Rich.
2. Col Nic[olas]
3. Col. Eutred
4. Maj. Barton
5. Cap. Edw.
6. Cap. Willk[…][59] at Lancaster
7. Mr John [Blank]

Richard = [Blank]
|
[1.] Nicolas [2.] Richard = Margaret Tempest of Old Durham.
|
Sir Richard, Knight.

[Tenure]
Tenants. All fineable Arbitrary. No Heriots. Boones.
{Wid. ½. Unmarried or miscard}[60]
Free-holds ~~Jas Gibson.~~ Wid[ow] Baly. Wid[ow] Gibbnson. 6 or 7 [freeholds]
{Feoffees: Rob. Moore, Jo. Atkinson, John Bainbrig & Jos G. = Sam. Gibson, Minister: Pay a Rent to the King & Q? as h. of K.C.[61] and ancient Sallery, 3:12:0 per Annum, payd out of the Chaple Stock. & 6^{d} per ¼ in the Town & 12 out Townes & 4 meales a week.}[62]

Raspberryes
Cole on Barbon fell – 2m. E.
Brown Slate 5 m \ N & 6 / E – at Weyber. \ Turf / peets – Ibidem. 3m.

[II.200]

[6.] Casterton

Uper: ab Ecclesia 1m. \ N / E. Church. 24 f[amilies.]
Lower: ab Ecclesia 1m. E. 17 f[amilies.]
and Chapel Houses 2. f[amilies] – an Hamlet.
The Hall \ & Demane / was the Manner House [and] belongd to the Davenportes, \ then to the Bellinghams / now to Sir John Lowther by his fathers marriage with Mrs Elizabeth Bellingham. But the Lordship is in the Queen Dowager. The Tenants pay Rent & Fine Certain of 3 years – & Heriots 40^{s} by Decree in Chancery. Green hew 1d. for Spelkes & Prods.[63]

[57] This comment is written at right angles to the main text, tucked away in the left-hand margin; it has been difficult to transcribe with accuracy.
[58] Or '70': the text is unclear, the numeral '7' (or '8') having been altered.,
[59] This word has partly perished.
[60] Miscarried.
[61] The king and queen at this time were William III and Mary II; perhaps K.C. is King Charles and Machell's 'h' stands for 'heirs', underlining William and Mary's legal status.
[62] Meals for the chaplain.
[63] 'Spelk': a thatching rod. 'Prod': 'any of various pointed instruments, as a skewer, a poker etc. *OED*. See also, 'prod' as in 'proddle': 'to make holes in something', William Rollinson, *Dictionary of Cumbrian Dialect, Tradition and Folklore* (Otley, 1997), 125.

[II.223]

{Hall}
Casterton Hall is an old ruinous building, now only fit to conteine a Farmer. But formerly the Seat of Sir William Davenport, a Judge in this nation. {& lately purchased by Sir John Lowther \ and lately Baronet / of Lowther}[64]

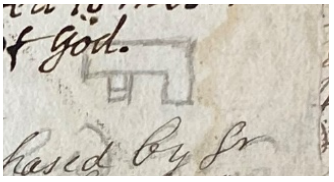


Figure 2.8.6. In the margin, sketch of Casterton Hall. II.223.

{Well}
And here I was told of a medicinal well called Dents Well, alias {Wakeber} in the very parting of Yorkeshire & Westmorland, as much frequented within memory of man as the well in Fourness is at this day,[65] but now not regarded.

[Brigs]
{Mem[orandum]. Brigs hall in Burrow now Mr Fenwick who came out of Northumberland. Col. Brigs has by his wife 15 sons and 7 daughters.}[66]

[II.216]

Burrow – is the same with Barrow in the Lancashire Dialect, which the people in Kendal participateing of, call their Brows Braws; Burrows Barrows – Inde Under Barrow, Whitbarrow, Oxenbarrow – Clea-barrow.

[II.200]

ad Casterton \ Ease/Gil kirk. East from the hall 2 mile. – see Camden.
Ginghrig Caud.

St Comes Chapl. ab Ecclesia 1 m S.E. ~~within park road~~ \ beyond Kirkby Bridge 12 score. / demolishd and gone yet bearing his name. & also calld Chappel houses – ~~and a well~~ a Sancta Columbo.[67]

[II.223]

{St Comes Chaple} in Loansdale
There is a Place call'd Chappelbeck-close on the left hand of the High way from Kirkby to London, where A~~nd~~ Chappel hath stoode. {There are 2 houses called Chappel houses at a place near unto them.} But the ground is now plowed; And a well near onto it, call'd St Collmes ~~well~~ a corruption as wee suppose of Colums and that of Columbus,[68] the [saint] in whose name {it may to have bin first of all consecrated to the Service of God.}

[II.200]

[7.] {Lordship of Midleton}

Midleton is scattered above & below the Hall.
(Holme) part of Midelton \ viii of them / – 66 [families].[69]

[64] Added later in pencil and inked over.
[65] 'The well at Fourness': the medicinal 'Holy Well' at Humphrey Head, near Cartmel, known as Cartmel Well.
[66] This is a pencilled note in the lower-right margin; some of it is too faint to read. The '7' daughters might be '9'. There are 8 other words, but they are almost illegible. More pencilled notes occur at the bottom of the page at right angles to the rest. Scored-through, they, too, are also illegible.
[67] St Columba was also known by the Old Irish name of Colum Cille, meaning, approximately, 'Church Dove'. M. Herbert, 'St Columba (c.521-97), monastic founder'. *ODNB*.
[68] St Columba.
[69] Middleton consisted of 66 families, eight of which lived in Holm.

Midleton [Chapel] was built in memory {Capt. Ed. Man. endowed?} Consecrated by Bishop Bridgeman.[70] But there was an old one before & is in the Hall.[71]
{Sallary?} – A Sall[ary] Sett \ in / land.

{Manner house}
Midleton Hall & Demane – now in Joseph Heblethwate = maryed 11 [blank] Midleton.[72]
James Cragg = Mary Midleton, Sisters & A[f]ter heires to Mr David [Middleton], 3 son of John M[iddleton] Esq.[73]

{Ten[ure]}
~~All~~ freeholds = time out of minde \ for about 80 years / having purchased their freedom of Mr Ed. – father of the \ said John / Lord – they keep a Court.
John =[74]
|
Col. Wil. Edw.
|
John = Cole
|
David
obijt inuptus.[75]

{Armes at} Midleton Hall, & 1 or 2 tenants.
Sergeant Moore – borne at Bainsbank in Midleton, now living.
Read shining Dust & other oare {A gold mine opened?}
Knoutberry-Hill upon Midleton fell, near which they grow; a Capella – 1m. ½ E.
Parke at Midleton – no dear but in mem[ory]
{Mr Bainbrig of Hawkins a freehold in Midleton; a coat of Armes – Sc. 3 Blackbirds. F. Argent.}[76]

[8.] Killington

L. Killington Ham[let and] Chaple[ry] – f[amilies] 32. {M[anor] h[ouse]} – Killington Hall \ & Parke / belongd to the Kitsons of Warton in Lancashire in memory of man. Now it belongs to Tho. Heblethwate, by marriage?
{Ten[ures]} All freeholds time out of minde.
{Parke} No dear in mem.; full of Holly but shrubs.[77]
More game – & Blackcocks on K[illington] fell a Capella S.W. ½ m.

[II.201]

[9.] {Firbancke Chappel}

F[amilies] 35. No Demane lands known – not calld a Manner nor Lordship.[78]
{? Tenants} – all free. {[Informant] Mr Applegarth.}

[70] John Bridgeman (1577-1652), bishop of Chester from 1619.
[71] The advowson is in the [owner of] the hall.
[72] Possible meaning 'married twice', secondly to […] Middleton [?]
[73] Almost obscured by the binding are the words, '& Cole of Coate in Lancashire'.
[74] For the full pedigree, see II.243, below.
[75] Died unmarried.
[76] For the Bainbrigs, see R.P. Brown, 'Bainbrig of Hawkin in Middleton, Westmorland', *CW2*, 24 (1924), 123-49; and 'Thomas Langton and his Tradition of Learning', *CW2*, 26 (1926), 192, 208.
[77] I.e. shrubby.
[78] MS: 'No Demane lands know – not calld a Manner nor Lordship – nor ~~known whether it should be~~ referd M H?'

[10.] [Rarities in Nature]

[II.214]

Kirkby Loansdal Parish
[A woman] circa 80 ætatis, so lame that she could not goe about the House; & Renewd her Strength & sight of a sudden; had fresh hair white as a child, and a new set of teet[h] – and could goe to Chapham Church on foote – She went to shew herselfe abroad about 9 year agoe & was never heard of since. {Mr Tempest Husband an […][79] witness.}[80]
Vicaridge.[81] A miserian[82] – & white flore-de- lueys.[83] & Imperial Crown: A flore.[84]

Underleigh; a fine Seate
Lawn [&]
1. Arbor Vitæ – one on each hand as you enter through the Court. & in the Vic[arage[Garden.[85]
2. Buck-horn Tree by the garden dooer as you goe into the Turret gardine & at the Vic[arage].
3. The steps up the Mount, 66 & are 4 or 5 Inch High \ & maden hare in the steps. /
4. The Turret 2 stories high.
5. A Cock of the wood, being as big as a goose, brown like an Eagle & shapd like Moore game.
6. A Crokadil – 1 yard ½ or more.[86]

[Machell's Notes: II.214]
{The Master! (Thomas Holm of Barbon.)}

[II.203]

[B.] Kirkby Lonesdal Parish in the precincts of the Mother Church & the number of chapels

[II.213]

[1. Church: General Description] {July 16 1692}

Saint James his Church (as is supposed from the rush bearing used upon that day) hath a Steeple, 22 yards & 2 foote in Height, with a fair carved gate to enter into it. This Church in Length on the Out Side about 40 yards. The Breadth 24. And at the far \ East / End of the North Ile is Midleton Quire, where ~~is~~ are the ruines of a fine Monument made Alabaster of a Readish brown colour with these Coates of Armes, Sc. of one of Midletons & his wife cut in Alabaster {which the 1ᵗ Coat Impald shews to be} which was the Effigies Edward Midleton Esq. and [Blank] his wife.
The ~~Outer~~ \ South / Portch was builded by one Mr Baynes of Hegholm Hall (as by these verses which hung about 40 years agoe over the dooer.

This Portch by Baynes 1ᵗ builded was
Of Hegholm Hall they were.
And after sold to Christopher Wood
to keep in good Repare.

[79] Two words are illegible here.
[80] The story is repeated on MS.II.219.
[81] In faint pencilled letters under this heading are the words, 'It has great Parke at 18d – Endowments of Chaples.'
[82] 'Miserian', mentioned by John Evelyn as a flower suitable to be sown in a hot bed in spring alongside myrtles and nasturtiums, see John Ingram (ed.), *Elysium Britannicum, or The Royal Gardens* (Philadelphia, 2001), 109.
[83] White lily. See Frederick Barlow, *The Complete English Dictionary: Or, General Repository of the English Language*, Vol. 2 (1773), LIM-LIN.
[84] The crown imperial was a fritillary beloved of George Herbert: see Henry Nicholson Ellacombe, *The plant-lore and garden-craft of Shakespeare* (2nd edn, 1884), 104.
[85] Tree of life: the evergreen thuja.
[86] The crocodile or krokedail was either the holly (*Ilex Aquifolium*) or the stems of *Clematis Vitalba*: Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary 1*, A-C, 801.

And is repared as you see & kept in order good –
By the true Owner now thereof, the foresaid Christopher Wood.[87]

There is a ring of 3 Large Bells; & they are so expert as to Ring 29 Changes upon them.
The patronage & Impropriation thereof belongs to Trinity College in Cambridge, & is held in ~~by~~ Lease by Sir Thomas Strickland[88] – 1^{t} fruits 20^{li}.

[II.214][89]

[Clock] A clock in the church with 2 Horeplates – S. & West.[90]

[II.205][91]

[The Church: Further Details]
{St James day Rushebearing.[92]
22 yards l[eng]th
a fine corte gate
a fine flaged walke
3 great Bells: 7 Ringes, 29 Changes.}



Figure 2.8.7. Kirkby Lonsdale Church; margin sketch. II.205.

[II.219][93]

{July 16 1692}
Midleton Quier, which is the East End of the N. Ile {6 Collumns in a Row}
Here is a Fragment of an \ Allabaster / Monument of a Duskish Read Color – having bin formerly the Effigies of a Man in Armour with his Sword girt about him, laying on his back with hands erected & his head resting upon an Helmet. & by him the figure of his wife.[94] And at the head or West End of the Monument are 2 Coates of Armes and on Each Side 2. & has bin (I guess) as many more.

[87] Compare the versions in Rev. Canon Ware, 'Notes upon the parish church of Kirkby Lonsdale', *CW1,* 1 (1870), 189-203, at 198; and in R.P. Brown, 'Christopher Wood's inscription in Kirkby Lonsdale Church' *CW2*, 25 (1925), 321-30; see also *N&B1*, 246.
[88] Sir Thomas Strickland (1621-1694) of Sizergh was a committed Royalist and Civil War commander. After the collapse of King James II's regime, he and his wife fled to France. See J. Callow, 'Strickland, Thomas John Francis (c. 1682-1740), Roman Catholic bishop of Namur and diplomatist' [son of Sir T.]. *ODNB*. See also Part 2, Ch.7, Heversham, II.163, n.15.
[89] The reverse of II.213; it is divided into three columns, each of which is paginated (213, 213A, 214).
[90] Hour plate: the dial-plate of a clock inscribed with figures denoting the hours. *OED*.
[91] Other than the sketches and margin comment, this page is not in Machell's hand. The porch inscription on this page of the MS is virtually identical to that on II.213, so has not been transcribed.
[92] 25 July.
[93] The whole of this page has been overwritten. The base text is in pencil and mostly illegible. The images were drawn in pencil and then inked over.
[94] See *N&B I*, 246.



Figure 2.8.8. Arms in the Middleton Quire of Kirkby Lonsdale Church. II.219.



Figure 2.8.9. Second coat of arms. Middleton quire in Kirkby Lonsdale Church. II.219.

The 1. was Midleton single with a Crist, defaced. The 2. Midleton impaleing Tunsdal. Which by the Pedegre will sho which of the Midletons it was.

On the South Side the Monument.



Figure 2.8.10. Coats of arms on the south side of the monument in the Middleton quire in Kirkby Lonsdale Church. II.219.

On the north side



Figure 2.8.11. North side of the monument in Middleton Quire in Kirkby Lonsdale Church. II.219.

[with] An English Inscri[p]tion in the old Text Round.[95]

[95] The text has perished here, but the remaining words say, 'In Casterton Piew in the S. Ile – on wainscot A.D. 160 [blank] is this Coat…'



Fig 2.8.12. 'In Casterton Piew in the S. Ile – on wainscot.' II.219.[96]

1. The Crist Stags head Co[llared] Or.
(2.) Argent a /\ charg'd with a Crescent Or between 3 [cross crosslets fitchy][97] Sable.
2. Azure a Lyon Rampant Vert.
3. Vert. A Bend Argent charged with 2 Rows of Ermins.
? 4. Or A Bugle Sable.
(5.) Argent. 3 Bends Gules on a Canton of the 2nd a Lyon Rampant of the first.
6. The sixth, as the first.}

[Library]
At the East End of the N. Ile is erected a Library above a Little Place for the Vestery – being only \ a Loft or Gallery / of wainscot, with one Row of Seates & Read[ing] Deskes placed before them; under which are classes for the Bookes.[98] This Library pulpit & New Loft, together with the School house, were founded by Mr Henry Wilson of Underley who gave to the colleges – 1000li. Besides 35li yearly to 7 poore Scholars going to Queens College in Oxon. And to this church & Schoole 240li[99] – To the poore / of Kirkby Loansdal Lordship 500 li. Besides making other gifts to […][100]

[II.220] [101]
In the Top of the Midle high window \ light / in Casterton pew: Gules 3 cushons Ermin. But not Tasseld. I take it for a Readman. {inde forsan colligatur – Readmans aliquando Casterton habuiss[e]}[102]



Figure 2.8.13. Redman Arms in Casterton pew in Kirkby Lonsdale Church. II.220.

On an Alabaster Monument, being a Table of black marble betwixt 2 monument \ white marble / columns in the South Ile.

[96] The text has perished here.
[97] Machell has drawn a sketch here, rather than using words.
[98] 'Classes': a set or category of things having related properties or attributes in common grouped together, differentiated from others under a general name or description; as in 'classified'. *OED*. See also *N&B1*, 248.
[99] This phrase is almost hidden in the binding. The sum has hitherto been judged to be 24li, but there is a nought after the '24', which suggests that the sum is 240li. The amounts given here do not quite concur with Nicolson and Burn's data, see *N&B1*, 248.
[100] 1¾ lines of text at the foot of this page have perished.
[101] The whole of this page has been overwritten. The base text is in pencil and mostly illegible. The images were drawn first in pencil and then inked over.
[102] 'Perhaps it might be adduced that the Redman family once owned Casterton.'

FÆLICI &c. fælici memoriæ Elizabethæ Carus, filiæ et heredis Thomæ Carus, Nicholai Curwen Equitis Aurati uxoris. Matri Suæ | Optimè meritæ merens filia Maria | Henrico Witheringtono Nupta, Hoc Sacrum Posuit. [103]

And under neath on a Smaler Table of Black Marble also:

Hic Requiescit ab Ano no Domini 1611. Ætatis suæ | 51. Donec Postrema lux refulgeat.[104]

And above all is this Coate of Arms



Figure 2.8.14. Curwen with Carus coat of arms. II.220.

Which is Curwen, with its quarterings, impaleing Carus with its Quarterings.[105]
1. Argent a frett Gules, ch[arged] with a chief.
2. Is Azure, a Lyon Rampant Argent gutteed Gules.[106]
3. Azu\re/ a cheveron \ Ar[gent] / charged with Thre mullets Gules.
4. Argent 3 bares Gules, on a canton of the 2nd a sparrowel[107] Or, piercd. In the Chiefe a crescent montant[108] for distinction of another house.
5. As the second.
6. As the first. N[ote] Ergo A[rgent] impaleing.
7. Argent a Ram Sable Hornd Ore a chief of the 2. Garbes of the 3.[109]

[II.208][110]

Kirkby Loansdal Parish conteineth in it
1. The mother church.
2. St Coomes chapel.[111]
3. Barbon Chapel.
4. Midleton Chaple.
5. Firbanke.
6. Killington.
7. Hutton Roofe.

[103] 'To the happy memory of Elizabeth Carus daughter and heir of Thomas Carus and wife of Sir Nicholas Curwen Baronet. Her daughter Mary wife of Henry Witherington set up this sacred stone, grieving for her best-deserving mother.'
[104] 'Here she has reposed since A.D. 1611, aged 51. May the final light shine again in and on her'.
[105] The MS here contains a list, written in pencil and scored through: '~~1. Argent 2. 3. 4. 5. Azure a Lyon Rampant Argent 6. As the 1.7. Argent 3 calfes sable~~.'
[106] Here, Machell has sketched a droplet symbol (goutte).
[107] Spur rowel.
[108] Here, Machell has sketched a crescent symbol.
[109] The rest of the phrase is obscured by the binding.
[110] In the MS, each chapel's name is followed by the words, 'in which', with no added text.
[111] St Columba or Colum Cille.

[II.205] [112]

[2. Information supplied by Machell's Informants, with Machell's queries and notes]

[i.] The Parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, Countie of Westmorland

is in form oblong on the S. part abutting upon the north of Lancashire and extend its bounds northerly to Couperethwaite in Firbank being X miles in length and from the East bounded upon Yorkshire, and extends itself iiij miles westward bounding upon Kendall parish northerly and upon Burton parish southerly. It is divided into 6 Constablewicks* (vizt) 1^0 Kirkby Lordship, 2^0 Casterton cum Hutton roof, 3^0 Barbone cum Mansergh, 4. Middleton, 5. Killington cum Firbank, 6. Lupton; and further accompt [is given] as per inclosed paper of Kirkby Lonsdale parish†.

Of the Town of Kirkby L.[113]
Kirkby Lunesdale, being the Chiefe Towne from whereof the parish has its denomination; and the Dale from the River Lune which has its rise by a small Spring, X miles above the head of the parish, continues its course through the parish being X miles in lengthe and emptyeth it selfe at Lancaster or Lunecaster X myles below the parish. The River is large and al along butiffyed with great plenty of wood; and ~~furnished~~ \ enriched / with abundance of fish and \ great / variety of Salmon, Trouts, Eeles, Pikes, pinks, and greate store of salmon Friye called Smelts.

{Site of the Church}
The Church situate upon the Bank of the river, a very pleasant, \ in / a large Levill and incomparable Churchyard, butyfyed with curious walks, planted with wood; the Church three rowes of Collumns and well butified within but most of the antient monuments defaced; a slender square steeple. Iij Bells: about 100 yards East from the Church upon the River bank a very fine Free Schoole‡ founded in 1628 by Mr Henry Wilson of Underley, who alsoe gave to Church, Colleges, Schoole and poore, and other pious uses, neare 3000^{li} a particular whereof [blank][114]

[Machell's Notes: II.205]

*{q. whether Lordships.}
†{q. How Casterton & Hutton roof & allso Lupton stand apart from Kirkby & on what side of the water. See the bounders in the other paper.}
‡{A further account (if servicable) take from Mr Wase of […]}[115]

[II.206]

{The Marcat e Registro de Wederhal f. 121}
Hen. III (per Cart dat. Anno Regni sui [Blank] et [Blank] Granted to John de Kirkby parson of the church of Kirkby in Lonesdale, that he and the succeeding parsons of the said church, should have forever one fair there upon the Church Land; to continue 3 dayes every year – Sc. on the Eve, upon the Day, & the day after, the Feast of the Nativity of the Bl[essed] Virgin Mary.[116] And one Market on Thorsday every week nesc[essary] &c. But the Parsonage being after appropriate to the Mon. of St Mary of Yorke, a Quo Warranto[117] was brought against the Abbot of York {Anno Dom. 1291 XX Ed.} concerneing the same 1, who said that he clamd ~~it~~ \ to have a fair & m[arket] there / as parson of the Church, Reciteing the Charter above said. And he clamed Emendas assisæ panis et cerevisiæ fractæ Tu[m]brellum et pillorium tanquam annexas et pertinentes Mercato.[118]

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[112] The main text below the heading is in another hand. The sketch and margin comments are in Machell's hand.
[113] A margin note gives, MS: '{Kirkby Loansdall Towne in the Tower? 48 Charter –}', but some of this comment has been obscured by the binding.
[114] See above, II.219.
[115] Although the final words are unclear, this is a reference to Christopher Wase's schools survey. See P.J. Wallis, 'Westmorland schools about 1676: Christopher Wase's Survey'. *CW2*, 67 (1967), 168-85.
[116] From 7 to 9 September.
[117] A writ of, 'by what authority'.
[118] 'And he clamed amends for the breach of an assize of bread and ale, [and the use of] tumbrel and pillory, as being annexed and pertaining to the market.' The Assize of Bread and Ale (Latin: Assisa panis et cerevisiae)

And at length it was agreed by the Kings Counsail that the foresaid Abbot should enjoy the fair libertyes & those things which belongd to a marcat & fair – salvo jure Dom[ini] Regis et heredum suorum.[119] And a Precept was given to the Sherif to permit the same &c.

[Fairs]
{1 fair on Shear Thorsday ie Mau[n]dy Thorsday; 1 on St. Thomas Day;[120] & one every forthnight day from Hallow Thorsday till Michaelmas. The Lord of the Manner has all the Tolls both of Faire & Market.}

{Abbats [Hall]}
There is a place calld Abbats Hall standing on the Southwest side of the church yard. Which with the Impropriation & Advowsan of the church now belongs to Trinity College in Cambridge.

[II.207][121]

If Servicable may be had, and what further knowne.[122]

{Market & Faires}
The Towne is a Markett weekly, upon Thursday, and two faires yearly; both faires and market afford a great store of Cattall and all sorts of graine in great plenty; Buildings pretty good; quantity of stone and timber within the parish; oakes* and ashes, of which in some parts are found that will never worme eate, which is very rare in ashen wood†. For fewell, plenty of wood, turffs, peates, and coales all within the parish and two miles of the Towne.

{Ad Kirkby Town} {Kirkby Bridge}
Through the Towne the high roade from Scotland and northest of Cumberland and Westmorland to London, and over the bridg called Kirkby Bridge, famous for its strength and building, consisting of iij Arches all founded upon \ a / roky Base, naturaly grounded in the middle of the river.
As for Gentry I can give very smale account but what I suppose may be better had out of Dugdall.

{Note. Gen[eral] of the parish of Kirkby}
The parish generaly of a good soyle, redish and black mould, all sorts of graine, greate store of Lime-Stone, Free Stone and Slate very convenient; greate store of p[lea]sant springs but none phisicall; every part furnished with Small Rivelets emptying into the river, and all furnishd with fish from thence.

[Machell's Notes: II.207]

*{at Barbon Park.}
†{?!!!}
The Vic[ar's] House on the N. of the church yard – Mr Briggs. 1m. West Tearnside-Chapl (1 m west ~~½ N \ W. & SW /from the church~~.) – Lately demolished by Richard. Balif.
Hutton Roofe – W. ab Ecclesia 2m. and more; Midleton Chapel 3m. N \ E / ab Ecclesia. Killington 4m.[123] N.; Firbank 7m.[124] north; Barbon chapel 2 m \ N / E by N.[125]

was a 13th-century law which regulated the price, weight and quality of bread and beer manufactured and sold in towns, villages and hamlets. It was the first law in British history to regulate the production and sale of food: Henry de Beltgens Gibbins, *The Industrial History of England* (London, 1897), 245-46.

[119] 'Saving the rights of the Lord King and of his heirs'.

[120] 21 December.

[121] Continuation of II.205, written in the same hand. Machell provided the margin comments.

[122] Heading of a note from Machell's informant.

[123] This could also be seen as '5'.

[124] Overwritten. Could be '1m.'.

[125] All of these distances are placed at the foot of the page and are either indistinct or partly perished. They are therefore insecure.

[II.209][126]

[ii.] Mr Aplegarth

{Parish length & Bredth}
Kirkby Lonsdale Parish lyeth upon the east side of Kendall barony. From Kirkby Church \ in the South / till Couperthwaite in Fir banke \ northwards / in the same parish is in length nine myles; in breadth foure myles.

{Bounder?}
Bounded on the East side whereof with Yorkeshire all along; on the ~~South~~ \ north and northwest side / side with Kendall Parish, and Burton parish; the South parte abuttinge upon Lancashire: The river Lone from whence the Dale has its name runninge downe the very midle of the parish from Midleton Head to Kirkby Church.

{Lordships}
It is devided into six divisions: Kirkby Lordshippe; and Casterton and Hutton Rooffe, another; Barbon and Mansergh, another; Midleton the fourth; Killington and Fir banke the fifth; and Lupton the sixth the ~~smallest~~ \ least / parte by some small quantity.

{Gen[eral] Tithe*}
All the parish pays Tyth Corne in kinde except Killington and Firbanke which pays Composition money called Tyth meale silver; as the rate is Dated the Saturday before midsummers[127] \ day / and the Saturday after: every yeare.
The Patronage is impropriate, belongeing to Trinity Colledge in Camb.

{Tenure}
The Tenures ar mixt: in Kirkby Lordshippe some Coppie holds and some free \ customary; / in Casterton and Hutton Roofe, Customarie Lands and Free holds; in Barbon, Customarie lands; and Mansergh, freeholds. Midleton all freeholds, onely oweing Suite of Courte to Midleton Hall. Killington and Firbanke all free holds; longe since belongeing to the mannor-house called Killington Hall and in ancient time of the Pickeringe lands the Eschutchion of that house being three fishes \ no that cannot be,[128] / as they are to be found att this day in a glasse window of the said house.

{Lupton} And Lupton all Customarie Tenants:

{Hutton Ch. Barbon C. Kil. Ch. Firbanke !!!}
A Chappell of Ease in Hutton Roofe; an old ruined Chappell in Barbon; a chappell where they bury in Midleton; and one of the same quality in Killington where they bury; and a chappell in Firbanke dedicated to St Martine; \ and / within an indifferent distance of the said Firbanke Chappell there is a Springe wel which kills keads (as comonly called by the Country people) if any be got into a mans eare, by dropping \ the / water therein: It has beene reported that \ formerly / very many have come farre for that end and found helpe by the water and lyeing of the ground in that Chappell; for certaine truth the ground upon the fell under which this well aforesaid riseth does not suffer one keade to live upon the sheep that there pasturs in the Summer: my owne sheep goes in the same place and I cann witnesse itt.[129]

[Machell's Notes: II.209]
{Q. of fir roots found in the mosses about K.}
{*Giles Balif æt 70. Will. Willan. 37 – of Hutton Roof.}[130]

[126] Smaller page, 18cm x 20½cm: main text not in Machell's hand; margin comment in Machell's hand.
[127] 21 June.
[128] Interlineation here by Machell.
[129] 'Keds' or 'keads' are sheep lice and parasites: Rollinson, *Dictionary of Cumbrian Dialect*, 89.
[130] Informants.

[II.213] [131]

[iii.] Ad Bounder of Westm'land[132]

Yorkshire in the East is divided from it Thus:
Beginning at Holmwater foote; thence Eastwards up Holm water to above Holm.
{? From Holm Beckfoot to the County Stone.}
From Holmwater above Holm.
Up a gill by the east side of Midleton Fell to the hanging stone in in Berkine where Barbon be.
{Q[uery] County Stone ~~on the top of Gragerth~~\ inter Weber and Gragerth.}

{A Bounder from Barbon Pike to Langfoot Side as followeth} {N.B. This is Good}
Thence \ W. by S. / from Gragerith go down a Gill to a \ cave /calld Easgill-Kirke* (where such a parish or Lordship begins.)
Thence Westwards inclineing to the S. by. St Coomes Chappell house (divideing this Lordship from [Blank] in Lancashire &c.)
Thence Westwards in a directly over Leune to \ an Ash Tree in \ medow / Cansfield Closes.[133]
Thence W. Cross[in]g Lancaster Road, in \ a / streine[134] to a Great Stone in a field calld Thirnby.
Thence W. By the fence \ or hedge / to Thirnby Well.
Thence W. (in direct Line) \ over the fields / to a well in a meadow twix Biggins-hall in W. & Sellet Hall in Lancashire.}
Thence W. (over the fields in a streight line to {North Neuk of Cartar-Intack now Jacksons.)
Thence West (up ~~the~~ the Dike twixt Brabon Intack in Lancashire & Langfield in Westm'land & to the top of Langfield hill.)

[Machell's Notes: II.213]

*{q. of a story in Camden}[135]

[II.214]

Ra\w/tha Water devides Westmorland from Yorkeshire from the Stean-brig at the N. End of the foremire SW by the River Leun to the foote of Ra\w/tha.
Thence (up Rara beck) and by South to where Midle[ton] comes in to Higher Holme \ takeing it in; /
Thence E.S.E. (by as Heven Water divides to the Hinging Stone where Barbon comes in.
Thence S.E. (by a streight Line to Willy mount Rase \ at the W. End of Green head. /
Thence W.S.W. (in a direct line to the Lords Seat: a chare made with 3 stones upon an Hurrock at the N.E. End of Wakeber near the well.
Thence S.E (up a Sike to Mear-Häu, a round Limeston hill.
Thence S. (up the said Sike to – ergo – Milstone-Pike where Casterton comes in
Thence in a direct line streight – County Stone whe[re] the Countyes of W. Y. & L. meet all together.

[II.215]

{Ad Bounder} {Hutton Roofe}
§ The Bounder of Westmorland from Hutton Roof Lordship to Winstar beck head; & thence to White Scout head.
From the Top of Langfield Hill (where Hutton Lordship begins) S. up the Out Side of Whittington Intack Wall till you com ~~at~~ to the Dike Nook of Haber.

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[131] Although of the usual size for this volume, this page has been pasted in at right angles to the rest.
[132] This bounder information is in note form and has been scored through. In the margin is written 'ad bounder infra'.
[133] Here there is a tiny sketch of a tree (¼cm x ½cm) surrounded by grass.
[134] 'Streight line'.
[135] Camden remarked of this area, 'Above the Spring-head of Lone the country spreadeth broader and the hilles shoot out with many turnings, betweene which there lie some vallies mervailous steepe and deepe withall, with many hollow places in maner of caves.' Camden, *Britannia* tr. Holland (1637), 760C. The 'story', however, might have come from Camden's previous chapter on Lancashire, in which, describing the shores of Windermere, he wrote, 'And a little village standing hard by carieth the name thereof. In which Eathred King of Northumberland in the yere of Christ 792, when he had by force fetched King Elfwolds sonnes out of Yorke and slue them, that by his owne wickednes and their bloud he might secure the Kingdome to himselfe and his.' See Edmund Gibson (ed.), *Camden's Britannia* Vol. 2, 2nd edn (London, 1722), 978.

Thence directly S. downe by an old Casten Dike to the Head of Këür-beck.
Thence, Westward down the said Beck to Mort Intack Nooke.
Thence agane Westwards down the said Këur to the Low Nooke of Hawkrig alias Hawkside hill* at Roand well.
Thence – even West (in a streight line) to Walker Pots ~~Under there to~~ Cragg-house on the South Side of it. {Crag house payes Rent & cesses in Lancashire}.
Thence, N.W. (in a direct line) to Heap of Stones twixt Lowthate and Ploverlands. Where Burton parish comes in but q. whether Burton clame not to Walker pots.
(Thence q[uery] in Burton. And memorandum to enter a note about Dalton.)

Where Burton comes in
Thence W. (up Roand Well Sike) to Roand-Well Head (They call Rowled Roand vulgo here.) Thence West (in a direct line) to the South End of Pickle-Hill.[136]
Thence N.W. by ~~a Common fence~~ \ the Out Side of Dalton / Ring fence to Storth-Stile.
Thence \ directly / W (by the foote way) to Peac\r/oft hedge.
Thence directly S. (in a streight line) to the Highway twixt Burton & Dalton.
Thence W. (down the Highway) to the East point of Lan\g/ran Close.
Thence W. (~~down~~ \ up / the said Hedge about 100 yards to a Gray Stone on the N. side of a well.
Thence Southward 200 yards to the S. point of Langran close.
Thence Southward (by a quick wood \ hedge / to the East corner of a common field belonging to Burton, calld Boun-Town.
Thence S. (by another like fence) to a close calld Slaks.

[II.217]

From Sc. Slacks
From thence S. Eastwards following the fence on your left hand till you com at ~~Dickni~~ Dickin yeat.
Thence West (downe the lane from Dalton to Burton) till you com ~~at~~ \ to / a place calld Ou-fangs.
Thence W. (by a fense on the left hand) to Herrinsike.
Thence \ W. / up the said Sike \ about / 100 yards till you com at Dearflat Meadow.
Thence Directly Nor[th] (up Dearflat fence) to The Highway twixt Burton & Yellan.
Thence W. – followin[g] that Land to Yellan head.
Thence N. up Yellan head fence to the South corner of Bread Lands.
Thence W. down Broad Land Dike {where Dalton & Burton comes in}to Hilderstone Dike.
Thence ~~N~~ W. Jump over the Moss in a direct line to 2 or 3 Houses calld Leyton Beck where Bethom comes*. So calld from the river Betha – which springs at Lilly tarn. And runs by the East end of the Church. Then N. down from the Hall to Milthrop Bridge.
Thence west by north of Dallan Tower and ?11 score[137] beyond it turnes Southwards into the sea.
From Levton Beck (SW) downe the said Beck to south corner of Ivy-meadow; thence S.W. (by Midle Barow wall) to South side of Midlebarrow; thence W. (in a Streight Line) in the \ field / to Arnes head well; thence N.W. by the South Side of Arneside Park[138] to a Skarr calld Black Steäne.; thence N.W. (by a Streight Line) Over the \ Eye Ea† to the / foot of Lindal Pow. Thence N. up the River Powe to the Powbank? which I thinke is Winstar beck foote.

Machell's Notes: II.217]
*Qu. of Ed. Garnet of Bethom, Thomas Hudson of Haverbreek beyond Bethom.[139]
†{The Eye of Kent so calld there.}
{Bethome: Thomas Hudson, Samuel Dowker.}[140]

[136] MS: 'Thence West (in a direct line) to the South End of Pickle-Hill Heap of Stones twixt Lowthate and Ploverlands.'
[137] Yards.
[138] 4cm of text is thoroughly scored through and illegible here.
[139] Machell queries whether this bounder is correct.
[140] It has been partly hidden by the binding but the name could be 'Bowker'.

[II.218][141]

{White Skout Sicke}
Thence up the said Winstar beck till you com above Winstar chaple at the place where White Scout Sike comes into Winstar betwixt the 2 mills.
Thence Westwards to White Skout head where it springs*.
From Preston Chaple to Hutton S.E. 3 m – Thence to Dalton Hall S.W. 1 m & ½; Thence to Burton 1m. N.W.†.

[Machell's Notes: II.218]

*Qu. If Winstar beck be not the Same with Lindal Pow –
†So far as Burton is concernd, given in by Valantine Armorer; Rich. Claton Landlord 2s 6;
& Balif.
John Lucas Senior of Holm; John Lucas Junior; Roger Hind. Spent at Crookelands – 0-2-6.[142]
See the outmost parishes and their Bounders & thence Extract the General Bounder.

[II.221][143]

[iv.] Kirkby Lonsdale Schoole [Henry Wilson][144]

Sir
In answer to your desires in your letter sent me (touching the Free Grammar Schoole of Kirkby Lonsdale in the county of Westmorland) I give this narrative of what I know and have heard of the same*{i.e. Mr Richard Jackson Parson of Whittington near Kirkby Lonsdale from whom together with Mr Henry Wilson Justice of Peace I had this information}[145] my selfe being borne in that towne November the 11th 1602 and am now aged yeares seventy and three;[146] my father was a feofe or governor among others of that schoole many years, and myself one since his decease.
As for the rise and original of that schoole, I have heard it was thus, viz, that one whose surname was Godsalve borne at Newton of the Parish of Whittington in the County of Lancaster gave one hundred pound toward a free schoole to be disposed as the parson of Whittington (called Parson Bland) should hold fitting, and being borne att Kirkby Lonsdale, that towne being an ancient market towne, but a mile from Whittington proposed his willingness that the said hundred pound the gift of the said Godsalve should goe towards the foundation of a free grammer schoole at the said Kirkby, provided Kirkby Lordship or the parish would add to it another hundred pound which was done accordingly, at which time one Mr Tenant having purchased two manners in the north riding of the county of Yorke called by the name of Beadall and Scotton, did for the said two hundred pounds grant a Rent Charge of twenty pounds upon the said two manners yearly for ever unto the Governors of the said schoole to the use of him who was elected by them master of the said schoole and to be paid yearly at two payments viz at Whitsunday and Martinmas[147] by equall portion or within ten dayes after either of those two festivalls under a nomine poena[148] of fortie shillings in case the same was unpaid as aforesaid; but now that rent charge is paid by Sir Henry Tompson of Yorke who lately purchased the mannour of Scotton of the heires of the said Mr Tenant, and he duly payes the same within the times limited, the deeds to shew the same are extant and kept with the letters patents in the thre and thirtieth yeare of Queen Elizabeth[149] granted to the four and twentie feoffes Governors of the said schoole and all the other writings ~~belonging~~ relating to the said schoole in a chest kept in the Vestry of the church of the said Kirkby Lonsdall. Alsoe there was given by the Lady Curwen who was heire of the said mannour of Kirkby Lonsdale certaine parcel of lands called the Masters lands scituate nea[r] the Biggins, and the wast grounds of the old Schoole house, and the new Schoole house was erected upon

[141] Note-page containing several shades of ink as well as red pencil (overwritten).
[142] The sums appear to relate to Machell's expenses during his Itinerary; see the letter from Gibson, schoolmaster, below, II.225.
[143] The page is not in Machell's hand; it is a letter written by Henry Wilson, school governor, descendant of Henry Wilson who gave money for the new school building.
[144] The contents of this letter also appear in Brown, *Edward Wilson of Nether Levens and his kin*, 55-57.
[145] Machell placed an asterisk here, referring to a margin note which is now obscured by the binding.
[146] He was writing in 1675.
[147] 11 November.
[148] 'A named penalty'.
[149] 30th year of Elizabeth I's reign, 1590-1591.

\ it / worth per annum fortie shillings and upwards to the use of the said Schoole master, as the deed kept in the said chest will shew, the old Schoole house being but a mean thatchd house. Mr Henry Wilson of Blacwell hall in London being borne in Kirkby Lonsdale and sometimes being a Scholler there, ~~and the said Henry Wilson made a small library in the Church of Kirkby Lonsdale over the vestry and gave some bookes~~ caused it to be taken downe and at his owne proper Costs erected the now new Schoole house. The same is two stories high: In the lower story are two large rooms devided, the East end thereof for the head master to teach in, the West end for the Usher,[150] for the maintainance and wages of which Usher in regard the whole former Rent and Revennues went only to the former grammar master, the said Mr Wilson by his last will and testament gave the consideration mony of 120^{ff} yearly to be at two payments to him that should be Usher with 120^{ff} principall,[which] together with other monies to pious uses are laid upon a part of the Demean lands belonging to Thurland Castle in the

[II.222]

parish of Tunstall and County of Lancaster as will appear by Deeds kept also in the chest of the Schoole evidences. And in the upper story of the said new Schoole house there are two very large rooms and divided with a convenient study distinct for the head master. And there are for the rooms both above and below for either place at the west end a faire free stone chimney and the whole schoole house is adorned with sutable free stone windows both above and below, and the whole roofe is covered with slate.

Alsoe for the encouragement of schollers to come to the said schoole there was given by the last will of Mr Thomas Wilson, a parson in Norfolk, ~~being~~ younger brother to the said Mr Henry Wilson, 200^{ff} to be layd upon land; the consideration whereof was to goe to the master and fellowes of Christs Colledge in Cambridge, to the use of three poore schollers in three Exhibitions at 5^{ff} per annum to each of those sc\h/ollers, which ~~scoll~~ schollers was to come from the said Schoole of Kirkby, and to be students in the said Christ Colledge, and the said schollers to have the same yearly payd them till they weer of standing to commence Master of Arts, if they soe long continued, which 200^{ff} was laid upon a mansion house and land in a place called Bulbanke near a towne called Wraton in the parish of Melling, County of Lancaster, as will appeare by the deeds in the chest of the Schoole Evidences.

{Exhib. Kendal}[151]

And alsoe Mr Henry Wilson by his last will and testament gave by way of rent-charge out of the tyth corne and graine arising within the Liberties of Farleton of the parish of Beathom and County of Westmorland the summ of thirtie five pounds yearly to be paid to seavn poore schollers, four of them to be sent out of the said free schoole of Kirkby Lonsdale and the other three out of the free schoole of Kendal and thus to be students in Queens Colledge in Oxford and the said schollers to be from the Counties of Westmorland or Cumberland as will appeare by the said will.

Alsoe the said Mr Henry Wilson ~~gave~~ made a small library in the Church of Kirkby over the Vestry and gave severall books.

And as for the names of the schoole masters; in my time were as followeth. Viz. they who teached in the old Schoole house where I had my learning was Mr James Redman ~~Clarke who was Curate under Mr Waterhouse~~.[152] And since the new Schoolhouse was erected after the decease of the said Mr Redman succeed one Mr Hodgson and after his decease one Mr John Leake until he removed to be vicar of Tunstall, and after him ~~succeed~~ succeded ~~one~~ Mr Henry Carr and after his decease Mr William Carr and after him Mr John Tatham and after his decease Mr Edward Bainbrigg and after his removeall into Ireland succeded Mr Francis Jackson and when he removd to be vicar of Warton after him succeded Mr Robert Garthwaite and when he removed to Newcastell, succeded Mr Robert Gardiner and after his resignation of it to the Governours there is elected one Mr Miles Farrar; and

[150] Usher: see the English Glossary.

[151] In Machell's hand.

[152] Note that Machell scored-through the final phrase, but see the following quotation from R.P. Brown in, 'The Vicars of Kirkby Lonsdale', *CW2*, 29 (1929), 177: 'Thomas Machell (MSS. ii, 221) preserves a letter from an aged correspondent in which it is stated, but doubtfully, that Mr. James Redman was this vicar's [Waterhouse's] curate.' NB, in the MS the relevant page is II.222.

after Mr Guy had resigned up his Usher place, the Governours elected one Thomas Atkinson to be Usher.
This narrative I have from Mr Richard Jackson parson of Whittington; and as for my uncles Henry Wilson and Thomas Wilson it is all according to their last wills which I have perused and compared.
Witness my hand
Hen: Wilson
I have put upon the file the original from Mr Jackson.

[v.] Barbon [Samuell Gibson, Schoolmaster]

[II.226]

To Mr Tho. Maychell att Kirkby-Thore neare Appleby Westm[r]land
To be left at Mrs Catherine Forths in Kendall
For the virtue of the well – send Qu[ery] – after the method for Witherslack in Bethom parish.[153]

[II.225]

Sir
To my promise on your request I have Endeavoured to acquire the pedigrees of Shutleworth in his Lordship of Barbon, formerly in the possession of J. Heighington of Holderness neare Hull; next Jno. Middleton of Middleton and from him to Judge Shutleworth for the sum of 1400[ll –] But further I rest in yours.
I have solicited diverse persons about aged persons, & finde but 2, viz / son to Sir Jiffrey Middleton aged 111, rocked in a Cradle before his death – John Garnett of Casterton one m[ile] from Kirkby – E. be. S.,[154] a prophessier,[155] aged 120, laid under a ~~Bed~~ Table all night – [his relatives] – supposeing him dead. Next morning revi[v]ed, got out of the house naked & ran [to] an old chapel St Cumes alias Comes[156] above a mile (& about ½ a mile) E.S.E. of K. & there was found with lifted up hands kneeling before the Alter & died within 3 days.
The reliques of an old chapel at Ternside a mile from Kirkby W.
Wegboure[157] well workes by Urin; disolveth the Stone & purgeth the Gravell i[n] the Blader; staineth wood, earth or stone a deep Orange.
Holme middow. Holme well cures the Itch, kills wormes within the bodys of men women & children, but not so strong in its taste & opporacon.
Mill Beck in Middleton runs as Heaven water devides, workes made on Each Side to keepe it[s] Course; A great Stone lying in Barbon dale in the High way to Dent with a perfect print of a Hors Shooe upon it. Some Prime Trees alias Prim & Juniper.[158]
Birds or fowles has none [but] which are common; not worth \ mentoning;[159] /
Barrick Hall late in the possession the ancient family of Manserghs, ancient as said before the Conquest. I [went] to Enquire for some coates of armes or other engraven worke but found none worth observaton.
Neeth Hall[160] formerly belonging the said Mansers; a great many white Fox gloves.

I shall not inlarge further Sir as being in hast in hopes these will finde safe returne & what you are awanting in our parts may assure [your] selfe in what I am Sir
Your humbly devoted
Sam Gibson
Barbon 5th August 92.

[153] This note is in Machell's hand.
[154] East by South.
[155] Prophesier: a Puritan preacher. *OED*.
[156] St Columba.
[157] 'Wegboure': unknown to this editor. Perhaps it is Borrowegan, near Kendal.
[158] Prim = privet: genus Ligustrum. *OED*.
[159] This word was written above another, now scored-through and illegible.
[160] Nether Hall?

Sir I desire your pardon being short in some things & not so full as intended; likewise of a Direcon' to you which I hope yo'le (att the receipt of these) be pleased to honoure me with –

[II.229][161]

{July 19, 1692} Barbon
The schoolmaster at the chaple there, Samuell Gibson, born in the Town, being about 24 years of age being at Chaipha in Asia 20m.[162] from Jerusalem, in 1687. Had these markes impressd & Tingd upon his Armes, as fair as they are herein expressd: for his safer {better} passage in his Travels amongst the Christians where ever he came and Testimony of his haveing bin there.

The figures were pricked out with a forked instrument like 2 needle points set in wood about ½ a quater of an Inch in length by the Impression with the woden printes, being wett & strewed \ pounced / over with Gunpowder beaten to dust as he doth imagin, & tyed up in a Rag. And after all Rub'd it over with som liquid matter (which he takes to be vinegar & Gunpowder but I rather thinke it som strong sort

[II.231][163]



Figure 2.8.15. Samuell Gibson's Christian Tattoos 1. *II.231.*

[II.230]

of Spirit as Aqua Fortis;[164] for it Stung Exceedingly: & the[y] did not touch it with their fingers but Rub'd it in with the Ends of the [instrument] wherein the needle points were set. It was don by a Nazarene[165] & caused his Armes to be very sore & swell exceedingly for 4 dayes after which the pain Abated & they heal'd of themselves.
They must be printed off [in my book] with Blew inke.[166]

[161] A piece of paper, 14cm x 20cm. In Machell's hand.
[162] The second numeral is blotted, making the distance unclear. The town appears to be Haifa, in Hebrew, Hefa, but named Caiphas by the Crusaders, who conquered it in 1100. The distance by road between the cities today is 94 modern miles: https://www.distancecalculator.net/from-jerusalem-to-haifa
[163] A piece of paper measuring 14cm x 20cm. See similar illustrations in Part 2, Ch.10, Itinerary, II.384A.
[164] Aqua Fortis: early scientific name of nitric acid, a powerful solvent and corrosive; a term also used of other powerful solvents. *OED*.
[165] Inhabitant or native of Nazareth.
[166] For more on these tattoos, see Part 2, Ch.10, Itinerary, II.384, II.384A.



Figure 2.8.16. Samuel Gibson's Christian Tattoos 2. II.231.

[II.205]

[Notes on Barbon]
{I suppose this Lordship [of Barbon] as it gave its name to the[m] so it was possesd by the family of the Babournes which was in being & in good reputation about the time of Richard II: for Richard de Bellingham grandchild of Robert and Christian de Burnishead marryed Ann the daughter of John de Barbourne & had isue Sir Robert Tu[n]sdel of Thurland Castle, the next neighbouring place to the Lordship of Barbon.}

[II.227]

Barbon Chap. In Lonsdale
1. Thre Water Budgets by the name of Parr Quartering 2 Barrs and a mullet, by the name of [Blank]
2. [Blank] 3. [Blank]
4. Par[r]. Quartering that with the Mullet in the 2nd. That with the cheveronells in the third. The 4th as the 1st.

[II.231]

Lizards – Black brown 4 or 5 inch at Wakebur fell – E. a Capella 2m.

[vi.] Middleton. Joseph Heblethwaite Senior, James Cragg Junior, superstito.[167]

[II.235]

Midleton \ Ch. / in Loansdale. Midleton Chapelry; One Entire Lordship.
1. Midleton Hall – Hawkin Hall. Bainbrig.
Bainbrig Rector of Clipston in Northamptonsh.[168] {Ætat 80ti}[169] fello of S.[170]

Over the Hall doer: Argent betwene 3 martletts a cheveron Sable, chargd – & with 3 ~~Bucks~~ Stags heads cabboshd Or – The Crist a Staggs head Errased Or.

The chapel was built by the Inhabitants \ upon ground given by Mr Xt. Bainbrig a minister; /{finishd in 1634 as by a stone † in the chapel; which was formerly on the East End of it having these figures}[171] & Indow'd with 100li or thereabouts, which yielded 8li per Annum Intrest and ~~about~~ 2 years \ after / Anno Domini 1635 it was Consecrated [by] John (Bridgeman) then Bishop of Chester,

[167] 'Surviving'. This heading appears on MS.II.241.
[168] Christopher Bainbridge, son of Edward Bainbridge of Long Marton. School: Kirkby Lonsdale. Christ's College, Cambridge from 1632; B.A. 1635-6; priested 1638; M.A. 1639; B.D. 1661; fellow 1637-44; ejected during Interregnum; vicar of Caldecote, Cambs. 1661. Rector of Clipston, Northants. 1667-99; d. 1699. CCED.
[169] Aged eighty.
[170] Fellow of [?].
[171] Figures not given.

die solis Xvij[0] Maij.[172] by the name of Capellæ Spiritus Sanctie;[173] reserveing to the Bishops of Chester the Nomination of a Prea[cher] to officiate therin {who also gave 40s towards the building thereof} & also 1s per Synodalibus et 1s 4 per Procurationibus[174] every Triennial Visitation – The original of which I saw in the [possession of] Mr John \ More / of Grimes[175] near the said chapel, with a Broad Seal appenda[n]t. {Anno Consecrationis suæ euj}[176] {per Ed. Russell Notary Public.}[177]
It was afterwards made a Buriing place by Bishop Wilkins about 20 year since.[178]

[II.237]

In Strange Gothick like letters yet lately don Sc. – A.D. 1674 – Upon a grave stone in Midleton Chapple in the Alye before the quire doore:
Sept. 19. 1674.

Here I remane and hith'ward do tende
All who theire span of dayes in Vertue spend
Tho –| Bain
mas –| brigg

[II.235]

{The Sallary was laid in Land being advanced 60 more} They pay Tithe in kind; all but Hay for which a Composition.



Figure 2.8.17. Margin sketch, 3cm x 1cm. Middleton Chapel [length]19; [breadth] 8. II.235.

[Middleton Chapelry]
It is bounded on the East with Dent in Sedber parish; on the S. with Barbon Chap[elry];[179] on the west with Killington \ Ch[apelry]; / on the Nor West with Firbanck \ Ch[apelry]; / & on the N. with Howgil Chaple[ry] in Sedber.
It [is] one Entire Lordship. They[180] are Generally freeholds. But appear at Court Baron ~~The~~ held of Midleton Hall which Holds of Kendal, & by Attainder of the Barron, came to the Crowne, & so The Lordship payes a Rent to the Crown. Midle[ton] Hall is the Manner House – where the Court is kept.

[172] 'On Sunday 17 May.' Bishop John Bridgeman (1577-1652) was bishop of Chester from 1619.
[173] 'By the name of the Chapel of the Holy Spirit.'
[174] '1s for synodals and 1s 4d for subsistence'.
[175] Grimes Hall.
[176] 'Dated in the year of his [the Bishop's] consecration the sixteenth.'
[177] [This original was] 'prepared through Ed. Russell, Notary Public'.
[178] John Wilkins (1614-1672), theologian, natural philosopher and a founder of the Royal Society, was bishop of Chester from 1668 to 1672. An anti-Laudian Churchman and parliamentarian, and effectively excluded from active participation in ecclesiastical politics after the Restoration (since he seemed a turncoat to all sides), Wilkins unhesitatingly accepted the Act of Uniformity in 1662 and tried to persuade moderate dissenters that it was in the best interests of the Church: J. Henry, 'Wilkins, John (1614-1672)'. *ODNB*.
[179] MS: 'It is bounded on the East with ~~Sedber~~ \ Dent in / Sedber parish; on the S. ~~with Tunsdal~~ \ ~~& Whittington~~ / ~~in Lancashire~~: with (~~Burton & Kendal~~) Barbon Chap[elry] ~~with Preston Chap in Burton & Hutton in Kendal~~.'
[180] The tenants.

[Middleton Hall]



Figure 2.8.18. Middleton Hall. II.241.

[II.242]

Midleton Hall on a fellside clad with wood. 3 rows of trees afore the door & a Parke above. Built castle like but ruinous.[181]

[II.241]

In the Dineing Roome W[ain]s[cot]



Figure 2.8.19. Middleton Hall. In the Dining Room wainscot. II.241.

[Notes]
[Coat 1] Argent & Sable – Midleton
[Coat 2] Midleton impaleing Lowther, Sc. Or, 6 anulets Sable
[Coat 3] [Midleton] Impaleing a quarterly [coat] In the Stn[182] a wooden escutcheon belonging to the chimney.
[Coat 4] On the Arch of the Hall chimney. Katherine 4 d[aughter] of W. Conyers of Marsk, w[ife] of Thomas Midleton de Aplegarth in Midleton.
5. John Mid[leton]
6. Sir Geffray[183]
7. Thomas Mid[leton]

Upon an old Wooden Tablet decayed:

[181] For Middleton Hall's history, see Garnett, 'Middleton', *Victoria History ... of the County of Westmorland, 1* (forthcoming).
[182] Unknown shortened word, possibly 'stone'.
[183] Pencilled letters here are illegible.

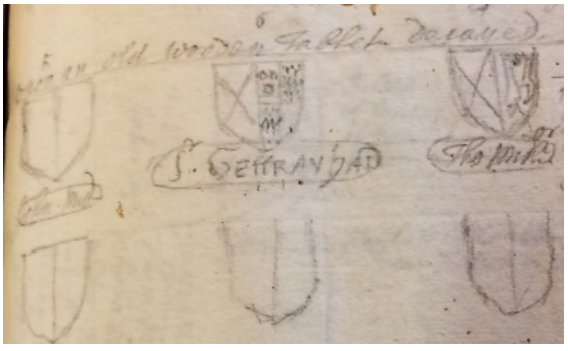


Figure 2.8.20. Dining Room Middleton Hall: Arms on a wooden tablet. II.241.

Hic iacet Katherina filia 4 Gulielmi Conyers de Marske Armigeri, Quæ uxor fuit Thomæ Middelton de Applegarthe, filij 2. Galfridi Middelton de Middelton Hall Equestris Ordinis, pro servitio suo fideli Illustrissimus ille Marchio de Northampton Dominus Par Eidem Thomæ Grangiam et | Tenementum illam de Applegarth Remunerabat […[Ano Dom 1569 […] Ætatis suæ 53 et iacet in (Ecc)[le]sia Parochiali de Prædicta Marske. [184]

[II.236]

[Hawkin Hall]

'A pretty new house call'd Hawking-hall … I have given you the platforme \ & manner of it.'[185]



Figure 2.8.21A. Elevation. Hawking Hall. II.236.

[184] 'Here lies Katherine, fourth daughter of William Conyers of Marske Esq., who was wife of Thomas Middleton of Applegarth the second son of Galfrid Middleton of Middleton Hall, Knight. For his faithful service the most excellent Marquis of Northampton Lord Par rewarded him with the said grange and tenement of Applegarth […] A.D. 1569 […] In the 53rd year of his age, and he lies in his parish church of Marske aforesaid.'

[185] The quotation is taken from Machell's Itinerary, Part 2, Ch.10, II.384.

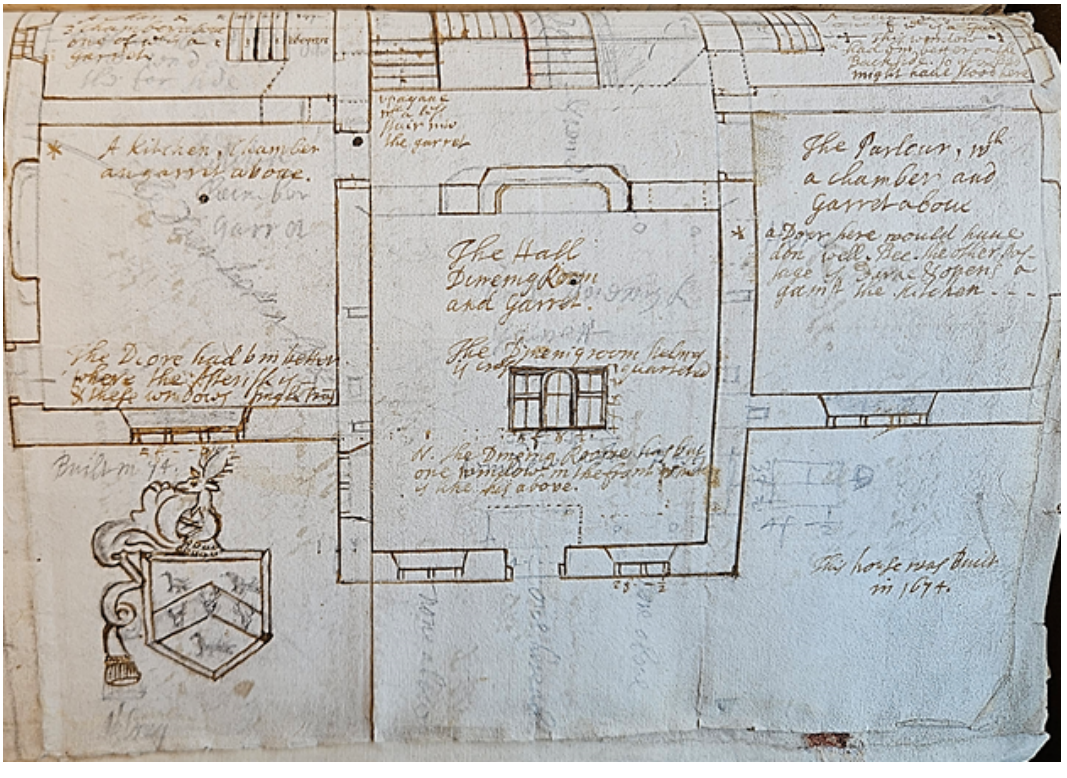


Figure 2.8.21B. Plan. Hawking Hall. II.236.

[Notes on the Plan above]

This house was built in 1674 {Set this front out ½ a foot}
A cellar & 3 chambers above one of which is a garret.
A kitchen chamber and garret above. The Dore [lower end left] had bin better where the Asterisk is & these windows single transom.
[Stairs] up agane with a less[er]stair into the garret.
The Hall, Dineing Room and Garret. N[ote] The Dineing room sieling is cross quartered. N[ote] the Dineing Roome has but one window in the front which is like this above: 5 feet & ½ long; 4 feet & ½ high.
A cellar & 3 chambers one of which is a Garret. This window had bin better on the Backside so that a Bed might have stood here.
The Parlour with a chamber and Garret above*. A door here would have done well bec[ause] the other passage is Darke & opens against the Kitchen.

[II.243]

[Middleton Family Pedigree]

Edward Midleton =
|
John Midleton =
3. John a Capt.[186] 2. William a Coll. 1. Edward Midleton = Bridgett d. of Binlos of Borwick in Lanc. |

= 2nd wife Joan Eld. Sis. of Sir G.M. of Leighton

d. Joan m. = John Lupton cordwinder	George	Char.	Will.	Edw.	Robt	Thom. ob. s. p. [childless]	Geofrey	1. John M. [see below]

1. John M = Mary Cole of Coate near Halton in Lancashire

Rob. Innupta [unmarried]	David Innupta	Edw. d. Sine Prole [childless]		Briget m. To Josua Heblethwate of Dent Yeoman	Mary m. to James Cragg of Dent Yeo.			
	d. Agnes m. to Rob. Cooke yeom.	3. Jos. 9	2. Ed. 12	1. John aet 18				

Isabell	Briget	Rebecca	Mary	Agnes	3. David 1.	2. James 5.	1. John æt 21

[Bainbrig of Hawkin Pedigree]

Dr. Bainbrig. Xtr Bainb[rig] 1st Benefactor to the chapel.		=	Widdo Moore	
	1. Edward B.	=	[?][187] d. of Mr Rich Barton Rector of M.	
Xtopher fellow of Xts Coll. Camb. who builded	1. Thomas = 2. Margaret d. of Arthur Dixon of Plu[m]gards by Kendal	=	1. [Blank] Robson of Edenall in Cumberland	
2. Alice	1. George		1. Edward	2. Xtpher

[186] Captain.
[187] Covered by a blot.

[II.239]

Doctor Bainbrig Master of Christs College in King Ch.1. Time; who maryed at 60 years of age & had 19 children. Borne at Hawkin.[188] {Tradition}[189]

Roger Moore Sergiant of Law, now of Holmhouse in Whitington parish, was borne at Bens Banke.[190]

And John More afore mentiond, who \ was / sisters son with the said Sergeant, being 64 years of Age tho an intelligent person & a man of great business: was never so many miles from home as he is years old.

Capt. John Midleton, a soldjer in the Low Countryes, was slane in the Service of K.C.1.[191]

And Collonel Will. his Brother was not slane in that Service.

{N[otes] G[eneral]}

~~Trees~~ Linwood (Tilia?) Lindenwood a sort of tree like the Plane Tree but the leave much less.[192]
Cherryes near Blackbeck {and at Barbon twixt Brigford & in Scarford}.
Rasberryes (vulgo – Hineberryes hic)[193] Cnoutberryes at Knoutberry hill – Knotberryes (forsan Chamæmorus).[194]
Midleton Deere Parke Disparkd about the year 1640 {gradually destroyd}.
Som Juniper but not sweet (which they call Savin).
Ewe – at Esheholme, but scarce enough.
Holly large & plentifull – Sparsin.[195]
Peets 3m. E. a Capella. Barkin Edge.
No Limestone none.
If all be gold that glisters – See Euerbeck N.E a Capella. 2 mile & ~~2~~[196]
Good Salmon all over Leun.
Store of Clean \ foul / marts all over the woods.
More [blank] wild cats than some Rats.[197]

[188] Thomas Bainbridge was the 12th Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1622-1646, see https://www.christs.cam.ac.uk/masters-christs-college-1505.
[189] The following note is derived from research by Christopher Gathorne, included by R.P. Brown in, 'Bainbrig of Hawkin in Middleton, Westmorland', *CW2*, 24 (1924), 134: 'Edward Bainbrig married Ann d. of Mr. Richard Burton Rector of M[arton] 1591-1641; … his father Christopher married "Widdo Moore"; and … his son Thomas' first wife was a Robson of Edenhall. To the name of Edward's son Christopher, Machell appends the remark "who builded". This ought to be conclusive that Hawkin was rebuilt, not by Edward's father but by Edward's son. Caution however seems necessary, for Machell describes the elder Christopher as Dr Bainbrig (which he was not), and the Edenhall marriage is not found in the register of that parish.'
[190] Bains Bank. A margin comment close to this text appears to be 'Tem. Will. 3'. As William III reigned from 1689 to 1702, this interpretation must be in error.
[191] KC1 = King Charles I. English soldiers fought in the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648), otherwise known as the 'Revolt of the Netherlands' against Spanish rule. See Anton van der Lem and Andy Brown, *Revolt in the Netherlands: the Eighty Years' War, 1568-1648*, E book (28 February 2019), 9781789140880.
[192] Linden trees are of the *Tilia* genus.
[193] 'Commonly called hineberries here'.
[194] The genus *Chamaemorus* includes the knotberry: see *Philosophical Transactions, Giving Some Accompt of the Present Undertakings, Studies and Labours in many considerable parts of the* world, eds John Martyn, James Allestry, Henry Oldenburg: Vol. 61, Part 1 (1771), 365.
[195] Sparsim: scattered; dispersed here and there.
[196] Machell also refers to 'read shining dust' above, see II.200.
[197] Unclear passage. Because Machell's distinctions between 's' and 't', and 'a' and 'o', are sometimes unclear, this sentence could equally read, 'more wild cats than tame rats.'

[II.252]

[vii.] [Gervase Benson][198]

Westm'land
Gervase Benson Esqs one of the justis of peace for the sayd County, to the Sheriffe of the sayd County & alsoe to all Bayliffes Constables Officers & Ministers of the publique peace and chiefly to the Constables of Brough & Helbecke within the sayd County greeting.
Forasmuch as Francis Blenkinsope and John Bragge have personally appeared before me at Killington in the County aforesaid and have found sufficient suretie for themselves and also for Thomas Blenkinsoppe younger & Mary Bragge wife of the sayd John Bragge.
That they the sayd Francis Blenkinsoppe John Bragge Thomas Blenkinsoppe younger & Mary Bragge shall well & truly keepe the Peace of the Commonwealth towards all and cheifely towards John Machell of Appulbye. And alsoe that they shall personally appeare before the justics of the peace at the next generall sessions of the peace to be holden for the said County. Therefore on the behalf of the keepers of the lybertie of England by authoritie of parliament I command you and every of you that you utterly forbeare & surcease to arrest, take, imprison or otherwise by any meanes (for the sayd occasion) to molest the sayd Francis Blenkinsoppe John Bragge Thomas Blenkinsoppe younger Mary Bragge and if you have (for the sayd occasion & none other) taken or imprisoned any of them that then you doe cause such person or persons to be deliverd and set at lybertie without further delay. Given at Killington aforesaid under my hand & seale the Third day of Aprill in the yeare of Our Lord 1652.
Ger: Benson.

[Machell's Notes: II.252]
[Query] of Mr Heblethwate; q. what G. Benson had to do there?[199]

[viii.] [Firbank. Killington. Joseph Farrer, Rob. Johnson.]

[II.245]

Firbanke Chapel in Lonesdale Parish
{Firbanke alias Firth Banke in a deed 1586.} {S. Farrer has seen it writ – Firthbanke alias Thure-banke}
{L 20? B. 7? 1 Bel} {L. 14 B. 6}[200]
The Chapl is calld St Martins Chaple; their Rushbearing on Whit Sunday. But the Antient \ ch[apel] stood] / in a close calld Chappel Garth (this being built by the Inhabitants of the same materials feched away by them because the chappelyard was clamed by som in Killington). Adjoyneing to which are 2 Close mentioned in their ancient Bounders (tho now clamed & enjoyd by Killington) calld Priestfields.
The Impropriation is in Trinity College who have Wool & Lamb in Kinde; (wooll unsen).[201]But neither Corne nor hay – but Meal money & (Hay Silver) as it rules in Kendal Market according to the

[198] Gervase Benson (d.1679), JP and sometime mayor of Kendal, whose nonconformist and political inclinations led him to invite the Lancashire parliamentarian forces to Kendal. He was known as 'Colonel Benson' in 1645 when he was in command of Kendal's local garrison. He had a house at Borrett (a farm between Brigflatts and the edge of Sedbergh). In his journal, George Fox, leader of the Quaker movement, described meeting Benson at Borrett in 1652, following Fox's vision of a large number of people waiting 'to be gathered' in South Westmorland. 'And the next day [6th June] I went to a Separate meeting [of people who had left the Established Church] at Justice Benson's: where the people was generally convinced [had embraced Quakerism]: & this was the place that I had seen a people coming forth in white raiment. A mighty meeting there was and is to this day, near Sedbergh, which I gathered in the name of Jesus.' Benson became a prominent English Quaker; his understanding of laws on tithes and oaths made him highly useful to Quakers on trial for non-compliance. See John L. Nickalls (ed.), *The Journal of George Fox* (London, 1975), 106; see also C. Phillips, 'Benson, Gervase (d. 1679), Quaker leader'. *ODNB*. The letter above (see *Figure 2.8.22*), was written just two months before Benson met George Fox.
[199] The query is in Machell's hand.
[200] The second measurement is written in pencil beneath the first.
[201] Possibly 'unseen'.

highest Rate, Saterday afore midsomer & Saterday [after], but the money not payable till Mich[aelmas] day.[202] This Lordship & Killington payes together the Rate of 6 Sc. & 5 Bushel oat-meal Winchester measure ~~which is to Bushell~~.[203] And of this, Firban[k] is only a third part. The hay silver is halfe to the Rector & halfe to Vicar; and these 2 being joyned together in their corne are therefore divided in their Hay Silver – so that the Vicar has for his halfe the Hay Silver of Killington & the Rector for his part, this of Firbanck {and this division goes through the parish according to such proportion as has bin anciently agreed upon.}

There is ~~House for~~ \ a Schoole house adjoneing. / The Chap~~lain~~ hath an endowment of iiii marke per Annum laid upon their Respective Tenements,[204] & there was a like proportion payd by Killington men as far as a place calld Walkergards – 4m.½ S. from this chaple. It is gatherd by the name of Chaple Sallary [and] gathered by the Chaplain whom they provide – the vicar approveing. They allow him 5^{li} more for Teaching, & the Chaple Stock, <u>being 5 nobles</u>. & Quarter pence as he can agree. {10^{li} – to use; Given as an Augment[ati]on to the Chaplaine by John Symson, Anno 1689; Anthony Ward 40s in 1691.}

It is bounded on the East with Sedber in Yorkeshire & divided from it by the River Leun; On the S. with Killington Chappelry – [divided] by Sever Beck; but they clame a piece within the beck where the Chappel [s]tood.
They Hold of the Crow[n] as the Lord of the M[anor].

[II.247]

<u>Firbanke Ch. in L.</u>
On the West [bounded] with \ Lamrig in / Grarig Chappelry divided by Galloway-gate from […][205] to Burton. On the North, with Dillaker in the said Chaplry divided by Dillaker [beck]. It is one Entire Lordship; with Cooperthwait adjoyneing unto it: which formerly ~~was~~ belongd to an abby – of Gervise as they thinke in – Yorkeshire.[206]

They were all customary tenants & Heriotable formerly \ & payed Boones & Services / but were purchased free by the respective Tenants; ~~But~~ of Edward Ward of Firbanke yeoman & Roger Dawson of Kendal, Draper, in 1586, 29 of Eliz, as by an original Deed I have seen of one Thomas Newbys {dat 20 Febrie XXIX of Eliz.}[207] wherein is Recited:
"That whereas Francis Vaughan of Sutton upon Derwent in the County of York Esqs, by his Endenture &c. bearing date XXX of August in the 26 of Queen Elizabeth,[208] & other Asurances in Law for 1000li. payd to him; Did convey unto the said party &c. forever the Lordship & hamlet of Firbank alias Firthebanke with all the Rights members & appurtenances in Firbank alias Firthb. within the County of W. & All their Messuages Tenements &c. then or late in the several Tenures [and] possessions of certain persons in the said Indenture named or their Assynes. And all <u>other</u> lands &c. which ~~the said~~ was his the said Francis Vaughan in Firbanke, as by the said Indenture Ap[peareth] the true Intent of which Indenture was – That the said Ward & Dawson their heires &c. should convey unto every [one of] the said Tenants & their heires & Assignes for ever (as aforesaid): Each their owne Tenements, together with an Equal part or portion of the moores wastes commons pastures perquisites & profits of Courtes, & of all other Privileges liberties & Franchases parcell of or belong unto the said Lordship proportionably: & accord to the Annual Rent of any such Messuage or Tenement." And accordingly, they were conveyed to the respective Tenants by the said partyes. And

[202] 29 September.
[203] A Winchester bushel was a measure of capacity used for corn, fruit, etc., containing four pecks or eight gallons. *OED*.
[204] A mark = two-thirds of a troy pound of pure silver or two-thirds of a pound sterling. 4 marks = £2 13s 4d. https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/researchguidance/weightsandmeasures/money
[205] A crossed-through, unclear place-name occurs here.
[206] Jervaulx.
[207] 20 February in Elizabeth's 29th regnal year would have been in 1587.
[208] 30 August in Elizabeth's 26th regnal year would have been in 1584.

in the End of the Deed is conveyed to every [tenant] the wood growing upon his own Tenement. {The King has Waif & Stray.}
{Ann Lady Knevet is concerned in the original grant. Farrer will send word.}[209]

[II.248]

Crock-principals so called.[210]

[II.249]

They hold of the King as the Lord of the Manner did, paying amongst them 7 Groates per Annum which is ~~by~~ 1[d] per house;[211] which Rent was formerly payd by the Lord.
Cowperthwate belongd to a Religiouse h[ouse]? & pay compos[ition for] Meal [tithe]
They appeard here before at Killington Hall.

{Lamrick [had] an old Tower in a place calld Fri[…][212] demolished a[bout] 10 years ago, a Capella 1m. S. It belongd Grarig – it was onely for a Parke house & for fawning[213] the deere.

There are 3 stones by Gallaway yeat on Firbanke Fell having crosses on them – calld by the Name of Goody-Cross*. The old Widdow[s] in memory were all calld Guddyes here – [Goody Cross stands] where Firbanke, Lamrig & Hutton Lordships meet.

No Buriing place here, but with leave they bury & pay the due to both Churches. & som at Kendal.

No Parke – Martes of both sortes.
Good salmon – as far as Rean[214] in Orton Parish in the River Leun; allso Trouts & Eales –
\ an[d] He[a]r of / Hawkes in Goody-Wood – while it was standing†.

Great store of More game – Black cock & Hen called Ore-gam - & more \ cockes, poutes, / Hens &c.
St \ Martins / Well – in Firbanke – kills keads.[215]
Som Holly & Box – large in gardines, alas none in the hedges.
Peat or Turfe – 1½ m. West.
A place calld Marle-pits – hard by the chapl within the bottom on the S. West side
A Well, at Party-haw – ¼ [m.] S. West a Capella – which petrifies moss – like Rotten free stone – & kills the grass. No limestone none. Blew Rag.
They have no manner house – But appere at Killing[ton] Hall which formerly ~~yet~~ to the Pickerings – After to the Vaughans – & now to the Tenants themselves.

[Machell's Notes: II.249]

*{forsan pro Goodwin}
†{40 year since.}

[209] One of the Farrers was acting as Machell's assistant and informant here.
[210] A crock/cruck: one of a pair of curved timbers forming, with other pairs, the framework of a house. *OED*.
[211] The groat was equivalent to 4d. It was in general circulation until 1662. See https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/researchguidance/weightsandmeasures/money.
[212] The paper has perished here.
[213] Fawning or Fownyng = birth of fawns; as in 1579 (Reg. Privy C. III. 173): 'During the present seasoun of fownyng of the deir.' *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Online.
[214] Rayne.
[215] Sheep-lice: see the English Glossary.

[II.258][216]

[ix.] [Thomas Heblethwaite]

To Mr Thomas Machell Parson of KirkbyThure at Appulby or elsewhere with care
These
Present
Westm'land

[II.257][217]

Sir
I made enquiry of severall persons how this County of Westmorland boundered on the west of Yorkshire till it came to Lancashire but finding them to differ soe much in their accompts I could not tell what to make of them and therefore shall not trouble you therewith. As for the Consecration of Killington Chappell I cannot give you any further accompt thereof.

{Ad Killington}[218]
As for Killington Hall I finde that 28^0 Elizabeth [1585-1586] Francis Vaughan of Sutton upon Darwen Com Ebor Esq. did convay it cum per.[219] unto one Robert Waidson gent. & his heires & assigns and about five yeares after Mr Waidson convayed the same to Radcliffe Ashton of Preston in Amoundenes Com Lancaster & his heires & assigns.
And that Mr Ashton 15^0 Jacobi of England I & 50^0 of Scotland [1617-1618] convayed the same to Thomas Kitson senior of Warton Com Lancaster af[ores[aid] gent. & his heires which said Mr Kitson was my mothers father. And after the Decease of Thomas his Son by a settlement made by him the same discended & came to mee. And I am apt to believe about the same time the said Mr Vaughan sold all his tenements in Killington & Firbanke into fee simple. Sir I begg your pardon for giving you this trouble; the rest is the tender of my humble service to yourselfe and to all your friends that enquire after
Deare Sir
Your assured friend & servant
Thomas Heblethwaite
Killington 8^0 August 1692

[Machell's Notes: II.260]
This T. Heblethwaite (for giveing Sir Joh[n] Lowther a double vote against Sir \ Xtopher / Musgrave) was made Justice of P[eace] through his Intres[t] 1696.
[Note in a later hand]
(which quashed all his merit with T.M.)[220]

[II.253]

[x.] [John Heblethwate and Joseph Farrer]

Killinton Chapel in Lonesdal 6m. N. ab Ecclesia {l. 20. b. 6: 2 little B[ells.]}
{Mr Slater Chaplaine.[221] John Jackson schoolmaster: 20s per Annum & 1s per quarter & meat house per house} {Sallary of the chapel about 19 li per Annum charged proportionably upon their Estates & is immemorial and out of 100^{li} chapel stock.}
{Mr J. Heblethwate is to informe of fellowships or exhib[itions] given by the Heblethwates.}

[216] A wax-sealed paper, the reverse page of the letter on II.257.
[217] This page consists of a letter written by Thomas Hebblethwaite, with later comments written by Machell and William Nicolson.
[218] In Machell's hand.
[219] Shortened Latin form: 'with its appurtenances'.
[220] This later bracketed remark is in a hand very similar to that of William Nicolson.
[221] William Slater is recorded as chaplain of Killington Chapel in 1712. CCED (Online records here are sparse).



Figure 2.8.22. Killington Chapel. II.253.

This Chapl (if wee may conjecture from the Rushbearing which was formerly us'd) is dedicated to the Service of God by the name of St James. In the East end thereof in the 1^{t} light is this coat of Armes. Marked – (1.)



Figure 2.8.23. Killington Chapel. 'Arms marked (1.)'. II.253.

One Walker & his wife. Both of them buried under one stone at the East of the chapl.
'James | Walker and | Mabil his | wife | strange yet true to hear | They lived together either of them, (about) 100 year. – 1637.'

> JAMES WALKER & MABIL HIS WIFE
> THESE WORDS ARE TRUE YET STRANGE TO HEAR
> THEY LIVED EITHER OF THEM 100 YEAR 1637[222]

They pay Meal Silver for their Tithe Corne: & wool & lamb in kinde to the College, or their farmers. But no \ Tithe / hay. The rest of their Tithes are payd in kinde to the Vicar of Kirkby.

It is bounded on the East with Sedber Parish, & part of Midleton chappelry: on the S. with Midleton & Kirkby: On the N. with Firbanke \ Chaple: / & on the West with Old Hutton in Kendal.
It is one entire Lordship & consisted of freehold & customary Tenants. But those that were customary excepting ~~som few~~ (one which Holds of Mr Thomas Heblethwate) are all purchas'd free of one Mr Vaughan Lord of the Manner? paying only 1^{d} per house for their Quit Rent due to the Crown – {fine Cert. no boones nor service} They have nothing to doe with the Marq[ess] & Rich[mo]nd foes but hold of the Crown: & have no Court kept.

[II.333]

{Killington}
A man of the Bap[tist] ch[urch] that ever I mett with of that inployment, amongst his neighboures injurious one to them in this: that he does not marry, that they may have more of so good a Breede.

[Killington Hall]

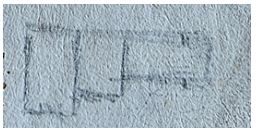


Figure 2.8.24. Sketch plan of Killington Hall. II.253.

The mannerhouse is Killing\ton Hall, ~~at~~ near the W. End of which / an ancient Tower house & much decayed, but is now a[t] Repars by the said Mr Heblethwate the owner of it.

[222] Written in the left-hand margin. The epitaph is repeated verbatim as a note on MS. II.254.

[Arms in the Hall]
2. Over the \ 2nd / Garret window in the Advancd part of the Hall



Figure 2.8.25. Killington Hall garret window. II.253.



Figure 2.8.26. Killington Hall. 'Over the hall door now a window'. II.253.

{3. Over the hall doore now a window, 3 Chevins,[223] by the name of Kitson, 3 fishes Argent on a ch[ief] Or, a Lyon Rampant Sab[le] Inter 2 ograses[224] charged with 2 Anchors Or: whence the colours of this other may be set.}[225]

[Land at] Killington – W. a Capella adjoyneing to the Hall, has had Deere in it as appears by the Leapes, but has not bin stock'd in the memory of man. There martes of both sortes, Broks. There is another called Stone Parke; both which belongs to Mr Heblethwate.
Store of more game, as Black Cocks, More Cocks & Partridges \ & gray hens. /
Lilly Tarne – 1m. ¼ N. a Capella. l[ength] 200 – b[readth] as much[226] – hath Trout Pike & Eal, but not so big as Mr Heblethwate['s] the ~~owner of it~~. the Informer \ testify. /
Lang Tarne – 1m. ¼ W. l[ength] 11 score – b[readth] – about 6 Sc[ore], affords the like; & belongs to him; & [is in] the Lordship of Old Hutton.
The Hall-beck which runns by the Hall on the S. End therof & thence takes its name, springs on Killington Fell a Capella 1m. N. & Runns through Killington by the Hall & Chapel. & discharges itselfe ½ a mile into the River Leun above Julian Ford S. East a Capella.[227]

[II.255]

Holly – good store in Killinton Parke. But few orchards. Wineberryes – Crône berryes (a white berry speckled with browne & read like a magpies eggs, in shape & colour, but no bigger than a wood strawberry; they grow on small stalkes like bent & are good to preserve).
On the mosses – Raspberryes every[where] Few bleab[erryes] Strawberryes plenty.
Peate or Turfe plenty – within a mile W. on Killington Common. No lime stone! Blew Raggstone for w[orking] – all over Kirkby Lonsdale Parish.[228]

[223] Chevin: a fish, the chub. *OED*.
[224] Ogress: 'a sable roundle', A.C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (New York, 1978), 151.
[225] This margin material has been overwritten in ink; the last word is unsafe.
[226] Length and breadth, each 200 yards.
[227] The bottom left-hand margin contains information written in pencil, which begins 'Richard' but is highly blurred and therefore illegible.
[228] MS: 'KLP'.

{August 20. 1692.}
The Man'r was in the name of Vaughan about 80 years since – & was sold – Ut Supra – to the Tenency.[229] The Royalty remaned in the Crow[n]. Demane & manorhouse was sold to Mr Ashton of Cuerden in Com. Lanc; from the Ashtons to Mr Thomas Kitson of Warton in Lanc. \ above / 70 year agoe. In which name it remaned till of Late that Thomas Kitson son of Thomas, the purchaser conveyed it by deed – to feofees in Trust for the use of Mr T. Heblethwate \ his sisters / son {?} the present proprietor. Of which he send me a particular account.
{Firbank was purchased 2 yeares afore this [sale], by which the date may be found} {Jos. Farrer says it was before that in the Pickerings.}

Pedegre of Heblethwate
{Warton?}

Thomas Kitson of Killington purchaser	=	Elizabeth Croft						
1. Thomas Kitson obijt sine prole	=	Lucy \ d. of John / Labourn Esq	Jane	=	Robert Midleton of Leighton a younger brother of Sir George	Elizabeth Kitson	=	Robert Heblethwate of Killington
							|	
1. Thomas Heblethwate to whome Thomas his unkle conveyed the Estate	2. Henry	3. John	Robert	James	6 [Blank]	1. Ann	3. Dorithy	2. Elizabeth

[II.256]

[Machell's Notes: II.256]
Pickatree.[230] Black head, back; Tales wings of same colour; speckld with 3 yal[low] str[ipes] – neck & thighs read; Belly yellowish.

[II.261]

[xi.] [Information provided by an unknown informant]

Hutton Roof Chapelry in Kirkby Lonsdale Parish[231]
{Chap. L. 13, B. 6. Never had a bell. Indifferent Repare. Mr Giles Baly Chaplain 16 years here}
It was builded at the cost of the Lordship Anno 1610; as appeares by a stone on the Top of the E. End of the said Chapel on the outside with those figures upon it. And is supposed to bear the name of St James his Chapl from their Rush bearing about that time.

[229] Tenantry.
[230] A pickatree is a woodpecker. From its description here, Machell may well be describing the Great Spotted Woodpecker.
[231] MS: 'Hutton Roof Chapelry in Lonsdale Parish Hutton Roof Chapel in Kirkby Parish.'



Figure 2.8.27. Hutton Roof Chapel. II.261.

There is no Dwelling House belonging to it. But a salary of iiij per Annum,[232] begun by the Town at the Consecration & augmented to the said sum by som of the Inhabitants by their lasts Wills & Testaments. Which is now in a Stock called the Sallary put out by feofees – Sc. Edward Man, Edward Burrow, Thomas Loansdal & John Green; & their Heires successively. The Town provides [the chaplain] ~~and~~ & the Vicar \ has the /[233] Approbation upon any vacancy.

Corne is here payd in kinde to Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, or to their Leaser Sir Thomas Strickland or his Assigne. And the hay is payable in kinde, but they compound for about 6d or 8[d] an Acre as they can agree, {Mr Hoile med som pay 12d}[234] & halfe of the hay is due to the college & halfe to the Vicker. Wool & Lamb in kinde to the College but other small Tithes are all due to the Vicar. {The said informant, sed q.}[235]

This Chappel[ry] is Bounded on the East with Kirkby Lordship; on the \ South / Lancashire (as in the Generall Bounder); On the West \ with / Burton (from the Heap of Stones at Plover lands to the Standing Steän; \ thence to the Brig at Wood Yeat Green not far from Cow Brow'; / On North with Lupton in Kirkby [parish], from which tis divided ~~from standing stean~~ by Lupton Beck.
It is now esteemd but ½ of a Lordship as joyn'd with Casterton beyond Leun. But a Court was formerly kept in this place; & they never \ of old / appeard at Casterton.
Divers sortes soyle but mostly lime stone.
{Names of place. Newbigin (6.)[236] a Capella ½ m. NW; Winyeats (4.)[237] W. a Capella ½ m.
Hootton R (20.)}[238]
{Barre-heams at Lupton – Bar-hims at Kendal– what wee call Barghhams.}[239]

[II.238]

Bind-weed leavs bruised & applyed with a Clout[240] will take away the pain [informant] Baly.[241]

[II.263]

Hutton Roof Chap. in Lonesd.
There is a place called the Parke {onely slatt hedg'd}[242] and an \ obscure / House called Park-House: {a Capella ¼ S.} which is supposed to have bin the Demane \ if there was any / which lately belongd

[232] No denomination given.
[233] These words have been placed above three other words, all scored through and illegible.
[234] Henry Hoyle appears to have been notoriously venal. According to John F. Curwen: 'in 1675 Thomas Moore, of Hutton Roofe and Dorothy Middleton of Lupton, were prosecuted in the Bishop's Court at Richmond, by Henry Hoyle, priest of K. Lonsdale for small tithes, and in the latter end of the year were cast into prison by a writ de Excommunicato capiendo where they remained till the priest died, after whose death (in 1676) they were kept in prison by John Newton of K. Lonsdale, the priest's proctor, till he also died, and then they were set at liberty after four years and seven months imprisonment'. John F. Curwen (ed.), *Records Relating To the Barony of Kendale, III*, CWAAS Record Series 6 (Kendal, 1926), 278-91.
[235] 'But query this informant's information.'
[236] 6 families.
[237] 4 families.
[238] 20 families.
[239] Bargham: collar of a working horse. *OED*. Machell notes its different pronunciations in Lupton and Kendal.
[240] Cloth.
[241] See II.261: Giles Baly, chaplain of Hutton Roof.
[242] This word is unclear; it might be 'slatt': made either of hurdles or slats of wood (*OED*), but it could be an abbreviation of some other word.

to Sir T. Preston of Preston and Man[or] which they say* \ now / belong to the Lord Montgomery or the Lord Clifford by marriage of his daughters†.
Martes of both sortes, Badgers, & Foxes too many, wild cates – Partridge.
Large Laurel Tree in the House calld the Haw – formerly ~~Mr~~ Captaine Mans & his ancestors, but sold by him to one Bateman who resold it to Mr Thomas Cole of Coate near Halton in Com. Lanc.
Fuel scarce, Flaws[243] – ¼ S. a Capella,[244] on the Common.
Plenty of Lime al over the Lordship; no Blew Ragg. Whiteish brown free stone; good store {½ S a Capella} {Sc. on the Common} Also Gri[n]dstones & flags at the same place.
They tried for Cole in Mr Coles lands S.E. a Capella ¼ m.

[Storth]
There is a place calld Storthe[245] ½ m. a Capella N.E. payes no Tithe.
There are som Customary Estates in the Town which lye in parcells in severall mens hand. But Generallity bough[t] themselves free a long time since, even beyond memory – But of whom or when is not knowne but they have heard of a Court.
The Kings Balif takes Waif & Stray – And they pay a Quit Rent unto the Crow[n] as the Chief Lord thereof. They have no Lord now but The Queen & themselves.

[Machell's Notes: II.263]

*{?}
†{q. which?}
{Park-House is thatched}

[II.233]

[xii.] [Machell's Further Queries of his Informants]

Further q[ueries] in K. Lonsdal Parish.
The Bounder of it, & that side of the Barony from the Holmwater foote.
Who bought Underley of Apple Garths – & who Wilson bough[t] of

Midleton.
How the Tenents hold in freedom yet keep a C[ourt]; in whose n[ame] now called?
how Endowed – the Chap[el] l. b.[246] – by whom built.
Armes at the Hall

\ Lord[ship of] / Firbank \ Chapel / If anciently a Chaple alias to which [chapelry] they belong
If an Hall or have Steed[247]
Free or Customary. Who Lord?
Who owes & how Rigmadon Hall[248] a manner house or freehold only?
Nether Hall
Hegham Hall?

The Lord of Mansergh? Tenent free or Customary.
1. q[uery] of a Chaple \ l. b. / Encl. &c.
2. Query if Carus Arms be a cheveron Argent ch[arged] with 3 Mul[lets] G[ules] in Azure.
3. The hall or Manner house.
4. Who Lord & how poss[esse]d.

[243] Flaws. The name once given to thin layers of heath cut for fuel: *Yorkshire Dictionary*. Online. The *OED* gives, 'a flaw of peats': the quantity got in a season. *OED*.
[244] MS: 'a Capel ¼ S. a Capella.'
[245] Unclear word.
[246] Length, breadth.
[247] Homestead.
[248] 'Who owes [suit of court] and how Rigmaden h[olds]. A manor house or freehold only?'

[II.234B][249]

Q[uery] of M. Moore[250]
The meaning & difference of Marquess & Richmond f[ees].
Why do you call it a Foefar[m] Rent?
How this T[own] is situated si in Medio Vallis de Loan.[251]
If the Lord have the Liberty of Waife & Strays.
The Suggestion for having a chaple.
The Salvo Jure. in Ecclesiæ how Express'd? & Read \ a / allou[d][252]
Pick lock.
Whose Barbon before the Midletons.
Colonel Brigs of Burrowby.[253]
Barbon Beck springs at the head of Barbondal in Wakeber & Berkin fells a Capella 3 miles N. by E. & Runs downe twixt the Parke & Spring till it coms on the N. of Bar[…][254] near which dist[ance][255] W. it is lost in Leun.

[II.218]

[Tithes]
{Hay.}[256] The Vicar has some Tithe Hay in Kinde in Keastwick & Underley, & \ ½ ~~part~~ / of Hutton Roofe – & som hay money ~~Sc. 10 groats~~ in every Hamlet – The Impropriator has the rest.
{The Tithe Corne.} The Tithe Corne & meal money[257] \ goes / all to the coll[ege].[258]
{Wool.} Wool & som lamb in kinde to the Impropriator. Are Piggs?

[249] II.234B is a scrap page, 8cm x 18½cm; its text comprises queries added on several occasions, as seen in the colours of the ink used.
[250] Possibly John Moore, see II.239.
[251] 'If in the middle of the Lune Valley'.
[252] 'Saving the parish church's right: how expressed and read aloud?'
[253] Colonel Edward Briggs, commander of the Lonsdale Trainbands during the Civil Wars, lived at Burrow Hall. His children's baptisms are recorded at Tunstall church from 1651 to 1663. See W.H. Chippindall, 'The Tatham families of Burrow, Tunstall, Cantsfield and Lowfield', *CW2*, 33 (1933), 98-112, at 98-99.
[254] Perished.
[255] The next word is too blotted to understand.
[256] Begins with illegible pencilled comments, partly obscured by the binding.
[257] Hay-money and meal-money: see the English Glossary.
[258] Trinity College, Cambridge.

Part 2. Barony of Kendal

[Chapter 9. Parish of Windermere]

[II.302A]

Kendal. Windermere Parish

[II.304]

{Referr Hither my Itinerary for description of Places}[1]

The Parish of Windermer is Divided into

1. Precincts Peculiar to the Parish Church wherein ~~are~~ is	St Martines Church}	Bowness Orrest head Under Milbeck Aplethwate now since the dissecration of St K[atherine's] Ch[apel]	Church, Parsonage, School: [all] in Bowness. Under Melock Brant Fel Old Field Lickbarrow Thornburtt Lindath Storrs
2. The Precincts Peculiar to the several Chapelryes	St Maryes Chapl}	The Lady Holm which I take for an hermitage only. Said to be in Clavegarth Parke tho in Windermer Water	Are returned
	St Katherine Chap.}	Aplethwate Calv-garth But both now belong to St Martin Ch[urch]	Langholm 3. Ladyholm 2. Windermer Water 3. Aplethwate 4. Calv-garth[2] 1. Greene
	Jesus Chapl}	The Vill. of Troutbeck Part of Orrest	Blumen Chapel School Parkehouse Dod moss Spyehow Wandale Raise Lowick how Old Parke Battlehow
	Part of Amb[le]side Chappelry below the stock is in this Parish. And all Ambleside is in This Lordship – But not in this parish. Ergo Treat of it here as a Lordship & There Too as a Chap[elry]		Ambleside Borhanes See the latter end of Gresmer

[II.306]

Windermere [Notes]
{N.B. See my Itinerarium for Descent.}
{1. Undermilbeck f[amiles] 17.
2. Applethwate f[amilies] 60 & Lime~~thwate~~ fit (no Lime but 4 or 5 houses.
3. Troutbeck f[amilies] 47.
4. Ambleside below the stock (i.e. The Bridge) f[amilies] 43.

[1] Machell here refers the reader to his Itinerary, see Part 2, Ch.10.
[2] Here, the MS continues, '~~Langholm & fish fowle~~.'

Note. There is in the Bottom of W[estmorland], Winder & Windermer, wath: q. why so called.[3]
Note. Sunningday.}

[II.95][4]

[Church and Tithes]
Windermer (parish church) T.M.
N.W. by West: Mr Wilson.

[II.306]

{[Church is] L. 30 – & steeple 5. Broad 20. Bells 3 – & a Clock. Organ, Clerk Salary.}

{§ Comput[us]-Pascalis}[5]
{Stiles,[6] Hort.,[7] & Cerev farr[8] tantqua[n]t oblat. 1d. ob;[9] lac. (neuk) 1d.[10] Stript abs ½ a calf 1s. 6d;[11] & Arr. 1d;[12] Apes[13] 1d under nu[mber] 6. ½ a cast at 5, for which somes is groates sometimes 3s. Has bin Tythe pullits 1d = under number; over 1d or 2 [...]}[14]

[II.311]

Item. Eggs – at Easter for every hen 2; every chick 1 egg; Every cock 1; & for tithe \ of / chick 1d.[15]

[II.306]

[Composing the Narrative relating to Windermere Parish]

{N.B. Memorandum – when I compose – to begin with places nearest the church & E. Sc.1. Bowness &c. 2. Undermilbeck. 3. St Catherines. 4. Troutbeck. 5. Ambleside. And so enter upon Gresmer. And see my Itinerary.}

[Notes for the Narrative, divided into Sections]

{§1. Name}
The Parish of Windermere (anciently call'd Winnandemere) takes its name from a great mear or lake att the south \ west side / ~~end~~ of the Parish. It is in the Diocess of Chester & in Kendal-ward.[16]
1. Speake of the mere \ or rather \ in Aplethwate, / the parish by it. /

{§2. Boundes}
It is bounded on the East with Kentmer (a dale in the Parish of Kendal) from which tis divided by the Ridge of the mountaine called Blewgill-head; & with the Top of Pike-of-Yoake & the Top of the Hight of Garburne-mosse.[17] & so on South-east by the Wall of Kentmere Parke. On the west with the Parish of Hawkside[18] \ in Lancashire / from which tis divided by the far side of Windermer-water, so

[3] Winder is in Barton parish; Winderwath is in Brougham. A.H. Smith quotes alternative meanings. High Winder = 'wind-swept shieling, one offering shelter from the wind'; Winderwath = 'Vinand's ford' (the ford would have been one across the Eden); Windermere = 'Vinand's lake'. See *Westmorland Place-Names*; see also Smith, *Place-Names 1*, 18.
[4] Also numbered p.35.
[5] 'Easter Reckonings'; see Grasmere Easter Offerings, Part 2, Ch.6, II.124.
[6] Stile-boot, see Grasmere Easter offerings, Part 2, Ch.6, II.124.
[7] Garden produce.
[8] These two Latin words are unclear. Machell was possibly referring to ale and corn.
[9] 'Just as an oblation of 1½d.'
[10] 'Milk from a newly calved cow.'
[11] 'Stript': to extract (the milk from a cow's udder). *OED*. Thus, half the milk stripped from a cow with one calf. Mary Armitt referred to a 'strip-milked cow, or stripper' as one that is nearly dry: M.L. Armitt, 'Ambleside Town and Chapel: some contributions towards their History', *CW2*, 6 (1906), 38.
[12] 'Arr' could be interpreted as a shortened form of the Latin word 'arrergium', meaning 'arrears', but this does not sit comfortably in the context. The precise meaning is unknown to this editor.
[13] 'Bees'.
[14] A word or symbol here is unclear; the whole Easter-offerings section has been crammed into a margin.
[15] This sentence has been scored through. Compare with a similar scored-through sentence on II.306, below.
[16] An interlineated phrase here possibly offers, '1t the bounder', but the words are faint.
[17] MS: '& so on south-east ~~through the midst of~~ \ by the Wall of Kentmere Parke ~~so on southwards~~.'
[18] Hawkshead.

that the whole lake is within this Parish \ & the county of W[estmorland.] / {The oblong Figure.}[19] On the North with \ Grasmere from which tis divided by / the River which Runns under Stock-bridge through Ambleside Towne. On the South with \ Cartmel fell from which it is divided by the Bounder sike from the place where it comes into Winstars; thence to Crooke in Kendal-parish, from which tis divided by Gilpin-beck.

[II.306]

It conteins in Lenth from Gilpen-beck bridge in the South to Stockbrige in A[m]bleside \ in the / North \ about / 6 miles. And in Bredth from the sand-bed on Furness Fell side in the West to Garburne moss in the East – 5 miles. In circumference about 26 miles. ~~query not counting~~ \ Besides 5 miles of water which shoots down \ in a direct line / betwixt the 2 parishes of Hawkside & Cartmel in the county of Lanc[a]ste[r] which belongs to this parish.

{§3. Soyle}
It is generaly ~~a very~~ \ mountainouse except upon the \ S. East / banke of Windermer. / ~~Good soyle for corne & Hay &c~~. & good pasture, being mostly a Redish \ black / mould but somwhat sandy near the Lake; & is pretty well wooded; They Generally burne ~~peat &~~ wood, & peat of \ the latter of / which they have great plenty, within the parish.

{§4. Rush bearing}[20]
On St James day[21] the young people of the parish use to bring Rushes to straw the church withal, in white sheets with flores & garlands; & formerly they used sommerings or sommer Games; since King Charles the 1[t] came to his crowne[22] there was a great contest betwixt Aplethwate & Under milbeck (2 hamletts in this parish) which should outvy one another in Garlands & sommer rods \ which are long polls like fishing rod Butts{as high as the church adorned with floores & painted figures}there being an 100 or above \ in show / on each side, with all sorts of pastime, musique & dancing.

[II.307]

[Windermere Church]

{§3.[23] Presentation}
This Church was formerly a Chapel ~~Presentative~~ Appendant to the Great Church of Kendal to which it payes [Blank] per Annum. By vertue \ where / of (with the consent of the Bishop & Patrone, as I suppose, of the vicar of Kendal, to whom it is yearly payd to this day) it became Presentative. In the 49. of Edward 3. [1375-76] I finde that Johanna Late wife & Relict of John de Coupeland, dyed seised ~~there~~ of \ the Advowsan thereof / for the Terme of her life, by the name of Capella de Gresmer – The Reversion being in Ingelram de Coucy & Isabel his wife \ who was the Kings daughter / by grant from the King, and therein it is Taxed at 5[li] per Annum. or ~~Cl~~s.[24]

{§4. Ratio Nominus Kirkeby}[25]
I believe that of Old, this Barony of Kendall especially this more northern Part, was mostly forrest & not much inhabited. That in the most populous & plentifull partes of the said Barony, Churches were Builded, ~~And~~ \ Sc. Kendal & Kirkby; / that after this ~~their Builded~~ \ when / the People began to Build near ~~unto~~ them, & therefore the Rather, ~~because~~ Because That Markats were anciently kept in the Church Yards, \ Now / such Places \ as these / they commonly called \ by the names / Kirkebyes – i.e. Building near & about the churches: whence Kirkby in Kentdale & Kirkby in Loansdale. The former of which had a large precinct.[26]

[19] Here, Machell appears to refer to his map of Lake Windermere on II.313, below.
[20] A pencilled note here reads, 'Ded[ication] Gen[eral] Custom].'
[21] 25 July.
[22] In 1625.
[23] The section numbering repeats the numbering above.
[24] Transcribed as seen. £5 per annum = 100s.
[25] 'Reason for the place-name Kirkeby.'
[26] Smith gives the meaning as follows: 'village with a church = kirkju-bȳr. Like Kendal (that is, Kirkby Kendal) and Kirkby Stephen, this place was the head of a large ecclesiastical parish. The affix is the name of the valley e.g. Lonsdale.' See *Westmorland Place-Names*.

{Note 5. How Chapels became Rectoryes}
Afterwardes, as the Parish grew populouse & people began to spread[27] themselves, They for their Convenience Builded Chappels of Ease – of which Those that were the farthest Remote, Sc. This of Windermer (& the other of Gresmer); compounded with the Incumbent of Kendall, to Take the cure of soules upon them, and for a certaine Annuall Rent in Lew of all Tythes, to becom a distinct, though not an Independent Rectorye. And now these are the onely Rectoryes left in the Barony, The Church of Kendal on which they Depend being a Viccaray onely.
Inq. Ex bundello Eschaetor, de isto anno N^{0}. 20. hujus copia est penes Danielem Fleming de Ridel Militem.[28]

[II. 308][29]

{Windermere Church. [Arms, Stained Glass and Inscriptions]}



Figure 2.9.1. Windermere Church. II.308.

{Long 30 & steple 5. Broad 20. 3 Bells & a Clock. & Organ formerly. Q. organist salary.}

[Windows][30]
{3 windows of 5 lights & 6 above of 3 lights.}[31]

{N[ote] In the Upper Lights}
In the High Quier window is the Passion of Our Saviour with St George, St Mary, S. [Blank] & St Katherine & the C[oats] of Armes in the second upper light.

[27] MS: 'speard'.
[28] 'Inquire of Escheators bundle no. 20 of that year [presumably 49 Edward 3, as seen earlier on the page], a copy of which is at the house of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal, Knight.'
[29] A page slightly smaller than most (3cm x 18cm). At the top left is the pencilled phrase, 'ad p.2'.
[30] For the windows, see *N&BI*, 178.
[31] Text written in ink has been superimposed on a pencilled note; most of the pencilled text is therefore illegible.



Figure 2.9.2. Windermere Church. Arms in the upper lights. II.308.

In the Second Upper Light.
Coat B: Ground A[rgent] bend Gules {B. Ursick of Conyston at 3 lights and so these perhaps.}
Coat C: Ground A[rgent] and Sable.
Coat D: Dexter half, ground Gules fret A[rgent]; Sinister half, ground A[rgent] fleur-de-lys Gules.

In the Third Upper Light.
Coat E: Ground Sable fret A[rgent.]
N.B. [Coat] F. is parted per Pale: 1. Argent [blank] 2 Barrs, & a [Blank] in Dexter Point Gules = Impaleing G[ules] 6 (squirrells as I guess) Or \ ra[m]pant[32] / Argent.
H. Is Quarterly First \ & Third / Barry of six Argent and Azure, 3 [annulets] in chiefe Gules. The second & fourth I know not what. But it appears to be Bendy of six Or & Gules a Ly[on] Or Ra[mpant] Argent.
N[ote] ad H.
I sent up the schoolmaster Thomas Hob to view these Armes nearly by the Help of a Ladder; & Hee sayes the second & 3 Quarters are 6[33] Gules, but it appears to the ey at a Distance a Lyon Rampant Sable.
In the Fifth Upper Light
I. is the Royal Arms with a file or 3 Labels Argent writ about in Text with Hon y Soit &c.[34]
L. is a Quarterly Coate: The 1[t] & 4[th] as that marked A. The 2[nd] & 3 is Argent 2 Barrs, & 3 a[nnulets] alias ♦[35] G[ules].}

[32] This abbreviated word is unclear.
[33] Here, Machell has drawn a symbol resembling an annulet.
[34] 'Honi soit qui mal y pense': shame be on him who thinks evil of it, is the motto of the Order of the Garter. Machell did not mention Coat K. which, taken from the Figure, might be written as, 'K. has a cross saltire engrailed Sable charged with a mullet of 5 points.'
[35] Lozenges.

At the Low End of the Longer lights
M. is Quarterly. The first and fourth ~~the same with that marked C. being~~ Sable 3 Lyons Ramp[ant] Argent; The 2nd and 3rd the same with that marked C.[36]
P. Parted per pale. Or & Vert a Lyon Rampant Gules, over all a chief Azure. S. the same agane.[37]
T. The same with the Coate impald at D.
V. an Escalop Argent in a piece of glass inversed, which may seem to have bin a partes of the Stricklands of Sisargh broke & misplaced: being now where the Head of the Crucifix has bin.

In the South Ile Quire on the S. Side[38]



Figure 2.9.3. 'In the South Ile Quire on the S. side'. II.308.

[II.309A][39]

The Authors Epitaph upon Himself, made in the time of his sickness[40]

A Man I was wormes meat I am | To earth return'd from whence I came |
Many removes on earth I had | In earth at length my bed is made |
A Bed which Christ did not disdaine | Although it could not him retaine |
His deadly foes might plainly see | Over sin & death his victory | &c.
Here must I rest till Xst shall let me see | His promised Jerusalem & her felicity |
Veni Domine Jesu veni cito[41]
Robertus Philipson Gent. xiiij[0] Octobris Anno salutis 1631 Ætatis suæ 63.[42]

{Thake flese away}[43]

[36] N and O are not described, but, as seen in the Figure, are probably, N: gules 3 bulls' heads. O: ground gules, fret azure with a label of 5 points alias file of 5 labels.
[37] Q. and R. are not described, but are probably, Q: Gules 3 cushions lozengewise Or. R: Argent a fess Gules between 3 birds Sable or Brown.
[38] Perhaps this coat could be described as, ermine, fretty Gules, below a chief Gules.
[39] A small page, 12½cm x 15cm; the reverse holds part of a letter in another hand.
[40] The epitaph is not in Machell's hand, but he added '&c.' to the fourth line.
[41] 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.'
[42] The spelling here does not copy the original accurately. For instance, the inscription, as seen in the church, contains 'meate', 'altho', 'deadlie', 'plainlie', 'sinn', 'victorie', 'Christ', 'felicitie'.
[43] Written in Machell's hand. If 'thake' (N.B. Machell's letters can often be misread, particularly his 'a' 'o' and 'u'), then this phrase might be interpreted as a saying or proverb. The dialect word 'thake' can mean 'thatch' but it can also mean, 'waste corn left in the fields unraked'; thus, 'straw flees away' might possibly refer to the fleeting nature of life. See Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary 6* (London, 1898-1905), 73.

[II.310][44]

{Vis[i]ted 1st Aug. 1692 T.M.}
In the ~~fourthe~~ \ second / Long Light of the East Window of the High Quier, is a Man & Woman, in their Circ-Coates of Armes; & writ above in Text letters – Will Thornborr & his wife; in the next som Priests. In the 3. 4. 5. & 6. som of like sort but Letters gon which should have discovered them.
X. The Coate marked X is in an High window belonging to the midle Ile; which is so obscure & at such a distance, that I am not able to make anything of it.
Y. The Coate marked Y, and those 2 that follow are in the side window next to the Quier in the North Ile; concerneing which they have a Tradition – That a Shereman,[45] a Smith and a Carryer were buryed there.



Figure 2.9.4. Four Coats relating to the woollen industry. II.308.

On a window in the S. Ile next the Quier dooer is writ in Text Letters if I mistake not – Anno Quingentissimo Vicessimo Terti[0] i.e. 1523 – which shews the Time when these windows were don.
There is on the N. side of the Large East window, a monument set up of Black Marble, with the following Epitaph made by Mr Robert Philipson of Calgarth in the Time of his sickness

> A man I was, wormes meat I am,
> To Earth Return'd from whence I came
> Many Removes on earth I had
> In earth at length my bed is made

{Qu. If the cherveron in the Arms upon this mon[ument] be not chargd with a crescent.[46] And Indeed I wonder the Armes are not granted so by the Heralds since they came of a younger bro[ther] of Thirlewal Castle &c. see S.7.}

[II.311]

Memorandum de Ecclesia.
There were 3 window beyond the portch, of 5 lights a piece, & a Quier doore betwixt the 2 last – And 6 windows above of 3 lights apiece – which must be noted if I draw it againe.
{! Lett this be the stile} – The East Window of the High Quier is said to have com'd from [Blank] and hath 2 Rowes of Lights.
In the second upper Light are these Coates of Armes. A.B.C.D.
In the 3rd upper light are These. E.F.G.H.
In the 5 upper light These. I.K.L.M.N.O.P.
In the 6 upper light These. Q.R.S.T.U.

[44] N.B. Much of the following is a repetition of Machell's earlier observations on the church glass, left in this edition to demonstrate Machell's research and writing process.
[45] Shearman (shereman: Middle English to 1600s) a man who shears woollen cloth. *OED*. See Machell's sketch of the shield.
[46] Here, Machell has drawn a crescent.

In the \ Lower / Lightes which are much Longer are – 1[t]. St George on foote. 2. St Mary. 3ly. The Passion of our Blessed Saviour; 4. St Martin forsan & 5ly, St Catherine. And which being the S[ain]ts in whose names the Church & chaples are dedicated {which are in the parish perhaps the less reason to believe they fetched from.}[47]

At the foote of the said Lower Lights these figures of Gentlemen & their Ladyes praying in their Circoats \ of Arms / Sc. in the:

2	4	5	6

{Write this underneath the said Coates of Armes – Then add the figures}

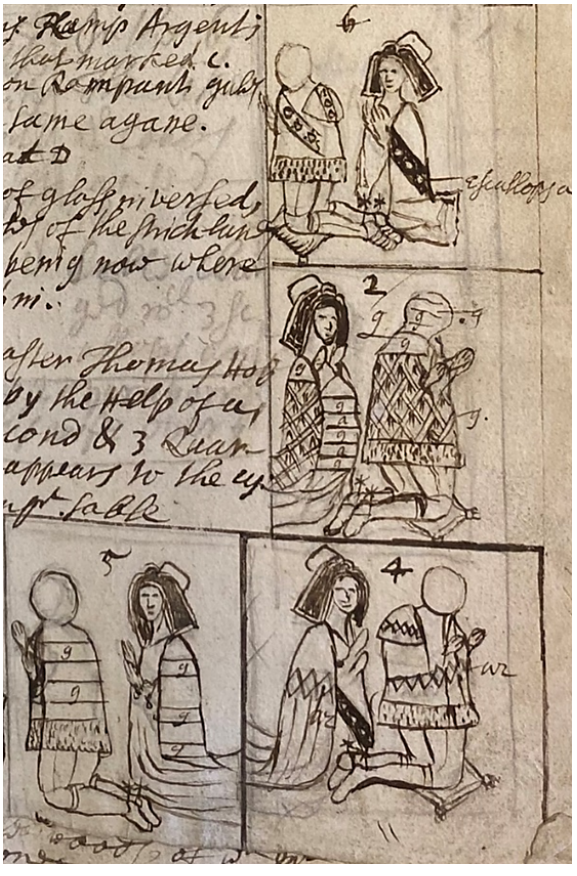


Figure 2.9.5. 'Gentlemen and their ladyes' at the foot of the lower lights. II.311.

Note. Ad – H. I sent a young man up a Ladder to give me a farther account of these Arms, & hee Tells me they are as followeth: But he having no manner of skill in Heraldry, I have drawn them as they appeared to the eyes.

[47] Much of this margin comment is obscured by the binding.

[p. 312A]

[Bells]



Figure 2.9.6. On little and middle bells at Windermere Church. 312A.

On the Little Bell: CW. PC. IW. MG. TE. NE. TP. WM. Gloria in excelsis Deo 1666. W.S.
On the Middle Bell a Rose; a key – on a scutcheon.
Great Bell:

[II.312b]

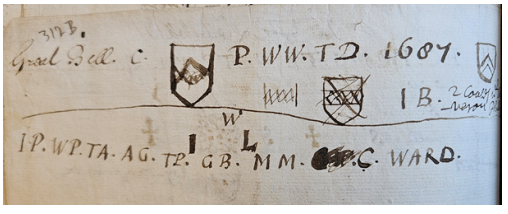


Figure 2.9.7. Windermere church. On 'The Great Bell'. II.312B.

Great Bell. C.P. WW. TD. 1687.
IB – 2 Coates with cheveron Phillipson
I \ W / L
IP. WP. TA. AG. TP. GB. MM. C.[48] WARD.

[II.312]

Windermere
The Parish Church is in Bowness, \ which is part of Undermilnbeck / but goes by that name ~~of Windermer Church~~ \ because the lands [create] a Bow into the water;[49] yet the great lake being so remarkable that it gives name both to church & parish.

{§6. Dedication St Martin, & there is a well}
~~The dedication of the Church is not certainely known; but by the Rushbearing & sommer games which were kept on this Day it should see to have bin Dedicated unto St James~~.
{But it is dedicated unto St Martin – see Troutbeck Chapel.}
{No. It is St Martines Church, as I finde in the Licenceing for Burying granted to the chapelry of Jesus in Troutbeck A.D. 1563. And there is Martin well 100 yards East ab Ecclesia.}

{Church}
It is an ha[n]som Large Church having 2 rows of Pillars in it, & 2 Iles besides the Body of it, & [the roof] is Leaded all over. The steeple is a square Towre with 3 \ gret / Bells ~~&~~ \ a Clock / {given by Richard ~~&~~ Shaw & Martin Suart of Undermilnbeck} & a Saints Bell ~~in it~~. And there was an Organ In the Church which cutt in piece in the warrs time by the Roundhead Party; this parish being \ always / very loyal to [the] King their Lord and Master.[50]
There is but one monument of \ black / marble sett up in the wall, with this Inscription made by Mr R. Philipson himselfe in the Time of his sickness.

[48] MS: Illegible letters before 'C' are scored through and blotted; one letter might be 'W'.
[49] Blurred interlineation: 'create' is an editorial substitution containing similar letters.
[50] See *N&BI*, 178.

A man I was worms meat I am | to earth return'd from whence I came
Many removes on earth I had | In earth at length my bed is made
A bed which Christ did not disdain | Although it could not him retaine
His deadly foes might planely see | Or'e sin & death his victorie
Here must I rest till Xt shall let me see / His promised Jerusalem & her felicity.
Veni Domini Jesu veni cito | Robertus Philipson Gent. xiiij^{0} Oktobris Anno salutis 1631
Ætatis suæ 63.[51]

{There are allso several Coats of Armes of Lancashire familes brought hither (as is thought) from Furness Abby.[52] Sed de hoc dub.}[53]



Figure 2.9.8. Margin drawing of the Philipson monument in Windermere Church. II.312.

{§7. Chappels}
There is but one Chappel in this parish – Troutbeck – which is ~~a~~ parochial ~~one~~: And som of this parish have liberty to bury &c. at Ambleside chappel, \ a part of Ambleside are in the chapelry & ar part of there, / provided they pay their dutyes to their \ mother / church; Sc. \ the Inhabitants of / the Low end of Ambleside beneath Sockbridge, \ concerneing which / see \ more / in G of M'.[54] \ But there were [an]other 2: One in Windermer water in Lady Holm dedicated to the V. M., & another near to Calgarth called St Katherines, now turned into a Dwelling House. /

{§8. Endowment}[55]
This Parish is a Parsonage (& is worth about 60li per annum) but the Minister receives his Tythes of all things by Composition,[56] save Geese & Grice;[57] & hath Eggs at Easter: for an hen, one egg; a chick 2 egg \ a cock one egg; Tithe Chick 1d Teste ipso.[58] / {Bees, for which they sometimes pay 3^{s} 6^{d} a cast: & sometimes more. The parson has 4d a Boate Prescriptions for the Tithe of fish every year.}

{§9. Custome}
The Patronage ~~was lately~~ in Gawen Braithwates of Ambleside & his son Thomas after him: & Phillip Fox of Crooke who are joynt Patrones present in joynt Turnes.
Memorandum. Formerly in the Crown. Query. How it came to Them.

[51] 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Robert Philipson, Gentleman [who died on the] 14 October in the year of salvation 1631 in the 63rd year of his age.'
[52] See *N&BI*, 178. See also Edward Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes, being the Heraldry, Epitaphs, and other Inscriptions, in the Thirty-two Ancient Parish Churches and Churchyards of that County, 2* (Kendal, 1889), 36, which cites R.S. Ferguson's research on this window.
[53] 'But of that I doubt.'
[54] 'G of M' might be Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1136).
[55] Most of this margin-heading is obscured by the binding.
[56] Composition: an agreement for the payment of a sum of money in lieu of the discharge of some other obligation, or in a different way from that required by the original contract. *OED*.
[57] Grice = pigs.
[58] 'As I, myself, testify.' But see II.311 above, which is slightly different.

{§10. Parsonage} {New Hall no Hall}
The Parsonage house is called ~~the~~ Hall, there being no other Gentleman's house in the village of Bowness. It is distant from the Church ¼ of mile \ S.W. / & from Hawkside in \ Furness in / Lancashire 4 miles, from Kendal 6. \ from Ambleside? / The house is an ~~Hansom~~ stone building & slated all over & in good repair.

{§11. Glebe}
I[t] stands upon a little hill; so that you come to it (on every side) by an easy assent; and it is rendered more pleasant by reason of Windermer water on the North & West side ~~of it~~, upon the Banks of which the Gleeb Land. Hobby Hawkes build in the glebe woods, of which one Wilson had one time 3 young ones.

[II.316][59]

[The glebe land] lieth for a mile in Lenth, ~~a Corner of which~~ \ being near about 40 Acres / reaching from the house to the water side, where the Minister of the Parish has his Pleasure Boate \ for recreation. / There is a very good Garden & orchard, & ~~good~~ store of Pollards ~~fire wood~~ upon the Glebe land which serve for fewel \ ~~with other Timber Trees~~. / There are about 40 Acres of Land belonging unto it {? For the Tarrier[60] Mr Dixon} which amount to the vallue of 30[li] per Annum. A part of it was formerly rebuilt by Mr Richard Archer, somtimes fellow of Queens College in Oxford;[61] And another part of it, by Mr William Willson[62] formerly Taberdar of the same College,[63] now the ~~present Incumbent~~ Rector thereof. [64]
Query. Ut Tenants: what their Rents – free or fineable; fines Certaine or Arbitrary. This before the Glebe & house.

{§12. Sub division}
This Parish is but One \ entire / Lordship, call'd by the name of Windermer Lordship, & there are \ also / some Tenements in Crooke in \ the parish of / Kendall ~~parish~~, which belong unto it. {they are onely in the Constablewick} Sc. 14 Tenements ~~and~~ which lye on this side Gilpin Beck. Or rather this with the Parish of Grismer and all but one manor \ & hath other members. For I find in the said Inq[uisition] Anno 49. Edward 3. [1375-76] that Johan the w[idow] of John Cowpland was by the grant of the said King ciesed for the Terme of her Life of the Manner of Winander worth per Annum 144[li] with its members & appurtenances; Sc. Hamletta de Langden Loughrig, Grismer Hamelside, The King is Lord \ of it / but the lands are ~~the Queens joynt~~ \ now settled on the Q[uee]n ~~and he has~~ / who Rentes, \ Certaine / Rents Certain of every Tenement, with different fines in different places.

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[59] Also numbered p.4.
[60] 'Tarrier'. From Latin, *terrarium*, and French*, terrier*. A register of landed property, formerly including lists of vassals and tenants, with details of their holdings, services, and rents; a rent roll; in later use, a book recording the site, boundaries, acreage, etc., of lands belonging to a private person, or a civil or an ecclesiastical corporation. Also, an inventory of property or goods. *OED*.
[61] Richard Archer, son of Edward Archer of Kendal; matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1628, aged 18; BA 1630; MA 1632; fellow 1633-46; BD 1642. Rector of Windermere 1645-62. *OAD*; see also E.J. Nurse, *History of the Parish Church Windermere* (Bowness-on-Windermere, 1908), 21-22.
[62] William Wilson, son of Thomas Wilson of Kendal and Dorothy, daughter of Henry Fisher of Bradleyfield. At Queen's College, Oxford, from 1648; BA 1654; afterwards incorporated at Cambridge University. According to State Papers (1660-61), he was 'presented to the Rectory of Windermere in 1657 but could not be legally instituted on account of the late tyranny till 1660'. In 1662 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Sandys, of Esthwaite. See Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662,* 2, 1045-46; Nurse, *Parish Church Windermere*, 22.
[63] Taberdar: see the English Glossary. See also Anthony Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford; To Which Are Added the Fasti, or Annals of the Said University*, I (London, 1691-92), 348: '…in 1583, he was made Pauper Puer, or Tabardus or Tabardarius; that is, a Tabarder or Tabitter, so called because anciently they wore Coats or upper Gowns, much according to the fashion of those belonging to Heralds.'
[64] MS: Scored-through passage at the beginning of this sentence:{'~~It is thought to have bin an appendant of Kendal Tower. It yet payes.~~'}

{Troutbeck, Applethwate[65] Strickland Ketel et Hoton} {the reversion to Lord Ingelram de Coucy Earle of Bedford & Isabel his wife the said Kings daughter.}[66]

{§13. Tenure}
He has also Heriots, Waifs & Strayes; & keeps Court Barron ~~at the schoolhouse in Bowness~~ \ every year. / The Tennants \ allso / appear (2 out of every Constablewick) once in the year at the Balifs command, at the Kings Court-Leet in \ the Town of / Kendall. ~~But there are no freeholds \ or Halls / in the Lordship~~. {But N[ote] here is no mention of Ridal – so that it was no part of the Manner} {q.? see after on the particulars; these are freeholders} {see S.33.}[67]
It affords Good store of \ blackish / Blue slates, peets & firewood near Ambleside – ab Ecclesia 4m. N. {see §.33}.

[II.318[68]]

{§14. Mannour House}
There is neither mannour house nor demaisne lands in it; but the Kings Stuart keeps Court every year, or his Deputy for him, at the Schol-house in Bo\w/nesse Windermer. But how these lands came to the Crowne, by Escheat or otherwise, q.?
? T[h]ere appear [Blank] so many freholders. {Cowgarth a free Demane; Old Field a freehold – & great [blank]. The Iland a Crown Rent not fineable. […][69] free rent.}
There are 4 villages in this Lordship, & each of them distinct Constablewicks, Sc. Ambleside, Troutbeck, Aplethwaite. And Undermilnbeck whereof Bowness is part.

{§15. Ambleside f. 43}
Ambleside formerly Hamelside {43. Edward 3. Inq.}[70] is all in \ within / this Lordship tho but part thereof within the Parish. It is 4 miles distant from Windermer church, & 4 from Gresmire but has a Chaple within it selfe \ on Gresmer side of the Stock brig; / & \ is / 3 mile from Hawkside market but 10 from Kendal ~~and is an entire Constable wick of it selfe~~. The \ few house it hath / ~~houses~~ are all of stone & Generally slated. It is situate upon the High end of Windermerwater whych lyes ~~at~~ \ near / the South end of ~~it~~ \ the village; / & the Great Roade twixt Kendal & Cockermouth \ in Cumberland /goes quite through it \ & so thorow Gresmer by Dunmale Rase. / There is one Chaple parochial in it which ~~wee spoke of before in~~ \ must be refer'd to / Gresmere parish. ~~And One side~~ They say there was a Castle at head of the Water and 4[r] of a mile ~~below~~ \ West of / the Towne the Ruines of which doe yet appear.
{It is now called Borhans – anciently AMBOGLANUM according to Camden.[71] Forsan ad Latus Amboglanæ vel Amblosheved, i.e. collis Amboglanæ, on the side or skirts of which it standeth.}[72]
{Whence I should have thought the vil. of Ambleside to have taken its name, Quasi ad Latus

[65] Some scored-through place-names are illegible here, although one word might be 'Crosthwate'.
[66] In the MS the following scored-through passage appears here: '~~It takes Its name from the Great Lake of Windermer And is the same \ whole / length bredth & circumference with the parish except \ with / 14 Tenements \ more / at Crooke \ in the parish / of Kendal parish by the on this side Gilpin beck, which are taken~~ {~~into it over & about the parish~~} ~~There are good Blew slates got in the manner & in great plenty~~.'
[67] Section 33.
[68] Also numbered p.6.
[69] Illegible word which begins, 'leu ...'
[70] Inquisition of 43 Edward 3 [1369-1370].
[71] From Camden: 'At the upper corner of Winander-mere lieth the dead carcasse, as one would say, of an ancient City, with great ruines of walls, and many heapes of rubbish one from another remaining, of buildings without the walls yet to be seene. The fortresse thereof was somewhat long, fensed with a ditch and rampire; for it tooke up in length 132. Ells, and in bredth 80. That it had beene the Romanes worke is evident, by the British bricks, by the mortar tempered with little peeces of bricke among, by small earthen pots or pitchers, by small cruets or vials of glasse, by peeces of Roman money oftentimes there found, and by round stones as much as by milstones or quernstones, of which layed and couched together they framed in old time their columns, and by the paved high waies leading unto it. Now the ancient name thereof is gone, unlesse a man would ghesse at it, and think it were that Amboglana, whereof the Book of Notices maketh mention, seeing at this day it is called Ambleside.' Camden, *Britannia* tr. Holland (1637), 760B.
[72] 'Perhaps Ambleside is derived from the side of Amboglanum or Amblesheved i.e. the hill of Amboglanum on the side or skirts of which it standeth.'

Ambloglani[73] – if I had not met [it] writ by the name of Hamelside in antient writeings.}[74]

There is allso a fair house called Ambleside hal belonging to the Brathwates \ but Tennent Right Lands / ~~tho there {be \ som few / Tenants belonging to it;}~~ But ~~now~~ \ lately / in debait betwixt Sir John Otway[75] & Mrs Dorathy Sands, sister to Mr Thomas Brathwaite lately deceas'd S.P.,[76] \ that is now in Sir John Otway Jane uxor {by a Decree.}[77] Whose Arms and Fam[ily] I have them.
{See a pikes jaw \ in / Dugdal who I thinke visited the place.}[78]
{According to the custom of the mannour of Richmond foe} the Tenants in this village hold their Land of the King as a Rent & fine certaine: Sc. Twopenny fine \ i.e. double the rent / upon change of Tenant; & one penny fine \ i.e. as much as the Rent / upon change of the Lord; i.e. paying over & above the Rent at change of Lord; and twice as much as the rent at the change of Tennant.[79] The Common is all Improved.[80]

{Ad p. 3.} [II.314]

Windermer Water

It is 10 miles Long & 2 miles Broad, yet under one Arch. Backbarrow Bridge {com Lanc.} strideth over it all with one single Arch.[81]
The fishing is divided into 3 Cubles as they call them:[82]
1. The High Cuble, from the water head to the Char-bed. ½ a mile above Calgarth.
2. Midle-Cuble, from thence to below the Ferry.
3. The Low Cuble, from thence to Nuby.
The Breadth of the water From Bowness to the Ile 27 score.
The Iland Broad?
Thence to Furness ¼ – 22 score.
At Calgarth it is Broade, 2 miles. Above it is generally 1m. & ½ – which is the Generall Breadth.
N.B. For a Map & full D[e]scription of Windermere water, vide in Windermer Parish p.3 & 13 & 20 & 22 & 23 & 31. And in Gresmer Parish – p. Ult §68 – v[ide] Windermer Gresmer par. p.10.
Camden in 'Lancashire', p. 681,[83] sayes that the Britans defended themselves a long time in Furness fells being a sort of natural fortifications. But nothing being Inaccessible to the Conq[uering]Saxons. For \ wee gather / that in the 228 year from \ after / their arival, the Brittans continued in this place; ~~from~~ Because then Egfridus King of Northumber[land] gave to St Cuthbert the Land called Carthmel. and all the Britanes therein. These he takes to be the Setantij, & Windermer water (lacus totius Angliæ maximus)[84] – formerly Wynander mere, & in the Saxon Winpadre mere – to be the Setantiorum

[73] 'As [being] on the side of Ambloganum.'
[74] These references to Amboglanum are written (amongst and between data on other topics) in the right-hand margin of MS.II.318.
[75] For Sir John Otway, see Part 2, Ch.3iii, Hutton, II.87; see also Part 2, Ch.4, Beetham, II.278.
[76] Without issue.
[77] 'Now in the ownership of Sir John Otway's wife, Jane.'
[78] William Dugdale, *Monasticon*: on Furness Abbey. See below, II.313.
[79] MS: 'i.e. ~~dubbling on Tennant held Rent the Rent upon change of a Lord~~ \ their Rent / paying over & above the Rent ~~its full vallue~~ at change of Lord; \ and twice as much as the rent /~~& duble its vallue~~ at \ the / change of Tennant.'
[80] 'Improved' probably means 'enclosed'.
[81] MS: 'Yet ~~all this water passeth~~ under one Arch ~~at a place calld~~ \ Back / Barrow Bridge {com Lanc.} strideth over It all with one single – Arch.'
[82] The word 'cubble' (variously spelt cable, cobble, coble, couble, couple, cubble and cuble) relates to Windermere fisheries. Windermere was divided into three sections, each one called a cubble. *The English Dialect Dictionary* suggests that a cubble was a short flat-bottomed rowingboat, or, as much as could be fished by one rowing boat. Certainly the word infers an area of water. See Charlotte Kipling, 'The Commercial Fisheries of Windermere', *CW2,* 72 (1972), 156-204, at 164. Jane Ewbank (ed.), *Antiquary on Horseback. The First Publication of The Collections of the Rev. Thos. Machell Chaplain to King Charles II Towards a History of the Barony of Kendal,* CWAAS Extra Series 19, (Kendal, 1963), 87, transcribed the word as 'cable' but Machell's vowel seems to be open rather than closed.
[83] 'Lancashire': a chapter in Camden's *Britannia.*
[84] 'The greatest lake in England'.

Winn: The lake of the Setantij[85] {And I mett with som Britanns – Sc. men of that name (?) in Cartmel fells at this very day; But for certane in Carthmell. & perhaps those battles were fought by them at Woundale &c.}

[II.313][86]

A Prospect of Windermer from Troutbeck Towne End.

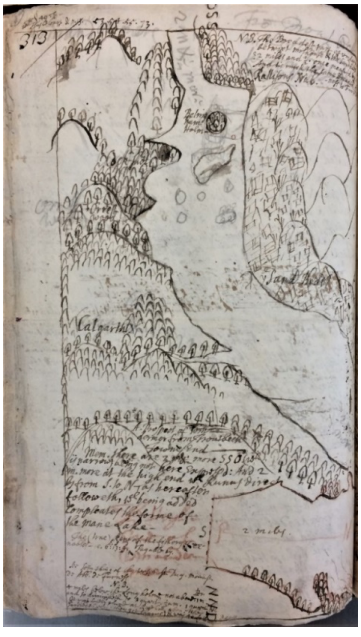


Figure 2.9.9. 'Windermere Water'. II.313.

See §49; to which This belongs: & p.13, 53. 54. 55. 73.
Memorandum, there are 2m. & ½ more SSO[87] (which is narrow) being not here expressd: And 2m. more at the high end which runns directly from S. to N. – as hereafter followeth – which being added compleates the forme of the mane Lake.
N.B. The Broadest part of Windermer betwixt Milhouse & the Sandbeds, which is ?2 miles and ½ once measur'd by a line. And tis much the same Breadth from Bowness to Furness.
N.B. 4 miles below the Long holme, not above 1m. \ Br[eadth], / and so diminisheth to 3 quar[er], ½ a m[ile], 1 quart[er] &c. It was lately plumd at Read hall above the sandbeds (where they get charrs) & was 40 f[athoms] deep.[88]

The (true) Rent of the fishery is XX nobles,[89] i.e. $6^{£}\ 13^{s}\ 4^{d}$. Payable by [Blank] See something of this Water in Dugdale *Monasticon*, de Abb[ey] de Furness.

[85] 'Forness-fells. Among which the Britans lived safe a great while, trusting upon these strong natural fenses: although the victorious Saxons made way through all in the end. For in the yeere 228. After King of Northumberland, gave unto Holy Saint Cuthbert the land called Carthmell, and all the Britans in it (thus we finde written in his life) … if you read in Ptolemee … the Setantians Mere, as some copies have; and not … the Setantians Haven, I durst boldly avouch that these Britans here were called Setantii …. For among these mountains the greatest standing water in all England, now called Winander-mere'; in the English Saxon Winpadre-mer (haply of his winding and turning in an out) lieth stretched out for the apace of ten miles.' Camden, *Britannia* tr. Holland (1637),755A-B.
[86] Ink superimposed on pencil. The northern part of the lake. For another map of this lake see II.150.
[87] SSO = Southwards, also seen at the head of the map. NND = Northwards, is seen at the foot of the map.
[88] Windermere lake is 10.5 miles long, one mile wide, and 220 feet deep: https://www.visitcumbria.com. A fathom is 6 feet, therefore Machell judged Windermere to be 240 feet deep.
[89] 20 nobles. 1 noble was equivalent to 6s 8d, thus 20 nobles equalled £6 13s 4d.

[p. 316A]

[General Notes]

N[ote] ad Furness fells, Kendal in Gen[eral], Gresmer
Occar – for use money in Conyston in Furness fell
I gang &c. to pay my occar.[90] a. Sir Dan[iel] Flem[ing]

Gree – In use the same place they have custom that the eldest brother that succeeds his Father in a Tenant Right or Customary Estate shall pay to \ such of / his Brothers – 3 Years Rent; which is called their gree or Portion.[91] a. Sir Dan[iel] Flem[ing]

[II.317]

Qu. If Calgarth be not in Aplethwate? And if so, whet[h]er it has not formerly bin the manner house for Windermer & Gresmer. For it is said – in the Inq[uisition post mortem] of 49. Edward 3. [1375-76] that Johan the late Wife of John Coupland Deceas'd, objt seiseita ad Terminum Vitæ suae – de Advocatione Capellæ de St Mary Holm, infra Lacum de Winandermer; quæ nihil valet quia Terra de qua [præ]dicta Capella fuit, antiquo Tempore sesita est in Manu Domini; et jacet infra Parcum Del Calv-garth.[92]
If he mean by Terra, the Land on which it stood, it is strange how an Iland \ in soe deepe a Lake / should be within the Parke of Calvgarth: but if there be a word anwanting so that by Terra de qua prædicta Capella[93] we may understand Dotata fuit,[94] than it is easy enough to imagin that the Indowment lyeing in the Parish of Calvegarth & being cies'd \ long agoe / into the Lordship, it was worth nothing. Yet this Lord still seemes to have bin [in] the King. Because the Advowson was in him – & he was Lord of this Manner of Windermere, whereof Aplethwate is expressly a parcel. Tho I confess – the Argument will not always hold from the Patrone of the church to the Lord of the Manner.

Memorandum. To Enquire of a store[95] about a Hagworme[96] who bit a man in the legg – of which he could get no cure; and about a year after, the hag worme came to the doer, & the man ordered them to set it open; & so it came to his leg which he exposed, & licked it, & went away, after which he mended forthwith. Told me at Mr Prestons of Howcar,[97] I thinke per Mr Marsden.

[90] 'I go etc. to pay my occar.' The *OED* and *Dictionaries of the Scots Language* Online refer to 'occar or 'oker' as 'the lending of money at (excessive) interest, usury; interest gained from this'; and 'the taking of (more or less excessive) interest or the practising of usury.' The word was meant to be derogatory.
[91] 'Gree': to make (persons) pleased; to reconcile, conciliate (several persons, or one with another); also, to arrange or settle (a matter). *OED*.
[92] 'Died seised for her lifetime of the advowson of the chapel of St Mary Holm in the Lake of Windermere, which is worth nothing because the land in which the said chapel was, in ancient time was the Lord's land; and falls within the Park of Calgarth.'
[93] 'Land from which the said chapel.'
[94] 'Was endowed.'
[95] Story.
[96] Hagworm: a northern name for the adder or viper but in some districts applied to the grass snake and in others to the blindworm. *OED*.
[97] Holker.

[II.319]

{§7.}[Informants] de Troutbeck: Mr Walker curate[98] – George Brown yeoman.[99]
Ad Kendal et Kentmere. Poet Brat:[100]

> Kendal from Kent derives Its name
> & Kent from Kentmeres springing fountaine came.

!!! The true rent of Winandwater is XX nobles i.e. 6:13:4.
See Dugdal de Abb[t] of Furness for Windermer Water.[101]
Sheep feed on the tops of Trees on \ this place / Furness Fell. All their great water passeth Arch (at Backbarrow Bridge in Co. Lanc.)

[Troutbeck]

{Mr Walker, curate; George Brown, yeoman}

{(§19.) Bounder of Troutbeck Chapl}
It is bounded on the E. by Kentmer in Kendal from which tis divided by the Ridge of Applet\h/wate Fell, as heaven water deales. On the S. with the Mother Church as far as \ the Nether / Orrest ~~comes as of~~ \ divided / by the libertyes of those 2 Houses which pay to this chapl; & so by Windermer Water which divides from Lancashire. On the W. with Ambleside divided by [Blank] from Windermer Water up Holgate Gill; & so along by a wall made by both Townships to Kirkston. On the N. with Patterdale in Barton divided by \ a wall / on Kirkston, & so NE. over Cowdalmor to Th\r/eshhold mouth, as heaven water deales.

{(§20.)}
{George Robinson of Troutbeck, buried 50 years agoe was above 100; & Peter Longmire never dranke ale in his life – Big bread[102] – who was buried the next year after, was above 100!!! §42.}[103]

Q. of the Consecration (& Endowment. both of church & chapl – & how Chargd or Rased.)

{(§21.) ~~Chappel~~ The Hall of Troutbeck.}

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[98] Dudley Walker, listed as curate of Troutbeck, 1663-1701, and curate of Grasmere, 1712. CCED.
[99] Townend, the home of the Browne family, is well known through its National Trust status and the preservation of the family's large collection of documents at CAC(K): boxes coded WDTE. The history of the Brownes of Troutbeck has been well rehearsed; for their activities in the 17th century, see M.A. Parsons, 'The Brownes of Townend and the Township of Troutbeck 1500-1750', *CW3*, 2 (2002), 171-82, in which this yeoman-family's rising prosperity and social aspirations are discussed. For example, George Browne of Townend (1626-1703) was High Constable of Kendal Ward in 1667; see also *AWL*, 56.
[100] Poet Brathwaite (Richard Brathwaite/Brathwate). This aphorism also appears at the beginning of Machell's chapter on Kendal Barony: Part 2, Ch.1, Barony of Kendal, II.17.
[101] There is little information of this nature in Dugdale's (English, abridged) *Monasticon*: see Vol. 1, Furness, 88-89. Thomas West, who wrote extensively on Furness and the Abbey at the end of the18th century, remarked that Dugdale was 'totally silent as to the edifice itself, of which a much greater part was entire in his time than now is.' West's book contains a copy of a deed made in 1240, of William de Lancaster III, eighth baron of Kendal, in which the monks of Furness were to have two boats (one a fishing boat) and 20 nets on Windermere, 'without any opposition from me or my heirs: but if any servant belonging to the monks, who shall have the care of their boats on the said waters, commit trespass in my forests, he shall be punished at my discretion; and if such servant refuse to give and make reasonable satisfaction, he shall be dismissed, with the loss of his wages, by the monks, from their service.' Thomas West, *The Antiquities of Furness* (London, 1774), Dedication to Lord George Cavendish; 35. This deed is discussed (along with several others) by Charlotte Kipling in 'The Commercial Fisheries of Windermere', *CW2*, 72 (1972), 156-204, at 157-58.
[102] His diet was bigg (barley) bread.
[103] Some discarded notes follow. MS: '{~~L. 23 b. 8 inside & steeple 2; walls~~;} {~~Troutbeck~~} …~~ school~~.'

{(§22.) Chapel}
{See §25. 26. Mr Parson Carus, supervisor}[104]



Figure 2.9.10. Margin sketch. Troutbeck Chapel. II.319.

{An Ewe Tree afore it of 9 or 10 branches. sub umbra 9 yardes diam.[105] & in the body 3.
[Chapel measures] Long. 23. Steeple, 2. Wall, 1.
Broad, 8. Wal. 1. Inside m.}

There are \ diverse / medows \ & Arable Land / in Troutbeck calld The Hall Ings – now in Tenancy. Query where the Hall stood? & the ruines of an old house upon a Riseing ground in the midle thereof in memory of man, & bequeathes […][106] o' the Reparation of the said church / 13s 4d, & to the Rep[air] of ours, 3s 4d.
Anno 1558. George Browne (father of Thomas, father of George, father of George, father of George 3^{d}, orderd his body to be buried at Windermer church by his will dated as above,[107] who gave a legacy of iijs 4d to Sir Edward Whitlock.[108] And in another 1566, Agnes, wife of the said George Browne, gave her body to be buried in the Chaple of Troutbeck, & to it ~~as my~~ \ for her / bequest ~~for~~ & burial, 6^{s} 8^{d}. So that it was consecrated \ as a burying place / betwixt the years 1558 & 1566. And George Browne informes that in the Instrument of Consecration it is called Capella Jesus infra parochiam St Martini.[109]
{N. a winde linen;[110] a Bushel Windermer.[111]}

{(§23.) Indowment ~~4li: 10s: 0~~ of the Chap.}
Indowment – The Ancient sallary ~~7 per Annum~~ \ 4li: 10s: 0[d] raised by the Inhabitants according to the priority of seates; the highest seate being 1^{s} 8^{d} & so by degrees to 6^{d} a seat, which is the lowest; & when any is admitted on death of another into the Chancell, which is don by Trustees or Collectors of sallery, the party [pays] 2s Admittance money, which goes to the Church stock. {After improved by the Chaple-stock & som bequests of which Francis Borric gave 20^{li} – & 100 to the poore of the parish {to 7^{li} per Annum – & at Length to 10^{li} – see §27.}
The Burial in the Chancel is 8s; in the Body 3s 4d – towards the Chappel stock, which stock \ being augmented by the / Parish Church.

[104] In 1558 Adam Carus supervised the will of George Browne, the Troutbeck yeoman: II.319, II.320, II.322.
[105] 'Its shade is 9 yards in diameter.'
[106] A word here is illegible.
[107] MS: 'Orderd his body by will (of this date) to be buried at Windermer church. by his will dated as above.'
[108] Reader at the chapel, see below, II.320.
[109] 'And George Browne informes that in the Instrument of Consecration it is called the Chapel of Jesus within the parish of St Martin.'
[110] Linen winding-cloths: grave-clothes. See K.V. Iserson, *Death to Dust: What Happens to Dead Bodies?* (Tucson, 1994), 452.
[111] Machell's Preface refers to a Windermere bushel as a 'wandell'. See 'Strange Words', II.353.

{(§24.) School}
The Schoole was erected – which stands E. a Capella 20 yards 2 storeyes high – & 12 yards long; & with the Consent of John Bishop of Chester (Bridgeman)[112] had 5 per Annum of the stock setled on it, to the Curate if he will Teach according to Cannon,[113] or in case of refusal – whom the Parson & Churchwardens should nominate & the Bishop approve. {Per Licentiam Episcopi Cestriensis at Chester Pallace 7 Aug. 1639.}[114]

[II.321][115]

[Petitions to the Bishop of Chester]

To the Reverend Mr Thomas Machell
Rector of Kirkby thore
In Westmorland.
These.

This paper came inclosed in a Letter to me with the direction to be sent to you. I have taken the first opportunity to get it transmitted, and I hope it will come safe to your hands. Which is all at present from
Sir
Humble servant & nephew
R. Borrow.

[II.320][116]

[Petitions to the bishop of Chester] For Burying, Celebrateing the Sacraments[117] – Hearing the word.}

[1.] {1562} William Lord Bishop of Chester at the petition & supplication of the Inhabitants of Troutbeck & Aplethwait Grants with the Consent of Adam Carus Rector of the Parish Church of Windermeer, as also with the consent of the Parishoners there; That their Priest lawfully & canonically ordained may preach the word of God, Administer the sacraments &c. And that the people of Troutbeck & Aplethwait may resort to the said Chappell by the name of Jesus Chappell to hear &c. so that it be no prejudice hurt or Impediment to the Parish Church of Windermeer aforesaid &c. In witness whereof to these presents we have put our Episcopall seal the 18th day of July Anno Domini 1562 in the 2d year of our Consecration.[118]

[2.] [Licence to bury the dead] {q. if this be not \ an Instrument of / Consecration.}
Mathew Lord \ Arch / Bishop of Canterbury at Inhabitants motion giveth Licence to bury their Dead at their own Chappell by the name of Jesus Chappell, & to Celebrate both the Sacrament & other sacred rites, & to hear the Word of God &c. Provided always that the aforesaid Church of St Martine of Windermeer do suffer no damage or detriment hereby in any of its rights profits or dues, but that the dues of the said Church & of the Incumbent of the same in all things may always be safe & sure; save only the Liberty of Bapt[ism] & Bur[ial] aforesaid &c. Given under our Seal of Authority the last day of the month of April in Anno D. 1563, & in the 4th year of our Consecration.[119]

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[112] John Bridgeman (1577-1652), bishop of Chester, 1619-1652.
[113] Canon law: the 151 Canons of the Church of England, https://www.anglican.net/doctrines/1604-canon-law.
[114] 'According to the licence of the bishop of Chester, dated at Chester Palace 7 Aug. 1639.'
[115] Text at the page-top was written by Dudley Walker, curate, in the form of a signed statement on behalf of George Browne. Machell annotated it (see the heading and margin headings) and resumed his narrative below.
[116] The reverse of II.321: the other side of the letter from R. Borrow.
[117] MS: 'For Burying ~~The Priest~~ Celebrateing the Sacraments'.
[118] William Downham, bishop of Chester (1561-1577). Adam Carus, rector of Windermere (1548-86), was the son of William Carus of Esthwaite, Whinfell, and his wife Isabella Laybourne, daughter of Thomas Laybourne of Cunswick. In 1558 he supervised the will of George Browne, of Troutbeck (see above). In 1568 he was an arbitrator in a dispute between James Cookson and Thomas and Christopher Browne relating to land of the Hall in Troutbeck. The first consecration deed of Troutbeck Chapel (18 July 1562) states, as Machell noted above, that all was done with 'the express consent and assent of that worshipful man Adam Carus, clarke, Rector of the Parish Church of Windermere.' See Nurse, *Parish Church Windermere*, 18.
[119] Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, 1559-1575.

The 7th of Aug. 1692, by Dudley Walker Curate there & George Browne. (A substantial & understanding Inhabitant.)[120]
Certifyed out of the records of the Chapel. This came to my hand from the said partyes Aug. 31 1692. T.M.

It was a chapel long before they obtained the favour of Parochial Rightes. But was onely used as an Oratory then, for they Christned & buried at the Parish church, having onely here a Licensd Reader whom they called a Sir. As appears by the will of one George Brown (a substantial yeoman of this place ~~of~~ \ from / whom the Present George Browne of Troutbeck, an Ingeniouse Countryman, is the 5 in Descent) which beareth Date A.M. 1558. Wherein he makes Mr Parson Carus ~~supervisor~~ Rector of Windermer, a supervisor; & gives, with his body to be buryed there, to the Repare of the said Church – 13s 4d. And to the Repare of Ours (meaning this Chapel) 3s 4d.[121] And to Sir Edward Whitlock (who was Reader here) 3s 4d. And Agnes his wife (the first that I finde was buried here) gave her body to be buried in

[II.321]

Troutbeck Chapel, & gave to it for her bequest & burial 6s 8d – anno Dom. 1566.[122]

[II.322][123]

{Ambleside}

Som of the Tenants have dotes of wood in other Tenants grounds,[124] which they may not be hindored or disturbed of or [Blank] the Tenant by survey about the Demain & woods. I wish I could see the M[anor] Booke shew Demaine & Lordships.

{~~Refer~~ this to Troutbeck}
There is a place called the Old Parke at the Low end of Ambleside, Att Holbeck bridge; which extends itselfe in lenth 2 miles all along by Windermer to Troutbeck bridge; but is now all inclosures, & possesd by the Tenants \ of Troutbeck / But no Remarkes of Antiq now remaining, only there is a poole which they call the old Casway. But see Camden & Speed.

Troutbeck ab Ecclesia 3m. N.E. {The Towne a Capella ¼ m. N. West; & the schoole ly[eth] N. It is a mile long but not with \ a / continued range of Building. The Houses are fair stone building and most of them slated.} {On the edge or Top of an Hill.} {What fuel.}

{(§25.) Troutbeck §87.}
Troutbeck is a large village which takes its name from the River Trout beck running on the East side of it,[125] & which is so called from the plenty of troutes which are found in it; & som very large at Michaelmas T[ide].[126]

Places remarkable

{(§26.) Chapel}
Here is an old parochial chapple on the East Side the village calld Troutbeck Kirke And the Parish Church is within 3 miles. But Hawkside market is 5 mile distant, & Kendal 7. There is a Road goes by the church (where is a stone bridge of one large Arch) from Kendal to Patterdale & so to Penrith. It goes on the East side of it & through the Towne head!

[120] The last phrase is in Machell's hand.
[121] For the will, see also II.319, above.
[122] Text written by Machell, which appears on the address page of the letter.
[123] Also numbered p.8.
[124] 'Dote' grant of land, property, etc. *OED*.
[125] MS: 'Troutbeck is a ~~pretty~~ large village ~~on the West side of the little River called Troutbeck, whence It takes Its name, which springs in the fells at Trout beck dale head, which~~ \ which takes its name from the River Trout beck running on the East side of it.'
[126] Circa 29 September.

{(§27.) Schoole}
Here are the Church or Chaple aforesaid; a little schoole house \ near the E. end of the Chaple yard / built ~~by the neighbourhood~~ \ out of the church stock / where the chaplain teaches for ~~so much by the Quarter, but has no standing stipend save onely for Reading prayers~~ \ see the sallary / which is raised in part out of a Common stock & partly out of the several Tenements by an adequate proportion, notwithstanding which they pay their dues & dutyes to the Minister of Windermer (according to ~~composition~~ \ Law. /

{(§28.) Parke House §.32}
There is at ½ a mile distance & within the Constablewick an House called Parke house, which stands att the {south} side of Troutbeck-parke; which together with it was {given p.30.}[127]

[II.324][128]

{§33. Freehold}
given by King Charles the 1[t] to Mr Hudleston Phillipson for his good service in the \ late / Civil wars. And Confirmed by King Charles the 2[d,] \ to {Xtopher his son after Sir Xtopher} / which is free land pay\ing / 6d quitt-rent \ per Annum / to the King & {appears at no Court.} It was formerly held by Lease of the Crowne by the Harringtons of Woolyeakes[129] in Cumberland from \ whom / it passed to this ~~fami~~ Hudleston Phillipson. ~~who~~ He had a young Brother allso of great courage & vallour who was calld in a by name Robin the Divil.[130] ~~There is a stinted common belonging to the Towne, which is called Woundale, at a mile distance towards Patterdale~~.[131]

[II.323]

{(§31.)} A Tryal with Herd for Lowick-how{See §34. To which this belongs}

{§32. Parkhouse}
There is a Parke calld Troutbeck P. ½ a m. N. from the \ Hall / Inge![132] Belongs now Sir Xtopher Philipson at 6[d] or 1s. rent.[133] Rent: The Ing is amongst diverse Tenements at Free Rent.
Clean marts ~~which they commonly call by name martens~~ \ wildcats / Moorgame plenty.

{(§32.)[134] Flumen Troutbeck}[135]
Trout beck springs near the Parke a Capella 3m. N. There plum S. by the East side of the Chaple; & on the N. west side of Cowgarth Hall. They calld Cawgarth \ Gard net / formerly about Appleby and at Yanwath, sayes Mr Walker, Curate.

{§32.} [River][136]
It springs on the fells at Troutbeck dale head / & emptyes it selfe into Windermere water – 2 miles below \ the Towne, / beyond Calegarth. {Upon which River stand 4 mills – 3 Corne & 1 Paper. All which pay 3s 4d a piece free rent to the King for liberty of breaking the stream, being the Kings water. There is store of Trout & Eeles in the River & onely 2 stone bridges, the lower haveing 2 ΩΩ.[137] In Troutbeck. How ancient?}

[127] Machell's continuation of the text appears on MS.II.324; this edition has placed it here.
[128] Also numbered p.10.
[129] Wooloaks.
[130] See §52, below.
[131] Scored through lightly because the information occurs elsewhere.
[132] 'Ing' or 'Inge': a meadow, William Rollinson, *Dictionary of Cumbrian Dialect, Tradition and Folklore* (Otley, 1997), 85.
[133] '1s' has been circled; presumably 1 shilling was the correct rent.
[134] Sic. Two sections 32.
[135] Two entries describe the river at Troutbeck.
[136] The first part of this heading is obscured by the binding.
[137] Tiny sketch of arches.

[§34.][138] [Tales of the Heard Family][139]
{There is another house by Troutbeck Parke \ within this parish / on the west side the becke, which lately belonged to a yeoman family of the Heards (gentleman but yeomen) with a little Estate or Tenement called Lowick-how;[140] \ & / which pays a rent to the other house & is held of it. But the Report goes That one Heard, a man of prodigious stature & of equal strength; before the union of the two Kingdoms of England & Scotland, upon an Incursion made by the Scotts[141] (who had advanced over Jacks Brigg, which is upon the mountains betwixt Kentdale & Patterdale) tooke his bow & his Quivers & went alone up ~~the midel of~~ an Hill call'd the Tongu'e in the midst of the parke to take a view of them. And as they were coming down the Scot Raike (which is a path ~~or Trac which~~ they wore in their march, retaning its name upon that occasion), he Bent his bow & shot freely at them, & they att him. But he so far outdid them, & he made such Execution & havock amongst & upon them (whist in the meantime all their arrows fell far short of him) that they thought it convenient rather to Retreat than hazard themselves with such terrible Archers as these. Upon which, tis Reported that the King sent for Him that he might /see him shoot.[142]

[II.326][143]

And a Bow being brought to him which was none of the weakest – he call'd it a spelke (which in his country languedge signifies a little stick split in the midle, {i.e.} such as they make for little boys to shoot with),[144] & said it was fitter for a child than a man; upon which they fetched him of the strongest they had. And Heard, calling for 2 of their longest arrows {takeing 2 of them} tooke both Bows in his hand together & at one single pull drew them quite threw the Bows.[145] \ Upon which / the King ~~& all about him~~ admired his strength and askd him \ what / victualls he was brought up with ~~&~~ the man reply'd: with Thick-gulls (which is an haisty pudden made of oat-meal & milke). {& souer-milke?} Then, the King bid[d]ing him, aske what he would have; And ~~fellow~~ \ he only / desird ~~to have~~ this little Tenement (called Looke-how) & had His request.
Thus the story goes, and it is very certaine that the estate ~~did~~ continues in that name to this day – Thomas Heard being in possession, who[146] has no son but several Daughters, the eldest \ was long since / marryed to one Thomas Birkett \ of Bowness, none of Troutbeck / an other prodigie who weighed near upon 24 stone, at 14[lb] to the stone. But has no Isue.

[II.323]

[More on Heard]
They report of this Heard in the Parish to this day that he would sitt downe at a marriage feast with the 1[t] Table,[147] & eat as they did with the same moderation; & pay his groat with them (which was the common ordinary then) when they riss from Table; But would sitt \ downe againe / with the next, &

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[138] Not numbered in the MS, but Machell's notes on II.323 suggest that the subject of §34 was the Heard family.
[139] See Roger Bingham, *Kendal: A Social History* (Milnthorpe, 1995), 354-55.
[140] MS: 'which ~~formerly belongd to a~~ \ lately belonged to a yeoman family of the Heards with a little estate ~~gentleman but yeomen~~ or Tenement called Lowick-how.'
[141] MS: 'one Heard a man of prodigious stature & \ of equal / strength ~~equal unto it~~ Before the union of the two Kingdoms \ of England & Scotland, / upon an Incursion ~~of~~ \ made by / the Scotts (~~having notice given of their marching over Jacks Brigg upon the high street~~.'
[142] MS: 'And as they ~~came~~ \ were coming / down the Scot Raike (which is a path ~~or Trac which~~ they wore in their march, Retaning its name ~~from them to this day~~ \ upon that occasion, / he Bent his bow & ~~lett fly~~ \ shot freely / at them, & they ~~likewise~~ att him; but He ~~outshott them so far & did so much execution that he put them all to flight~~ \ ~~did then~~ But he so far outdid them, & he made such Execution \ & havock / amongst & upon them / (whist in the meantime all their arrows fell far short of him) that they thought \ it / convenient ~~rather~~ \ rather to Retire / to Retreat ~~back againe from them~~ than incounter such Archers \ than hazard themselves with such terrible Archers as these / Upon which, tis Reported that the King sent for ~~Herd~~ Him ~~And desired to~~ \ that he might /see him shoot ~~amongst his own Archers~~.'
[143] Also numbered p.12.
[144] In Scotland and Northern England, a 'spelk' is also a splinter. *OED*.
[145] MS: 'upon which they ~~brought another~~ \ fetched him / of the strongest they ~~could get~~ \ ~~proove~~ / \ had / And Heard calling for 2 of their longest arrows, {takeing ~~both hence~~ \ 2 of them /} tooke both Bows ~~together~~, \ in his hand together / & at one \ single / pull drew ~~both~~ them ~~Arrows~~ quite threw the Bows.'
[146] 6cm of heavily scored-through illegible text follows here.
[147] MS: 'They report of this Heard in the Parish to this day ~~with a great deal of~~ that he would sitt downe at a ~~great~~ \ marriage / feast with the 1[t] Table'.

doe the like with them. And so ~~until~~ till a 4th meal was made. & with these \ 4 meales / he would worke (or Travel) 4 dayes \ together / without eating or drinkeing. And they say he went to London after one of these feasts, from his own house (being 200 miles) in the strength of that meal \ or those meales. /

{(§31.)} A Tryal with Herd for Lowick-how{See §34. To which this belongs.}[148]
& Sir J. […][149] by a Tryal (it proveing to be a part of the Parke) & could shew no Grant \ he having no Grant to shew […][150] (he but having after varied the rent) did fairly recover it. /
Heard dyed 10 years agoe – ab Anno 1692.[151]

[II.326]

{T. But one Heard his descendant having no grant from the King ~~to produce~~ and different Rents having bin p[ai]d, he was ejected by Sir […][152] in a Triall at Apalby – above 10 years [ago]} \ and so theres an End of the Heards & their Heards. /}[153]

But to returne again to Troutbeck, after so long a digression.

{(§35.) Old Parke see §39. see p.19 in margin}
There was an other Parke \ heretofore / belonging unto it (but 2 miles distant) \ N. ab Ecclesia / but W. ad Capella called the Old-Parke whether stocked with deer or no I know not but now quite despark'd if ever it wase so & divided in \ several / Cantons amongst the Tenants. It extends it selfe in Lenth 2 miles from Troutbeck-bridge, all along by Windermer Water \ except where Cawgarth interposeth a little / to Hol-beck-brige halfe a mile from Ambleside: But there are no remarks of. p.14.[154]
{May not this be Calvgarth parke mentioned in Inq[uisition?]}

[II.323]

Art & Curiositves in Nature near Troutbeck

§29. Great store of Rosemary: some Ewe Trees – & a great one in the churchyard. Juniper store; Holly great store; & great Trees – The sheep feed on the Tops of Them. Laurel & Bayes in their gardnes. Raspberryes Natural (a generous reine[155] of Blackberryes) Bleaberryes Strawberryes Croneberryes. Fire stone in round lumps like brown hand balls. There is an Hill ~~Gat~~ called Gatlow-how near the place where wee suppose the manner house stood, which is an Arrow shot west from thence; whence tis supposed the[y] might have had the Liberty of Furcas within this Lordship.[156]

{Blew amongst lime stone in the forrest a Capella ½ m. west. but not plentiful. Good Blew slate in diverse places. Peat – a mile & ½ a Capella W.}
{? N.B.} A piece of Gold found 6 or 7 years since in a Peat moss calld Dod in Troutbeck forrest ¾ deepe, a m[ile] dist[ant] N.W. from the chapple; sold to Mr Cock \ old James / a Bookseller.[157]

[148] Copied from §31, above.
[149] The name is shortened and unclear.
[150] A word here is obscured by the binding
[151] Machell recorded this in 1692; Heard had died ten years previously.
[152] Unclear word at the page edge.
[153] Several illegible words continue into the margin.
[154] See II.328.
[155] 'Reine': the uncultivated grassy strip of land around a field or allotment, Rollinson, *Dictionary of Cumbrian Dialect*, 132.
[156] 'Furcas' = gallows. *OED*. Hence, the liberty of furcas, i.e. the right to erect gallows in the Lordship.
[157] The first of three references to Cocke's purchase (see also Part 2, Ch.10, II.424; Part 3. Ch.3, VI.259.) The activities of James Cocke, bookseller and mercer of Kendal, his wife, Mary, and another Joseph Cocke (perhaps a son) appear in Sir Daniel Fleming's correspondence and papers (1665-96): see Christine Churches, 'Daniel Fleming, Richard Scott and James Cocke: the making of a 17th Century English Provincial Library', Thesis presented as part requirement for an Honours Degree in History, University of Adelaide (1984), 34-44.

{(§30.) Woundale Rase ~~see also p. 36~~}
There is one in Woundale calld Woundale Rase – a mighty heape & no other stones near it (which is almost a wonder in this place) but upon what occasion is not known. Credibly possibly a monument of som that were slane &c. in this place.

{Spying-how; the Raise}
There was at ~~spring~~ \ Spying / how in Troutbeck forrest a Capella W. ½ a mile, an Heape of stones called The Raise which they Removed for making their fences about 70 years since; & in the midst of it they found a chest of 4 stones \ a one on each side & one on each end / with large bones in it, which \ may seem to have / bin a monument of {som scouts or watchmen here slane & burned …}[158]
{! Perhaps a vulneribus[159] for a Battle there. See [§]34 to which this belongs.}
{These stone Heaps or Raise's as here called are no other than the Welsh Carnedhs, which are described well in Rowlands *Mona Antiquity*; Borlases *Antiqu de Cornwal*;[160] & they being British sepulchres.}[161]

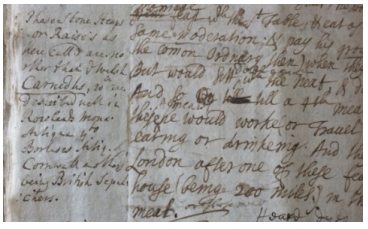


Figure 2.9.11. Margin Note: Bishop Lyttelton's addition to Machell's text. II.323.

Memorandum. Mr Wilson Parson of Windermer had 3 sons \ 2 alive / by his wife at a Birth.[162]
& Robert Borricks \ wife / of Troutbeck had 3 sons likewise – all alive.

[II.327]

Borrans at Ambleside, Windermer Parish[163]

Pieces of Glass found here ½ an inch thick; & 3 inches broad. Also several Leaden Bullents, like mustard balls, Coins of silver brass & gold sta[m]ped with Cæsars heads upon them.

This square fort is call'd Borrans-Ring from being surrounded with a Bulwork[164] & trench which do yet appear. The Inner Edge of the square has bin wall'd about & [there are] buildings in the midst amongst the Ruines, of which much hewenstone is found, \ which is great rarity in this Country. / Pieces of Brick & G~~alls~~las (as tis said) ½ an inch thick. & They tell me of Cannon & Musket Bullets which have bin found here but the Invention of Gunns being of late date I can hardly believe it; Unless som skermishes might have happened here in our Civil wars betwixt som partyes on camping here &\ in / the opposit mount. But of this nothing is said. {Query if been a Dwelling house here?

[158] The end of this sentence is obscured by the binding.
[159] 'a vulneribus': literally, 'from the/their wounds'; figuratively, 'a loss in battle'.
[160] Henry Rowlands (1655-1723) *Mona Antiqua Restaurata: an Archaeological Discourse on the Antiquities, Natural and Historical, of the Isle of Anglesey, the Antient seat of the British Druids* (1723); William Borlase (1695-1772) *Antiquities, historical and monumental, of the County of Cornwall* (1754).
[161] This hand is likely to have been that of Bishop Lyttelton. Charles Lyttelton (1714-1768) was bishop of Carlisle from 1762 to 1768 and President of the Society of Antiquaries of London from 1765 to 1768. In 1764, Lyttelton borrowed Machell's MS.Vol.3 (July 31); MS.Vol.4 (August 7) and MS.Vol.6 (August 15) from Carlisle Cathedral Library: see CAC(C), DCHA/5/6/1/15. Library Register, 1703-1873. See Lyttelton's advice to readers of Machell's history in Part 3, Ch. 4: 'Directions for those who shall undertake to finish the Antiquities of Westmorland', VI.432A-B.
[162] For Wilson, see fn.62, above.
[163] Waterhead, anciently Galava.
[164] MS: 'Bulwook.'

Which might scatter such things.} However tis certane that diverse Coins of Gold Silver & Brass have bin found hereabouts – of which a curiouse collection ~~is made~~ \ was made by Mr Brathwate & given by deed to the University of Oxford where now they Remane in the Public schools of the \ said / University of Oxford.



Figure 2.9.12. Borrans-Ring. II.327.

{See §43. §44. Note. It should stand of[f] the water as far as the 3*.}

[II.328][165]

Troutbeck

{1 years old rent onely for a fine upon change of the Lord by death: 2 years old rent onely for a f. upon change of every Tent. By death or alienation è Decreto Anno Jac primi 17^0 4^0 Novembris.}[166] ~~Of Antiquity about It~~ \ Of note – to be seen in or about it I saw / onely a little pool ~~about~~ \ in / the midle ~~thereof~~ which they call the Old Casway. But see Camden & Speed. And nothing but the name of a parke is \ now / remaining.

{§36.}
But there is allso a stinted Common belonging to the towne ~~or village of Troutbeck which is called~~ Woundale, laying towards Patterdal, at a full mile distance from the Towne. & a Common of pasture {by stint nearer to the Towne consisting of 3 Inclosures called by the names of the 3 Hundreds wherein store of Limeston slate turfe peat & Ling.}

{§37. Custom}
There are no fre holders.[167]
The Tenants hold only Richmond foe, pa[y]ing Rent \ & / fine \ Certaine every of them 1 year old rent onely / as in Ambleside*, with Heriots as they die, i.e. the best Beast[168] for all his Tenements, hold he never so many and the like ~~for a single one~~ \ if he have but one Tenement*. / And \ they say / If a man marry a Wife Heiress to a Tenement, it goes to his heires (if he have no Isue with her) & not to hers, which is general throughout the Lordship. Q. if not amongst all the Kings Tenants in other places of the Barony? But this is certaine out of a Decree Anno Jacs. Primi 17^0 [1619-20][169] shewd by Sir Daniel Fleming. That the Eldest sister d[eceased] of Co[n]san[guinity] being an heiress Inherits without any co-partnership in Tenancy held of the Richmond foe or Marquess foe – and upon d[eath] of every Tenant dying cesed of a Tenement leaveing a widow behind him, an heriot for which she enjoy her husbands Estate dureing her widow-hood onely.}
{* [&] *: Refer this to the general remarkes for the Lordship.}

[165] Also numbered, p.14.
[166] 'By death or alienation from a decree of 4 November in the 17th year of the reign of James I [1619-1620]'.
[167] MS: '\ There are ~~so~~ no ~~many~~ fre holders, ~~& the Rest of the~~ /.'
[168] MS: '~~best~~ best'.
[169] 'Decree in the 17th year of James I.'

[II.329]

[Woodlands]

{(§40.) Woods}
There is young Timber all Up & Downe, & ~~much~~ som old pollard which serves for fewell.
{(§41.) ad (§39.)}
They have Doates of wood in Troutbeck & Ambleside – on other Tenants groundes which the owner of the ground may not medle with nor disturb them of.

[II.328]

The Old Parke (which I take to have bin the Demain, & perhaps the ~~little one~~ \ other / too). {Refer this to the Old Parke [section] before.}[170] It was divided Equally amongst the Tennants by Survey, & they charged with so much Rent proportionably. And the wood likewise divided Equally accord to proportion; so that they who had lands without wood were to have a share (tho in other mens allotment) where wood grew; & hence I suppose it happens that to this day som Tenants have Right to wood in others grounds. When this partition hapned I know not, but \ there / are the Bookes of Survey in the parish (if they could be found) which would satisfy that query.

[II.329]

{Long lives ad Windermer &c.}

{(§.42)} {See §20 & referr to proper places}

Thom[as] Willan Parish-Clerke of Windermer was Buried 3 or 4 years agoe {ab Anno. 1692} on whom a good fellow made this epitaph.

"Hære lyes Tho Willan under this Ewe Tre.
who lived to bee 100 years & Three."

{Their Diet Imployments Exercise}

[Willan.] Perch sheepsheads & plucks – Haverbread; drinke good ale when he could get it. {Ferryman loved a glass of good Ale.}

George Robinson of Milbeck & Thomas Braithwate of the same, who dyed within a year one of the other & were Xtned together – lived to above 100 years. They were Buried with[in] these 3 years.

Robinson \ a fisher / seldom dranke any ale bein a waterman – but lived on the common country diet & much of Perch. /

Old Rob Brown of Crooke in Crook Chapelry buried 20 years agoe; lived to 120 years as all the neighbourhood & Sir Thomas Brathwate was convinced of by circumstances which he rememberd.}

Old Miles Jackson of Ambleside, buried about 14 years agoe; lived as the neighboures there Report 120,[171] \ which is a common thing in the parish. / But the Parsons of the Parish (before Mr Wilson the present Incumbent) never found out the wit to live half so long. 3 Remembrd [there] having bin 7 parsons there in the memory \ of man / & the longest liver enjoyed it not above 17 years – which was Parson Wakefield.[172] But Mr Wilson has had it 35 years & upwards, & is yet as like to live as to dye.[173]

{Martin Dixon & his wife of Parke ground near Calgath, lived near 6 score, & his wife to above 100. Buryed about a dussen year since. His Business was fishing: which trade (for chars)} they follow most in winter twixt Martinmas & Easter (being the only Season) & catch the most in the most stormy

[170] See II.322, II.326.
[171] 20 is superimposed over 60.
[172] James Wakefield, rector of Windermere (1627-44). Nurse, *Parish Church Windermere*, 17.
[173] William Wilson, rector of Windermere (1652-1705). Nurse, *Parish Church Windermere*, 17.

weather, & after the snows begin. {A fisherman seldom dyes under [his] appointed period of 70 years. Sir Xtopher Philipson never knew one [lost] by a su[dden] death.}[174]

[Borrans]

{§43. Borwen}
¼ mile N. from St Katherines Brow near Troutbeck brig on the E. Side of the River is a place calld Borrwens a (a Tenement of George Dixons, 3 younger Brother of Thomas Dixon somtime fellow of Queens College in Oxford, & now Rector of May-Hil in Hantshire.[175] [He] was Borne at Orresthead in Aplethwate – 1m. E. (ab Ecclesia) whose father Rased ~~a vast estat~~ \ above 1000. 1400 li / out of a Tenement of 16[li] per Annum) – near which is a place calld Battlehow.[176]
Another Borrans – in Aplethwaite (near High house in Ings Chapelry) a Tenement of John Wilsons. {Note} And \ ~~the sam~~ / Rowland Wilson was Born at [Blank] in the said chapelry of the Ings. And Rowland was his – q. what he Right[177] to? This was not Harry!

{§44. Batlehow}
{These places, & Woundale – & Spyinghow – may all importes som Battles fought hereabouts.}

[II.330][178]

Aplethwate Applethwate[179]

{§45. Aplethwate Schoole}
Aplethwate seems to have taken its name from the plenty of Aple trees (which have bin planted ~~hereabout~~ in their orchards, tho now there are ~~but few~~ \ not many, / and the bottoms thereabouts, which in their country Language are called Thwaites. {forsan (q.) the Weaites.[180] For there are plane valleys or howins,[181] down which a water course doth commonly go.} It is a long stragling ~~Town~~ \ Hamlet, / or rather a ~~Row of~~ \ number of single / houses rudely disposed \ & at a great distance one from another / extending it selfe 3 miles in Lenth \ & 2 in bredth. / The Houses are all built of a Ruff \ Ragg[182] / f\l/att stone and most of them slated, having their lands for the most part about their houses; which is the Reason why they are so far distant one from another.[183] It is an entire Constablewick & The River Troutbeck runns (at about eleven score ~~distance~~ \ yards / from their houses) at the High-end of the Constablewick called Line-fit, on the west side of it. & this part is within less than halfe a mile of Troutbeck ~~Kirke~~ Chappel, 3 miles from the parish church & 7 from Kendal the nearest market \ to but Ambleside. / The other end of it is within a mile of Winder-mer church, & som houses less; & 6 from Kendal. The Great Road twixt Kendal & Cockermouth goes through it, ~~extending it selfe~~ from Troutbeck-brig ~~towards the~~ \ running / South East.

[174] Words in square brackets are editorial suggestions; the original words are obscured by the binding.
[175] Thomas Dixon matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1664/5 aged 15; BA 1669; MA 1672/3; described as 'fellow of Queen's' in 1673; BD 1682; rector of Weyhill, Hants 1682-1708; DD 1685, see *OAD*; CCED. Machell wrote 'May-Hil', but both websites attribute this rectory to Weyhill, Winchester Diocese.
[176] See correspondence between Rev. Thomas Dixon and Sir Daniel Fleming in John Richard Magrath (Ed.), *The Flemings in Oxford: Being Documents selected from the Rydal Papers in Illustration of the Lives and Ways of Oxford Men 1650-1700, Vol. II, 1680-1690* (Oxford, 1913), 2, 7, 17, 18, 21, 24, 29, 33, 34, 37, 45, 47, 52, 53, 64, 69, 71, 74, 75, 78, 85, 88, 95, 104, 113, 124, 130, 136, 291.
[177] This word is badly blotted; the transcription is therefore insecure.
[178] Also numbered p.15.
[179] One written in pencil, the other in ink.
[180] Thwaite or thwate: a piece of ground cleared from forest or reclaimed from waste. *OED*.
[181] From 'howe': a hollow or valley. *OED*.
[182] Rag/ragg: see the English Glossary.
[183] MS: '(~~most of them~~ \ for the most part / about their houses, which is the Reason why they are so far distant one from another, ~~& take up so much ground. The River Troutbeck~~.'



Figure 2.9.13. Margin sketch of St Katherine's Chapel, Applethwaite. II.330.

{§45. St. Katherines-Brow}
And in this Road at a Place call'd St. Katherines-Brow \ ab Ecclesia 2m. / was an old chaple, now turn'd into a dwelling house {6 yards broad at the west end and 18 long}[184] but som part ~~very~~ fair \ enough / yet to discover that it \ had bin / a chapple; & the name of the place doth show the dedication.[185] {Hence perhaps St Katherine Picture in the E. window of Windermer Church} {But Aplethwate now is […] Troutbeck Chap[el] at least som part of it.}[186] {Mr Jo. Philipson – now of Cal garth – sayeth his Uncle Christopher Philipson (perhaps he meanes his great uncle) went to School at this chapel when he was a boy.}

Ad Calgarth – alias Caw-garth.

{§46.} {Caw-garth Hall}
There is allso an Hall on the West side of this place called Callgarth, a mile from the church & 7 from Kendal \ reputed to be in Aplethwaite & yet payes its Rent to the Kings ground of Undermilbeck / It is a fair stone building & in good Repaire. The situation thereof is very pleasant, being built upon a Level within 12 score of Windermer-water \ (on the east side of it) / a great part of which is within Prospect \ out of the Dineing Roome which is a fair one; / & is renderd more commodiouse by a Parcel of Fishing ~~by their own ground~~ belonging unto it. & ~~There are~~ very good gardens & orchard about (page 338).[187]

[II. 338]

Calgarth, i.e. the Parock within a Call,[188] \ whence som who have supposed it hath taken its name; for in several places they call their gardens by the name of Cal-garthes. And ergo I should have gladly received this op[inion] if I had not found it written Calv garth. Note de vaccarys.[189] / & there were stately woods belonging unto it but lately cut downe; in the places of which some young one[s] \ Tres / are growing.

{§47. No Tenants}
There is a Demain belonging unto it which lyes by the house, & the land very good both for meadow corn & pasture. But there are no Tennants belonging unto it: \ here but those at Winstar appeare at this place / but it pays a Rent. But they have Tenants at Winstar purchased to a fine certaine: But there being an Intale are Arbitrary & Heriotable.

[II.331]

{Descent of the Place}[190]
I am apt to believe that this Estate did formerly belong to the family of Cawgarths, who tooke name from hence and of which sirname there were som remaining not many years agoe; for Tho[mas]

[184] Dimensions taken from the sketch of St Katherine's Chapel, *Figure 2.9.13.*
[185] Two interlineated words are illegible here.
[186] Transcribed as seen; this unclear sentence is also blotted.
[187] The page number is a later addition, in another hand. Obedient to the advice given, this edition continues on II.338.
[188] Parock: an enclosed area of ground; a small field or paddock, especially one close to a farmhouse. *OED*. Hence Machell's reference to a garth (garden). 'Call' and 'ca' are dialect terms for either a cattle-walk or a calf, see Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary 1*, 477, 492. In *Westmorland Place-Names*, the name Calgarth is said to mean, 'Calf enclosure'.
[189] Vaccary: a place where cows are kept or pastured; a dairy-farm. *OED*.
[190] Here there is a ½cm sketch of a cross-crosslet.

Mackerith an Antient man now living in Ambleside was told by a neighbour who dyed about 40 yeares agoe[191] of one Caw-garth of the Water-head with a Remarquable Circumstance of him – That he / had an Excellent fishing {char fishing puto} in Windermer off ~~of~~ Sea-maw-Crag, which never could be met with ~~since~~ agane after he dyed; nor is it discovered to this very day. He told me also

[The Gargen]
another very Remarquable Passage (which I thinke fit here to Insert (though out of the County) for the rarityes sake;[192] of one Ellin the w[ife] of George Mackerith of Skelwith near unto Brathey in the County of Lancaster; who standing by whist they opening the Panch[193] of a cow at Martinman time in 1685,[194] had her hair all cinged with a flash of fier that came out Thence; & yet they found nothing extraordinary in it but a great hard lumb[195] or marg[…][196]
As to the natural cause: The natural cause hereof is said to proceed from an hot distember,[197] called the Gargen,[198] which is occasioned by Eating the Rootes or Slips,[199] branches, of the Ewe tree, or by Eating of Ackorns, as the same man informed.

[II.332]

[Calgarth Hall]



Figure 2.9.14. Draft sketch of Calgarth Hall, annotated, 'not right'. II.332.



Figure 2.9.15. Arms at Calgarth Hall, annotated, 'Set the[se] off a little wider one from another'. II.332.

[191] There follows 5cm of illegible scored-through text.
[192] As Machell also did when recording, 'A Relation of a Spirit which appeared last Xtmas in Langedale parish of Stainthrop near Barnard Castle in the Bishoprik of Durham, 1674'. Part 1, Ch.6, Brough: I.397-98.
[193] Stomach.
[194] Cattle breeding formed a large part of the economy of the far north of England but wholesale slaughter of cattle at Michaelmas (suggested in Machell's passage) is questionable as it was then possible to overwinter breeding animals successfully. During the autumn, butchers received only the animals that had been led south by drovers for final fattening. See A. F. Kinney, D. W. Swain, E. D. Hill, W. A. Long (eds), *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Tudor England* (New York, 2001), A7.
[195] Lump.
[196] The rest of this word is obscured by the binding.
[197] 'Distemper': a disease of dogs characterised by catarrh, cough, and loss of strength. *OED*.
[198] 'Garget': a disease among animals, especially cattle and calves: Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary 2*, 562.
[199] 'Slips': twigs. *OED*.

The Armes marked 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. Are in the Hall windows \ & all with compertments though omitted here for Brevityes sake. / whereof the 1. is Gules a cheveron betwen 3 Bores head couped Ermin Langued Azure {q. if not more Ermins} By the name of Philipson = Impaleing Azure – {upon a cheveron betwene 10 Cinfoyles Argent, 4, 2, 1, 2, & 1; 3 mullets Gules} a Cheveron Argent charged with 3 mullets Gules betwene 10 spurrowels of the second – 4, 2, 1, 2, and 1. By the name of Carus.[200]
2nd is Philipson with the same Compertments & so are the Rest though here omitted = Impaleing, Azure 6 Lyoncels Rampant Argent. By the name of Labourn.
3. The Third is Barry of Ten. Or & Sable a Canton of the second, by the name of Brigs.
The 4th Coate ~~has the like Compertment; and~~ is Philipson Impaleing = Gules 3 cheveronells braced ~~counter compony~~ \ vaire[201] / on a chiefe Or; a mullet \ piercd / of 5 pointes, Sable, ~~pierced of the chiefe~~. By the name of Wivel.
The 6th Carus Impaleing Wivel which is in plaster over the Hall Chimney where also Philipson single.[202]
The 7th is Philipson with the like compertment quartering Carus.[203]
The 6th is Philipsons Paternal Coates (which is also ~~in the Parlour~~ on the Hall Chimney don in plaster) ~~as like~~ with this motto above – FIDE NON FRAVDE[204] – where also is Carus Impaleing Wivel, both in plaster. & The same with the former is in glass in the Parlour.

{A stately dineing Roome is wainscoted about}[205]
There is a stately wainscoted Dineing Roome which looks into Windermere; & on the Chimney Pice; are these single Coates. 1. Philipson. 2. Wivell. 3. Carus. 4. Briggs.

[II.331]

{Windermer Parish Memoranda}

James Machel of Haverthwate near Ulverston/Ouston in Lancashire.[206] 3 miles below Newby Bridge a Ship Carpenter \ wood monger / & Merchant = One in Hutton a substantial man.

Old Mr Sands
To Mr Sands of Hawkside checking for assume his coat of armes & saying he might [cause] trouble. The other replyed, thou shalt not need; for thy Armes I will leave the[e] to get thy living with; for thy coate I would not be in it for anything.[207]
{The True & Modest account of Windermer}
Fower miles below this Ile – It is not above a mile at most, so on to 3 quarters, ½ a mile, 1 quarter &c. – It was \ lately / plum'd at Read Hill above the Sand beds ab Ecclesia 3m. NW. & was found there to be 40 fathom deep.

The parson has 4d per Annum for the Tithe \ of every board / per composition ab Antiquo.[208]
{5s free Rent paid by Sir Xtopher Philipson to the Crown for his Ile without Fine or Heriot which is paid, in which Aplethwate, & payes with it in all Tax[e]s.}
~~Borwens at Ambleside in in Windermer Parish where the coines are found.~~[209]

[200] 'Carus' was added in pencil. Part of this sentence was underlined with pecked lines; Machell often did this when he was unhappy with a passage as it stood.
[201] 'Vair' or 'vaire': one of the heraldic furs. *OED*.
[202] The 5th is missing.
[203] 'Carus' was added in pencil. Machell omitted the 5th. This 7th may be the original 5th.
[204] 'By Trust not Treachery.'
[205] This extensive margin comment is faded and scored through. Only the first sentence (given here) is clear.
[206] Old names for Ulverston include Oostan and U'stan: Rollinson, *Dictionary of Cumbrian Dialect*, 115.
[207] For Sands, see Part 2, Ch.2, II.26-27, II.39. The story told here is explained more clearly on II.27.
[208] 'From an old composition.' Composition: see the English Glossary.
[209] The MS here contains a note relating to the Barony of Westmorland. MS, '{Memorandum ad Browham} Hel dungeon near The Chapel by the water sid.}'; not transcribed in the body text.

Ad §46. & see p. 21.

Calvegarth. [Philipson]

{Out of Sir Daniel Flemings Collection MS. A. p.50 ex originali}[210]
Note – Here is the grant & distinction of their Armes. This must be Added to the Account in my Booke of Pedegrees.
{18 May 1581 Rob. Cooke Clarency[211] confirm'd this coat, & gave this Xt[212] to Rowland P. alias Thirlwall: sc. G[ules] a Cheveron inter 3 Borrs heads coupes Ermin tusked de Or. Crist on an helm 5 ostridge feathers, Sc. 3 Argent & 2 Gules set in a Crown mural de Or.} {And to Miles of Thwatterden Hall, younger brother of Rowland, the same armes with a Bordure Gold, the Crist as the other, only 3 feathers Gules & 2 Argent. Mantle Gules. Doubled Or limned White.}



Figure 2.9.16. Calgarth Hall. II.333.

1. Christopher Philipson of Calvegarth Esq. J.P. = marryed Mary d. of Tho. Piercyhay Esq. = 2ly Ann d. of Rich. Burgh Obijt Sine Prole	4. Carus Ph. ob sine pro	3. Rowland ob s.p.	2. Robert obijt s.p.	5. John Philipson of Calvegarth Esq brother & heire of Christopher	= Dorathy d. of Xtopher Crackenthorp of Newbigging Esq	1. Ann w. to Hen. Ward of Rigmaden	2. Mary wife of William Shaw	3. Catherine W. of George Gilpine of Kentmere
7. Miles 6. William	4. Rowland 5. Carus vicar of Almundbury mar. = Dorathy High	3. John	2. Xtopher	1. Rob. P. of C. Esq. J.P. Hee dyed beyond sea	= Barbara d. of Will Pennington of Seaton Esq. obijt May 20. 1678	1. Mary	2. Ann	3. Margaret 4. Dorathy 5. Barbara
5. Rowland S.P. 6. William Philipson	4. Miles Pr s.p.	3. Rob. Philipson	2. Christopher Ph. maryed = Wharton	1. John P. of C. Esq.	= Mary youngest d. of Sir Rob. Paton of London Knight Feb. 15. 1688	1. Beatrice	2. Dorathy	3. Judeth

[210] For the Philipson pedigree in Sir Daniel Fleming's Book A, see CAC(C), D/Lons/ L12/2/1, 49-50.
[211] Clarenceux. Robert Cooke (d. 1593) was appointed Clarenceux King of Arms in May 1567: J. Day (2008, January 03), Cooke, Robert (d. 1593), herald. *ODNB*.
[212] Chart.

[II.336]

The Arms & Inscriptions

There is also writ upon the hall windows in 4 pains of Glass being oblong squares in capital letters Sc.
1. Robert Phillison | & Jennet Laibor | ne his wife. He dyed in Anno 1539 | The 22 of Dece | mber. 1579.
2. Rowland Phillis | on. And Katherine C | airos his wife. He dyed in Anno. 1516 | The 30th of awgus. 1579.
3. Robart Phillison | And Jennet Laibor | ne. his wife. He die | d in Anno. 1539. | the 22 of Dece | mber 1579.
{Note the 1 & the 3 are the same. The latter dates are the time when the glass was made}

And on the like pains in the Parlour:
C. P. who dyed in Anno Domini 1566 the 21 of August. On another, R. K. 1569.



Figure 2.9.17. On a silver tumbler, the Arms of Philipson. II.336.

And on a Silver Tumbeler – The Arms of P[hilipson] Impaled 2 Coates parted per fess as it were – 1. Ermin 6 Birds: - 2ly underneath That a Cheveron betwene three mullets pierced – which I suppose is intended for Crackanthorps but theirs are not Pierced. & ergo is a mistake of the graver.[213]

[Philipson Descent]

	Ann the d. of Richard Brough of [Blank] in Yorksh.	1. Christopher P. of C. Esq. J.P. 1= maryed Eliz. d. Sir Marmaduke Wivell of Burton in Yorkshire.	2. John Philipson of Calgarth son of Rowland	= Dorathy d. of [Blank] Crackenthorp of Newbigging Esq. Great Aunt to the Now Lord of Newbigging	[Blank] to [Blank] Gilpine of Kentmer	[Blank] to Ward of Rigmaden	
	2. John A merchant of Newcastle	3. Carus P. Parson of Almundbury in Yorkshire near Halifax	1. Robert Philipson of Calgarth	= Barbara d. of Miles Pennington of Seaton Esq. obijt May 20 1678	Mary To George Whinfel of Newcastle	Ann Maryed to One Gervice in London	
William	Rob.	2. Xtopher to Mrs Wharton	1. John Phillipson of Cowgarth	= Mary d. of Sir Robert Clayton of London 1. Mary 2. Jane	Beatrice	Dorathy	Judith

{Rowland of Calvgarth Esq. A.P. = Katherine d. & heire of Nic. Carus of Kendal 1. Xt & 2. John.}
{~~Tis said his Uncle Xtopher went to Schoole at St Katherines Chaple; perhaps he meant his great Uncle~~.}[214]

[213] The reference to the engraver's mistake appears to be a pencilled addition.
[214] See II.330.

Xtopher [Philipson] of Calvgarth[215]

{Temp. Marie & Eliz.}	1. Rowland		2. Miles Phil. of Thwatterden Hall Esq. J.P. Stuart (?) & Receiver of al the Crown Rents in the Barony	= Barbara Sister & coheire of Francis of Conishead in Lancashire	3. Clara N.B. take only the first line & leave the collaterals
Henry Jac	3. Miles, who had from his father The Moity of Conished which he sold & went to his sister the countiss [of Arundel][216] whose son Miles maryed Alderman Mawsons d. of London. Borne in Skelsemire qua nota. This Miles is now in Wiltshire	2. a Daughter who had to her 2nd Husb. One Arundel a count of the E[m]pire; who had one son whose descendent is in Herefordshire & 5 daughters maryed to great fortune 1. to the Earl of Shrewsbury 2. to the Earl of Somerset 3. to Lord Evers 4. to Sir John Fortiskew 5. […] of Wild Street London. […] by whom he had a D, who has to her portion […]	1. Robert P. of Thwatterden Hall Esq. J.P. Stuart (?) & Receiver of al the Crown Rents in the Barony	= Ann d. of ~~Sole heire of John~* ~~Latus of Whiteham park in Cumberland~~ 4. John P.LB.[217] Fellow of ~~Queens~~ \ Marton / College in Oxford[218]: whom offerd the presentation of Windermer to him but he Refusd	2. Elizabeth 3. Xtopher whose descendant is maryed to Ralfe Latus of Beckhall in Cumb. N.B. See the Pedegree of the Philipsons in my Booke of Pedegrees
			Christopher of Th. ~~P colonel under King Ch~~. Captaine of foote in Sweeden	= Mary the d. of William Hudleston Esq. of Millum Castle in Cumb.	
2. Robert = Ann d. of Thomas Knipe of Burblethwaite Inquire, near Witherslack 1. Robert | 1. Christopher 2. Clare			1. Hudleston Ph. Col[onel] under King Ch. I.	= Elizabeth D. of Allan Askeugh of Skeughsby in Yorkshire & from Yorke Eliz. to Latus of Witch. A younger brother	
2. Alan Capn of Foot in Flanders at the 1. Fraye of Mons – [sine] prole[219] 3. Robert Capt. Of a privateere in Jamecha not heard of these 14 yrs![220] + Miles at London unmarried.			1. Sir Christopher P.	= Clara the d. of Lyonel Robinson of Cowton Grange, near Richmond in Yorkshire. w. Francis Topham of Aglethorp near Midleham	

[215] This muddled pedigree is blotted (*Figure 2.9.18*, below); therefore parts of the transcribed pedigree have been left blank and even the transcription of the rest is insecure. See the pedigree (1615) of Philipson of Thwatterden Hall in Joseph Foster (ed), *Pedigrees recorded at the Heralds' Visitations of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland made by Richard St George, Norroy, King of Arms in 1615, and by William Dugdale, Norroy, King of Arms in 1666* (Carlisle and Kendal, 1891), 104.

[216] This information provoked negative comments from T.G.F. (reviewer of Jane Ewbank's *Antiquary on Horseback*, Kendal, 1963). 'On p.123 we are told that Miles Philipson sold a moiety of Conishead to his sister the Countess of Arundell, but neither Miles nor his sister ever owned a moiety of Conishead for it descended to their brother Christopher Philipson (died 8 March 1599/1600) who is omitted from the pedigree altogether.' See 'Recent Publications 2. *Antiquary on Horseback … edited by Jane Ewbank*', CWAAS Extra Series 19 (Kendal, 1963), in *CW2*, 64 (1964), 413-15, at 414.

[217] Bachelor of Civil Law.

[218] Merton College: see Foster, *Pedigrees*, 104.

[219] For Captain Alan Philipson and others mentioned here, see *N&B1*, 180-84. See also T.G. Fahy, 'The Philipson Family II: Philipson of Crook Hall', *CW2,* 73 (1973), 240. The siege of Mons took place in 1691 during the War of the League of Augsburg or 'Nine Years' War' (1689-97), see R. Foley, 'League of Augsburg War', *The Oxford Companion to Military History* (Oxford, 2001).

[220] For Captain Robert Philipson, see Fahy, *Philipson Family II*, 240.



Figure 2.9.18. Philipson Descent. II.338.

[II.341][221]

{Ad Calgarth, Crooke, Hollinhow}

[Phillipson Family]
The family of the Phillipsons are descended of an Ancient family of the Thirlewalls of Thirlewal Castle by the Picts-wall on the edge of Northumberland which adjoynes upon Cumberland: And are said to \ have com'd into Westmorland, and assumed this Sirname ~~of Phillipson~~ upon this occasion: There being a League betwixt the English and the Scots; & som Scottish Officers coming to search for ammunition in Thirlewal Castle would needs Rudely press into a Roome that was locked up: whereupon a younger son the Family kild one of the Officers;[222] which being a violation of the League betwixt them, he was forced to flye \ ~~for It~~ / & came to a place here in the Barony (in Nether Stavley) called Hollin~~s~~ How, then in the posesion of a certaine Tanner, who wanting Stock to traid withal. & the young Gentleman haveing money enough,[223] for his father had given him his portion with him, furnishd the Tanner upon the Condition that he might goe halfes – by which he increased his money considerably. \ At length [he] got that House / ~~that Estate~~ \ which was their 1^{t} Seat ~~said~~ in Com. Westm'land / and after made Suit of an Heiress whose name is supposed to be Thwatterden of Thwatterden-Hall, & marrying her, came to that Seat which is now calld Crooke Hall.
{Sure this has bin Robert Phillipson the 1^{t} of Hollin How circa 1456 as is computed. T.M. vulgo.}

[221] Also numbered p.21.
[222] MS: 'There being a League betwixt the \ English and / the Scots \ said / ~~& the northern being~~ & som ~~off the~~ Scottish ~~Gentlemen~~ Officers coming to search for amunition ~~said to be there~~ \ in Thirlewal Castle / would needs Rudely press into a Roome that ~~was~~ was locked up: ~~a son of~~ / whereupon a younger son the Family kild one of the Officers.'
[223] MS: 'Then in the / posesion ~~at that time by a~~ \ of a certaine / Tanner, who wanting Stock \ to traid withall & the / ~~&~~ young Gentleman haveing ~~considerable given in money which he brought a long with him he furnishd the Tanner & went halfes with him~~ \ money enough.'

Afterwards they \ are said to have / maryed the Heiress of Calgarth & \ so / had that Estate, both which are \ now / poss'd by the Phillipsons; Callgarth being Given to the Elder Bro: whence \ is descended / John Phillipson (Esq.) the present Proprietor ~~is Descended~~; and Crooke hall to a worthy Gentleman, Sir Christopher Phillipson the owner of it and of This Iland, with several other Places in the Barony of Kendal.
{See Thirlwall Pedigree for one Philip de Thirlewall about that time, or write to Mr King about it? Inde pro Crista coronam muralem.}[224]
{How they came to Calgarth & Thwatterden hall it doth not appear; But Xt[opher] Ph. Receiver to King Ed. The 6 in these northern parts (who dyed the 21 August. 1566) was the 1[t] of that name I finde at Calgarth. And Miles his 5 Son, but second*.}

[II.341A]

*Whose Mother was a Labourn of Cunswick, his wife a Briggs of Helsfell hall in Strickland Ketle; but neith[er] ~~of them~~ an Heiress: nor any before them, & therefore I guess he had it by Purchase or by gift from the King, being his Receiver. And Miles his 5[th] son, but second that had lived, was the 1[t] of this name at Thwatterden hall now called Crooke, which was either Purchased by his father or came by the marriage of Barbara Sandes sister & coheire of Frances Sandes of Conishead in Com. [Blank]

[II.341]

{The Phillipsons of Crooke were also owners of Helsfell-hall in Strickland Kettle, Purchased by Miles Great great grandfather to Sir Xt[opher] Phillipson. \ For Miles his mother was a Brigs of ~~now~~ Helsfell hall, but no heiress neither / And Troutbeck parke ~~both which he~~ \ as I / have said – & Lindith purchasd by the said Miles – being 3 Tenements – And Burblethwate demane} \ & 14 or 15 / Tenements which was Thomas K[n]ipes Gentleman of Cartmell in Lancashire & Langthwaite a freehold estate [and] some Tenements in Millum.
These had also formerly by marrying an Heiress of the Sands'es of Conyshead in the County of Lancaster, one moity of that Demane & one Doding the other ~~& they marryed an Heiress~~ Latus of Whitcham Hall in Millum; ~~but for a composition in money as is supposed~~. It remaned to one of that name & so doth […][225]

[II.339]

Windermer [Water]

~~There is a drye well in the Iland~~
St Johns well by the schoolhouse 3 yards, \ 300 yards / ab Ecclesia, the runnel of which comes through the Town within 60 yards in winter.[226]
Mr Wilson has seen 30 swans in \ a / flock \ in winter / and got no much as the Tithe of them, tho an excellent gunner.

{ad §52.}[Sparrow Hawks]
Sparrow Hawkes Build in the Iland. Mr Wilson has 3. & the Patterdale Eagle comes to fowle here. But build not in this country.[227]
Bald-Cootes alias Bellcouts[228] & cormorants too many for they destroy the eales abundantly. Sir Xt[opher] has seen 17 in a flock; & Xt[opher] Philipson of Burthwate, kill 2 at a shot; & holding one of them up by the feete, she disgorgd 4 Eales out of her stomack; no way injured \ disgested or putrifyed. /

[224] 'Hence a mural crown for a crest.' 'Mr King' was probably Gregory King (1648-1712) clerk to William Dugdale, 1662; herald, registrar of the College of Arms, 1684-1694: see J. Hoppit, 'King, Gregory (1648-1712), herald and political economist'. *ODNB*.
[225] The text here has perished.
[226] MS: '… the runnel of which comes through the Tow within 60 yards ~~of the chaple & Martin well within 100 ab Ecclesia~~ in winter.'
[227] In the MS, this paragraph also contains the scored-through phrase: '~~Hobbys upon the Glebe Woods~~.' A hobby is a small species of falcon, *Falco subbuteo*, formerly flown to kill larks and other small birds. *OED*.
[228] 'Bald Coot': coot (*Fulica atra*), named for its pure white wide frontal plate, with no feathers. *OED*.

Wild ducks in Great Plenty – also Skeldorkes {The Hen is the Gravy}[229] & White Sides, White Eyes; Lough Mallards by 100s in a flock. Goldins, Teales, Widgions, Toppins (an excellent fowle as large as a Duck),[230] Gants,[231] Didappers.[232]

Dr Rich[ard] Gardner
Dy-Dapper Dick, Dapper Dick Dapper dye
Dy-Dapper is seen in the fowl and for why.[233]

And divers others sortes of fowles, which they want names for. Wild geese – 60 in a flock. Parson Wilson.
{N. Gen. Juniper & ewe – up and down the parish – Tho now much destroyed. (Hollyes large & plentifull in the old park 3m. ab Ecclesia N.) Rasps – plenty. Croone berrys[234] Bog-berryes.[235] They burne mostly wood, peat being not plentiful.}

N.B. This Windermer-water doth properly belong unto Applethwate; for the whole Rents is charg'd upon it: & there the Pursevant[236] (If he finds no Boates upon the water \ to answer arrears[237] / will forthwith destrane.[238]

[II.340][239]

Aplethwate. Windermer-water.

The ~~broad~~ long Iland is in Aplethwate for it payes Rent & Sesses with it.

{§48.}[Applethaite Fell]
There is a Common \ without stint / belonging to this Hamlet called Aplethwait Fell, which joynes ~~to the~~ unto it \ on the east side. / There is \ Ling & Brackens / Quarries of Slate & Limestone; & Good Store of peet potts, whence they have their fuel. ~~Tho great~~ And another little common without stint ~~on~~ Sc. the fell call'd Scal-Knot {which joynes unto it on the S. E. side 1 mile long & 1 mile bredth in which is slate peets Turf & Ling.}

{§49. Windermere Lake see 50 & 51}
The Great Lake calld Winder-mer water \ is / on the west side of this Hamlet & \ the fishing held thereof / is farmed by several persons in it, as allso by som of Unde-miln-beck; who \ alltogether / pay 6^{li} per Annum ~~as an acknowledgement to the King~~ \ to the King, sayeth T.D. Balif. But XX[240] nobles

[229] This bird is possibly either, 1. The skelduck, otherwise known as the common sheldrake; or, 2. The gravel duck or goosander. See Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary* 2. 712 and 5. 461. For the gravy, see also II.340, below.
[230] 'Toppins': possibly 'tappens', named from 'the tuft or crest of feathers on the head of a bird; hence 'tappenie', a tufted hen', *Dictionaries of the Scots language*. Online.
[231] Gannets.
[232] 'Dab-chicks'. *OED*.
[233] The word 'didapper' (humorous, literary and rare) could be used to describe someone who (like the dab chick) disappears and then suddenly appears again, *Collins English Dictionary*. Online. 'Dapper Dick' appears also to have been the nick-name of local poet, Richard Braithwate, of Burneside Hall: see M.L. Armitt, 'Ambleside town and chapel', *CW2*, 6 (1906), 1-96, at 28; see also H. S. Cowper, 'Notes on Richard Braithwate of Burneside, the Poet and Writer, and his Portraits', *CW2*, 22 (1922), 78-84.
[234] Possibly the crown berry, which is a lingonberry. *OED*.
[235] Cranberries. *OED*.
[236] 'Pursuivant'.
[237] MS: 'arrers'.
[238] MS: 'destrane' = distrain: by the sale of chattels to obtain satisfaction for a debt, particularly for arrears of rent. *OED*.
[239] Also numbered p.20.
[240] 20.

i.e. 6:13:4, sayes Sir Xtopher; & others free Rent to the King for their / ferrying & fishing; & so it descends to them & their Heires. [241]
It is in Lenth 10 miles; in bredth ~~4 miles~~ \ about 2 or 2½*, / \ rather 10 long & One & ½ Broad / & in som places above 40 fathom deep.
{*Redbrow is said to be 7 score fathom 7 score y.}[242]

[II.338]

{Memorandum. The broadest of Windermere is from milhouse to the sand bed. It is much the same from Bowness to Furness Side – 2 m ½ once measured by a line.}

[II.340]

{Fish}
There are great store of Chars, both Golden Chars, & Red-chars \ & Case Charrs.[243] / Allso eeles. \ Common & Gray / Trouts. ~~Case~~ Pikes \ gret! / Perch. Silins & minnows.[244] Beäne prickts {i.e. Bone.}[245]

{Fowle}
And in the winter time ~~great store of~~ wild swan, \ wild geese, / Duck & Mallard, Teal, Wiggions, Bare-tales i.e. Didappers. Gravyes, which are larger than ducks & build in hollow trees.[246] \ And many others / whose names are not known to the inhabitants.

[II.336]



Figure 2.9.19. Cormorant seen at Windermere Parsonage. II.336.

[Cormorant]
A cormorant hanging in the parsonage house at Windermer. Long. 3f. 6 inches. Broad. 1f. besides the wings. They are larger than a goose & eat like read Deere baked. The feather are blackish.[247]

[241] Overfishing amid commercial interests was common to Windermere in the 17th century. See Parsons, 'The Brownes of Townend and the Township of Troutbeck, 173.
[242] Margin note written in pencil and crossed through; one of several illegible margin notes.
[243] 'Char': a small fish (*Salmo salvelinus*) of the trout kind, found in the lakes of mountainous districts in the north and in Wales, and esteemed a delicacy. 'Case Char': Arctic Char, *Salvelinus alpinus*. *OED*.
[244] 'Silins': sile or sil[l]: the newly-hatched fry or young of fish, *Dictionaries of the Scots Language*. Online.
[245] 'Bone prickets': small sharp points or spikes made of bone. *OED*.
[246] Possibly the gravel-duck, or goosander, see II.399, above.
[247] The sketch and notes here have been completed in ink over pencil and red crayon.

[II.340]

{§50.} [Storms]
There were 47 persons \ at Michaelmas tide / about 1634, drown[ed] in this water in passing the Ferry from Hawkside market homewards.[248] Som of the Horses got out after, but were so terrified with the storme & danger that they ran away 3 or 4 miles before they could be stopd.[249]
There was once a passenger who going[250] through this Part of the Country in Winter time into his journey to Cockermouth or som part of Cumberland in the Winter Season, & seeing a very fine plane before him all coverd with [snow][251] which was a very delightful object in this mountainous country, he entered at the Low end of it, takeing it to bee meadow, & rid all along for 10 miles together till he came att the very head of the water. And there he turned of to Ambleside, being in his road, & Enquired what spatious / meadow that was? that he gallop along for 9 or 10 miles.[252] The people wonderd & knew not what he meant till hee told them it was 10 miles

[II.342][253]

~~in lenth they discovered the mistake~~ \ by which they discovered the great mistake, / & told him what a danger he had escaped; upon which he presently fell in a Swoone: But recove[er]ed again.

{§51. Ilands in Windermer}
& so wee will lieve him on his journey. & Returne to the water – in which{there are diverse Iles, yet but 3 of note \ Sc. / 1. Bellingholm. 2. Longholm.[254] 3. Ladyholm.}
There are several little Ilands ~~in It~~. Sc. \ 1. / Rough-holme, \ 2. / Lady-holme, \ 3. / Hen-holme, \ 4. / Dixon holm {Boatma[n]s holme alias Crow holme, Bellingham Holme, Madenholm, Lingholm. Blakeholm,} 2 little holmes called Smale-holmes

{§52. Longholm & Aplethwate}[Holm House]
behinde the Long holme which had the one warren; which Long holme is 20 Acres of Land,[255] most of it Arable \ & formerly well wooded with oake / & a pretty house in it, \ called the Holm house, for which is paid a free rent of 8s per Annum, on which Aplethwate, with which it pay all manner of Dues.[256] /
[Robin the Divil]
It was besieged by Collonel Briggs in the Civil wars for 8 or 10 dayes till the siege was rais'd at Carlisle.[257] \ And then / Mr ~~Rob Phillipson~~ Hudleston Phillipson \ of Crooke to whom it belong'd / came from thence & Reli[e]ved his Brother Robert there. The next day being Sonday, Mr Robert

[248] The 'History of Kendal Church' gives the date as 1635, when on 18 October, 'The River Kent came into the vestry. 47 wedding guests drowned in the Windermere ferry sinking.' https://kendalparishchurch.co.uk/history
[249] See W.G. Collingwood, '"The Fatall Nuptiall," a Tract (by Richard Brathwaite?) on the Windermere ferry accident of 1635', *CW2*, 13 (1913), 147-59.
[250] This phrase replaces two words of scored-through, illegible text.
[251] MS: '~~And many others have bin cast away there.~~ There was \ once / a passenger \ who going / ~~travelling this way~~ \ through this Part of the Country in Winter time / into ~~Wales~~ \ his journey to Cockermouth / or som part of Cumberland \ ~~who being~~ / ~~ignorant of the Countrey~~ in the Winter Season & seeing a \ very / fine plane before \ him / ~~(for the water was frose over & coverd with snow)~~.'
[252] MS: '& rid all along ~~of it 10 miles in lenth~~ \ for 10 miles together / till he came att the \ very head of the / water ~~head where he turn'd of to~~ \ and there he Turned of to / Ambleside \ being in his road / & ~~dest~~ Enquired what ~~large~~ \ spatious / meadow that was? \ that he gallop along for 9 or 10 miles. /'
[253] Also numbered p.22.
[254] Now Belle Isle.
[255] MS: 'behinde the peat \ Long / holme \ which had the one warren; / which Long holme \ (is Tenant Right &) / is 20 Acres of Land'.
[256] The interlineation here is unclear.
[257] For 'Colonnel Briggs', see Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.234B and fn. The siege of Carlisle was raised in 1645: see Samuel Jefferson (ed.), *Isaac Tullie*, *A Narrative of the Siege of Carlisle, in 1644 and 1645* (Carlisle, 1840).

Phillipson with 3 or 4 more, Rid to Kendal to take revenge of the ~~Sequestrators~~ \ Committe men;[258] / passed the watch & rid in to the church up one Ile & down an other, to sacrifice \ on[e] of them / ~~or if he could have~~ {some of them if he could have met with any there}. [He] met with him whom I shall not name; but was dishorsd in his returne by the Gards, & his girths broke. But his partners reliev'd him by a desperate charge, & Robin in a trice clap'd his sadle on horseback & valting on to him without girth or stirrup, \ kild a Sentinal, / Gallopd away, & returned to the Ile by 2 a clock.
Upon this & such like adventures he was commonly calld Robin the Divil;[259] \ But / was Killd \ at last / in the Irish-warrs at Washford fight,[260] \ as is reported in the Roll of Crooke. This Ile is now possesd by \ Sir[261] / Xpher Phillipson Esq, son of Hudleston.[262]



Figure 2.9.20. 'Great Holm-house alias White-hall'. II.342.

Holm-house alias White-hall.
The rooms 5 Broad, 4 yards long something more.
Outside measure 10 Broad 14 & ½ or 15 L[ong] with the new window 16.

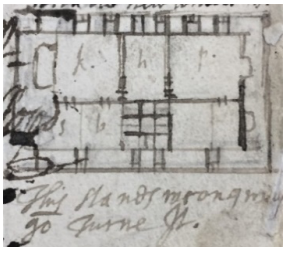


Figure 2.9.21. Plan of Holm-house (Whitehall). 'This stands wrong way; ergo, Turne It'. II.342.

An Hall 5. Kitchen 5 and Parlour 5 may do very well.

[258] The Parliamentarian Committee for the Sequestration of Delinquents' Estates was formed in 1643 to confiscate the estates of Royalists who had fought against the Parliamentarians in the Civil War. See 'Royalist Composition Papers', in David Hey, *The Oxford Dictionary of Local and Family History*. Online.
[259] Robert Philipson was a major in a Royalist regiment during the Civil War: *N&B1*, 142.
[260] Battle of Wexford (Ireland), 1649: a Cromwellian victory.
[261] Machell was here updating Christopher Philipson's title.
[262] 'Sir Walter Scott romanticised the Robin the Divil story in his poem, 'Rokeby'. Most of the sixth canto is devoted to Robert Philipson's famous ride into Windermere church, seeking out the unpopular Roundhead commander, Colonel Briggs. See *The Works of Walter Scott, Esq: Volume 9, Rokeby* (Edinburgh, 1813), Notes to Canto VI, 2, 411-13. For a fascinating description and analysis of this event, see Pauline Wharton, 'The True Story of Robin the Devil', https://paulinewharton.wordpress.com/the-true-story-of-robin-the-devil.

[II.343]

{§53.}Lady Holm
This Ile is N. ab Ecclesia ½ a mile; from the Long Holm ½ m N.E.
On a blew Table Stone a.
NOVIT. PAUCOS: SECURA QUIES: CHR: PHILIPSON 1631[263] being one line
On another Table below:
1605 NON EST MORTALE QVOD OPTO ChRISTOFER PhILIPSON[264]
He was said to retire thither on the Sundayes after Morneing Service till the Evenprayer.
In this [isle] are seve[r]al sorts of wood; a Ewe Holly Juniper Linwood Broome Sally[265] Hassell Ash Oacke Maple Aspe[266] Raspberryes Bleaberyes.

{§54.}[Pike]
A[…]?[267] 23. 1686 – a Pike was presented to Sir Daniel Fleming \ of Ridal / taken in a Net the day before, which was 1 yard & 6 Inches Long: and ½ a yard 3 inch & ½ in circumference at the thickest part: & which weighed 24 li & ¼ Wool \ & Butter / weight.

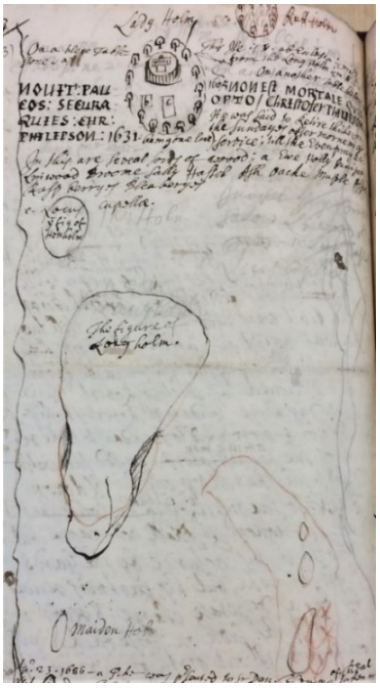


Figure 2.9.22. Windermere, showing 'Ruffholm, Ladyholm, Henholm, Longholm Maiden Holm'. II.343.

{§55.}Som Ilands with their position in Windermer to be compared & placed in the map.

[263] 'Few enjoy rest free from care Chr Philipson, 1631'.
[264] '1605. That which I long for is not a mortal thing.'
[265] Machell wrote 'sallow' in pencilled notes below this paragraph, but, in a later inked draft, he wrote 'sally'.
[266] The word is obscured by the binding; perhaps it is 'aspen'[?]
[267] This appears to be A[pril] but could also be A[ugust]. Machell's question mark suggests that he was unsure of the date. According to Charlotte Kipling, Windermere pike were caught throughout the year in the 17th century, unlike char, which were caught at spawning time, in either spring or autumn. See, 'Commercial Fisheries of Windermere', 168, 189.



Figure 2.9.23. Windermere.. Detail from the larger image on II.343.

[II.344]

{(§56.)} {? Cawgarth}
There is noe Freehold in this vill[age] but Cawgarth \ unless & the Iles may be so Accounted, which pay a free rent / which payes quit Rent to the King & appears at {Which Court?}
{q[uery] if he hold not Lady holm as free land of the King & an Appurtenance of Cawgarth} {Yes it is in the Park.}

{Tenure}
The Tenants or Inhabitants of this Village hold of their Lands according to the Custom of ~~the manner of~~ Richmond foe, paying \ to the Crown an annual / Rent fine Certane & Heriots which \ Heriot is / ~~One for all~~ \ the / best beast \ they have & which they pay for / for all they hold, as the former \ Tenants. / But their fines \ som what / defer; for these pay onely 2 penny fine at change of Lord \ i.e. 2 years rent in the name of a fine, / & 3 penny fine \ i.e. 3 years Rent, / at the change of Tenant. The reason why the others doe not pay so much is because they say \ these Estates were augmented whilst / it was forrest-grownd \ & ergo more rent & fine laid upon them. / They doe Suit \ & service / a[t] the Court Baron ~~at the~~ \ held for this Lordship in / Schoolhouse in Bowness & 2 &c. Appear at the Court Leet at Kendal once in the year, as in other places*.
{*This is a general note for the Kings Tenants, & all pay Greenhew.}

They have the wives Land to them & their Heires; & may give their Tenements by Will-writ, or deed, to any Stranger, from their \ owne / Heirs. But the widow enjoys at her husbands estate when he dyes seised viz. posessd \ in Tenancy of / dureing her ~~pur~~ viduity. ~~And for~~ And these are \ Reckond as / general cu[s]tomes amongst all the Kings Tennant \ both / in Grosmere & Windermere; ~~excepting for Heriots, for~~ \ But in matter of Heriots there is som difference: / those who hold by Richmond fee & Marquess fee are lyable to a duble Heriot if they have 2 Tennements of different Tenures. But if they have 20 of each \ of those Tenures, / they pay no more.
~~There are no freehold but \ Phillipson of / Cawgarth. Where both reside~~.

{§57. Windermer}
How what Rent is charg'd upon Aplethwate. If the Kings Pursevant finds no Boates upon the water or if any Boate be upon the water when they [are] not afishing he will distrane upon them, if they refuse to pay.

[p. 346][268]

Under-miln-beck – & Bowness

{§58. Undermilnbeck wherein is Bowness}
~~Bowness and~~ Undermilnbeck \ with Bowness which is part of It / make another Constablewick.
N[ote.] I take Aplethwate to be divided into 2 partes: Sc. Overmilnbeck, commonly called Applethwate, & Undermilnbeck, wherein Bowness standeth. {q.} And it takes the name of

[268] The previous page (II.345) contains the following question, written in pencil: '? How springs & Runs Milbeck.'

Undermilnbeck from the ~~Mill~~ River above which comes from Aplethwate, divideing that place from this. \ Which drives a miln here. / The chapple of Winster is within this ~~Hamlett~~ \ Constablewick, / but, neither in the Lordship nor Parish – concerning which see more in Kendal parish.[269] It is distant from Hawkside market 4 miles & 6 from Kendal; from which it stands \ N. /W.

{§59. Bowness}
The Houses ~~Stand~~ \ are of a Ruff Thin stone, & stand, / stragling for the most part, except in Bowness round about the church where they are ~~more~~ \ about a dussen houses stand pretty / thick, & many of them are coverd with a \ Blackish / Blew Slate got in their own grounds. It is seated for the most part below the River which runns on the nor-east of it & so powers itselfe into Windermer Water which also belongs ~~to~~ \ unto / this Township in part, & here they have the Ferry Boate to convey the market folks \ & other passengers / from Hawkside to Kendal. In which passage those 40 people afore mentiond were drown'd & \ insumed / *Som of them as if they had forseen \ or presaged / the mischief; would not enter the Boate till hailed in & carried in the Arms of their friends & other acquaintance. {*either the other story must be brought in here: or this passage added There.}[270]
The Places of Chiefe Remarke are the Church, of which we spoke before in the General account of the Parish, The Schoole & The Parsonage House.

{§60. Windermer School in Bowness}
The School is a Stone Building 2 stories under Roofe & Broad 6, 13 yards Long, with a Chimney in the end of it & Slated al over, It ~~is close by the church and goes by the name of Windermer-mer Schoole~~. \ It stands S.E. from the church about 100 yards[271] / & goes by the name of Windermer-Schoole, of which see more in my Papers with Mr Waise.[272] It stand ab Ecclesia 80 yards S.E.

[II.345A][273]

A brief Account of Windermer School
Att Windermer (alias Winandermer) in the Barony of Kendall & County of Westmoreland, there is a free School, scituate ~~now~~ in the Town of Bownes near Winandermer Water & att a small distance from the church of Windermer. The stock belong\ing/ there unto, (which was att first £100 is now advanced to £200) began in King James's reigne[274] by the liberall contribution of some well disposed persons in the two Hamletts of Aplethwaite & Undermilnebeck: but the School-House was not built till about 40 years ago (Sc: circa anno d'1637) att which time another contribution was made by the two foresaid Hamletts for the erecting the said School, which is […][275] governed by 4 Trustees and 10 Feoffees. The Trustees att present are Robert Philipson of Calegarth Esquire; William Wilson Rector of Windermer, Thomas Dixon of Orresthead & Robert Birkett of Lickbarrow, whose respective Heires or successors are to be deputed to this office for ever. And the Feoffees are to \ be / chosen out of the rest of the most substantiall & able men in both the aforesaid Hamletts, and when one half of them is dead, the surviving half makes choice of such as are to compleat & fill up the number ~~againe~~: and then new security is drawne betwixt the Trustees & Feoffees, & so from age to age perpetually.[276]

[269] See Part 2. Ch.3ii, Crook and Winster.
[270] See II.340, above.
[271] The text has smudged here; an addition notes the school was 80 yards from the church.
[272] Christopher Wase (1627-1690) was a headmaster and classical scholar who conducted a national free-school survey titled *Considerations Concerning Free Schools as Settled in England*, published in 1678: see R. Hodges, 'Wase, Christopher (1627-1690). *ODNB*. For Wase's use of questionnaires and his connections with Thomas Machell, see P.J. Wallis, 'Westmorland Schools about 1676: Christopher Wase's Survey'. *CW2*, 67 (1967), 168-85. References to Wase in Machell's volumes are found in Part 1. Ch.1. Appleby, IV.35; Part 2, Ch.3iii, Hutton, II.170; Part 2, Ch.7, Heversham, II.170; Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.205.
[273] A small (15cm x 19½cm) sheet, comprising a letter in another hand, addressed to, 'Westmoreland Winandermere in Winandermere parish.'
[274] James I: 1603-1625.
[275] There follows one illegible scored-through word.
[276] See *N&B1*, 179; their account of the early history of the school appears to be based on this description.

This came from Thom Dixon, father to Mr Dixon fellow of our house.[277] Now Dr in Divinity.[278] {The Usher whereof makes an annuall & standing pension for the schoolmaster who is att present Thomas Wells.}[279]

[II.346]

{Bowness}
There is one thing very Remarkable in Bouness, that most of the people are power \ cottagers 15d a year to the King / yet will not betake themselves to any imployment[280] excepting its ~~bee~~ begging: They \ inter / marry one with another; ~~as soon~~ will spend all they have in the wedding weeke & then goe a begging. & Bring up their children to the same ~~profession~~ \ Trade /, never permitting them [to] doe a dayes worke for pay.[281] There was \ onely / one man ~~onely~~ (as has bin observed these 40 years) that betook himselfe to workeing \ an honest imployment enough / & the 1ᵗ day he wrought he was sore exclamd against for breaking their Custom; His neighbours telling him 'twas never a good world since Bowness people went to wo[r]ke. But this is a rarity {the like of which I never heard of the like ~~in al my travail~~s except in Hantshire att a place called [Blank] where their about 100 Inhabitants of the same profession. Trade.}

[Dues and Duties]

[II.347]

{§66.}
? Lastly, there are in this Hamlet (But in the Parish of Kendal) 14 or 15 Tenements which belong to this Lordship on the same side of the water{what do they call the place} which hold of the King in the same manner, & injoy the same priviledges.

{§67. Green}
There are allso 3 Tenements at Green over against Lady-holm in this Hamlet & Lordship which Appear at Court paying (a smale quit rent &c. {q. of both & how much} & Green-hew to the King. But \ Heriots & / a fineable Rent by Composition to Mr Phillipson of Calgarth, which seems to make that a petty Lordship. And Mr Phillipson allso payes to the \ Kings / Grave[282] of Undermilnbeck, To be payd the ~~Kings~~ Auditors for the use of the Crowne, 26 Pounds yearly: as free Rent for his Estate.[283] {ergo he seems to be in Undermilnbeck & not in Aplethwate, q. ideo.}[284]
And He has \ also / Tenants ~~also~~ At \ a place calld / Winstar, which is a distinct Lordship ~~from this & in Kendal~~ \ & Chappelry in the / Parish of Kendal yet (perhaps for That Reason, because they are his) are put in this Hamlet. They do Suit & Service at they own Court Baron held in their own Liberty where the Lord doth \ pleaseth / appoint. Pay Boone Hens & Capons, Shearing ~~Sheep~~ &c. Rents, & Fine Certane by a Late Comp[osition][285] but it doth not stand good because ~~twas~~ \ the estate was under / Intale[286] & q[uery] f[or] Heriots. But these pay nothing at all to the King.

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[277] In Machell's hand. Dixon was a fellow of Queen's College, Oxford: see II.329, above.
[278] Written in pencil. Dixon Junior became DD in 1685: see II.329, above.
[279] This margin comment is partly obscured by the binding.
[280] This word is scored through, but as Machell did not provide a substitute, it has been retained.
[281] MS: 'never permitting them doe a dayes worke ~~they may never so much~~ \ for pay / money ~~for it~~.'
[282] 'King's Grave': a steward, person placed in charge of property. *OED*.
[283] In his review of Jane Ewbank's *Antiquary on Horseback* (1963), T.G.F. was astonished at this large free-rental: 'That the then Philipson of Calgarth paid for his lands in Undermilbeck to the auditors for the use of the Crown, 26 yearly as a free rent for his estate seems quite incredible. This is, for the period, a huge sum, surpassing the entire rent-roll for Undermilbeck which in 1574 was 1q. 3s. 10½d. (RK ii 82), and it must be remembered that these were fixed rents. As an illustration of what the rents really were, I quote all the Philipsons occurring in the 1650 list of free rents in the Marquis lands: Mr Phillipson 6/9; Mr Philipson 1/6; Mr Philipson of Crook 3/2; Mr Philipson of Helsfel 6/8: for the Richmond lands of the same date we find among the freeholders, Christopher Phillipson Esq., 4/2.' See 'Recent Publications 2.', *CW2*, 64 (1964), 413-15. Machell's figure is very clear and Jane Ewbank's transcription is accurate.
[284] 'Therefore enquire.'
[285] A sum of money paid in settlement of, or by way of compounding for, a claim or liability. *OED*.
[286] Intail: the limitation or destination of a freehold estate or fee to a person and the heirs of his body, or some particular class of such heirs. *OED*.

[II.350][287]

Windermer [Notes]
? Easter Booke {A pensione paid by the Parson of Windermer of a Mark per Annum every Easter to the Vicar of Kendal – & Gresmer the like.}
{Church on the Outside: L. 30; Steple 5; B. 20; Bells 3 & a Clock.}

{§61. Bran Fell}
There is a larg Common belonging to this place, one part of which is calld Bran~~t~~ fell:[288] \ Sc. Undermilnbeck & Bowness / in which are quarrys of Ruff walling stone & store of fearn or Brackens; the other Lindeth & Crooke fell, where there are quarries of stone, Turfe & a Bad sort of peat with plenty of fearne & Furrs which they call Whinns. {& there is a place calld Sommering hill where they used to have their sommer sports.}

{§62. Old field}
There is a Freehold in this Township calld Old field which belongs to Xtopher Phillipson which does Suit & Service. Which is well wooded with Oake \ Timbers / Trees,[289] ab Ecclesia [Blank]

{§63. Lickbar-row} {e Lickbarrow distant} {Now General for the Lordship}
And there are ~~four~~ \ 5 / Tennement in a place calld Lic\k/bar-row within this Hamlet which do Suit & Service at the Kings Court Baron paying a smalle Quit Rent & Greenhew?? (as every one of the Kings Tenna[n]ts doe), being 2d \ a / Tenement \ in som places & others 1d; / & is supposed either to bee for Liberty of Common or (which is more likely) ~~for~~ of green wood; for to Hew & Cutt is the same thing. These \ 5 / Tenements of Lickbarrow pay Rent & Fine-Certaine according to Composition & ~~an~~ Heriots allso by Composition to Richard Ducket of Kendal an Attorney, to whom they were either sould or mortgaged by one Timothy Knipe or \ his / son William. They being bough[t] by Samuel Knipe father of Timothy about 36 years agoe of Anthony Garnet of Crosthwaite, since of Crooke ~~&~~ Lately deceasd.
{Martes plenty, their skins sold at 10 groats a skin. & wilde cats. Eels pike. & pearch 17 inch & ½ long & 14 about – Sir Xtopher Phillipson. Parson Wilson. Xtopher Dixon […] son 18.}[290]

{§64. Thornburrow Hall} {Thornburrow Hall Distant?}
There is allso an other Tenement which doth suit at This Court calld Thornburrow Hall. It pays a Quit Rent & Green hew to the King; & pays 5s per Annum Rent to the Lord Wharton of Wharton \ of Wharton Hall with / an 8d fine. \ This has belongd to & bin built by the Thornburrows, whence it is that wee have their name & Armes \ and pictures / in the Church windows.

{§65. Lindath; Stors}
There are allso \ 7 /[291] Tenements ~~& allso~~ at a place calld Lindath; & 5 at Storrs, with a parcell of Peat-moss; which do Suit & Service at the Kings Court Baron, paying quit-Rent & Green-hew. But were Fineable to a family of the Willsons formerly of Spittle in the parish of Kendal – paying a certain Rent with Heriots & a fine Arbitrary. It is redy to be sold. {Lindath & Storrs distant 1m. N.E. & belongs to Sir John, Mr Graham.}

[II. 352][292]

There are Lastly other Tenants in this Hamlett, Sc. att Winster, but they are of Winster Lordship where they do Suit & Service; \ Customary Tenants in Lordship will appear / ~~paying~~ paying Boon Hens & Capons & Boone Shearing or Reaping; (where Heriots?) & Rent & Fine (Certaine by a late

[287] Also numbered p.28.
[288] MS: 'There is a ~~great~~ \ large / Common belonging to this place ~~It is calld Bran Fell~~ one part of which is calld Bran~~t~~ fell (~~may be from the bigger Common called Bratts which is hard at hand~~.'
[289] MS: 'which is well wooded ~~with oake~~ with ~~Timber~~ oake \ Timbers / Trees.' The interlineation is unclear.
[290] These men were Machell's informants; there is an illegible word here between 'Dixon' and 'son'. because a repair has been made to the paper.
[291] There is an illegible crossed-through word here (possibly '6'), which the numeral '7' has replaced.
[292] Also numbered p.30.

Composition) but nothing Regi.[293] \ But it would not stand the Estate being intailed. & nothing to the King. / {These belong to Mr Phillipson of Calgarth who payes to […] Grave of Undermilnbeck 26li yearly to be payed to the Audit of the King. & 30 other Tenants.}[294]
All the rest of Tenements within the Hamlet are the Kings solely & held by custom of Richmond foe only. These Hold in the same Manner with Applethwate & have the same Priviledges. There are also in this Hamlet, but in the parish of Kendal, 14 \ or 15 / Tenements belonging to the Lordship or the same of the water, which hold of the King in the same Manner {& enjoy the same priviledges.}

And so I have don with the several Lordships & villages conteined in them all which pay dues & dutyes to the Minister of Windermer or Composition for them; whose place of Residence is att Bowness, and The House is called the parsonage house, alias The Hall &c.

[II.351]

{§68. Bowness}

Here was a market kept on the Sundayes, meat, cockle, sheepskins – Swills[295] – on the S. side the Church under the Ewe Tree about 50 years since. But no charter. & now a meeting every Friday.

They pretended to Armes q.?

	Arthur Wilson John Wilson		
3. Allane W. to whom Bartle gave it by will obijt May 2 1675. no mar.	1. Bartle an Attorney at the Kings Bench obijt sine prole[296]	2. John, who released his brother Alane n. h. pro.[297] now living. 10. 10 1676	= maryed at Stratford by London ubi vivit.[298]

Bounder

{§69.} [Sources of the Bounder]
{a. Christopher Roberts of the Bowness Green. b. William Robinson}

N.B. The County Bounder taken at Windermer.
From the foot of West ~~Sike~~ – Sike head betwixt the 2 mills at Winstar ¼ of a m. to the Sike head.
Thence agane W (by a streight line) \ to Blackbeck head which springs in ~~to the midle of~~ Rostet Moss.
Thence Westward down the said beck into Windermer water.
Thence S. by the Banke of Windermer Water to Newby Brigg.
Thence over the Brigg & up the Westside of the water – North – to the head of Windermer Water.

{Sir Daniel Fleming.} Qu. [1.] If these Townships in Windermer have several commons & Bounders or do all […] Intercomon.[299] 2. Whether they have district juryes?[300]

{§70. Ambleside}

Halfe of this Towne \ below the Stock is in this parish / although it belongs to the Chapelry of Ambleside which is in Gresmer parish. And the whol Town, even that within Gresmer, is holden to be

[293] 'Nothing for the king.'
[294] Parts of this margin comment have perished.
[295] Swill: a large shallow basket, made roughly with strips of oak, unpeeled willows, or the like; also, a basket in which fish are landed or carried to market. *OED*.
[296] 'Died without issue.'
[297] 'n.h. pro.': possibly, 'nulla hereditaria prole' = 'there being no offspring to inherit'.
[298] 'Where he lives.'
[299] Intercommon: to use a common mutually with the inhabitants or tenants of a contiguous township. See J. Kendrick Kinney, *A Law Dictionary and Glossary: Primarily for the Use of Students* (Chicago, 1893), 395.
[300] A remark in red crayon at the foot of the page reads: 'now is out y'

in the manner of Windermer {which shewes as if manner has bin afore parishes} The Market however is Reduceable hither, because it was kept below the stock, as is expressly declared in the Charter of Kendal. James 2.[301] But it was a Market \ some time / before; as appears by these charters – see Gresmer Parish §17. The Cross – see in Gresmer §69.[302] {Communicated me by Sir Daniel Fleming Ridal Knight.}
At the S? end of Ambleside & Head of Windermere is an old Rom[an] fort calld the Burwens &c. See p.13 Hujus.[303] Coins found there – See Gresmer Parish §11. And there seemes to have bin an old chapel here.

[II.353]

[General Notes and Queries][304]

{? The Hall at Bowness. Sir J. Ped[igree]. The Phillipsons came to [blank] Who had the Estates they now have & how.}
{Calld the Old Halsteed}
{Draught of the Cro[ss] & Bells}
{Armes at Calgarth}
{Com[mon]s of Ambleside}
{given to the library}
{N.B. of the 14 Tenements: what called. The distance of Stors &c.[305]

The Iland
From Bownes to the Ile 27 Sc.
The water ¼ of a mile; above a q[uarter]? say ½.

Fishing
1. High Cuble from the head to the charbeds off \ above / Calgarth ½ mile.
2. Midle-Cuble to below the ferry, The water ¼ of a mile.
3. The Low-Cubble at Calgarth 2 miles.[306]

{Windermer Parish conteineth in it –	}
1. Windermer Church with Bowness & Undermilnbeck	} Ministers de Windermer
2. St Katherines	}
3. Troutbeck Kirk chapel	}
4. Katherines Brow chapel[307]	}

[301] The market (weekly at the stock on Wednesdays, plus two fairs annually) was granted by James II on 25 July 1688: *N&BI*, 189.
[302] Grasmere §17 occurs in Part 2, Ch.6., on II.125-26; The sub-heading '§69' does not appear. The bell appears on II.150 in a section on Grasmere church. Machell was cross-referencing the third bell's inscription with the fact that, when, in 1650, Ambleside was granted a charter to hold a market (weekly) and two fairs (annually), the Brathwaite family was Ambleside's leading family, and, to celebrate the granting of the market charter, it is likely that Gawen Brathwaite (d.1653) provided the funds for the market cross and its Latin inscription, VITA UT HERBA (Life [is] as grass), which is both the Brathwaite family motto and an anagram of the surname. See Charles Nugent, 'Cross-Head of the 17th century Market Cross, Ambleside, bearing the initials of Gawen Brathwaite and the date 1651, later converted into a sundial.' Armitt Library and Museum Exhibition Label (2017). The stone head of the original market cross is exhibited in the Armitt. My thanks to Timothy Sykes for drawing my attention to this document.
[303] 'Of this section'.
[304] These notes are written haphazardly; text flows in three directions; sections overlap. It follows that some of the transcription here is insecure. Some sentences have been omitted.
[305] The sentence goes on: '{and in what lib. with Orrest}', but it runs into the binding.
[306] The rest of this passage is illegible because of damage and repair to the page.
[307] The rest of this section is obscured by the binding.

Ambleside.
Troutbeck.
Applethwate.
Bowness 12 or13 fam[ilies] together.
Undermilnbeck of which Bowness is a part.
Ad Crooke Hall; has 14 customary tenants. Fine Arbitrary & heriotable with Boone Shearing to Sir Xtopher Phillipson.
Barnside. Hay hens & Capon. Informant Xtopher Phillipson.
There were Bellinghams the ancient Towne Knipe tenants & Batemans which 2 last were run into Bellingham also & are now Col[…][308]

[308] This paragraph is scored through; close to the right-hand margin, it is partly illegible.

Part 2. Barony of Kendal

[Chapter 10]

[Thomas Machell's Itinerary: A Month's Journey in the North]

[II.376][1]

A Diurnal of Minutes taken in One Months Travaille through the Barony of Kendal from July the 5th to August the 2. 1692.[2]

{I leave these to Dr Thomas Guidot of Bathe for the use of my children.}[3]

[Remarques prefatory to the said Diurnal & to round off the forgoing Topography

These must be referrd to the Parishes Chaples & Ma[nners][4]

{Armes}

I like not the new invented way of discribeing the Colors in Coates of Armes by pointes & strokes all though it be ingenious enough, because it so much defaces the Bearings & therefore I rather follow the old way of an \ initial / letter for \ a / color {which you must call}

b for	blew	az[ure]
g	green	ver[t]
m	murrey	
r	read	gu[les]
s	Sanguine	
t	Tenn	
o or y	yallow	
A or w	white	

But Argent & Sable which is black & white need not be mentiond in writeing or graveing upon a white ground. Neither Or (or yallow, upon gold or Brass.}

{!!!} N.B. The Best Method in Particulars [of] Manners Townes & Places will be first to set downe.

1. Curiosityes in Art or Nature.
2. The Descent of the Manner.
3. The Descent of the Manner House & pedigree.

{!!!} N.B. In Viewing of Churches, Chaples and Halls.

1. Take Armes in glass (which view & enumerate) because they give the proper colours.
2. In plaster & stone.

N.B. ad J.P.[5] is the only way both to serve and in truth to command your country. And though som upstarts make use of this means \ onely / to advance themselves above the yeomanry, which make it more odiouse to ancient families; yet it \ is / by no means to be dispised: since it gives you a step

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[1] Also numbered p.1.

[2] A diurnal is a journal: a day-book or diary of daily entries. *OED*.

[3] Dr Thomas Guidot matriculated at Wadham Coll. Oxford, 1656-57: B.A. 1659-60; B.Med. 1666; practised in Bath 1667; and London 1679: *OAD*. Guidot's publications include, *A century of observations; containing further discoveries of the nature of the hot waters at Bathe* (1686) and *Thermae Britanicae* (1691), see the British Library catalogue. As is well known, Machell left his papers to his wife and children, asking that they should be sent to William Nicolson, then archdeacon of Carlisle, 'whom I doe entrust to peruse the same and put them in order, and if the Gentlemen of the said Counties will be at Cost with the Cutts, that they may be printed to the use & benefit of my said wife & children.' See R.S. Ferguson, 'Wills relating to the Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle. Wills of Rev. T. Machell, Bishops Smith and Nicolson, and Joseph Nicolson', *CW1*, 4 (1880), 1-12, at 4.

[4] Referred = cross-referenced.

[5] Justice of the Peace.

above your Eq[uals][6] as well as it doth them. & if you accept the Imployment, it often advances these very men who are your inferiours & whom you dispise, & sets them above you.[7]

{Kentmer (dale)}
is a pretty large plane, but the Bankes are more flou[8] & less woody than Sleddal is. Except on the W. side where the Parke is wooded.[9]
{Sleddal}[10]
Is a delicate dale, a River down the m[idst of] it and meadow & arable, & woods on both sides.

[II.378]

Qu[eries] left in the Barony

{Loansdale. Mr Aplegarth}
– Mr Applegarth is to send me a Bounder twixt Westmorland & the Bordering Countyes but no queries left.
Midleton. {Mr Heblethwate} of Killington. Qu. In Midleton, 1a.
1. A perambulation of the chapelry on that side next Yorkeshire from marke to marke, & how they bear E. W. N. & S. one from another. From Dent water foote {as far as you can carry it.}
2. The suggestions mentioned in the Instrument of Consecration, for having a Chaple \ & Burying / there, & the Salvo Jure Matris Ecclesiæ[11] in their very words. & N[ote] If any obligation to goe to the Parish Church as often as they can, according to the antient form.
3. What Distance Aplegarth lyes from the Chaple & Hall. E. W. N. or S. & the Conveyance of it from one family to another, to the present Proprietor. {1m. or more S.}[12]

Will. Midleton \ brother of Ed. / Col. in the Civil Wars – a you[nger] son of Midleton Hall = Dora[thy] daughter of Roger More of Bens Bank} |

2. George m. … Taile, a Londoner	1. Charles a merchant at London; owner of this estate m. [Blank]	[Blank]
Isue	Isue	

Killington.
The conveyance of the manner and of the manner-house from one fam[ily] to another as at Qu. 3.
Item, what fine certaine the Tenant payes you, with what Rents- Boones-Services?
Preston Richard {Mr Tim. Banks}
Mr Timothy Bankes of Crooklands in Preston Rich. prom[ised] me at the Assizes a MS of the Custom of Kendal.
Firback.
{Firbank well. John Robinson} Moss put in the well.[13] S. ¼ m. or above; to Rob. Johnson.

[II.379]

{Sizerge. q. of Mr Shepherd of Natland}
What are the supporters of That Coate of Armes which is on the screen of wainscot as you com into the Hall?
What is the colour of the 3 Water-budgets & the Shield they are in, in the 2nd window of the East Side of the Hall; And whose Armes are they said to be?

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[6] Suggested word to complete 'Eq…'
[7] Machell referred here to the office of Justice of Peace or Magistrate. In the 17th century and beyond, the J.P. exercised local government at the monarch's command, accepting this responsibility as part of his membership of the 'elite' in society. In England, the landed elite monopolised government, combining social and official power and rooting it in the countryside where their mansions proclaimed their status. Hence Machell's dislike of 'odiouse' social climbers, who used the magistracy to gain social advancement. For analysis of these views, see Norma Landau, *The Justices of the Peace, 1679-1760* (London, 1984), 2.
[8] Perhaps, 'flowery'[?]
[9] Here instead of 'wooded', Machell has drawn a tree, as seen elsewhere in his MS.
[10] Longsleddale.
[11] 'Saving the rights of the mother church.'
[12] The following pedigree is repeated in the margin of this page of the MS.
[13] See below, the 'petrifying' well: II.386.

And whose it the other Quarterd with them?
Whose are the 3rd & 4th Quarterings in that Coate of Armes which hangs in a frame at the End of the Hall?
~~And~~ What color is ~~the field and~~ the cross flory & the field wherein it standeth?
And whether the Crist be not oake-leaves, & of what color?
1. Whose Are the Scallops.
2. Whose, the fess ^^^ betwene the Billets and How many of them.
Whose is that Quarterly Coate Impaled with Strickland – In the Third Shield over the Dineing Roome Chimney – Sc. – The Bend Ingraled betwixt 6 martlets? And whose that other quartered with it; Sc. The Cinq-foy[l]e[14] pierced betwixt 8 crosses fleury[15] \ the 1t charged with a crescent? / And what are their colors?
What is the Chaple cald. St James his [chapel]? & how far distant E. W. N or South from Sizerge Hall.
How is Sizerge writ in the ancientest writeings that you have seen?
Whose is that Escutchion which hangs at the End of the Hall – Sc. Azure \ blew / a Lyon Rampant gardant betwene XI cros croslets Argent, langed Gules &c.
Whether 4 or but 3 Billets above the ^^^^.

{Kendall q. of Mr Farrington}
In that Coat of Armes on the outside of the Tower?

[II.379B]

{Grayrig} {Sir D. Fleming MS Y}
Memorandum. In Dokear[16] was a Grange belonging to St Peters Hospital in York {ibid[em]!!!}[17]
Qu. of Probat of Wills in the Lords Court.[18]
Rich. Dukat of Fillingham maryed [Blank] Windlesore {Sir D. Fleming MS Y Ibidem.}

[II.380]

Grarig Chaple in my way is a large but low building conteineing within the precincts there of the manor of Grayrig which though it ly amongst the fells is rather to be counted hilly than mountainous.

[II.382][19]

Iter Boreale per Mensori[20] {1692 July 5.}[21]

Tuesday [5.] from K.

Directly S. to Crookdale hause head: Thence

Wednesday [6.]

A Fast at Kendal church,[22] {where after morning service I spent my time till the afternoon prayers in drawing out} som Coates of Armes & monuments.

Thorsday [7.]

My w[ay] Returned home wards.

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[14] Unclear word.
[15] Here, Machell placed a tiny sketch of a cross fleury.
[16] Docker.
[17] Landownership: granted by William de Lancaster to the hospital of St Peter, York (later known as St Leonard's) for grazing horses. After the Dissolution, granted to Richard Washington, who conveyed it to Duckets of Grayrigg, who sold it in 1690 to the Lowthers: see *N&B1*, 109-10; see also https://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/township/docker. 'Ibidem': the same source, i.e. Daniel Fleming.
[18] Docker claimed to be a manor peculiar, proving its own wills in the manor court. See *N&B1*, 109.
[19] Also numbered p.5. All interlineation and margin comment is written in pencil or in different ink from that of the main text.
[20] 'A month's journey in the north.' This is the beginning proper of Machell's Itinerary.
[21] Machell dated his Itinerary according to the Julian Calendar; the Gregorian Calendar was officially adopted in Britain in September 1752. https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/researchguidance
[22] For fasting in 17th-century England see Machell's short comment while visiting Natland: Part 2, Ch.3vii, II.79, with extensive fn.

Friday [8.]

{Natland}
(Tho. Smith hired for a Guide) {write to Dr Mill to be kinde to him & send him to the ch.}[23]
Set forward to Natland \ Chaple in Kendal Parish / where there is a little Chapel lately rebuilt; a Dillicate\ plane level / green with houses about it, whereof 3 or 4 are very good Houses. Here I met with one Shepherd, an ingeniouse man \ who had several coins which I drew out / & one [Blank] Wilson, a courteouse gentleman, & a good wife.[24]

{Crosscrake}
Thence to Crosscrake Chaple \ in Kendal Parish / which is in Staine-ton – a Place (comparatively with the rest of this Barony) not so very stony as to diserve that Denomination.[25] Here an ancient chapl is also re-edifyed, having a chimney in the N.W. Corner with a smokehole out of the west end of the wall about 2 yards high a terra. And here I saw a number of well fac'd children,[26] but no houses near it that I can remember.[27]
Thence: by the Maidenhead Inn, and through a Beck calld St Sunnandayes, to Hutton-Chaple, \ in Kendal Parish / in which the Timber stands like a Barne, but the walls &c. in good Repare, The floore Excepted, which is the Generall fail[ing] of Churches as well as Chapls in most parts of this Barony. The Freeschool (taught by Mr Nicholson Curate) stands in the Chaple yard, but the fence on the N. side being taken away, the owner of the Lands adjoyning will needs clame the ground whereon they both stand. A piece of sacraledge not to be suffered.

[II.383]

Thence accompanied with the said Curate I went to Bridgend in the said Chapelry: where I lodged all night at James Dawsons, an ingeniouse contry man who has made a milne which grindes Corne, Tempses[28] & Winnowes, & Turnes a Grindestone & polish wheale, & bores Gun-barrells; He having a Whitesmiths shop in his mill, in which he works Gun worke to Admiration, as also Clock work and Watch work – all which he tooke up of his own hand.
Here I saw a w[oman] who was struck with lightning, 2 men & a ~~wom~~ dog being slane in her company, & she onely Escaped.[29]

{Satterday}[9.]

~~He set me next~~ morn \ Thence accompanied with my Landlord I went next morn/ing to an old chapl upon the Hill. & thence to an alehouse on the moor side \ where we parted. He told me there was not a glass / window in this chapelry since he could remember, which continues like \ a Carr[30] dismantled of trees / forrest (there being only one \ other ale house in all / in the way) till I came at ~~Kirkby Loansdal~~ Kirkby Lonsdale, a pleasant dall well adorned with wood.

{Sunday}[10.]

Kirkby Loansdale \ parish church / where I tooke a generall account of that parish with the Armes & monuments & in the church, being kindely Entertained by Mr Briggs \ the Vicar / & his wife – a well bread gentle woman.[31] Here I preached 2ce on the Sunday, to an Orderly & Regular Congregation

[23] Written in different ink: an addition relating to his guide, Thomas Smith; 'ch' is unclear.
[24] 'Mr Shepherd of Natland' answered Machell's queries relating to Sizergh; see above, II.379.
[25] Staine = stone. *OED*.
[26] MS: 'Here an ancient chapl is also Re-Edifyed, having a chimney in the N.W. Corner with a smokehole out ~~of the face of the face~~ of the \ west end of the wall / about 2 yards high a terra. And here ~~were taught~~ \ I saw / a number of well fac'd children ~~as ever I saw~~…'
[27] '…but no houses near it that I can remember': an addition, written in different ink.
[28] Tempses from 'tempse': sieves or sifts. See George Meriton, *Nomenclatura Clericalis: or the Young Clerk's Vocabulary in English Latine …* (1685), 312.
[29] See a different version in Part 2, Ch.3iii, Hutton, II.87-88, in which, '3 men a Woman & a Dog … which struck one man Dead – Rich[ard] Whitehead – & a Dog dead – And the 2 men & woman were struck astonishd as dead, & when the[y] came to them selfes, they found them selves burnd in a wonderful manner'.
[30] Carr: wet boggy ground; a meadow recovered by draining from the bog, grown up with low bushes, willows, alders, etc. *OED*.
[31] For John Briggs, see Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.119, fn.

with whose desent behaviour at Church I was very well pleased. Here I had the Company of Mr Farrer the ~~worthy~~ Schoolmaster, & Mr Aplegarth who promised to give me an account of the Bounder of the County of Westmorland as divided from Lancashire.[32]

{Munday}[11.]

And on Munday morning; having given the vicar an Extract of their ancient Charter \ out of my Antiquities / I informd my selfe from Tempest Husband[33] – (being an Eye wit[ness] of an old w[oman] in Lancashire that renewed her youth);[34] And drawn out the Altar at Ademan dooer.[35] {Here I met with spar - & a mon[ument.] & Underley.}[36]

I went thence to St Coomes – & se[37] the ruines of an ancient chaple now an hutt of Trees – & Thence to Casterton hall \ in Westm'land / where I heard and saw little worth observation {which place may seem to derive its name from som castle or \ campe / formerly here; but [on] the strictest Enquiry imaginable I could hear of neither, nor of any of Arms,[38] Castors or Bevers in these partes.}[39] & so on to Parke house in Lancashire near unto Leck beck. Thence Tu[n]stall[40] – which was changed in Dru[n]ken Humor for Girleington, & where I drew out som Armes in the church & Inscriptions at the Vicar[age] House. & so Returned by Old Burrow whence the said Inscriptions were brought, where I met with a Roman Coine & saw Coll. Brigs.[41]

[II.384A]

{Arbor Vitæ; Travailers joy}

And so Returned to the Parke house where I lodged all night with my fellow collegian ~~and in this country my fellow travailer~~ Mr Ed. Wilson,[42] where is a gardine of physical herbs & plants and the largest Trees of Arbor Vitæ that I have met with; also, Travailers Joy & many other rarities.

{Tuesday}[12.]

{Barbon}

On Tuesday I returned out of Lancashire to the Chapel of Barbon, lately Rebuilt and to which one Shuttleworth Lord of the Manor some few years agoe offered to give 5 or 6 li per annum out of his Rents there. But the people had not the manners or wit shal I call it to accept of his profer; so that the Indowment is little or nothing.[43] {On the opposite side I saw Rigmaiden hall & Mansergh?}

{Here I met with a Living Inscription}

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[32] See 'Mr Aplegarth' on II.378, above. See also Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.209.

[33] In 1695, 'Tempest Husband & Margaret his wife, his son Stephen, two daughters Ann and Margaret, his mother Ann Battersby', were included among Kirkby Lonsdale notables. See 'Recent Publications 2. *Antiquary on Horseback* … edited by Jane Ewbank', CWAAS Extra Series 19 (Kendal, 1963)', in *CW2*, 64 (1964), 413-15, at 415. Tempest Husband died in 1703. His will left goods worth £339 in two shops, and a house with fourteen rooms: Lancashire Archives (Preston) WRW/L, Tempest Husband, 1703.

[34] See Tempest Husband's tale in Part 2, Ch.8. Kirkby Lonsdale, II.214.

[35] A Roman altar, later used as a seat outside a door: See Part 2, Ch.8. Kirkby Lonsdale, II.204. 'Ademan' is an insecure transcription.

[36] This margin comment is very faint.

[37] There is a blank space here, followed by the word 'Hall' in faded ink; possibly part of an earlier draft, now overwritten.

[38] Unclear word.

[39] See Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.223.

[40] 'The castle was in 1643 gallantly held for the king by Sir John Girlington, its owner, but the Royalists having failed to relieve it, it was surrendered after a seven weeks' siege', see 'The Parish of Tunstall': *VCH: Lancaster*, Vol. 8 (London, 1914), 225-30.

[41] Space was left on the left of the page here, presumably for the arms, inscriptions and Roman coin mentioned in the text. For Colonel Briggs of Burrow, see Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.223, fn.

[42] Edward Wilson (1651-1720). Queen's College, Oxford from 1669; Gray's Inn, 1671; son-in-law of Sir Daniel Fleming. *OAD*. See also Scott Sowerby and Noah McCormack (eds), *Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall from 1633 to 1688*, CWAAS Record Series 23 (Kendal, 2021), 457.

[43] For Barbon, see Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.199 fn., and II.201.



Figure 2.10.1. Christian tattoos. II.384A.

Yet here I met with a pretty young man,[44] who teaches school in, & a great Travailler \ aet 24 / who was within 20 miles of Jerusalem & has the markes ting'd on his Armes. On the one Our S[aviour's] Resurrection;[45] on the other the Armes of Jerusalem as he calls them. {See before pag.381 & p.227}[46] And here I heard of a medicinal well that has don great cures especially for paines & aches by stranes.[47]

[II.384]

{Midleton; Hawking Hall}
{So called from its situation in the midst of Loansdale}
Thence I went to Midleton Chaple near to which is a pretty new house call'd Hawking-hall considerably large, & yet has but one pair of Principals in it. Which because it may be of ~~very good~~ \ som / use where Timber is scarce I have given you the platforme \ & manner of it.[48] / This was built by Mr Bainbrig, whose Armes are placed over the Enterance into the Hall. Here I lay all night, and had the converse of Old John? Moore, Brother of the Sergiant at Law, & very understanding, who shewd me the Instrument of Consecration, & of Samuel Moore his Ingenious son. {Rufus}

[II.385][49]

whom I found to be a very good botanist. There I also had presented unto me by an old Acq[aintance] of my father, a Piece of That Ore which they take to be gold, but I fear is too light for any such metal.

{Wednesday}[13.]

{Midleton hall}
The next morning I went from thence to Midleton Hall, an old Ruinouse Castle like house, & Exceeding black – having an ascent to the gate with 3 Rowes of Trees. Here has bin a chapel which is now ruinouse. I drew out the Armes with an Account of Midleton of Applegarth out of an rotton table

[44] Samuel Gibson.
[45] The depiction is of the Crucifixion.
[46] This margin comment is a cross reference in a later hand; the page references no longer fit the subject. See Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, Barbon, II.231 for other tattoo images The following extract from an early-19th-century travelogue discusses the practice of tattooing pilgrims: 'The inhabitants of Bethlehem … claim, almost exclusively, the privilege of marking the limbs and bodies of Pilgrims, by means of gunpowder, with crosses, stars, and monograms. A Greek servant who accompanied us thought proper to have his skin disfigured in this manner; and the wound was for many days so painful, and accompanied with so much fever that we had reason to apprehend a much more serious consequence than he had expected. This practice is very antient; it is noticed by Virgil, and by Pomponius Mela … but its origin may be found in more remote antiquity; and very often among the religious customs of the heathen nations.' E.D. Clarke, *Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. Part the Second: Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land, Part I* (2nd edn, London, 1813), 630.
[47] See Samuel Gibson's letter to Machell: Part 1, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.225, Barbon.
[48] See Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.236.
[49] This page is also numbered p.7.

of wood.[50] Went to visit Mrs Heblethwate the surviveing sister of the 2 Coheires, the other being dead. who was maryed to [Blank] \ Cragg.[51] / Both country men: And it troubled \ me much / to see so small \ a / difference betwixt a person so well descended, & a plane country wife.

{Gillianford. Killington Ch. Killington hall}
Hence I passed over Julian ford (q. what the[y] call the Higher) to Killington Chapl where I drew out one Coat of Armes which I take to be Pickerings tho the field be Argent. & Killington Hall stands over against the W. end of \ the chapl, / the highway onely lying betwixt them; where there has bin a pretty \ lightsome / Tower which is now onely walls. But rest is Rep[aired] by one of the Kitsons – whose Descendant Mr Tho. Heblethwate caused me [to] lodge all night in that House with his brother & farmer, & was very courteouse & civil to me, as he is said to be to \ all / his neighbours \ hood.[52] / At the East end of the said chapl. I mett with a great stone giving an account of a man & his wife who were each \ of them / 100 years ~~of Age~~ \ old. / Hence

[II.386]

{Thorsday}[14.]

{Firbank}
I went from Killington (where 4 or 5 houses stand together) to Firbanke alias Frith-banke Chaple – ~~where it seems~~ \ near which / formerly there has bin a Parke,[53] but now they cannot tell any thing of it. This Chapl now standing was lately built by the In[habitants], being Removed from the Edge of Killington field where it formerly stoode, all in one night by reason som of the Lordship clamed the ground whereon it stoode. But in all probability – by viewing the place & considering well of the pretended bounders – That place has bin really in ~~Killi~~ Firbanke Lordship: tho the ~~the~~ Grounds thereabouts might be sold to som of the Killington men, both the Lordships being under one Lord, & as far as I can learne doing suit and service at Killington Hall \ Court. /
{Firbanke is a stragling place.} {The persons I conversd with were – Mr Tibolds the Reader. [Blank] Farrer, father to the schoolmaster of K. L.[54] And both very notable understanding men.}

{Petrefying Well}
Here I met with a Well of Petrefying quality – having turned the moss which hung about it into hard stone much like a pumice. And there were 2 springs within 5 yards of one another whereof the one was cold & insipid, the other som what Brackish & warm. & there was a shiny sort of substance upon the gravell like to a jelly, which I take to be the seed or principle of coagulation & petrefaction; which any man near the place might do well to observe.

{Lilly Tarne from Sedgeflores; sed dub}[55]
Hence I went S.W. by Lilly Tarne where [Blank] springs, but has also another head at [Blank] so by [Blank] & by Bleas, \ on the r[oad][56] / from which place to Preston[57] is a pretty country \ & yields a good prospect, but the rest forrest like.

{Preston hall}
Here I saw Preston \ Hal / which gives name to that family – an old Rambling house with slender Tower over the Gate; the Lower Roomes all pavd with ~~cobles but not a~~ [blank] Thus, from small heads doe great Rivers flow. It stands in Boggy Bottom Ground. But the Chapl. a fair stone building

[50] Machell referred to this as an 'old wooden tablet' in Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.241.
[51] Bridget Middleton married Joshua Heblethwaite; Mary Middleton married James Cragg; both were yeoman of Dent, see Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.243.
[52] There is a scored-through interlineation here, but it is illegible.
[53] Though Machell indicated a note here, no footnote was given.
[54] Kirkby Lonsdale.
[55] 'The name Lily Tarn came from sedge flowers, but I doubt it.'
[56] Machell wrote only 'r.'
[57] Preston Patrick.

(in one of whose windows I espyed Prestons Armes) stands – Overs Read of a.[58]
The old maps of Speed, Camden, Norden[59] q. if not Killington Park.

[II.387]

{Chap[el]}
Alone in Parke on the Top of an Hill, & has a very pleasant prospect all round about,[60] except to the E. Near to the place ar som houses calld Crooklands[61] where I Lodged all night \ but ~~cannot say~~ rested not.[62]

Friday [15.]

{Caw braws; blew slate large}
Thence I went S.E.? by Caw-braw[63] where I saw blew slate so large that one ~~was~~\ of them / coverd a Porche, brought from about Ingleton in Y[orkshire].
And so to Hutton-Roofe \ Chapl. / an old ordinary building yet in pretty good repare & ½? a m. distant S. the village of H[utton] som few house (I know not whether all of a Row.)

{Hutton Knot}
Thence S.W. to Hutton Knot, a craggy mountain on which I had a sight of the \ main / ocean of Britain. Thence to Dalton \ in Lancashire but P.[64] / an iregular village. Thence to the Hall, a little farme \ house / but built on the Ruines of an old foundation which they say was demolishd.

{Burton in Kendal – where I lay but slept not hard all that night}
Thence to Burton, a small market Town – where there \ is / a good Cross & som good Ins lately built. Here I sat up late hunting the Bounder twixt W[estmorland] & L[ancashire] & was ~~satisfied~~ \ very well satisfyed / with the honest & diligent investigation of the Informers, being very scrupulous[65] not to take any more then their owne. Here I lay, but slepd not hard all that night. The church stands ¼ m. I thinke distant from the Towne.

Satterday [16.]

[Holme]
From Burton, I passed through a village called Holme, which stands on a plane, & hath a River Running through it whence the name Holme. Here Lawyer Prickets mother hath a good Country House.[66] Thence on level ground to

[II.388]

Betham
{A pleasant place by reason of wood & water, though over top'd with craggy fell on the west side whence you may view a great [expanse] of the sea.} Where there is a dillicate church in a fair level & large church yard. \ And / near unto the N.E. corner stands a fair house lately built \ by T.H. / & adjoyneing an old one which is the Parsonage; & lately belonging Cos. Tho. Hilton the Impropriator

[58] Information on the chapel is given in the first paragraph of II.387.
[59] 'John Norden (c.1547-1625) was an English cartographer, chorographer and antiquary. He planned (but did not complete) a series of county maps and accompanying county histories of England: the *Speculum Britanniae.* Several of Norden's county maps were included in the 1607 edition of William Camden's *Britannia*. In 1611 John Speed used Norden's maps of Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, Cornwall and Essex in his *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, the first published atlas of the British Isles. Most maps of these counties published in the following 150 years were based on Norden's work. He is credited with key innovations in English cartography, such as marking roads, administrative units and hierarchies of place, and a grid-reference system. See Frank Kitchen,' Norden, John, (c. 1547-1625)'. *ODNB*.
[60] Here is another tiny drawing of a tree.
[61] Pecked underscoring suggests that Machell was unsure of the name.
[62] Although a word here is obscured by the binding, it is still clear that Machell did not enjoy a comfortable night's sleep.
[63] Here is another sketch of a tiny tree.
[64] In the parish.
[65] A scored-through word here is illegible.
[66] Here is another tiny drawing of a tree. Alan Prickett Esq. of Natland Hall was listed as a recorder of Kendal in 1673, see Part 2, Ch.3iii, Hutton, II.87.

sue uxoris:[67] being 4? w[ife][68] & relict of Mr Ducket of Grarig who settled it on her. Here I drew out the Monuments & Coates of Armes. And went hence (over an Hill as I remember) to

Dallan-Tower
A Pleasant seat, with fair Gardines about it. Purchased lately by one of the Wilsons; a man of great wealth who made diverse purchse here & elsewhere & yet never laid in an house of his own as I am very credibly inform'd. So that the Best way to get many Houses is to keep none:[69] a Paradox not so strange as true. It now belongs to Mr Ed. Wilson Esq. J.P. ~~who marrying into good family have gained the reputation of Gentleman~~ \ This a numerous name in the Barony {whereof this & [Wilson of] Underley are reckond the Chief, they having by mary into good family & exerciseing the Com[mission] of [the] P[eace], advanced themselves to the Reputation & port[70] of Gentlemen.}
The Tide comes up almost to the Gates. Near which there is the foundation of a Castle and \ one of these Catadupe – Mr C. speakes of.[71] / {But which he has m[isplaced], for this is in [Blank] the other in Kendal.}[72]

[II.388B]

{Dallan Tower}
The Redmans puto,[73] a square Ruinouse [building], the founds of a fort or castle hard by it {Sir Daniel MS. Y.}[74]

[II.388A]

Near which was lately Haver Brack hall; & a sq[uare] fort calld \ the / Castle! Tis calld Haverbeck in Dugdalls *Baronagium* p.421, which if right speld is either from the plen[t]y of oates growing thereabouts? Calld Haver [or] from averia signifying catle,[75] it being a place where their beasts were watrd. {Bethom also Buthum.}[76]

[II.388]

{Milthrop} {Salmon taken in the air}
Hence passing the Bridge whereon there standes a Dial Stone with Inscriptions upon, much like an Altar of the Romanes but importing no more but that it was, &c., I went to Milthrop, a small but long village place, the only Port that wee have in Westmorland. A little above the Bridge is a paper mill formerly an Iron Mil.

[II.389][77]

Yet paper white at 2 sheets 1^{d}. There is a Good Cross – & a fair once a year \ Sc. / on May day: which are all the things of note about It.[78] Vessells of 8 or 10 Tunn com in here. Hence, I went by on the left ha[n]d to

[67] 'In right of his wife.'
[68] 'His wife being the 4th wife' – but Machell is not sure.
[69] MS: 'Best way to get many Houses is to keep \ none / no house.'
[70] Possibly 'portance': carriage, bearing, demeanour, conduct. *OED*.
[71] Camden, *Britannia* tr. Holland (1637), 759F-760A, offers, 'Somewhat below the river Can, are two Catadupæ, or water falls, where the waters have a downefall with a mighty noise: the one is by Levens, a little village; the other more Southward, neere to Betham; which to the neighbour inhabitants are as good as true prognostications: for when that which standeth North from them soundeth more cleere and aloud in their eares; they look certainely for faire weather; when that on the South side doth the same, they expect no other than showers of raine, and foggy mists.' See also, John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611-1612), 85-86.
[72] Catadupe: a cataract or waterfall. *OED*.
[73] 'The Redmans perhaps.'
[74] 'Sir Daniel Fleming's MS Y.' MS.II.338A repeats this information: 'Dalla[n] T. formerly to the Readmans {Sir D.F.}'
[75] Averia: term for working animals (horses, oxen, etc.) See *Black's Law Diction*ary. Online.
[76] Buethum is a historical form of Beetham, see *Westmorland Place-Names*.
[77] Also numbered p.12.
[78] 'Vessells' has been superimposed on 'It'.

Heversham alijs Hersham
Where there is a fair \ parish / church, burn'd down to the ground about 100 years agoe, {q. how}[79] & now in very good Repare. I tooke som Coates of Armes my selfe here \ by the help of a candle / & Mr Green the schoolmaster after promissd to furnish me with the rest in which he imployes my friend T. Webster: & to send me the Monumental Inscriptions. The vicarage house – a pretty good fabric – is about 100 {?} west from the church, which I mention least it should chance to be lost as Bethom and Burton [vicarage houses] are at this day. Thence by night I went to Water Crooke and so on to Kendall where arrivd at 12 a clock oth night. The next day being

Sunday [17.]
I preachd Twice at Kendall in complement to Mr Mayor & the Vicar. And on

Munday [18.]
Munday I tooke a farther Account of the Town of Kendal, Church & Hospital & other places; & of their charter[80] \ Dokray hall. / And Mr Farrington the schoolmaster there, promissd me an Account of a spirit in his time which did strange things there. {Thus far the Less mountainouse part.}

[II.389A]

Docaray Hall
And ancient fam[ily] of the Docarayes now extinct {Ibid[em Sir Daniel MS Y.} Westm'land country people yet of that sirname.

[II.390][81]

Tue. 19. July 1692.
I set forwards from Kendale downe the west side of the River Kent (by Heslinton Hall,[82] which I viewd 2 years since & is now rebuilt by Coll. Graham) a most ruged way, the lands being full of uneven caswayes, Rocks & ruff cobles. {If Helston be the same, tis derived – q. Hill-stone – being a stony hill.}[83]

To Sizarge Hall
A Noble \ but irregular / old House surrounded with woods with a Parke at the Dooer; and the Court all sett about with Lawrell. There is the statelyest Kitchen {Open to the Top} here that I have met with: a good Hall {14 Long, 7 Broad, with a fine screene made A.D. 1618.} And 2 famous parlours or dineing Roomes which stand in the Body or front of the House. And hath with large wings isuing from it, which makes 2 sides of the great court, which fronted as I remember westwards.
They talk of the Assises having been here; but are lead (I suppose) into that Absurdity by the sound of Sizarge,[84] having not any other authority for it. And that the Stricklands[85] came hither from Strickland alias Menkinthorp hall in the Bottom of Westmorland; who having gotten a better Estate by marriage with the heiress of Sizarge, they gave the other to a daughter which he had out of wedlock.

I drew out the Armes in the Hall, Dineing Roomes, & the Kitchen windows, & Those on the Tower; & so passd on by the like Rugged way {to soften this description a little. But N[ote] they have a good way to Kendall through Natland Parke; & tis pitty the other were not blockd up for ever.}[86]

[79] See the church Vestry Book, 1601: 'Whereas it fortuned through the negligence of a careless workman, being a plumber, anno Christi 1601, on Wednesday being the first day of July, the Parish Church of Heversham, in the County of Westmorland was utterly consumed with fire and all implements, ornaments, books, monuments, chests, organs, bells and all other things were perished.' In R.K. Bingham, *The Church at Heversham: A History of Westmorland's Oldest Recorded Church* (Milnthorpe, 1984), 29.
[80] For the Kendal charters, see Part 2, Ch.1, Barony of Kendal, II.11.
[81] Also numbered p.13.
[82] Helsington Hall.
[83] 'Hals' usually denotes a hause or hawse (a neck of land, a col, a pass). *OED*.
[84] Machell referred to the similarity in sound between Sizergh and Assizes.
[85] Strickland family: see *AWL*, 286-87.
[86] Different ink shows that this margin comment was added later.

(beholding whole fields of the Large Daryes)[87] till I came {?} to Levins-Brig, hard by which on the E. side of Kent is

Upper Levins Hall
formerly writ (as I gather from the Inscriptions in Bethom church windows) Lewyns {q. le-vines – but it is writ in Ed. 3. time, Levens, Sc. Inq[uisition] in Part General}[88] & belonging to an \ ancient / family That tooke name from Hence, the original of which I should have taken to come from the Plenty of Whyns in this Place if I had seen any store hereabouts; for Le-wyns seems to me, to import ~~no more than~~ The Whins: unless (which would be a wilde conjecture) wee should imagin plenty of vines to have grown in this place.[89] It is a fair Building \ & noble Seat / though no way Regular and of late much improved by the Alterations of

[II.391]

Coll. Graham, the Present Proprietor,[90] who after many descents of the Bellinghams whose Chiefe Seate was here, Bought it of Alane Bellingham Esq., that Ingeniouse but unhappy young man (who consumed a vast Estate in his youth) with the rest of his Lands in the Barony of Kendal. The Court groweth round about with Lau[rel]s and betwixt that & Kent were many statly & large grown Elmes – a Rarity in this Part of the Country (for I have not seen one any where else) – which Mr Graham was a cutting \ down / to open the prospect by which this fine seat will be rendered more pleasant but I fear more cold than it was heretofore. Here I met with many Coates of Armes in the Hall & Dines, both in Glass wood & plaster, being the matches of the Bellinghams, and was kindely R[eceive]d by Mr Graham (whose Seale of Armes, Match & Isue I want) but could not stay with him, for I posted thence over the Bridge down the River side, being very good way to

Nether Leavins Hall
which is an old Low sort of Building, with Low seiled chambers and Court Wall next to the river, the highway onely running betweene them, with battlements like a little castle \ haveing Land on both sides. / {Here as I remember Rich[ard] Wilson farmed.} Here I met with som Coates of Armes, which haveing drawne out, I went ~~through~~ \ up / the Parke, or field shall I call it, to a Little Hamlet or Row of Houses called Beathwate Greene at the foot of that spacious

[II.392]

Moss which lyes betwene Crosthwate and the River Kent, having Lythe on the one side & Brigsteere parke upon the other. The Tenements here I rem[ember] belong to Neither Levins. {There is a little wooden brig unto the moss which divides them from Lithe; whence perhaps tis called Brig Stree & corruptly by Brig Steere over Pull alias Pou unde forsan Poole.}[91]
And here I was told a very strange story of a Boy in this place about xj years old \ – the son of Widow Crosfield – / who going to Lithe with xviij[d],[92] to his sister (a nurse), was stopd at New-bridge by an Apparition in the shape of a soldier clothed in Read with a musket in his hand, a sword Girt about him, with Bundalereyes[93] & a Leathern pouch; which standing up in the midest of the water below the Bridge, forbid him to pass it while he was there; but incouragd him not to be afrade, told him what he had in his pocket & whither he was going; and that King William should after a sharp ingagement at Sea obteine ~~the~~ \ a great / victory: But that [he] be worsted on the Land, & afterwards prove very victorious, tho his sword should be broken; & in 3 years time give his enemyes (the P.) a very great overthrow.[94] And went away singing in a most melodiouse manner \ concerneing King William / in so

[87] Daryes: sometimes applied collectively to the milch cows on a farm. *OED*.
[88] This is possibly an Inquisition (concerning Levens and other manors) in the possession of Sir Daniel Fleming, in a bundle dated 49. Ed. 3, no. 29. See Part 2, Ch.1. Barony of Kendal, 'Notes To make out the hist[ory]of the Descent of this Barony', II.365.
[89] 'Leven' (Leune): name of a major river in the district. *Westmorland Place-Names*, Leven .
[90] For James Grahme (Graham) see Part 2, Ch.7, Heversham, II.178.
[91] 'Brig-steere over Pull alias Pau, whence perhaps Poole.'
[92] 18d (1s 6d).
[93] A bandolier is a pocketed belt for holding ammunition. *OED*.
[94] MS: 'But that be worsted \ ~~of that part~~ on the / Land, & afterwards ~~though his sword should be broke~~ prove very victorious \ tho his sword should be broken / & in 3 years time put an End to the Warrs: {give his enemyes the P. a very great overthrow}.' 'P.' probably refers to Roman Catholics (papists).

much that [the] boy was ravishd at [it] & followed the noyse (wishing ~~to~~ \ he might have / hear it all the dayes of his life). & did remember som of the words of it, of which these are part:

– Nor Cannon Bullets pierce his horny hide –

{This I thinke pro[…]ed[95] not according~~ly~~ whether the [re]lation be true or false. There were other circumstances which I omit, of breakeing the water of the streame & appearing also in a Blew habit. & of another on the opposite side who appeard in Brown. But what I have said is the sub[stance] of the story (which the boy being Examed 5 or 6 times in the womans \ house / & one of these time by the Vicar of Kendal) did recount with all the circumstances of it and without variation. This was a month \ & 3 days / after the sea fight. & he no lyer. {He was examened 7 times in James Nicholsons, as Jane his wife informed me.}[96]

[II.394][97]

Hence wee passed by a Long Casway over the moss to the said Bridge where this was transacted, & here I saw most stately shrub Gale which growes in great Bushes & with ~~thick~~ \ som / stalkes ~~som~~ as thick as my thumb; but the arromatick smell like myrtle was much exhausted by the season of the year.[98] Thence I went under the Horrid long Rock which is calld Whitbarrow, till I came \ at / som Houses where a Rill of water descends from the Mountaine {where there are great Ewe Trees.} & here I espayed an Huge great Crag which seemd to have tumbled from the Rocks above, of a sort of stone which is here call'd marle, & which being beaten they use at Kendal (whither great quantityes are frequently sold) to scoure their Trenchers & Earthen Vessel. {I call it Rock-marle for distinction from Pit-marle, being a sort of clay.} It seems to be composed of the water \ & som sort of Limy & Earth / which of its own nature condenses & petrefyes, being like to a pumix*; & the very same, as near as I can guess, with that sort of stone which I saw at Water Crooke near unto Kendal and at Plumpton Castle not far from Penrith in the old Romane Ruines,[99] which I tooke [to] be Artificial Stone. & perhaps the Romanes, takeing their first Indications from nature, might frame the like \ with lime, sand & water. / That I confess at Watercrooke might com from hence. But without this hypothesis I cannot \ well / see whence they had those more Artificiall stones at Plumpton Castle; they would never bring them as far as hence. & know not any \ other / place in \ Westm'land or the whol of / Cumberland where there is the like {q. & trye if they will not bide fier in an hooden-oven}
{*Note there is a great affinity twixt this & the stones which I brought from Firbanke: onely that is lighter as being made of moss.}

[II.395]

The word Barrow (which I note here once for all) is without doubt of Brow \ Borrow contractly / which is Braw in the Lancashire dialect, as from that instance of the Place calld Cam Braw, which dialect is retained in this Barrony adjoyneing on Lancashire. And this Brow or Declivity of this white Rock is called Whit barrow, which is a[s] much as to say the white \ which is to say Whitebarrow / – so Underbarrow is under the Brow: & Lik-barrow the like &c.
Hence I passed through Rocks & Crags to Witherslack chapple.

[How to write about] Cures.
1. Person, 2. Place, 3. County, 4. Age, 5. Distemper, 6. In what time cured.
[Sc.] A.D. 1691.

[95] Word unclear.
[96] Prophecy was widespread in the late 17th century; both educated and uneducated people were likely to believe in it. The prophetic element of the soldier is especially interesting as it suggests contemporaneous chap-book prophecies which were cheap, popular and able to be passed round ale houses etc. Elements such as bridges and water were common in such episodes, and children seem to have been a popular vehicle for such accounts. The reference to the end of wars and of the Papacy is undoubtedly Apocalyptic and Millenarian in tone, and this seems to confirm the idea that the boy was a voice of prophecy. See Warren Johnston, *Revelation Restored*: *The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-Century England*, *Studies in Modern British Religious History 27* (Rochester, N.Y., 2011), 202. The significant point is that, as an antiquary, Machell faithfully recorded this, and felt able to uphold its veracity. My thanks to Professor William Gibson of Oxford Brookes University for providing these insights.
[97] II.394 is also numbered p.17.
[98] Myrica Gale: the bog myrtle.
[99] Voreda or Old Penrith.

[1.] John Jackson. [2.] of K[endal] [3.] in the county of W[estmorland] [4.] ætat 33. [5.] was grievously troubled with a pane in his Arme. [6.] & in a weekes time drinkeing 3 times a day, & as often bathd in, was perfectly cured.

[II.396]

{! And though this place be rocky & barron of all things but wood: yet is sought after & resorted unto for a famous well, which has don many cures & is ergo called the Holy-well}.
{Here I had a piece of the said Rock-marle bestowed upon me by the minister.}
Wetherslack Chapl: one of the neatest and best orderd chapls in all the Barony, lately built adorn'd by Dr Borwick Dean of St Pauls – who is writ Barwick, but Borwick I rather take for the name, there being a Place in the county of Lancaster \ & upon the […][100] edge of Westm'land / now \ is / the Seat of the Bindloses & not far from hence which beareth that name – He was Born at an House near to \ 200 yards west from / the said chapl, called Hale-Cot where I lodged all night.[101]

In these Rocky Countryes} where there is suc[h] abundance of craggy stones, such places \ as / are exempted from them are called Slaks \ or Gills / {so in Yorkshire, T. Allison.} And wee use the word yet much in the like sense when speak[in]g of Showry or Tempestuous weather. When there happens som intermitions \ or calmes, we commonly / say ~~that it slacks~~ \ the weather slackes or slakes. And there being 2 of these Slacks or Gills, one on each side of Witherslack ~~hall~~ \ Parke; / whereof that in ~~where it~~ \ which the Hall / stands is much the wider; \ & being first peopled it might thence be called Widderslack[102] & Witherslacke, & for Brevityes sake, Wither Clack, for Denominatio \ to both the Dales / sumitur à majori p[ar], and the denomination derived from thence to the whol Lordship.[103] {ratio nominis ad Aulam 3^0}[104]
Or it may perhaps be called Woderslak, as I finde writt in a Pedegree, from the Plenty of Wood; if it be not \ rather occasioned by a vulgar dialect usd in this contry, which turns I into O, as for Wilson – Wolson &c.

Wither Slack hall
to which I went, up a crooked Rake[105] \ ½ of which I was forced to walke for fear of it / & thorrow a Parke well stored with \ young / wood.

Wednesday Morning [20.]

This Witherslack is an \ low Black / old fashond house which is a Seat of the Labournes, & is now the portion of 3 coheires. It stands very pleasant considering the Rocks & montaines about it, som of which are pleasant \ Delightfull / to loke upon, \ being clad with wood, /and Returne a fine Ecco. There are Laurell Trees now in the gardine as high as the House, & Ewe has bin so plentiful here that the Hall yeat stoopes are made of that wood.[106]

[100] A word here is blotted
[101] For John Barwick (1612-1664), dean of St Paul's, see Part 2. Ch.7, Heversham, II.164.
[102] Wider Slack.
[103] 'The denomination to both the Dales is taken from the greater part and the denomination derived from thence to the whole Lordship.'
[104] Machell appears to have meant, 'the third reason for the name of the hall'.
[105] Rake: a slope. *OED*. The word was also used locally as an alternative for 'way', as in Lady's Rake, Keswick, and Rake Lane, Troutbeck. In 1717 a Troutbeck man was fined 3s 4d for driving cattle from his ancient out-Rake through the Middle Hundred and the Lowest to Skelgill Close, 'to the great disturbance' of his neighbours. The driving of cattle over unenclosed ground, or over ground allotted to another, was a serious matter and, possibly, each had his customary route or rake. See Mary. L. Armitt, 'Ambleside Town and Chapel: Some Contributions towards their History', *CW2*, 6 (1906), 1-96, at 12.
[106] 'Yeat stoopes': gate posts.

[II.398][107]

[Cowmire Hall][108]
From Wither slack I went through the woods by 2 or 3 houses calld [Blank] to[109] Car\l/-mir-hall. An old fashond house like to a monastery grown over with Ivy, which has vaulted sellers.

[II.398A][110]

Calmer hall belongd to Brigs who had 2 d[aughters]. One married to Hutton – Sir D.F.

[II.398]

{Armes} & here in the windows was much painted Glass: some with Armes which I scratched out;[111] & som with the pictures of Packho[r]ses & Carryers, Spining Wheales & flaughters,[112] with wantaracks[113] & other materials belonging to the Woollen Trade. & the Letters T.B. dispersd here & there, to shew that the former owners of this House \ perhaps the Briggs / advanced themselves by that manufacture.
{Descent}
For it descended by 2 d[aughters] and heires to one which was the w[ife] of Judge Hutton,[114] which by that means descended to Bierly, & [Blank] Bierly sold it of late to the present Proprietor. It is said heretofore, to have bin the manner house of Crosthwate & Lithe; & it standeth in Crosthwate Chappelry.
Hence I went over forrest like ground where som of the rock resembled those I have seen *Britannia* depicted upon, \ on the Title Page of Camdens *Britannia*, /



Figure 2.10.2. Frontispiece detail from William Camden's Britannia *(1600 edition).*

here & there adorned with Trees, to Winstar Chappel standing near the head of the Dale, having som good houses lying dispersed at a small distance from it. It is like the Building in ordinary Repare & has had a Sq[uare] Steeple, which fell upon a S[un]day in time of Service, & though some were touched yet none were hurt by it. The very c[hurch] yard is now clamed

[II.399]

by the [person living] next to it, who ought to be kinder; but the nearer the Church the farther from God. Nemo tam procul tamq[ue] propinquus.[115] I will not mention him least it should leave a Blot upon his very name, but ~~the matter~~ shall leave, & all such like to the Castigation of the B[ishop] of Chester whom it most concernes.
This Chaplry extends over the water into som part of Cartman fell[116] (which may more truly be calld Cartless fells, for there is not a cart us'd in this country) in the C[ounty] of L[ancashire] by reason of

[107] Also numbered p.21.
[108] See Part 2, Ch.7, Heversham, II.191.
[109] A few words are obscured by the binding here.
[110] Small scrap of paper, 18cm x 1cm, cut from a larger piece. A few traces of the missing text can still be seen.
[111] Which he drew.
[112] 'Flaughter' or 'flauchter': flat spade used in peat cutting, see *Dictionaries of the Scots Language.* Online.
[113] 'Wantarack' appears to be a word signifying a merchant's mark, i.e. an emblem or other distinctive figure or device adopted by a merchant and placed on the goods sold by him (in the Middle Ages often used as quasi-heraldic symbols, e.g. on seals or monuments). *OED.*
[114] For Sir Richard Hutton (1561-1639), descended from the Huttons of Hutton Hall, Penrith, see Part 2, Ch.6, Grasmere Parish, II.128.
[115] 'No one so far and so near.'
[116] Cartmel Fell.

visnage.[117] Yet tho they pay jointly to this chapl. they pay distinctly all dues & dutyes to their Respective Parochial Ministers to whom they belong.

{Windermere}
Hence I went on the Bounder Sike & over the Moore to Windermere \ Church and to the / Parsonage. & in my discent I had a most delightfull Prospect of the great \ Lake called / Windermere which gives name to the Parish. It appeard to the Eye like an Arme of Sea, the Bankes \ on this side / adorned with wood & on the other ~~with~~ Furness fells ~~on the other~~ being large Rocky Mountaines formerly well clad with woods but now divested in a great measure of them. In the midle of the Lake were here & there Rounds Hatts[118] of Trees in Little Ilands; whereof the Greatest, being Sir Xt. Phillipsons, is adorned with a neat dwelling house, Gardines, & Walkes of Trees set in Rows.
And the Parsonage House on this side the water makes a great shew, where I lodg'd all night {with ~~honest~~ \ Mr / Wilson, being Entertained with a set of musique: 2 violins & a bass viol.}[119]
{N.B. Why may we not suppose this county to have taken its name of Westmorland from this Western mere, being the noblest lake in all the kingdom & lyeing on the west side of this county.}

[II.400][120]

On Thorsday Morning [21.]

I tooke a Ring,[121] by Windermere church directly East up Orrest-head – where Dr Dixon \ friend & / now Rector of Way-Hill in Hantshire & my old Acquaintance, sometimes F[ellow] of Q[ueen's] C[ollege] in Oxon, whom I helped to Elect into that Society many years since {et voce et voto}[122] – was Borne & Brought up.[123]

[High House]
Thence by 2 or 3 houses (one of them a Wilsons) calld {?} to High house, lately a Seat of the Brathwates, now the poss[ession] of [Blank] on whom the young Gentlewoman (unfortunately) bestowed herselfe. Quid non speramus amantes.[124] Thence NE. through a \ wilder outer / Parke & \ so to / a wood on the Banke side as you descend to Kentmer Hall

Kentmer-Hall
Which is an old \ black / Building, having ~~an~~ \ a strange / Antick Tower of Raggy stone at the West end of, and a monstrous craggy mountaine behind it; \ which when clad with wood as it has bin formerly, hath bin pleasant enough. / But before a spacious meadow & the poole calld Kentmer, fed with a Rill on the W. side this Hall, but chiefly with another beyond the chaple.[125] On the right \ side / of this plane or meadow is an High Ba[n]k of wood: & on the other, Great fells but not Rocky.

[Gilpin]
It was anciently the Seat of the Gilpins, given (as is said) by the Crowne for killing a wilde Bore hereabouts (doubtfull whether at Sleddal or in Gilpine Beck) which som doe affirme had that name given to it upon this occasion. {Memorandum: the family Bar[nard] Gilpin, who are said to descend of a Scotch Ancestor who slew a wilde boare in the River now calld Gilpin beck, from that occasion as is reported.}

The chaple \ of Kentmer / is [a] large \ & / stately Building with Little windows placed very high, & has heretofore had a sq[uare] steeple. & not far from hence was Dr [Blank] Provost of Q[ueen's]

[117] Vicinage or visinage: proximity. *OED*.
[118] Or perhaps, 'hutts'. Machell's 'a' is often identical to his 'u'.
[119] For William Wilson, rector of Windermere, see Part 2, Ch.9, Windermere, II.323, 329, 339, 345A, 350.
[120] Also numbered p.23.
[121] A circular trip.
[122] 'By speaking up for him and by casting my vote.'
[123] Thomas Dixon. See Part 2, Ch.9, Windermere, Borrans, II.329.
[124] 'What do we not hope for when we are in love?' The undeserving husband would seem to have been Miles Atkinson of Base Brown, who married 'Dorathy, the daughter & heir of Robert Brathwate of High house in Hugill', see Part 2, Ch.6, Grasmere, II.132.
[125] MS: 'but chiefly with {another} ~~the River of Kent which comes with a Grane~~ beyond the chaple.'

College in Oxford Borne.[126] Hence wee went Eastwards over the mountaine \ and down a great precipice / to Sleddall.[127]

[II.402]

Sleddall, having 2 Hamlets at the head of it & several Hamlets dispersed here & there all down the Dall[128] in the midle of which stands a Little Chaple with a Court as it were on either \ side, / for the chapl yard does not surround It. This Dale is good ground, sound and fruitfull but not very broad. {Not ¼ m.} Having high mountains on either side coverd with wood, Ashe Oake & Ewe, but most of them young; which Renders it very delightful and pleasant. There has bin such plenty the last mentioned wood (tho now scarce enough) that there is ~~an old~~ \ a Tower / House near to the chaple calld Ewebarrow hall {i.e. Yewbarrow hall} which I take to have bin the manner house, for it has som Tenants which yet belong\ing un/to it. {Write to view for armes.} This I suppose to have bin formerly a Seat of the Sleddals, who tooke name from this Dale as Johannes de Sleddal, Thomas de Sleddale, Rogerus de Sledal: from whom it may seem to have passed to the Harringtons \ of Woolyeates[129] in Cumberland /{near relations to my honord father, for he securd himselfe in that family from being taken ward;[130] but in what degree they stood I know not} who enjoy the house yet, with som of the Tenants as hath bin said & have don of old.

[Selside Hall]

But the most part of them were Trans~~mitted~~\ferrd / to the Thornburgs of Selside \ hall, / where they appeared & did Suit & Service, being a little distant from the foote of the Dale. And where I tooke up my lodging all night.[131] This Selside Hall in the Maps calld Selstead.

[II.404]

Sir William Thornburrow = Thomasin daughter of Bellingham[132]

|

1. Will. Thornburrow of Selside & Hamsteed,[133] had Estate of 800 per Annum – 500 of which was in old Rents. but by profuseness & ill husbandry reduced to 100^{li} per Annum, so eclipsing the Glory of this florishing family. He had ~~Richard William~~ Isue 2 sons. {See the Armes & Ped. in my Book of Pedegrees. M.}[134]

		Will. Son of Sir Will. of Selside & Hamsteed	Nicholas 2. Son of Sir William Thornburrow Lived at Whitwill, the gift of his father
3. Nicholas m. in Ireland	2. Thomas	1. William of the same	2. Thomas (maryed in Lanc.) of Wilson House 1.

[126] Bernard Gilpin (1516-84), clergyman and preacher, was a younger son of Edwin Gilpin of Kentmere. In 1533, aged 17, he entered Queen's College, Oxford, graduating BA and MA. Ordained in 1542, he became archdeacon of Durham in 1556. Gilpin had been a fellow of Queen's College, but, despite Machell's assertion, he refused the provostship in 1561. In later life, his extensive preaching journeys made him legendary; he is known as 'the Apostle of the North'. D. Marcombe, 'Gilpin, Bernard (1516-1584). *ODNB*.

[127] Longsleddale. The MS margin here has a note: '{Memorandum: the Chan[cel] out of St Anns church see in Kendal Tow'.}'

[128] Machell had already made this comment at the foot of MS.II.400: 'Having 2 Hamlets at the head of it & severall houses dispers'd here & there all down the dale. {& is dilicately wooded on either side}.'

[129] Wooloaks.

[130] Ward: a minor under the control of a guardian. Wardship: the guardianship of a minor. In Feudal Law, the guardianship and custody of the person and lands of a minor, with all profits accruing during his minority. *OED*.

[131] This was Thursday 21 July.

[132] Selside Hall came by marriage to the Thornburghs or Thornborrows, an ancient and distinguished Catholic family from Yorkshire who settled in Westmorland c.1283. During the 13th and 14th centuries several were Knights of the Shire. Sir William Thornburgh (d.1552) married Thomasin (d.1582), daughter of Sir Robert Bellingham of Burneside. A thrifty woman, Thomasin kept meticulous accounts of her expenses. In Stockdale's *Annals of Cartmel*, an entry relating to this lady, dated 1579, lists, 'The holle yeare waigs of Dame Thomasyne Ladye Thornburgh of all her servants of Selsett'. See James Stockdale, *Annales Caermoelenses or Annals of Cartmel* (Ulverston and London,1872), 471. A descendant, William Thornburgh, was president of the Roman Catholic seminary of Douai in 1739: The Catholic Record Society, *Records, Volume 28: The Douay College Diaries: The Seventh Diary 1715-1778* (London, 1928), 221.

[133] Hampsfield

[134] See MS.5.139-41.

3. John obj. Caelebs	4. Franc. obijt C[aelebs][135]	2. Richard	1. Rowland of Medup = [Blank] Dikenson of Raseham in Lancs	William who purchased Hall of his cosan William		
	William	James	1. Rowland of Medup = Jane Brokeld of Claton in Lancs	4. § Frances	3. Nicholas Inn.[136]	1. William Ob Inn.[137] 2. James of Selside Hall who sold Selside Hall to his brother Frances & now farmes at Garnet fold adjacent – & had Isue, Nicholas \ at 19 / 2. John: & 4 daughters living – Sc. 1. Frances. Katherine Elizabeth Mary
		§ Frances the 4th son of William who purchased Selside, & was 2 son of Nicholas son of Sir William	= Fr[…] daughter of George Teale of Laburne near Midleham in Yorkeshire[138]			
George apprentice at London to a watchmaker		*1. William of Selside 16. 15 July 1692 {*[Pedigree] Taken 29 of July 92. From the said William}	= Mary \ onely / daughter of Mr William Hudleston of Hale in Newbigging Parish	Isabell	1. Agnes	

[II.406]

Selside-Hall, is an Old Manner-House flanked on the North Side the fold with an old Chappel contiguouse thereunto, which yet serve the neighboure[hood]. And is adjoyned within a walld parke which is the Demane and yet belongs to it. It was an ancient Seat of the Thornburrows once one of the most considerable familyes in the Barony of Kendal; whose Chiefe is removed to (a Freehold Estate ? in) Methop near Witherslack & yett reteineth some of the Tenants – the Rest being sold to [Blank][139] and the Manner House with Demaines to a younger Branch of the same family, being now poss[ess]ed by the Ingeniouse Mr [Blank] Thornburrow who was lately maryed to Mary the daughter of Mr William Hudleston of Hale in the parish of Newbiging, a younger son of Hudlestons of Hutton John in Cumberland, whose Descent I have taken. And thence

On Friday [22.]

Skelsmer-chapel[140]

I went downe the Hill crossing the Roade twixt Kendal & Penrith to Skelsmer chapel. Dedicated to the Service of God in the name of St John Baptist; as appears \ not only / by tradition but a well \ also / which springeth at the E. end thereof & Runeth under it, the floore formerly being coverd with Plankes. Called St Johns Well. It is now ~~demolish &~~ \ of late / falne to decay, the walls thereof onely Remane. But som yet living {Gilpin, farmer at the Hall}[141] remember it coverd & seates standing [in] it (x with the image of John the Baptist),[142] the Church Bible, and have seen a note of the ~~sallary~~ \ ancient salary which belongd to the C[haplain].[143] / But can give no Account how it was chargd, whether by Seates or Rents of Tenements as in other places. ~~Heu Pietas~~ But now it is lost, and the

[135] 'Died a bachelor.'
[136] 'Never married.'
[137] 'Died unmarried.'
[138] Words in this section are blotted.
[139] William, see the pedigree above.
[140] See Blake Tyson, 'St. John's Well and Chapel, Skelsmergh: their location and present condition', *CW2,* 98 (1998), 156-67.
[141] See Gilpin's letter to Machell, Part 2, Ch.2, Kendal Town, II.45, 47.
[142] The letter 'x' and the round brackets were added in different ink. The 'x' might denote that the text was meant to be deleted.
[143] Or 'chapel'.

People \ neglecting to repare their chaple, / are forcd to repare to the mother church.[144] Heu Pietas, Heu Prisca fides.[145]
\ Patton[146] is commonly joyned with it in the Easter Bookes, & they are contiguous. /
A little below in the Edge of a Parke once stored with Deere (for there were {or are} 5 oakes by the mire side which had Holes motessd[147] in them, where Racks had bin placed for feeding the Deere), stands Skelsmer-Hall.[148]

[II.410]

[Skelsmer Hall]{Nom[en] presens et discriptio Loci}[149]
A pretty Large House situate near to a mos or mire; whence perhaps tis called Skelsmire – & from Scales for sheep that have bin hereabouts.[150]
{Labourn antiq.}[151] Tis a Seat of the Labournes, and was lately[152] Rebuilded by Mr [Blank] Labourne in [Blank] as appears by the Initial Letters of his name & of his 2 wives set over the Doore as you enter the Hall.

{Descensus}[153] Hence over the Bridge we pased to

[II.409] [154]

Burneside: Burneside Hall



Figure 2.10.3. Burneside Hall. Margin sketch. II.409.

[144] Nice pun!
[145] 'Alas for piety! alas for the ancient faith!' Virgil's *Aeneid* Book VI.878; The Lament on Menelaus.
[146] Paton.
[147] Mortised: fixed or fastened firmly. *OED*.
[148] MS: 'A little below in the Edge of a Parke (once stored with Deere, for there were {or are} 5 oakes by the mire side ~~near which this~~ which had Holes motessd in them, where ~~tis said~~ Racks \ had bin placed / for feeding the Deere ~~had bin placed~~) stands Skelsmer-Hall.'
[149] 'Name and description of the place.'
[150] Scales: huts or sheds erected for tending animals on the fellside. *OED*.
[151] Some heading text is lost in the binding here.
[152] MS: 'lated.'
[153] 'Going down.'
[154] MS.II.407 contains one note: 'Sir John Machell \ a Sheriff of London r. q. Md / Born in Kendal & Descended of the House of Crakenthorp.'

Armes at Burnaside Hall. {Taken 20 July A.D. 1692}[155]



Figure 2.10.4. 'Armes at Burnaside Hall'. II.409.

[Names on coats 3-15 are as follows][156]

3. Braithwaite, Bindloss.
4. Braithwaite, Benson.
5. Bradley, Braithwaite.
6. Benson, Braithwaite.
7. Briggs, Braithwaite.
8. Braithwaite, Dalton.
9. Braithwaite, Lawson.
10. Lamplugh, Braithwaite.
11. Barton, Braithwaite.
12. Salkeld, Braithwaite.
13. Brisco, Braithwaite.
14. Askough, Braithwaite.
15. Braithwaite, Penruddock.

{I.} The I. in the New Dineing Roome. Gules a chevron Argent charged with 3 †[157] \ cross croslets fitche / sable: & in Chief for Distinction of a Second House a Crescent Or. The Crist a greyhound Seiant Argent coller Or Leashed Gules – by the name of Brathwate.
All the rest (except the 2 last, which are in stone above the Hall chiminey) are in the Gallary windows, & have all compertments about them & Inscriptions under them like:

{II.} The Coate marked 2. which is Brathwate impaleing Williamson; who Bears Argent Between 3 Trifoles slipt a cheveron {IX} ingrald S[able] charged with 3 crescents Or.
[IX] The 9 is Brath[wate] impaleing a Quarterly Coate whereof the 1^{t} \ & 4th / is Argent a chev. betwene 3 martlets Sable. \ By the name of Lawson. / The 2nd & 3rd Barry of 6 Argent & Azure 3 annulets in chiefe of the 2. &c. By the name of Lawson.
{XI} The XI. Barton bears (if this be right) Quarterly. Sc. 1. Ermin on a fess Gules 3 anulets Or; the second Pally of 6, Argent & Vert; the 3rd Gules between 2 Bends Or & Azure. 3 Lionsells passant Argent: the 4th gules a cheveron Argent charged with 3 harts, Inter 3 florr de luces Or.

[155] If Machell really meant this particular date (Wednesday 20 July), then he failed to explain how he had made these sketches among all his other activities on that day, see above. As the ink is different from that on the rest of the page, one could speculate that the date was added later.
[156] Surnames 3-15 have been reproduced in modern form.
[157] Cross crosslets image.

{In the old Parlour or Dineing Roome are the same with the 3rd & 9th upon the wainscot. And the same with the 1t in Plaster with a Crescent & the year of Our Lord 1641.

In the Hall upon smal Diamond quarries of glass, ar[e] two Coates the same with the 1t, charged with crescents.[158] And also the same with the Coat marked 3. Having for its Crist a Demy-Horse Couped with a Ducall flourished Collar Azure. Belonging to Bindlose of Borrick.
{The XIV [coat] is sable a fess Or, Inter 3 Horses sistant[159] Argent. By the name of Askough.
The XV Impaled is Quarterly sc. 1. Gules a Ragged Staf Argent. The 2. Sandford with Bores heads Or. The 3rd Sable 6 annulets Or. 2, 2 & 2 perhaps for Lowther. The 4th Azure a fess inter 3 martlets Or.
XVIII may sem to have bin the Armes of Sir John Machell in a Bord[ure.]}
{Coats 14 & 15 see Guillim.}[160]

[II.410]

Before the Court ~~gate~~ is a large pond intercepted with a passage or Casway \ Bridge / up to the gate, & on either side is a little Iland with a tree planted in it. It anciently belongd to a family of that name – whose h[eir] generall was maried to Bellingham. From the Bellinghams it pass to the Machell {of some of whom L.M.[161] is supposd descended – of Whinfell – hardby; {one of Machells of Crackenthorpe} & at length to the Brathwates in whom it now Rests.[162] But the Tenants (whose houses were very scarce \ here /) for I saw but few of them – were [Blank]

[Burneside Chapel]
Hence, I went over the Bridge to the chaple of Burneside, for it stands on the other side of Kent & is in pretty good Repare, the floores well boarded, both in the ally & under the seates; [a] rarity which I have not met with anywhere else.[163]

[Garnett House]
Near to this place stands Garnet House on the Top of an Hill, the heire of T. Striklands. & farther \ of[f] in a parke / by the waterside

[II.412]

a good ~~gentile~~ \ old / Country House with wainscot Rooms in it, where I lodged all night with Honest Denyson the owner thereof.[164] Whose parlour is paved with Diamond Sq[uares]; like ~~the king of~~ Patterdale-Hall, being don I believe by the same ha[n]d.[165] A thing not vulgar; for I have not met with it any where else.[166] All this a very pleasant C[ountry] {from below Selside.}

[II.411]

? View Forrest-hall.

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[158] Here are inked passages, superimposing pencilled notes.
[159] From the Latin 'sisto': to stand still.
[160] John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldry* (London, 1610) with later editions.
[161] Lancelot Machell.
[162] A modern description of Burneside Hall, referring to Machell's visit, is in Hyde & Pevsner, 206-07.
[163] MS: '~~&~~ the floores well boarded, both in the ally \ & / under the seates; ~~which is~~ rarity \ which / I have not met with ~~in~~ any ~~other place~~ \ where else. /'
[164] Presumably, this was Friday evening, 22 July 1692, if we follow the last formal date on II.406 (Skelsmer Chapel), above.
[165] See Part 1, Ch.5, Barton, Patterdale Hall, I.714-715B.
[166] Garnett House is recorded in documents from the 16th to the 20th centuries. In 1517, Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal (1478-1517), father of Katherine Parr, bequeathed 'Garnettes House' to his cousin Richead Ducket for life. The Hearth Tax of 1669 records three hearths: in 1674 there were four. The will of George Gibson (1745) mentions a parlour, new parlour, hall, buttery, dwelling house (main room) and kitchen loft. The upper floor included a gallery loft, parlour loft, and hall loft. Outbuildings included a stable, lamp loft, cart house, cow house, barn and oxen house. See *Historic England*, 'Garnett House, with attached walls, gate piers and steps. Burneside, Kendal, Cumbria', https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1479032?section=official-list-entry. There is no mention here of honest 'Denyson' (or other similar spelling), who, from Machell's description, appears to have been a yeoman, not dissimilar in status to the 'King of Patterdale', see Part 1, Ch.5, Barton, Patterdale Hall, I.714-715B,

[II.412]

[Forrest Hall]
Near to this place is Forrest-Hall,[167] the first {?} Seat of the Bellinghams in this Countery, which I did not visit, hearing there was nothing Remarkable at it.[168] \ I went to it afterwards and can onely make this remarqe: that there was nothing Remarquable in it – q[uid] miror![169] / But went to ut infra*.[170]

Staveley Chappel[171]
which is a fair building like to a church, standing in a level place opposite to the Cross & at the Lower end of the village of Staveley,[172] which is pretty well sett with a Row \ two / of Houses and was heretofore a market Towne. There is a fine steeple at the West End of the said chapel, with 3 good bells in it. The Communion Table is raled in, and all other things excepting the floore (a common calamity} in very good order – having \ besides the Pews & the pulpit / one thing peculiar. Sc. an Homily Deske ~~or pulpit~~ made with rale & Ballaster, & a Turneing Deske for the Booke to lye on – ~~Beside the Reading pew & the Pulpit~~. The Chaplain here gave me a pice of ore, & shewd me a Jewill with pea[r]les appendant.
And I drew out the Coates of Armes, & went thence by Parke to a womans house* who helpd to pul a calfe from a cow which had 2 heads, 3 Earrs, 4 Eyes 2 mouthes & 2 noses & who told me the cow recovered.
{In the year of Xt / 1456. Amongst diverse prodigies hapning at Rome, is recounted \ one / of a Calfe that was borne with 2 heads – and 1499 of another at Crocovia[173] with one behind & another before. See *Func. Cron.* Sub verb – vitulus.}[174]

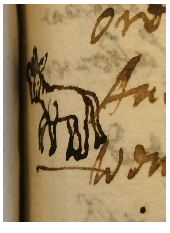


Figure 2.10.5. Margin sketch 1½ cm square: calf with two heads. II.412.

Thence up to \ Burnt Brow vel aliquando Tale[175]/ Birkets the Queens chief Baly; who I met not with; so Back agane & away to the chapel Ith Ings. But q[uery] if this was not in our way to Staveley.

The Chapel Ith Ing: vulgo Ing Chappel. So called from the Long Ing or Meadow near to head of which it standeth.

[II.413]

Ad chapl. Ith Ings [& Low Hall]
{L[ength] 7 body; 7 quire. B[readth] 6, sc. on the inside}

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[167] Above the heading, 'Forrest Hall', Machell has placed a tiny sketch of four trees.
[168] MS: '~~which hearing that~~ \ which I did not visit, hearing / there was nothing Remarkable at It, ~~I did not Visit~~.'
[169] 'Why would I be surprised?'
[170] Ut infra = 'as below'. These words, and Machell's asterisk, refer to the village of Staveley and a paragraph about a calf with two heads, further down the page. A scored-through comment on Ings Chapel, MS: '~~which is so called from being situated at the Head of an Ing~~,' follows the phrase, 'ut infra'.
[171] There is no reference here to the fire which damaged part of Staveley chapel and three houses, recorded by Sir Daniel Fleming on 11 October 1684: see Sowerby and McCormack, *Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming*, 214.
[172] MS: '…which is \ a fair building / like to a church {standing} placed in a level churchyard \ place / opposite to the Cross & at the Lower end of the village {of the village of Staveley}.'
[173] Crocovia: Latin name for the Polish city of Kraków.
[174] 'Under the word, 'vitulus' [a bull calf]. In *Annals 15.*47, Tacitus described the birth of a monstrous calf as a portent of impending doom. '*Func. Cron.*' is unknown to this editor; the volume [Chronicle?] appears to have been written in alphabetical form, like a dictionary.
[175] 'Or sometime/formerly such a name.'

[II.416]

which I viewd on the out side, but could not enter for want of the Keys.[176]

[Hugill]
Hence – I went up a little higher to the N. West to Hugill – to the House of [Blank] Birket who told me his Ancestors had Caw garth; and that he had writeings which declared the same; but I saw them not and ergo onely gave him the hearing till farther enquiry can be made.[177] Here I met with J. Gowling my Quondam[178] parishioner. And ~~t~~his I suppose to have bin formerly the manner house if ever Hugil was a manner;[179] because St Anns Chappell, a large ancient Ruine, which hath had 2 arches & wings on each, standeth opposit to it in the very ~~fold~~ \ court yard / & hence without doubt came the name of Hugil, which is not worne out from amongst the vulgar sort \ of people / to this day.

[High House and Hag Worm]
Hence – wee Returned by the High-house & Orrest-head (where I saw an Hag-worm slane in the way, as thick as my finger and almost a foot long)[180] {of a \ raw / Blea-brown colour somewhat like a Stripd Eale or a Common Earthworm, but somewhat more browne}. \ This High-house belongd to the Brathwate[s], the heiress whereof bestowed her selfe on a Country fellow.[181] There are Armes in the windows & in a Parchment Roll of matches, but she[…]ing[182] them to my mem[ory], I passed them by. /

[Bowness]
Windermer Church*, which stands in a Large & Level church yard in the midst of Bowness – a small c[ountry] village having a Schooll house ~~& others~~ \ with 9 or 10? other houses / about it; where there is a sort of market or meeting \ place / lately begun. Here I busied my selfe till late at night in Drawing out som of the Coates of Armes & lay agane at the Parsonage house. Here Anno Xti 792 Eathredus King of the Nordan-Humbers[183] slewe \ murderd / the sons of King Elfwald, whom he fetched from Yorke that he might confirme the Kingdom to him in their Blood & his wickedness†.

[Machell's Notes II.416]

{*ad Viculum Windermere}[184]
†*Coenobii Hist. Melrosensis* p.682.[185]

[II.417]

{The Townehouse}
There was a market house – or rather – a meeting house builded there this last winter – 1692 – by Sir Christopher Philipson; the Parson of W[indermere]; & other subscribers of their friends & acquaintance, with som of the Town. It stand just opposit to the church on the S. side of the church yard.[186]

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[176] Machell returned the following year. See Part 2, Ch.3iv, II.413: 'Text added in late March 1693.'
[177] For discussion relating to Machell's dislike of fake pedigrees, see the Editor's Introduction.
[178] John Gowling, had been churchwarden at Temple Sowerby chapel, part of the rectory of Kirkby Thore: see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, III.245, and numerous references to Gowling family members in that chapter.
[179] MS: 'And ~~which~~ \ This / I suppose to have bin \ formerly / the manner house ~~for that part~~ if ~~It~~ \ ever Hugil / was a manner.'
[180] Hagworm: a northern name for the adder or viper; in some districts applied to the grass snake and in others to the blindworm. *OED.*
[181] See Part 2, Ch.6, Grasmere, II.132.
[182] Unclear word.
[183] 'Northumbria', see Camden, *Britannia* tr Holland (1637), Cheshire, 603.
[184] 'In a lane at Windermere.'
[185] *Annalibus Melrosensis Coenobii* (MS. in the Cottonian Library) a document listing the Scottish kings; also quoted by James Ussher: see *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, Volume 6* (Dublin, 1639), 454.
[186] For a description of the market house, see Blake Tyson, 'The first Market House at Bowness-on-Windermere, 1692', *CW3,* 7 (2007), 107-12.

[II.420]

On Sunday [24.][187]

I Preached at Windermer for Mr Wilson, & was seised upon by my d[ear] \ kinde / Brother, Sir Christopher Phillipson, who tooke us prisoners & caried us over into his Ile, where I lay al night.[188]

[Munday 25.]

& Returneing next day to finish my work in the said church, wee kept very busy till 12 at night; and a storme arriseing wee lay together at the Parsonage \ house / but dined agane in the Ile of Sir Christophers.

On Tuesday [26.]

After dinner wee went to view the Lady Holm, where there is supposed to have bin a chaple, the ~~Ruin~~ foundation of which seemd to ~~be~~ appare,[189] & the very name bespeakeing \ as much / which I have \ had /since confirmed by Evidence that is undeniable. And I looke upon it to have bin an Hermitage wherein probably the 2 young pri[n]ces of whom wee have spoken where interr'd if not murthered.

[Cawgarth]

Thence I went up to visit Cau-garth – The only Seat excepting the Parsonage on the Bankes of Windermer.[190] {Is not this a comparison?} These 2 conteineing the best & planest gr[ound] thereabouts – well [191] There is in this house a good Hall & Parlour & an Excellent Dineing Roome which views the great lake; in all which places I drew out the Armes, and Returnd to the Iland.

On Wednesday [27.]

The Parson & I sett forward for Ridall, viewing in the way – 1[t] a pretty new house of one of the Phillipsons \ whose name is pretty common here amongst the vulgar.[192] & so are the Fishers; / Then St Katherines Chapel.

[II.422]

St Catherines-Chaple* \ in Windermer Parish /

Us'd of late years but now converted into a Dwelling house, yet so that by the figure & position of it being East & W. & an East Window like other chaples, now walled up, as well as by the name, confirmd it unto us that it has bin a chapel.[193] The Sallary which belonged unto it, is swallowed up amongst the Inhabitants, who have thought it better to spare their purses in paying the same & Repareing therof ~~chaple~~ than to spare their legs in Repareing to (Windermer) the mother church {which is [Blank miles] of.} It stands a little N. from Caugarth. But being thus lost, I did not thinke it worth my while to take the Limits & Bounder of it. Hence wee travaild to Troutbeck Chapel

Troutbeck Chapel[194]

\ which / is parochial (in Windermer Parish) and a pretty fabric in Hansom repare, having a steeple with Bells in it & a good chapel yard – near the East End of which stands the Free School. \ They are

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[187] MS: 'On Sunday ~~Morning~~'. Presumably this is Sunday 24 July and Machell had spent Saturday 23 July at Staveley and Hugill, although there is no obvious statement of where he had spent the night.

[188] MS: 'I Preached at ~~Gresmer~~ \ Windermer / for Mr Wilson, & was seised upon by my d. \ kinde / Brother Sir Christopher Phillipson who \ tooke us prisoners / & carryed us; ~~Prisners~~ \ caried us over / into ~~the~~ his Ile, where I lay al night.' Once home to the Philipsons, this island (now Belle Isle) was first known as Winandermere Island, then Long Holm, then Curwen's Island, see P.J. Mannex, *History, Topography, and Directory of Westmorland; and Lonsdale North of the Sands in Lancashire* (London, 1849), 56.

[189] Probably Machell meant, 'To be apparent'; 'to ap[p]eare'.

[190] MS: '\ the Bankes of / on Windermer banke.'

[191] Figure 2.10.6. Another small sketch of a tree, Machell's shorthand form for 'well wooded' or 'well planted with trees'.

[192] Possibly Rayrigg Hall, a 17th and 18th century house belonging to the Philipsons, sold to the Flemings in 1735: see Hyde & Pevsner, 693.

[193] MS: 'as well as by the name ~~it bears It may be discoverd to have bin Demolishd~~ \ confirmd it unto us that it has bin a chapel. /'

[194] Jesus Chapel: see Part 2, Ch.9, Windermere, II.312; II.320.

situated / in an hansom plane valley on the West banke of which stands the ~~village~~ \ Town / of Troutbeck – a Long Rambling disorderly village,[195] but with good houses in it – where I mett with one Browne, an Ingeniouse country \ man / who with Mr [Blank] a worthy man also – the Curate there – gave me a good account of al things.[196]
This place take name from a Little River which Runns by the church all along down the vale, which has plenty of Troutes & som very large one about Michaelmas Time.
At the S. end of Troutbeck being on the very Top of the Hill, I had a fine prospect of Winandermer \ Water, / & the windeing of it. And Thence wee went forwards to the Head of \ Windermer / Water†. {where I tooke the Dimentions of a Romane forte calld [Blank] Castle: & Thence to Ameside.}

[Machell's Notes: II.422]

*{A Phillipson learned at it.}
†N. Here the map must be corrected, for the head of Windermer Water reaches in a manner to Clap[pers]gate.}

[II.424]

This Ambleside
is a small market Towne \ at the head of ~~Ullswater~~ Windermer / on the East side of ~~It~~ and not much above a Bow Shot from it. Call'd Ambleside from the old Romane fort which was cald Amboglana, about which place many fragments of Romane Antiq[uities] have bin discovered. And amongst the Rest a piece of a Golden Bridle bit* & divers coines in gold, silver, brass, were bestowd of the Public Library in Oxford by a Deed from [Blank] Brathwate of Ambleside Hall,[197] where they are to be seen.[198]
This House of the Brathwates is called an Hall only from the goodness of it exceeding the common sort of buildings. But neither is nor ever was a manner house, for that Estate is composed of \ divers / Tenements united together and is still in Tenancy under the Crown.
This \ Town of Ambleside / was made a market &c. as in my N[otes]. And in the said Towne, but above the Stock, standes Ambleside-Chapel[199] – which is in very good Repare, & where I drew out this Coate of Armes. Which likewise is upon the Cross with the Brathwates motto.[200]
{[Ambleside Chapel is] in Gresmer parish tho the market be in Windermer – For Ambleside above the Stock, i.e. the Bridge which has bin formerly made of wood (whence our word stocks) is all in Gresmer, yet both in one Chapelry.}
In the Street hereof not long agoe a piece of Gold was found & disposed to one Cock of Kendal[201] which I must enquire if it was Romane†? And I heard of ~~memory~~ a Thunderbolt found hereabouts which I must endeavour to gett a sight of from my Lady Otway, the last of Bra[thwates] that ought[202] this hall.

[195] According to Hyde & Pevsner, the village 'ambles down braided tracks following the spring line'. Hyde & Pevsner, 641.
[196] Dudley Walker was curate of Troutbeck, 1663-1701, and curate of Grasmere, 1712. CCED. George Browne of Town End was descended from a well-known Troutbeck yeoman family. According to Hyde & Pevsner, the family was 'semi-gentry and the house has developed somewhat beyond the vernacular, in the provision of … George Browne's … library, for example.' Hyde & Pevsner, 641.
[197] Thomas Braithwaite, of the family of Brathwaite, was owner of the Borrans, site of the Roman Camp at Waterhead. Having made a collection of antiquities, 'he bequeathed to his son Thomas, to be preserved as family heirlooms, "mine ancient coynes of gold, silver, and brasse"'. Dying childless, son Thomas bequeathed his 'ancient medals and Roman Antiquities' to Oxford University, through the Provost of Queen's College. See Armitt, 'Ambleside Town and Chapel', 24-25.
[198] MS: '& diver coines in gold silver brass ~~which~~ were bestowd of (~~& are to be seen at~~) the Public Library in ~~the U. of~~ Oxford by a Deed from [Blank] Brathwate of Ambleside Hall ~~which is called so from the goodness of the building not that It is or ever was a~~ \ where they are to be seen. /'
[199] MS: 'And \ in the said Towne / ~~a little above the said Town~~ \ but above ~~& above~~ the Stock / standes Ambleside-Chapel.'
[200] The text implies an intended illustration, but it did not materialise here.
[201] For James Cocke of Kendal, see Part 2, Ch.9, II.323, fn. 174.
[202] Owned.

There \ are / som good House & Inns in this Towne and some good fellows which kept me longer than I intended from Ridall Hall (not for drinkeing but for companyes sake}[203] where I tooke up my Lodgings.

[Machell's Notes: II.424 and II.425]

*{So the vulgar calld it; but Mr Cock sayes it was only a mussy[204] piece of gold about 5 Inches long, & as thick as the small end of a Tobacco pipe, sollid & streight; for which he gave 34s. & sent a shilling to the Girle that found it at the head of Windermer Water. He had also \ from thence / a meddal of gold worth about 17s and 6d. – with Adrians[205] head & superscription ~~from the said place~~ \ upon it. / But he sold them both many years since, so that I could not see them.}

†Yes. Ut supra.[206]

[II.425][207]

{The fat ox in Yorkeshire}

Sir Edward Blacket Baronet kild at Newby near Rippon in November 1692 an Oxe; the 4 Quarters whereof onely, weighed 106 stone one pound and one halfe (at 14li to the stone) And it had 19 stone & 4 pound of Tallow therein (at the same weight).

Witness Sir Christopher Philipson & Mr Marmaduke Tunsdal, who saw it weighed. Out of Sir Daniel Flemings collections M.S.O. p.249.

[II.426]

Gresmere Parish

Ridal-Hall

About 1 mile N. from Ambleside Chapel stands Ridal-Hall, twixt Gilbeck & Roathy in a pretty little valley of meadows twixt it & the Towne, well wooded on both sides. Though surrounded [and] hem'd in with great mountains, it is yet a very pleasant Seate, so that tho you have a Great Cragg Mountaine above the House {which is called the Nab whence they can view the Castle of Lancaster?}, from thence you have a pleasing though narrow prospect for a great way of viewing som part of the head of U[l]sewater & the Western banks of it.[208] It is also adorned with good gardines & orchards planted all round so thick with Black Cherries, & those so high grown, that you can hardly see the house for them which is Res Viris ætatis \ in an other sense than Florus gives it.[209] / Sir Daniel Fleming \ who is no old man[210] / raised them all since he was marryed of Black Cherry stones.

In the Gardine a Runnell comes quite thorow it & the H[ouse] of office, which drives a mill \ adjoyneing thereto. / & in one of the Orchards by the Gilbeck side is a little Grotto or a house of Retirement, of one little Roome, \ wainscotted round, / whose window opposit to the Dooer opens directly upon a great force or fall of water, having onely a small poole betwixt them, which is very surprising.

[Machell's Notes: II.426]

{Sir Daniel describes it to be an ugly convenient building – i.e. an ill well contrivd house. T.M.}

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[203] The MS continues with the following, mainly scored-through, text: '~~Which kept me the longer from Ridall Hall About a mile N. from Ambleside Chapel stand which stands about a mile above Ambleside Town. Ridal Hall on a little meadow on a pretty little well wooded Dale twixt Roathy,~~ & the little Rill calld Gilbeck ~~the~~…'.

[204] Mussy: untidy, rumpled [thus, messy]. *OED*.

[205] Hadrian's: Publius Aelius Hadrianus (76-138), emperor 117-138.

[206] 'As appears above'. The answer is written in different ink. Machell refers to this incident in Part 2, Ch.9, Windermere, II.323. See also, Part 3. Ch.3, Roman Antiquities, VI.259.

[207] Text on the reverse of this page relates to Machell's dispute with Sir John Dalston (d.1692 aged 81) of Acorn Bank. He deleted it, recycling the paper to pen this note, taken from the Fleming MSS.

[208] This passage could be regarded as proto-picturesque. It has been calendared. The original is as follows: 'though backd with a ~~monstrouse~~ \ ~~very~~ / cragg~~y~~ ~~mountaine~~ & Hem'd in on mountanes on either \ surrounded with mountaines / is yet a very pleasant Seate, for About 1. M. N. from Ambleside Chapel stands Ridal-Hall, Twixt Gilbeck & Roathy ~~& Gilbeck~~ in a pretty little valley of meadows twixt It & the Towne \ hem'd in with great mountaines / well wood – on both sides so that tho you have a Great Cragg Mountaine above the House {which is called the Nab whence they can view the Castle of Lancaster?}, yet looking ~~to Ambleside~~ from thence you have a ~~very~~ pleasing \ though narrow / prospect ~~from the upper Roomes~~ \ for a great way of / viewing ~~Ulsewater~~ som part of the head of Usewater \ & the Western banks of It.'

[209] Res viris ætatis: 'which is a feature of age in men'. Compare Florus (*Epitome Rerum Romanorum* I.I.): 'Res erat unius ætatis, populus virorum.'

[210] Daniel Fleming was born in 1633.

{An hig[h] walke & low; a pond & a privy, are the accomplishments of a good garden sayes Mr Preston.}
{July 13.[211] New Orchard upon an hill top, a cirq' of Scotch firs with one in the center.}

On Thorsday [28.]

[Clappergate]
I went (accompanied with Mr Fleming, Rector \ Parson / of Gresmer,[212] & M. Miles Wright)[213] by Clappergate a small hamlet or village near to the Romane forte, which is thought to take name from the Gate of the Castle \ whereon the clapper or knocker did hang / opening that way – and They would ~~needs~~ persuade us that the very Hi[n]ges (which are prettily florishd) & the Rings upon the Porch & Quier dooer of Gresmer Church, came from This place.

[II.427]

Coathow
Coathow near Ridall, which is said to be the chiefe Seat of the Bensons, is in Gresmer parish […],[214] where there are som Coates of Arme. For Elter water house was a late purchase of VIII Tenements by one Michael Benson of this place; who laid them together & built that fair house whose 4[th] son George is said to have bin a Doctor in Divinity,[215] & to have maryed B[isho]p Kings d[aughter.][216]
{He was Baptized Octob. 2. 1583.}[217]

[II.429]

{Coathow in Gresmer – a free hold} {10 li per annum}

In the hall
3. The portcullis & crown Or \ in an Oval Argent. /
4. The flor de luce & crown Or \ in an oval […] /[218]
5. 6. Blank.
7. The Royal Crist be a Lyon on a crown.
8. Gilpines Armes – Or Sable.
9. & 10. Blank.
11. Blank.
12. 1569.[219]



Figure 2.10.7. Coathow. Arms in the Hall. II.429.

[211] Unclear; insecure transcription.
[212] Henry Fleming (1659-1728), second son of Sir Daniel Fleming. Queen's College, Oxford. BA, 1682. He resided at Queen's for many years afterwards. Although he preached a sermon as rector of Grasmere in December 1687, he was non-resident, employing John Braithwait as his curate. Henry Fleming became D.D., and also rector of Asby, in 1696, holding both benefices in plurality. See Sowerby and McCormack, *Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming*, 429.
[213] See below, II.436.
[214] Here there is an illegible blotted word.
[215] George Benson: Queen's College, Oxford; DD 1607; died 1647/48: see *OAD*.
[216] 'Bishop King': Possibly John King (died 1621), bishop of London, 1611-21. P. McCullough, 'King, John, bishop of London'. *ODNB*.
[217] See the Benson pedigree.
[218] This indistinct word abbreviates either 'azure' or 'argent'.
[219] The date is written inside a rhombus, similar to those in *Figure 2.10.7.*

In the Great Loft
Letters or lines Gules; wantaracks Argent; Pricks or quar[ters] Argent.
3. Lond[on].[220] Armes Argent & Gules.
[4.] Gilpine.
5. Portcullis Or with a crown above the Shield.
6. Armes of England with a crown about.
7. Argent the Yorke & Lancaster Rose White in Read cum Corona […][221]
8. Argent – a Port cullis Or, cum Corona ut supra.
9. The Lyon on a Ducal Cap.
10. Gules – a maiden head [at]tired with a chaplet of Roses, & Habited & tressed Or, within a Bordure neubulee[222] Argent.
11. Earle of Darby crest, Sc. the Eagle & Childe.
12. The year – Sc. πNN^0 1573.[223]
In the Parlour under it – the same.

Thomas B[enson] had iiij wives, and by som of them 3 daughters –
1. Mabell who maryed an Apothecary in London and had the Estate by purchase of her father before his death.
2. Dorathy \ 14 / who maryed one Thomas Benson of High Close. S.P.[224]
3. Isabel, who maryed Reginald Brathwate of Clappersgate.

[II.430]

[Iron Forge]
Hence wee went up by Brathay Beck – where there are Locks for fishing – to a Mill and House at [Blank] Brig, & so up on Lancashire Side through Furness till wee crossed agane to the Iron \ Forge / where the[y] usually have Incomparable Ale. Here I saw the \ double / Bellows & great hammer heat by the motion of wheales; but could not obteine any rationall account of the nature of Iron from the manager of it; whether they could make their Iron tuff if naturally Brittle by Intention of heat or maliation; And whether they could make Tuff Iron Brittle & worke into Steale, by Divers heates & Temperings of it.
Hence wee returned down the mou[ntains] (not being able for \ want / of Time to reach the Shire Stones),[225] to the Lough at Loughrig at the foote of Lile Langdale, where I saw a ~~sword at Benson Hall~~ \ two-handed sword, but none of the greatest that I have met with, at an House of ~~his~~ Bensons corruptly called Elterwater Hall. /

[Langdale Chapel]
Thence up the Beck to Langdale Chap[el], a long ordinary building at the foote of Great Langdale, being 2 \ chapls conjoined / in one. For they say the chapple ~~& Sallary~~ of Little Langdale was ~~brought to this~~ \ translated hither / and the Sallary with it annexed to this, which has made a pretty good endowment.
Hence (being benighted) we Travailed E. over the fell – by 2? places of the Bensons to the Bankes of Gresmere; & thence down along by the Edge of Loughrigg-fell for som miles \ together / in a Strait Track, their being a Great precipice all along on the left hand into the water, till wee came at \

[220] The ancient arms of the City of London were coloured argent and gules, as in 'Arms - Argent a cross gules, in the first quarter a sword in pale point upwards of the last.' See London Metropolitan Archives: the Arms of the City of London. Online.
[221] The symbols after, 'with a crown', are indistinct. They appear to read, '3. I. Sap.' Sapphires are sometimes used as heraldic symbols, see Jordan Walbesser, 'Of Camelopards and Camelopardels', in *Coat of Arms: The Annual Journal of the Heraldry Society*, 4th Series, Vol. IV. (2021), Arms of Cecil Thomas Crisp-Molineux-Montgomerie, Esq., 47. Nevertheless, this is merely a suggestion for the meaning of this unclear text close to the gutter.
[222] Nebuly.
[223] 'Anno 1573.'
[224] 'Sine prole': without issue.
[225] The Shire Stones: three shire stones (for Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire) on Wrynose-top.

Coathow / and \ here / there is a fearfull Rocky descent so that the Horses seemd to goe on their heads, the night being darke. Had it bin upwards[226] it might have bin counted a heavenly way for it, but being downw[ards] it seemd to me a little shought of hellish – {which, but that the Poets have tolds us – facilis descensus Averni,[227] I should have calld [it] a Hellish w[ay].}

[Machell's Notes: II.430]

{N.B. [Brathay is derived from] Breatheye, vide Greeke [and compare] Ritheye Rithdale Brath-eye Brath-thwate Brea-thwate Poole-eye Pooley. The Eye, at the head & foot of Ulswater.}

[II.431]

And we return'd to Ridal agane.
Hence

[II.432][228]

On Friday [29.]



Figure 2.10.8. Helm Crag. 'Atlas supporting the Hevens'. II.432.

Mr Henry Fleming the Parson of Gresmer – the only Minister in the Barrony of Kendal except Mr Wilson that was so civil as to accompany me through their parishes – went along with me up the N. side of Rothay to Gresmer church, in the way to which I espyed a mountain beyond the church called the Helm, on the Top of which there is a crag which looks like Atlas supporting the Hevens.[229] And leaveing that on the left hand, wee went up the Dale to an heap of stones on a fell betwixt 2 higher mountains \ on either side one /) called Dunbal-Raise; which partes the Countyes of W. & Cumberland near unto Wiborne[230] ~~in the said County~~: where there is a fair lake, being one of the heads of Derwent water.

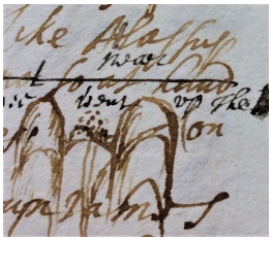


Figure 2.10.9. 'An heap of stones'. II.432.

[226] MS: 'there is a fearfull Rocky descent so that the Horses seemd to ~~stand~~ \ goe ~~on~~ / on their heads \ the night being darke. / Had it ~~not~~ bin ~~by way of Descent~~ \ upwards. /'
[227] 'The descent into Hell is easy', Virgil, *Aeneid 6,* 126.
[228] II.433 contains only, 'Kendal Barony. T.M.s Itinerary', a title-page written in pencil.
[229] MS: 'Mr Henry Fleming the Parson {of Gresmer} (~~who is all~~ the \ only / Minister in the Barrony \of Kendal / except Mr Wilson that \ was so civil as / accompany~~ed~~ me through his Parish \ their parishes /) went along with me up the N. side of Rotha To Gresmer church ~~& so up the Dale leaveing the Helm on the left~~ \ In the way to which I espyed a mountain beyond the church called the Helm, on / the Top of which ~~in the way from Ridal to Gresmer~~ \ there is a crag which / looks Like Atlas supporting the Hevens ~~But not so \ neare / at hand~~.'
[230] Wythburn.

Whence wee Returned by the way that wee ~~came~~ \ went, & / had a faire prospect of the Dale of Gresmer, a fine little plane mostly of meadow, whence it may be calld Grasmere. In the midle of which is a pretty mount or hill \ clad with wood[231] / which might have becomd a manner house, but that I can hear of none in this place.

{Church}
Near to this Hill ~~stands~~ \ in the midle if the Dale stands / Gresmer church, a fair large building in a large plane church yard; with a square tower or steeple & 4 Rowes of Pillars which have bin inlarged at several Times.[232]And a little distant from the West End of it stands the Parsonage-House

[II.434]

on a plane Level ground – ~~which was~~ lately \ Re /builded by the present Rector Mr Henry Fleming from the very foundation.

[Grosmer/Gresmer]
And a little below is a Great mear or Lake with an Iland in it of meadow ground, and a Barne built thereon. This mere is infinitely less [than] that great one calld Windermer, yet being much larger than the other mere upon the same River at the head of Ridal, it might from thence be called Grosmer, corruptly Gresmer \ from being the larger of the two. / Take which dirivation liketh you best, for both do agree the Nature of the place – Conveniunt Rebus nomina sæpè suis.[233]

[Sess Bills]
They have in this Parish {a peculiar way of makeing their Sess Bills,[234] not with paper & inke – but a stick & a knife: a very strange method;} yet I believe of great antiquity; for simplicitas formæ est Antiquitatis Argumentum;[235] and which I ~~believe~~ \ conjecture / till Pen & Inke became \ so / frequent in England has bin used all over, ~~which is by scratching~~. And the Gothes & Vandalls may seem to have used som such way of writeing when their Letters are called Sticken. However, since this is so great a rarity in so Learned age, Behold the Booke;[236] and let him that despiseth their Rural Simplicity, Read \ this / if he can: for any childe or Iliterate person in the Parish can read it of hand.[237]

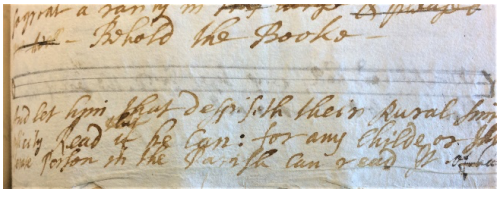


Figure 2.10.10. Grasmere 'Sess Bills'. II.424.

[II.435]

In this line is every house in the Towne and the sums they were assessed for Repares of the Church. \ 3 / pence, sixpence, ~~shillings~~ shillings, & halfe pence, Anno Domini 1691. And they will not admit of any other way.

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[231] MS adds: '~~whose sides are yet replenishd with wood~~.' This scored-through phrase hints at deforestation, a distinctive theme throughout Machell's volumes.
[232] See Part 2, Ch.6, Grasmere, II.125; II.128; II.132C.
[233] 'Names often suit their subjects', or, 'There's often an agreement between names and things'. See Camden, *Britannia* tr. Holland (1637), 525C: 'For saith the Poet, Conveniunt rebus nomina sæpè suis. The names, as often times we see, with things themselves full well agree.' Here Camden was commenting on the name of Rutlandshire being based on the colour rud, roet or red.
[234] MS: 'Sess Bills': assessments or rates.
[235] 'Simplicity of form is an argument for antiquity.'
[236] MS: 'However, since this is so great a rarity in this ~~large & pleased me well~~ \ so Learned age / Behold the Booke.'
[237] This was a form of tally: to notch (a stick) so as to make it a tally; hence, to mark, score, set down or enter numbers etc. on, or as on, a tally. *OED*.

[Machell's Notes, II.435]

Ulvesthwaite near Kentmer Hall was, sayes Sir Daniel, the Seat of the Gilpines before Kentmer hall.
A note of the female poll formerly payed in ~~Gres~~ \ Winder /mer Parish and in what part of it.
The Antient Estate of the Flemings in Lancashire.
A N[ote] of the grant of Brath[wate] Armes
Mem. One of the L. a duel. & the Indenture –
Old [Blank] of Anwick in Northumberland. 100 y[ears]
A new set of Te[e]th & Hare 3 years since {ab 1692} Agnes uxor John Fulthrop through F[le]ming, informant.
Q[uery] of William Stanton, her landlord.[238]
There is spar a little below the summit […][239] Kentmere Beck.

[II.436]

Hence we Returned to Ridal that night and on

Satterday morning [30.]

I purposed to have Returned Home: But their happening a most severe Rane \ in that morning / I spent al the Day in studying with that Ingeniouse Gentleman & Industriouse gatherer of Antiquites, Sir Daniel Fleming, purposeing to preach the next day at Gresmer Church, or at Ambleside Chapel for his son Mr Henry. But the Raine continuing all the day over [and] **on Sunday** likewise, they would not suffer me to goe out of Dooers: & so I \ only / Red prayers ~~in the House~~ to the family. &

On Munday morning [1 Aug.]

I went by Ambleside, over Kirkston fell {having the company of Mr Fleming – Eldest [son] of Sir Daniel Fleming[240] – & my friend Miles Wright[241]} & in the way met with a piece of a Blew-marble rag veined with white {an Indication of more thereabouts} and as I remember a vaine of \ white / Spar on Troutbeck fell, which is a token of Lead Ore in that place \ and is all I met with re[garding] the rock. / This ~~fell~~ \ Kirkston fell / takes its name from a Ridged stone \ or cragg / like the Roofe of an House – like an house only at the N. End towards Patt[erdale] – which som have imagined (when churches were but Indifferent Buildings without Bells & Steeples) to be like a church.



Figure 2.10.11. 'Like an house only at the N. End'. II.436.

It lyes a Little on your left hand as you descend into Hartsop dale, where there is a square Lake, there river expanding into a broad [lake] called Broader-water.[242] & Patterdale, where the head of that great one \ & most famous lake in the bottom of Westmorland & 2nd in England / called Ulsewater, doth first shew its \ head / from betwixt 2 stons set upon edge & w[h]ere a spring calld St Patricks Well, which give name unto \ the Dale, / runns through the High way into the Lake.

[238] Two examples of Machell's fascination with regeneration in old age, to be seen throughout the volumes.
[239] The next few words are illegible because they are in faded pencil.
[240] Sir William Fleming (1656-1736), see Sowerby and McCormack, *Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming*, 432-33.
[241] Unknown person, although one Miles Wright was admitted as sizar aged 19 at St John's College, Cambridge, 1630-1. Son of Stephen, tailor; ed. Sedbergh School. B.A. 1634-5; M.A. 1638. Deacon's orders, 1635. CCED; Ancestry.co.uk: Cambridge Alumni. In 1692 he would have been c. 80; an age not necessarily conducive to riding over difficult terrain … perhaps.
[242] Brothers Water.

Wee calld at Park house & parted at Gowbarrow, whence I went by Pooley & Lowther, Home; arriveing there later on **Munday at night**.

[II.437]

After my Journey

On Tuesday[243] I went to meet the Judges – On Wednesday Thorsday & Friday to Appelby & Thence to Blenkarn where I lay all night & came home on Sat[urday].[244]

[243] 2 August 1692.
[244] 6 August 1692.

Part 3. Further Collections

[Chapter 1]

Directions for those who shall undertake to finish the Antiquities of Westmorland

[VI.429][1]

Writ 3 Indexes:
1. Of ~~proper~~ names.
2. Of places: referring to the places; to the parish; to the parish & Lordship.
3. Of things.

{N.B. Lett this[2] be red over with the Booke Misc. Papers, & referd}

Directions for those who shall undertake to finish the Antiquities of the County of Westmorland.

If any hereafter shall thinke fit to superstruct upon my Foundation; that he may not laboure invane, &, as wee say, actum agere,[3] is to bee noted that I have perused, as followeth:

1. Volumes of Mr Dodsworth's Collections of Yorkshire, out of which I have taken observations.[4]

2. Leland volumes and taken notes or referr'd to him.[5]

3. Cambden's *Britannia*, traced quite through, who follows Leland about Appleby, but neither \ of them / came att it. Speed, who follows Cambden.

4. The Heralds Office, and therein most particularly:
    1. 'The Visitation of Westmorland & Cumberland' by Mr Dugdal Anno Domini 16[blank]
    2. 'Visitation of Yorkshire' by William Flower, Norroy, 1663 -1664 circa. Anno 6 Elizabeth, marked (D.2) allso (D.1). {1563, 1564.}
    [3.] All Flower Norroys concessions.

5. Most of the Herald painters shopps & collection in London, and namely these:
    1. Mr Morgan's at Cambden's Head, behind the Old Exchange in Swithins Alley. Nothing there
    2. Mr Williams the midle most in Little Britane.[6]

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[1] Also numbered p.65.
[2] The word following this one is blotted.
[3] 'To have all one's trouble for nothing.'
[4] The unpublished MSS were bequeathed to the Bodleian Library. Anthony Wood described how, in June 1673, 85 volumes of manuscripts arrived from York in a rain-soaked condition, and how he spent the best part of a month drying them out on the leads of the library roof. G. Parry, 'Dodsworth, Roger (bap. 1585, d. 1654), antiquary'. *ODNB*. See also https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/7563.
[5] John Leland (1503-1552), *Itinerary*, originally published by Thomas Hearne (1770). See Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543*, 5 vols. (1907-10, reprinted 1964). Though a 'New Year's Gift' to Henry VIII (edited by Leland's assistant, John Bale) was published as *The Laboryouse Journey*, in 1549, no other Leland material was published until 1770. Nevertheless, Leland's notes circulated among serious scholars, including William Camden. In 1677, the last authenticated Leland MS joined others in the Bodleian Library (Bodl. Oxf., MSS top. gen. c.1-4; gen. e.8-15). As a fellow having already embarked on his own 'History', Machell would have been aware of these acquisitions. See J. Carley, 'Leland, John (c. 1503–1552), poet and antiquary'. *ODNB*.
[6] Now a street name, Little Britain was historically a small area in the City of London that specialised in book-selling during the late-16th and 17th centuries. According to *The Life of the Right Hon. Francis North*, it was then a 'plentiful and perpetual emporium of learned authors', and men 'went thither as to a market'. Izaak Walton (1593-1683) described meeting a bishop unexpectedly there: 'The place of our meeting was Little

3/4. The other 2 Herald painters shopps in Little Britane.
5. Mr Wallis behind the Old Exchange.
6. Mr Mole's in Chauncery Lane, who has not yet given his ans[wer] {?}
7. One on the other hand (ibid) near Lincoln's Inn.
8. Mrs Marshall's (formerly Parker \ alias Parkers / att Charing Cross. And
9. An other, over against Stanhop-House, withall in the Strand.
10. Mrs Smyth's, near St Dunstan's, on the other side the way; where I had a piece of a 'Visitation of Westmorland', taken (as I guess) much from old ped[egrees] about \ 1638 / 15 of Charles 1 {1638}, but by whom I know not.

Out of this I had much of my Collection of Pedegrees, this being the chief booke for the county of Westm'land that I have mett withall, & I left nothing of moment behind me: Feb 1^0 1675/6.[7]

6. All the MS Bookes of Heraldry, which are in the possession of Sergiant Knight, one of the King's Chirurgions,[8] who[se] grandfather was Norroy (who lives in Durham Yard att the high end of the New Exchange in the Strand), namely these:

1. A Book \ in 4^0 / intitled, 'The Visitation of ~~Westm'land~~ \ Cumberland' / (but nothing in it save Coates of Armes \ of Westm'land & Cumberland / & some short notes) taken, as I suppose, from windows, carved shields & monuments about the reign of Elizabeth. Arms et Authore incerto.[9]

[VI.430]

2. 'The Visitation of Northumberland',[10] per Richard S[nt] George, Norroy, 1615.

3. 'Visitation of Durham', eodem anno.[11]

4. 'Visitation of Lancashire': a good one (anno tamen & authore incerto). {This of Lancashire was taken 2 Generations before that of Mr Smyth's, which has som of the same pedegrees, with 2 descents more, as I observd.}

5. 'Visitation of Yorkshire' \ a good one / circa 1584, 1585: authore incerto.

Evidences of Ancient Gentry in Westmorland, serched

VII.

1. The evidences of the Cliffords in 2 volumes, collected by Mr Hayles, afterward Lord Chiefe Justice of England.[12]
2. The evidences of the Machells of Crakenthorpe.
3. The evidences of the Blenkinsops of Helbeck & Helbecks.
4. An abstract of contents of Musgraves evidences. Sed vid.
5. The evidences of the Sandfords of Askham.

Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand.' See William Roberts, *The Book-hunter in London: Historical and other Studies of Collectors and Collecting* (Chicago, 1895), 171.

[7] He left nothing important when he left Oxford for Kirkby Thore.

[8] Chirurgion: surgeon. *OED*.

[9] 'Author uncertain.' 4^0 = quarto.

[10] MS: '2. The Visitat 2. The Visitation of Northumberland.'

[11] 'The same year.'

[12] Sir Mathew Hale/Hales (1609-1676), barrister, judge and author. Despite Hale's tacit sympathy for Puritans, made evident in the trial of John Bunyan in 1661 (Michael A. Mullett, *John Bunyan in Context* (Pittsburgh, 1997), 81-84), Charles II appointed Hale Chief Justice of King's Bench that year. Never accepted as wholly loyal to the laws of the established church, Hale survived an attempt to remove him in December 1672: he had refused to endorse the royal Declaration of Indulgence. He retired in February 1676. His famous law treatises, *Historia placitorum coronae*, and *History and Analysis of the Common Laws of England,* were both published posthumously in 1736. Alan Cromartie, 'Hale, Sir Mathew, judge and writer'. *ODNB*.

VIII. Halton's Register att Rose Castle, glansed into & som notes taken.

VIV. A MS Booke with the Coates of Armes of All the Nobility of England penes Episcopum Carliol, which run all over, & tooke notes, 1674.

X. 3 MS Miscellanies of Mr Sheldons of Weston in Warwickshire:
1. In quarto, marked thus.[13]

II. In folio marked χ, the III in folio marked thus.[14] {Now in the Heralds' Office, 1764.}[15]

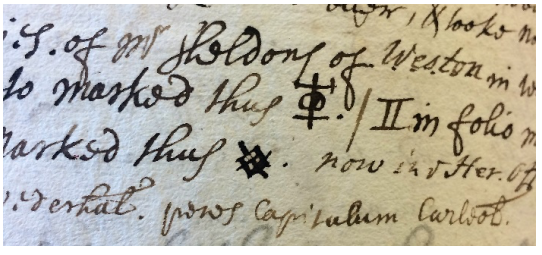


Figure 3.1.1. 'In folio marked thus'. VI.430.

Registrum de Wederhal penes Capitulum Carleol.[16]

The evidences of the Wybers of Clifton.

I Have Visited:

Askham
Appleby, but want the 2 great monuments
Bongate
Brough
Barton \ & / Bolton
Clifton
Dufton but not completely
Lowther by Mr Dugdall & the Hall
Morland & Bolton
Nubiggin
Kirkbythore, \Temple Sowerby / Milnburne & Howgill Castle, Acorn Banke
Warcop
See a farther account which I have don in a letter to Mr Adams, 1687 or 1688.[17]

[VI.431]

Books that may be necessarye, & other directions which may conduce to the farther illustration of the Antiquities of Westmorland

1. Spelman's *Villare Anglicanum*, for finding out townes the original or groundes of many sir names. {I have it.}

[13] The antiquary, Ralph Sheldon, bequeathed his MSS collection to the College of Arms. See Jan Broadway, 'Sheldon, Ralph (1623-1684)'. *ODNB*.
[14] See *Figure 3.1.1.*
[15] This margin comment is an addition.
[16] 'The Register of Wetheral Priory in the keeping of the Chapter of Carlisle.'
[17] See Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence. Machell to John Adams, 26 Jan. 1686, discusses sources at length.

2. Goring's *Nomenclator*,[18] which shows the Romane townes, but is not of much use, being only a collection out of Camden.
3. Ignulphus or Ingulphus, who was secretarie to William the Conqueror: an author worth seeing.[19]
4. Prinns III volumes may conduce.[20]
5. The Scutage Rolls in the Tower; & bundells of Escheates, into the knowledge of which Mr Petty of the Inner Temple has promiss'd to introduce mee, if I goe up to London in vacation time. \ See allso the Pipe Rolls of Westmorland. /
6. Mr Petty's account of the limitts & bounders of Scotland & England (which may be touch'd att from Rear Cross). His account of *Doomsday Booke*, whether it have nothing of Westmorland, sub Tit. Eboracschyre, as may be hop'd from Brompton's *Cron*.[21] His copyes of a line or 2 of the usuall hand-writeings in each king's reign from the Conquest to John, which are generally sans date \ quere? / His references to an Index I left with him \ 14 / of February 1675/6 on purpose to be returned, with what observations occur in his reading. These things he promisd.[22]
7. Spelman's *Glossarium* for ancient law termes which occur in evidences;[23] & Blou[n]t's *Dictionarie*.[24]
8. The evidences of the ancient gentry of Westmorland, which I have not yet seene, Sc. Musgraves of Hartley \ & / Musgrave ~~& Edenhall~~, Crackenthorps of Newbiggin; Hiltons of Burton; Lowthers of Lowther.
9. Saxon Dictionary;[25] Skinner's Dictionarie;[26] & Dr Marshal account of the names in the Index.[27] Minsheus Polyglot Dictionary is a good booke too, but may be not for our purpose.[28]

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[18] Thomas Gore, *Nomenclator Geographicus* (1667).
[19] Ingulph (Ingulphus) was made abbot of Crowland Abbey in 1087, after travelling to England with William the Conqueror. The Latin MS, 'Chronicle of Croyland Abbey', thought to be by Ingulph, was first printed (in part) in 1596, in Sir Henry Saville's *Scriptores post Bedam*; and in various later collections. Admired and thought entirely genuine by 17th-century antiquaries, the 'Chronicle' has since been exposed as the work of several hands: see Henry T. Riley (translator and ed.), *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the Continuations by Peter de Blois and anonymous writers* (London,1854).
[20] Prinn = William Prynne, *The History of King John, King Henry III and the most illustrious King Edward the I, wherein the ancient sovereign dominion of the Kings of England, Scotland, France and Ireland ... is asserted and vindicated* (London, 1670).
[21] 'Brompton's Chronicle': Latin chronicle (588-1199) preserved in Corpus Christi C., Cambridge, MS.96 (c. 1425), and in a later 15th-century manuscript (BL, Cotton Tiberius C. xiii.), named for the 15th-century John Brompton, Cistercian Abbot of Jervaulx (1436-1464), whom the 16th-century antiquary John Bale regarded as the author (see *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* – John Bale's *Index of British and other writers,* Oxford, 1902 edition). Machell possibly read it in Twysden's, *Decem scriptores* (1652). See E.D. Kennedy, 'Brompton's Chronicle', in G. Dunphy and C. Bratu (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* Online (2016).
[22] William Petyt (Petit), lawyer; keeper of the Tower records from 1689. An esteemed scholar, he was famed for *The Antient Right of the Commons of England Asserted* (1680): J. Greenberg, 'Petyt [Petit], William (1640/41-1707), lawyer and political propagandist'. *ODNB*. For more on William Petyt see Part 1, Ch.20, Orton, I.640; see also Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence, V.3.
[23] Sir Henry Spelman (c.1562-1641), *Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones in Re Ecclesiarum Orbis Britannici* (1639); *Glossarium Archaiologicum* (1626, completed by William Dugdale, 1664).
[24] Thomas Blount, *Glossographia* (1656).
[25] The first Anglo-Saxon dictionary was William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum, voces, phrasesque praecipuas Anglo-Saxonicas . . . cum Latina et Anglica vocum interpretatione complectens . . . Aecesserunt Aelfrici Abbatis Grammatica Latino-Saxonica cum glossario suo ejusdem generis,* 2 pts (Oxford, 1659), though Camden and others had produced Anglo-Saxon word lists before this. See Roberta Florence Brinkley, *Arthurian Legend in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1932). William Nicolson was also an acknowledged scholar of the Anglo-Saxon language, see Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1995), 344-45.
[26] Stephen Skinner, *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae* (1671).
[27] Henry Marshall (bap. 1621-1685) was an Oxford scholar, linguist and dean of Gloucester who contributed to scholarship on the Anglo-Saxon language, particularly in *Observationes in Evangeliorum Versiones perantiquas duas, Gothicas scil. et Anglo-Saxonicas* (Dortmund, 1665; Amsterdam, 1684),
[28] John Minsheu, *Ductor in linguas*, *Glosson Etimologicon* (1617).

10. Visitations of neighbouring counties into which many familyes transplant their selves; as Bishoprick, Yorkshire, Cumberland & Northumberland, where the pedegrees may possibly be entered. Divers of these I have tried.

[VI.432]

There is a booke worth looking into in the Heralds Office (butt not ~~part~~ \ directly / to my purpose) marked (L.15) Item: Lord Marshall's Booke marked (I.15), out of which I have taken som notes in reference to Heraldry.[29]

For explication of cornage (by which tenure most of the lands in Westmorland were held) vide Rot. Patents 22, Rich. 2 partem 3, memb.1[0] {Se all: se Law Dictionaries} Mr Leigh at the Heralds College.[30]

I must see in *Scaccario*[31] (penes Rememoratorem Regium)[32] the booke of Knights fees in Ed. Time {Given in temp. Ed. I} wherein is mention of William de Lancaster & John de Veteriponte, Lords of the Baronyes of Kendall & Westmorland. But I suppose it should be in Henry 3, for John Vipont dyed about the 26 of his reigne. However, the book is worth seing: Walterus de Strickland & Robertus de Hellebeck collectores.

In Mr Dugdall you may have a pedigree of 3 or 4 descents of the Fishers of Steanbankegreen, whose Armes are inserted there but no proofe exhibited.[33] They say that the 1[t] who raised this family above the ordnarie sort of yeomandry was a shireman[34] of Kendall whose industry \ ergo / is to be comended.[35]

There is also a pedegre of Steale of Kendal: a phisitian there; but his posterity is scarce yet arrived to the repute of Gentleman.[36] There is likewise of Scaife of Winton, & Armes entered but no proofe b\r/ought;[37] which 3 I thought not worth the transcribing. But tha[y] may be seene in Dugdall's Visitation of Westmorland (1664?).[38]

Som people out of Kent, Essex, Midlesex &c. were brought to inhabit the countyes of Westm'land & Cumberland under the conduct of Ranulph Mescheins, 1[t] Earle of Cumberland (in William the

[29] Earl Marshal of the College of Arms (Heralds' College), a hereditary position since 1672, held by the dukes of Norfolk. https://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk/About/01.htm.

[30] Sir Francis Leigh, *Of the Antiquity, Office and Privilege of the Heralds in England* (1575).

[31] The late-12th-century *Dialogus de Scaccario*, or *Dialogue concerning the Exchequer*, is the work of Richard Fitz-Nigel, treasurer of England (c.1195-8), bishop of London (1189-98). It takes the form of a dialogue in Latin between teacher and pupil, and is one of the principal sources of knowledge of Norman administration in England before Magna Carta. It has been repeatedly republished and translated: see Drabble et al, *The Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature* (3rd edn, Online, 2013).

[32] 'In the keeping of the Royal Remembrancer / Recorder.'

[33] Stainbank Green, Kendal Parish: see Smith, *Place-Names*, 1, 121. In Dugdale's 'Visitation of Westmorland' (1666), there is a reference to 'Nicholas Fisher, of Staine-banke-greene, in the Parish of Kendall, Esqr., now one of His Majestie's Justices for conservation of the Peace for the County of Westmerland, and an Utter Barister of Gray's Inne, setatis 51 annor., 20 Martij, 1664 …' 'Arms, Or. a king fisher ppr. Crest, a king fisher ppr., holding in the beak a fish argent. Respite given for proofe of these armes, but no proofe made.' See Joseph Foster (ed.) *Pedigrees Recorded at the Heralds' Visitations of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland made by Richard St. George, Norroy*, *King of Arms, in 1615 and by William Dugdale, Norroy*, *King of Arms in 1666* (Carlisle and Kendal, 1891), 48.

[34] Possibly 'Shereman': a shearer of woollen cloth. *OED*.

[35] The pedigree begins with, 'Henry Fisher, one of the first Aldermen of the Borough of Kendall', but there is no date. The first given date is a death in 1640. see Foster, *Pedigrees*, 48.

[36] 'Steele of Kendal: arms, a fesse engrailed fretted, between three fleurs-de-lis within a bordure. Crest: A wolfs head Sa[ble], gorged and fretted below the collar Az[ure]. Respite given for proofs of these arms but no proofe made.' Michaell Steele, the 'Doctor of Phisick', was aged 48 in 1664. see Foster, *Pedigrees*, 129.

[37] 'Scaife of Winton: arms, azure, on a chevron argent, between as many wolves' heads erased Or, three trefoil's slipped sa[ble]. Crest: A wolf's head erased Or, holding in the mouth a trefoil as in the arms. Respite given for proofe of these arms, but no proofe made.' Foster, *Pedigrees*, 120. See Machell's low opinion of the Scaifes in Part 1, Ch.6, Brough, I.395.

[38] The visitations were made in 1664 and published in 1666: see Foster, *Pedigrees*, 48.

Conqueror or Rufus, his time); which Ranulph was sister son to Hugh Lupus or Lou, first Earle of Chester (& near kinsman to William the Conqueror), so that he sent the best of his soljers & nearest relations in whose valour & loyalty he confided[39] most, into these northern & most remote partes: MS Cumb. Part 1[t] pag. 47. N.B. See ergo in the Tower about Ranulph Mescheines & William Rufus; allso Ivo Taleboys.

Registrum de Wetherhall penes Dom Willielmum Howard de Naworth anno 1638, folio 7. Radulph Mescheines \ de Bricasard / calls it his castle of Apelby in the charter, whereas he gives the advouesan of St Michael to St Mary, Yorke, to whom the castle descended .?*Mon. Ang.* […] I399 \ Laewrence /[40] Stainmore on the skirts of Yorkeshire & Westmorland given to Ranulph Meschiens ex vetusta membrana penes Henricum Ferri[e]r quadam de Desley q.? * ubi et quis. Et quid Amplius? *Baronagium* p.37a.{*in Hamshire puto. {His brothers, Will of Coupland & Geffrey of Gillsland, vide etiam Waltheof & Morvill Taylboys.}[41]

[VI.432, A & B]

[Bishop Charles Lyttelton's suggestions for further reading]

{This is writt by Bishop Lyttelton}[42]

Machel's MSS Collect[ion] Vol. 6, p. 432
For the Roman Antiq[uities] of Cumberland & Westmorland, see Horsley & Warburton's, *Vallum Romanum*, pr[inted] at London, 1753.[43]

[39] Unclear word.
[40] The feast of St Lawrence is on 10 August; Machell's date is obscured by the binding.
[41] 'Register of Wetherall in the keeping of Lord William Howard of Naworth, from the year 1638, folio 7. etc. From a certain ancient document in the keeping of Henry Ferrier of *Desley. q.? where and who? And something further? *Baronagium* p.37a.*In Hampshire, I think … See also Waltheof & Morvill Taylboys.' Dugdale's, *Baronagium*, 37A, comments, 'It is likewise recorded of this Ranulph; that being a person of more than ordinary valor, King William the Conqueror gave him that vast Mountainous Country, called Stanemore, situate on the skirts of Yorkshire and Westmerland, then possessed by Aliens, upon condition, he could recover it out of their hands; and that, by his singular courage, having beaten out those Foreigners, he Enfeoffed his two Brothers in a large portion thereof, viz. William of Coupland, and Geffrey of Gillesland; and a multitude of others within the County of Cumberland, amongst which, one Waltheof, a Man of note in that age, as also the Morvills, and sundry persons in Anandale, whose Estates, the King at his request confirmed.' William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (London, 1675-76), 37. Desley is unknown but Disley in Cheshire was named Desley in 1528: see *Survey of English Place-Names*, https://epns.nottingham.ac.uk/browse/Cheshire.
[42] Charles Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle 1762-68, was president of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1765-68. See B. Nurse, 'Lyttelton, Charles (1714-1768), bishop of Carlisle and antiquary'. *ODNB*. This letter was obviously pasted into Machell's Volume VI after 1757 (the last published date of the volumes recommended by Lyttelton) but probably much later, see the Editor's Introduction. It is interesting to note that Lyttelton presented an annotated copy of John Denton's MS History of Cumberland (also in Machell Vol.VI) to the Society of Antiquaries in 1762, the year in which he became bishop. See Angus Winchester (ed.), *John Denton's History of Cumberland*, Surtees Soc. Vol. CCXIII and CWAAS Record Series 20 (Woodbridge, 2010), 200. See also, *Catalogue of the Society of Antiquaries*, MSS/0091, https://collections.sal.org.uk/mss.0091. For Nicolson and Burn's praise of Lyttelton as an antiquary, see *N&BII*, 299-300.
[43] John Horsley (1685-1732) wrote an account of his journey around Roman Britain, *Britannia Romana* (London, 1732). The section dealing with Hadrian's Wall was appropriated by John Warburton (Somerset Herald) in his *Vallum Romanum, or the History and Antiquities of the Roman Wall, commonly called the Picts Wall, in Cumberland and Northumberland* (London, 1753). See T. Woodcock, 'Warburton, John (1682-1759), herald and antiquary'. *ODNB*.

In this thereto also the new *Roman Iters of Brittain* in Richard Corinensis, printed at Copenhagen, 1753,[44] & published by Carolus Berham in very small 12mo;[45] a most curious work on which Dr Stukely has published 3 letters to the Antiq[uarian] Society in this year.[46] See also some Papers in the *Philosophical Transactions*, where some inscriptions are explain'd. Tis the same *Transactions* attend some curious accounts of storms & inundations & other ~~parts~~ \ points / of the Natural History of these counteys.

See the Harleian & Cottonian MSS in the British Museum for various matters relating to these countys, especially heraldical.

See Sir Joseph Williamson's Cabinet in the library at Queen's College Oxon.[47] Consult also Bishop More's MSS in the publick Library at Cambridge,[48] and the MSS of Bennett, and other Colleges there \ very like in Oxford. /

For the perambulation of Englewood and other forests in these countys, see the Tower records & those within the Closet at the old Chapter House Westminster, where also carefully consult the Indexes D, the

[VI.432B]

King's Bench and Common Plea Rolls, where many things are to be found of importance to one who describes the ancient owners of maners and lands here.

See the Index's and Calendars to the records kept in the Office of Augmentation adjoining to Westminster Hall, under Cumberland and Westmorland, where several interesting particulars occur.[49]

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[44] MS: 'in Richard Creeshensis \ Corinensis / pr. at Copenhagen, 1753.'

[45] Book sizes: smaller formats include duodecimo, consisting of twelve leaves per sheet.

[46] The *Westmonasteriensis comentariolum Geographicum de situ Britanniae & Stationum quas Romani ipsi in ea Insula aedificauerunt*, was supposedly compiled in the second half of the 14th century by a medieval chronicler, Richard Coriensis, but this medieval history had been written by the literary forger Charles Bertram, who published it in 1757, alongside two genuine early medieval texts by Gildas and Nennius, as *Britannicarum gentium historiae antiquae scriptores tres*. During a lengthy correspondence, William Stukeley, a founder member of the re-established Society of Antiquaries (1718), encouraged Bertram to publish, thus adding weight to the work's supposed authenticity. It was accepted by many as genuine and utilised in various histories of Roman Britain until 1866: D. Haycock, 'Bertram, Charles Julius (1723-1765), literary forger'. *ODNB*. Twice in 1756, Stukeley read papers on Bertram's manuscript to the Society of Antiquaries, publishing them in 1757 as, *An Account of Richard of Cirencester, Monk of Westminster, and of his Works*: see Stuart Piggott, *William Stukeley: An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary* (London, 2nd edn, 1985), 126, 133.

[47] The Upper Library at Queen's College, Oxford, was built between 1692 and 1695 to house large donations from Thomas Barlow, one-time Provost of the College (later Bishop of Lincoln), and from Sir Joseph Williamson: https://www.queens.ox.ac.uk/library-history. Both of these men were Cumbrians known to Machell, who had been a fellow of Queen's College. For Barlow, see Part 1, Ch.20, Orton, I.639; I.642A; for Williamson, see Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence, I.517.

[48] John Moore (1646-1714), bishop of Ely, was a patron of learning. At his death his library was 'universally and most justly reputed the best furnish'd of any … that this Age has seen in the Hands of any private Clergyman.' Extracted from William Nicolson, *The English Historical Library* (2nd edn, 1714), xii. Following Oxford University's refusal to house the library, its almost 29,000 books and 1,790 manuscripts were given to the University of Cambridge in 1715, bringing its university library into international prominence. P. Meadows, 'Moore, John (1646-1714)'. *ODNB*.

[49] The Court of Augmentations, formerly held in the Old Palace of Westminster, was founded by Henry VIII during the Reformation to survey and govern all forfeited ecclesiastical property secularised to the use of the king. All records of judicial proceedings, deeds and resignations of abbeys, priories, lands, and their valuations, were kept there, as were the Parliamentary Survey records made under the Commonwealth, see *British History Online*, The Law Courts and Old Palace Yard, 560-67.

Consult Ray's *Glossary of Northern Words*.[50] The Glossary annex't to Kennett's *Parochial Antiquitys*.[51] Baxter's *Glossary: Antiq. Brit*.[52]

[50] John Ray (1627-1705), *A Collection of English words, not generally used ... in two alphabetical catalogues, ... northern ... southern counties, with catalogues of English birds and fishes, and an account of preparing ... metals and minerals* (1674). See Machell's Preface, II.353, II.488.
[51] Bishop White Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester, and adjacent parts in Oxford and Bucks* (1695).
[52] William Baxter (1650-1723), Welsh antiquary, linguist and grammarian, *Glossary of Roman Antiquities* (1726). See Thomas Hardy Rees, *Notable Welshmen 1700-1900, with Brief Notes in chronological order* (London, 1908), 25.

Part 3. Further Collections

[Chapter 2]

[Thomas Machell's Correspondence][1]

[A. Letters and Notes concerning Clerical Obligations]

[I.378]

[1.] [Preaching the Ordination Sermon at Dalston, while preparing to leave for Oxford, 1674.]

Crakanthorp. Feb: 22. 1674.
Master[2]
My Lord Bishop has commanded me on Sunday next to preach the Ordination Sermon att Dalston,[3] where I should be glad to meet with you; and therefore the rather because I am ready to take my Journey towards Oxford again. Pray tell Captain Fielding that I hope he will send a token (by you) to me, for his sonn.[4] I wish my occasions would have given me lieve to \ have / waited upon him, ~~before my return~~. But tho I cannot I hope his son will not fair the worse for it. I am so busye, partly with preparing for Dalston, and partly for Oxon, that I have not time to inlarge any further, and must therefore subscribe myself
Y. most humble servant
T.M.
Present my respects to your wife and family.[5]

[1] Correspondence between Machell and Dr John Mill on Roman antiquities has been moved to Part 3, Ch.3.
[2] 'Master' provokes questions. Who was he? The provost of Queen's College, Oxford, comes to mind, but at this point he was Thomas Barlow, future bishop of Lincoln, who never married. One person might fit the given facts: superior to Machell in rank; attending the ordination; able to take a message to Captain Fielding/Feilding; married with children. This could be Sir Christopher Musgrave, governor of the garrison at Carlisle Castle. See fn. 4, below. See also Michael A. Mullet, *Carlisle in Revolution and Restoration, c.1648-1688*, CWAAS Tract Series 30 (Kendal, 2022), 114.
[3] Edward Rainbow (b.1608) was bishop of Carlisle from 1664 until his death at Rose Castle in 1684, David Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), 142. The bishop's letter containing the command to which Machell refers, dated at Rose Castle February 1674-5, has been published in Edward Bellasis, 'Machell of Crackenthorpe', *CW1*, 8 (1886), 416-67, at 446. Viz. 'Mr. Machell, it had not been proper to have celebrated orders for yourselfe single if other inconveniences had not also deteined me from that office, but on Saturday last there was presented to me some necessity to give orders now to one for the service of the Cathedrall and St Cuthberts parish in Carlisle. I therefore consented you rather for your sake of which I have written to the Archdeacon to give you notice, and withall to desire you to give us a sermon at Dalston church, you shall be welcome to your chamber here, lett Mr. Sell or me know by a line or two that you have received this, remember my respects to your father. I commend you all to God's blessing and remain your very loving friend (Signed) Edward Carlisle.' Thus, Machell was ordained at Dalston in 1674/5, preached the sermon, and stayed the night at Rose Castle.
[4] Captain Feilding (or Fielding) was Basil Feilding, the lieutenant governor of the garrison of Carlisle Castle under the governor, Sir Christopher Musgrave. Active in civil government, Feilding was elected mayor of Carlisle, 1685-86, see Mullett, *Carlisle in Revolution and Restoration,* 60; see also Scott Sowerby and Noah McCormack (eds), *The Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall from 1633 to 1688*, CWAAS Record Series 23 (Kendal, 2021), 219, 239. Machell's letter suggests that Captain Feilding's son was then at Oxford. Of three students named Feilding at Oxford during the 1670s, the best candidate might be Basil Feilding, son of B. Feilding of Barnacle, Warwickshire, who matriculated at St Edmund Hall in 1671 aged 15 and became a barrister at the Inner Temple in 1683. *OAD*.
[5] By 1674 Machell had been a fellow of Queen's College for over a year (see A. Winchester, 'Machell, Thomas'. *ODNB*.) The copy of the letter illustrated above, in which his writing is superimposed on sketches of heraldic shields, suggests that he had been carrying out county research from at least February 1674.

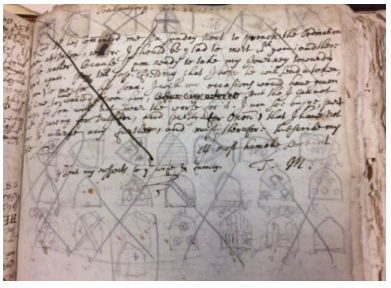


Figure 3.2.1. Machell's copy of his letter, superimposed on sketches of heraldic shields. The text was scored through to remind Machell that he had dealt with the subject. II.378.

[II.367]

[2.] [From Thomas Machell to the bishop's secretary, following a visit to Rose Castle, undated.][6]

Mr Secretary
I left your Godolphins 2 volumes in my chamber at Rose;[7] & I fear the Extract which I made out of them (my man neglecting to put up that paper amongst my other things) \ might be left there also – / Pray if it be soe; be pleased to send me That Sheet of Paper by this bearer; for I have present occasion for it, & you will obliege
Sir Your very affectionate friend to serve you
T. Machell
My humble duty & service to my Lord and his good Lady.

[I.604]

[3.] [Memoranda concerning a will, 1685.]

[A.] June 22 1685.
Memorandum that Grace ~~Crak~~ Watson, one of the daughters of Mrs Elizabeth Crakanthorpe of Kirkbythore who was buried this day, declared that the said Elizabeth Crakanthorpe, in the presence of her selfe & one Catherine Abraham of Kirkbythore, to whom she appeales as a witness in the Case made this verball will on Thorsday last. Sc. I desire you (speakeing to her daughter Grace) to divide what I have equally amongst you, to see you fall not out about it. & that she bid the said Catherine Abraham, see that They did not fall out about it. And at the request of the said Grace Watson I made this memorial to which the said Catherine has put her marke, the day & year above written.
Thomas Machell
— Katherine Abraham her mark
Richard Crakanthorp

[B.] June 22 1685.
Memorandum that Mary Adamthwaite one of the daughters of Mrs Elizabeth Crakanthorp of Kirkbythore, who was buryed this day, declared to me That her mother gave all she had left, to

[6] Machell copied his letters to others on used sheets of paper, as a record of his correspondence. The heading, 'Notes upon Camdens *Britannia*' appears at the head of this particular copied letter. The page was perhaps originally destined for Machell's antiquarian notes. Whether this letter was written after Machell's ordination is not known.
[7] John Godolphin (1617-1678): author of works on law and theology. Early theological volumes, *The Holy Limbeck, or, A Semicentury of Spiritual Extractions* (1650) and *The Holy Arbor … or, The Sum and Substance of Christian Religion* (1651), had Puritan leanings (when young, Godolphin supported Cromwell) thus not necessarily Machell's automatic choice. His final work, *Repertorium canonicum, or, An Abridgement of the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm* (1678), provides a comprehensive survey of English Church law: see J. Collins, 'Godolphin, John, civil lawyer'. *ODNB.* See also, Anthony à Wood*, Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who Have Had Their Education in the University of* Oxford, Vol. 3 (1691), 1153.

Elizabeth Adamthwaite, daughter of the said Mary – in the presence of Richard Gowling, whom she cited for witness. And That she did it in these words following – \ For / The thing I have left, I doe not value if I give it her all (speaking concerneing the said Elizabeth in whose behalf Richard Gowling had spoken) & That this was declared about a month since, but the day they knew not. And at the request of the said Mary I made this memorial to which the said Richard has put his S[ignature] the day & year aforesaid.
Thomas Machell
Richard Crakanthorp[8]

[I.521][9]

[4.] [Visiting the Sick: Francis Gray, physician, to Thomas Machell, 8 June 1688.]

For the Reverend Mr Thomas Machell att Kirkbythore

[I.520]

Sir
I have so litle tyme to be with Mr Cole that it were next to sacriledge to rob him of any part of it which makes me beg your company here today. One visit while I stay will be of greater advantage [than] to give them two in my absence for this reason his case is indeed very dangerous & to most might appear desperate yet I hope to cure him by god's blessing & if you come over I hope to satisffie you that I go upon as rationall yea certaine grounds as any physician can have which when you shall declare to him will be no small satisffaction to him & his wife who needs some encouragement as wanting his masculine spirit.[10]
My service to Mistris Marshall & all yours I rest
Sir
Your most humble servant
Fra. Gray[11]
Brampton hall[12]
June 8 '88

[I.657A] [13]

[5.] [Invitation to the funeral of Ciprian Hilton of Ormside. December 1693.][14]

Sir
It pleased \ god / yesterday afternoon to take my deare Master into his Mercie my misteris is extreamly weak. Shee beggs that yow and your lady would doe her the favour to be here on Friday at 10 of the clock at the funrall.
Sir from your humble servant
Sam Birkett
p[er] my mistress, Abigail Hilton[15]
Ormside Dec. the 28th [1693]

[8] For the Crackenthorpe descent, including Richard and Elizabeth Crackenthorpe, see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin: III.285, III.287; for the influence of the Gowling family on the chapel at Temple Sowerby, see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, III.243-253, V.290-296.
[9] Machell also used this page to make rough notes, i.e. 'Burrow Brig & to the right, Minship 1, Arkendale 1, Flasby 1, Goldsbrough 1, Ribston 1. From Bur br. to Cassel 5.'
[10] For 'Mr Cole' of Brampton Hall, see Machell's Preface, I.116A; for Brampton Hall, see Part 1, Ch.6, Long Marton, I.608.
[11] Francis Gray, physician and friend of Machell, see Part 3, Ch.4, Roman Antiquities, VI.301.
[12] See *N&BI*, 363.
[13] Letter written in another hand.
[14] For the Hiltons, see Part 1, Ch.19, Ormside, III.291.
[15] See the memorial brass in the north aisle of Ormside Church: 'Here lies interrd the body of Cyprian Hilton Esqre. of an antient family, whose Loyalty to his Prince, Zeal for the Establish'd Church, Love to his Wife and Children and Kindness to his Tenants are a lasting Monument of his Memory. He left behind him his dear Consort, Mrs Abigail Hilton, and by her a numerous Offspring, four Sons and five Daughters, all now liveing; and he in them. He dyed the 27th day of Decr A.D. 1693. in the year of his age 34. and is here intomb'd, in hopes of a blessed Resurrection.' See Nicolson, *Misc. Accts*, 40.

[III.155B]

[6.] [For Rich. Crakinthropp Esq. att Newbygin, Westm'land. [Undated.]

[III.155A]

[Information on Archdeacons]
And ~~both the~~ \ as the / Bishops said the Arch Deacon may have ~~their~~ \ his / official & sometimes they are joyned by several grants to the same person.
{Ibid §18.} But when the grants are to 2 distinct persons, in strictness & propriety of speake, he who is autherised by the bishops' commission, should be calld a Commissary; he who officiates for the Arch Deacon should be calld an official.
{Ibid §19.} They ought to be read in the Canon or Civil Law, for want of which they are deprivable.
{?} But now of late the Arch[16] is restored to som Jurisdections, more than induct into Benefices.

[III.162B]

[7.] 'A la[n]terne to our feet'.[17] [From a sermon on inattention to the Word of God: undated.]

… of precipices we are benighted with Sensuality and lusts. And the Word of God is a La[n]terne to our feet. Now if wee do not attend to this light but rather dispise and Trample it under foote, we Run on headlong to our owne destruction; and are therefore more miserable; because our folly (or madness) is such as not to deserve the least compassion. Our distruction is (as said of Israel on the like occasion) upon our owne heads; and who will pitty us?
When causual & accidental miseries fal upon men; wee have a fellow fealing in us of their calamityes. But when they do wilfully run into dangers and will not be ~~interrupted~~ \ warned nor hindred / from them by any that interpose them selves, they are destitute of pitty from others as they …[18]

[B. Correspondence on Personal and Family Matters]

[VI.520]

[1.] [Lancelot Machell to his brother, Thomas Machell. 3 March 1676.][19]

M[r] Yaward at the Blew bell in Wood street send to be there on Thorsday Night.
These to M[r] Thomas Machell fellow of Queens College in Oxford.
From Crakenthorp March 1676

[VI.517]

Deare Br.
I have thought it somewhat strange to be soe longe together deprived of your letters,[20] for since I left Oxon I have received nought from you, save those you sent by M[r] Dixson; & when he gave them to me he would not light, nay scarce drinke att dore, as it is well of observed by my uncle Andrew[21] – whisper that in his eare. {[Dixon] was telling of some papers that he would send me but since I have heard nought from him.}[22]

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[16] The final part of this phrase is altered and blotted; presumably the meaning is, 'Arch Deacon'.
[17] Psalm 119. 105 (AVB).
[18] The page ends here.
[19] Lancelot Machell was the youngest of the three brothers. Hugh and Thomas Machell attended Queen's College, Oxford, but there are no records of Lancelot's attendance. Edward Bellasis described him as 'of Skipton castle, co. York, and Bewley castle, warden to Richard, earl of Thanet, who served six years (till 1675) in William Tichborne's troop.' He and his children and his wife, Elizabeth Walker (married 6 Nov. 1677 at Long Marton), are prominent in his mother's will of 1701, see Bellasis, 'Machell of Crackenthorpe', 443. For more on the Machells and their relatives, see C. Roy Hudleston, 'Thomas Machell, his wife and children and his Whelpdale stepchildren', *CW2*, 70 (1970), 110-44.
[20] The underscoring in this letter is in different ink, thus probably done by Machell.
[21] Andrew Whelpdale, son of William W. of Penrith, matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1643 aged 15; BA 1647/8; MA 1651; fellow 1651; vicar of Newnham, Hants 1658; rector of Dogmersfield, Hants, 1671. CCED. His sister, Susan, married one Roger Sleddall of Penrith; Sleddall's sister, Elizabeth, married Machell's father. The link was strengthened when Thomas Machell married Whelpdale's widow c.1680 after Whelpdale's death in 1678/9. This lady's father had held the advowson of Dogmersfield. For more detail see Hudleston, 'Machell, his wife and children', 112-16.
[22] Presumably, Lancelot Machell was referring to Thomas Dixon, a contemporary of Thomas Machell at Queen's College, Oxford, son of Thomas Dixon of Windermere. Both Dixons acted as Machell's informants:

I have been with the Man at Colby. And he tells me that he never had any thinge to doe with the family of Crackanthrop, nor with any save Cosen Hilton and something att Bleatarn where he finds mention of Bella=Landa. I have also distributed some of the Queeries, viz. to Bongate & Dufton, and will as soone as I can dispose of more of them, to other places.[23]

The Body of the Most Noble Vertious & Religious Lady Ann Countisse Dowager of Penbrooke, Dorset & Montgomery*, Daughter & sole Heir to the late Right Honorable George Clifford Earle of Cumberland, Baronisse Clifford of Westmorland & Vessy ~~the~~ Lady of the Honor of Skipton in Craven & High Sheriffese by Inheritance of the County of Westmorland who departed this Life in her Castell att Brougham in the foresaid County, the 22 of March 1675 having attained the Age of 86 years, the 30th of January before and was interred in S[t] Lawrence Church att Apleby the 14th of April 1676.
My Cosen Thomas Sandford of Ascun†. Dyed the 17th of February {1676} & was Buried the 19th ~~att~~ \ in / Ascum church.

My Father & Mother are very well, & all the rest of the relations heare, my Father has taken part of Howgill Demaine for Brother & sister to laie upon, in value yearely 18[li]; & I suppose one or both of my tenements & the house at Milborne, he intends them. My sister \ Susana / was telling me that she heard them say that they had a better right to those tenements than I.[24] Now I know not what to doe in this case for I would not willingly incur my fathers displeasure, neither doe I expect any great allowance from him yet I would not give away my right to those who I expect little favour from.[25] {Pray let me have your advice in this.}

Little Ann was 5 years old last New years day, but when Christened I know nott. Bettey is 3 years old the 10th May, when Christened I know nott. Mary was Borne the 25 of March & was Christened the 6th of April (76)‡.
I have not yet a trew Information of the Manner of my Cosen Braithwaits death.[26] My uncle William Atkinson

[VI.518]

takes it very unkindly that he never heares from you concerning his son. He tells me that he sent by Burnyeats 5[li] to be Drunck with M[r] Crosthwate, M[r] Mills. & your selfe,[27] therefore he is afraid that his son never told you nor any of them of it & this makes him something doubtfull that his son is Lavish; neither has he any account of the moneys that he gave him [to take] up with him which was 20[li] as I remember he told me.[28]
I know not whether you had best send my things downe; \ that I shall leave to yourself / {but however send for the trunck to Oxon: for I suppose it may be more serviceable to you then me for I have noe

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see Part 2, Ch.1, Barony of Kendal, II.2; Part 2, Ch.6, Grasmere, II.154A; 154B; Part 2, Ch.9, Windermere, II.329; Part 2, Ch.10, Itinerary, II.400.

[23] Note that Machell's brother was distributing Machell's queries to would-be informants in the spring of 1676; see more relating to Machell's informants in the Editor's Introduction.

[24] This illuminates the regular Machell family feuds, in one of which Thomas's mother and his sister, Susanna, 'appear in the most unfavourable light'. In a letter written by Thomas's brother, Hugh (1685), Susanna is 'accused of hating her brother Thomas, and mother and daughter appear to have joined in acting against him. Hugh, Thomas's elder brother, had displeased his father by marrying without his consent, and the father would have disinherited him in favour of Thomas, had not Thomas refused and persuaded his father to re-settle the estate in favour of Hugh.' Hudleston, 'Machell, his wife and children', 123.

[25] Family concerns and jealousies often concerned property; here they relate to the claims of Lancelot's eldest brother, Hugh, who inherited Crackenthorpe Hall; Hugh also encountered problems with his family, see Hudleston, 'Machell, his wife and children', 137-44.

[26] 'Cosen Braithwait' was mentioned by Thomas Machell in Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, I.280. For the Braithwaites of Warcop, see Part 1, Ch.23, Warcop, I.319.

[27] The sum of 5[li] is merely an editorial suggestion, as the text immediately adjacent has been heavily scored through. For Burnyeats the carrier, see Part 3, Ch.4, Roman Antiquities: E. Correspondence between Thomas Machell and Dr John Mill.

[28] William Atkinson junior of Morland matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1675/6 aged 15: BA 1681; MA 1684. He became the ensign of a company of scholars [sic] who took up arms against the Duke of Monmouth in 1685. He appears to have died at Oxford c.1700, without leaving a will. *OAD*.

need of it} for if my Lord doe nott consider what inconveniency he hath put me to I shall scarce truble my selfe till you git a place[29] & then if I may be any ways helpful to you, you may Assume your selfe of it without a complement. Pray give my regards of service to all friends in the south in particular to M^r^ Wyndham, M^r^ Secretary[30] & to my very good Uncle & Ant Andrew,[31] my Cosen John Machell & all my Cosens in Bucks - & tell my Cosen Jo that he is very much wished for heare in the north where he may be Assured of a free & harty welcome from my father; and my service to M^r^ Provist & all fellow friends in Queens desireing very much to heare from you I am
Sir
your Most Affectionate Bro
Lancellot Machell
Crackanthropp March the 3^d^ 1676/7

{Little Ann has hir Duty presented unto you & desires you will be pleased to send hir a Booke for upon my word she is a good Schollar. Burnyeats will inform you further.}
{Sister Susana remembers her love to you; she has not been ~~very~~ well. I Imagine it to be love – neither know I who it should be with unless Cosen John Machell, for when I told hir of him she recovered strangely & now is very well.}
{Pray remember my kind love to sweet-hart Johan –}

[Machell's Notes VI.517 & 518]

*{Countiss of Penbrok dead.}
†{The Sandf[ords] of Ask.}
‡{An[n] Machel, Elizabeth Machel, Mary Machel.}[32]

[I.313B]

[2.] [Dr John Mill of The Queen's College Oxford to Thomas Machell, 1683.]

These for the Revd Mr Thomas Machell, Rector of Kirkby Thore near Appleby, Westmorland.
Dr Mil about his marriage with Priscilla the daughter of Sir Edward Palmer.[33]

[I.313A][34]

Dear Sir
I receiv'd the favour of yours of Dec. 17th and have solicited the concern you engag'd me in; but ineffectually. Neither haveing any thoughts of changeing for a liveing in the north, at least wise not for so small a thing as yours in Hampshire is represented to be.[35] I wonder Mr Ward has not paid you

[29] 'til you git a place': 'until Thomas Machell is awarded a parish'. Machell was recently ordained (1674-5), when his brother wrote this letter, see Bellasis: 'Machell of Crackenthorpe', 447.
[30] A reference to Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), diplomat and secretary of state, born at Bridekirk, Cumberland. After attending school at St Bees, he was recommended to Gerard Langbaine (born at Barton Kirk), provost of Queen's College, Oxford, as a deserving northern youth, entering Queen's College in September 1650. Williamson's time there made a great impact upon him; he was one of the college's most generous benefactors, sponsoring building work and awarding gifts including a massive silver trumpet used to summon the college to dinner. Importantly for the development of antiquarianism, he founded an Anglo-Saxon lectureship there, ensuring that his protégé William Nicolson (born at Great Orton, Cumberland) received the post. He attempted to become M.P. for Appleby in 1668, but failed to gain the confidence of Lady Anne Clifford. See A. Marshall, 'Williamson, Sir Joseph'. *ODNB*.
[31] Andrew Whelpdale and his wife (who eventually married Thomas Machell).
[32] These were Lancelot's children (Thomas's nieces), to whom his letter refers so fondly despite not knowing their baptismal dates. See will of Elizabeth Machell of Bewley Castle, 4 Jan.1700, in Bellasis, 'Machell of Crackenthorpe', 461.
[33] This comment was written by Machell. In May 1684, John Mill married Priscilla (1649-85), youngest daughter of Sir William Palmer of Old Warden, Bedfordshire, with a portion of £3,000. Mill had been Palmer's chaplain. The marriage was short: Priscilla died on 1 April 1685. S. Handley, 'Mill, John (1644/5-1707), Church of England clergyman and college head'. *ODNB*.
[34] Letter from Dr John Mill.
[35] Mill here refers to Machell's rectory at Dogmersfield. A Queen's College colleague of Thomas Machell, John Mill (1644/5-1707), was a Westmorland man, born in Hardendale in Shap parish, son of Thomas Mill, a weaver. When the family moved to High Knipe in Bampton parish, he was educated at Bampton School. He

a visitt since his comeing down.[36] I think our people of that country are under some unaccountably fatal oblegation of Barbarism. I have ever found them insensible of favours, in alle my experience. Under the Rose,[37] I have now re[s]olutions to marry my dearest Priscilla. From London, whither I go, God willing, the next week, you may expect to hear from
Your old friend and most unalterably faithfull servant
Jo: Mill
Bletchington March 24 1683/4

[I.667][38]

[3.] [Hugh Machell to Thomas Machell, Penrith, 16 July 1689.]

Penrith the 16th of July 1689
These for Mr Thomas Machell att Kirkby thore Westmorland.
1. Description of places and rarityes
2. Endowment & Benefactors: of Church – Chaples – Halls –
Sir
Yo[u]rs I received and delivered the inclosed and Cosn Brierly Assures me that he will either writte to you or me after thursday post, for then he expects an answer of his letter from London, he tells me that the Lord Hughet is very unwell in London.[39]
This with my service to you my Cozen I rest your Affectionate Cozen & servant
Hugh Machell

[III.41B][40]

[4.] [Thomas Machell to an unknown person regarding payments to a relative. Undated fragment.]

And the weekly or monthly contributions for the case of my cosan so long as they last and upon his notice what you pay to him shud be answerd here by Sr. Your most faithfull & affectionate servant
T.M.

[VI.622A]

[5.] ['Cos' Mary to Thomas Machell. Undated.][41]

Dear Cos Thomas both youeris I resaved[42] and hathe as faer as I can obayed your comandis: In the forst plasse spoken to my Ant consarning your linning. She has hear the last robe and bought sum for you! I have also sent you hear, all we can find consarning B[isho]p Whelpdal.[43] And for thoes oder things you writ for Last I will send you them vary shortly and wil writ to my ounkel to send you a vary good horss and if that will not dow I wil goe my selfe A pourpss to sarve you, in hopis it is for coming dowen on and if \ so / my Laber wil be vary well bestowed and I shal reste more satisfacshon \ in dowing of it / then I have now tiem to exprss so shall I tacke leive for the prssent and reman
Your onen cos Mary.[44]

---

matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1661 (BA, 1666; MA, 1669). Handley, 'Mill, John (1644/5-1707)'. *ODNB*.

[36] Possibly William Ward, son of William of Kirkland, Westmorland; student at Queen's (BA, MA) 1666/7-1674; rector of Skelton, Cumberland, 1683-1711. *OAD*.

[37] 'under the rose': sub rosa = in secret.

[38] Letter from Hugh Machell to Thomas Machell, Penrith, 16 July 1689; short notes in Machell's hand are written on the outer cover.

[39] Probably Sir George Hewett of Pishobury (1st Viscount Hewett, 1652-1689), who for his services in Ireland was made Baron of Jamestown, co. Longford, and Viscount Hewett of Gowran, co. Kilkenny, in 1689. *British History online*, Hertfordshire, Sawbridge Parish, Pishobury, 332-47.

[40] Reverse of I.41A, with letter seal attached.

[41] At the foot of this page is the word 'London'; it is possibly part of a postmark.

[42] 'Both yours I received.'

[43] Roger Whelpdale was Bishop of Carlisle (1419 to 1423), while also Provost of Queen's College, Oxford (1404 to 1421). The name 'Whelpdale' was of personal importance to Machell. His wife, Elizabeth, was the widow of the Rev. Andrew Whelpdale, Rector of Newnham, Hants. Andrew Whelpdale was the son of William Whelpdale of Penrith. See above, VI.517.

[44] Below this letter, Machell wrote biographical information on Andrew Whelpdale and the Whelpdale family which contains a pithy remark relating to a 17th-century Whelpdale of Penrith; see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.561.

[C. Letters of thanks and apology from students at Queen's College Oxford]

[I.40]

[1.] [From George Tibbols to Thomas Machell, undated.][45]

Insignissime literarum patrone
Cum vestro labore simul ac exemplo bonarum artiu[m] studia promovere, et laudis praemio virtutem iacentem excitare non dedigneris, uti spero, mihi condonabis, quod hac impolita incompl[et]aque epistola vestris studiis moras inijcere ausus sum, nam iuxta proverbium praestat stultum quam ingratum agere. Multa beneficia vel insperata in me contulisti, quae trabali (qu[o]d aiunt) clavo memoriae infixa conservabo, eosque imitabor mendicos qui cum acceptae stipis mutua[m] referre nequeant, benevola verborum actione rependunt. Incredibilis illa bonitas vestra non solum merita, sed etiam vota longe superavit; quocirca non amicum sed genium, ac meum numen tutelare appello, ac me eternum adamantinis obsequij catenis tenebis obstrictum.
Clientulum tui ob servantissimum
Geo Tibbols.[46]

[I.56]

[2.] [Two letters sent to Machell, undated, which he later recycled as notepads.]

[2.a.]
Tanta (Dignissime Maecenas) candori vestro inest majestas, ut, vel Phoebi instar, omnibus im[m]o indignis benefacere gloriatur: adeo ut si flagitium perennem fere dignitatis demeretur eclypsin, ad vestrae tamen humanitatis asylum confugiens, impune condonetur. Non iratum Phoebum existimo cum nubibus obumbretur vultus: illius etenim fulgorem obfuscando, hoc saltem efficiunt nubeculae istae, ut splendidiores subinde nobis praeberet radios: nec Te infensum censeo, cum benevolentiae jubaris aliquantum denegetur influxus; ideo enim denegari existimo, ut aliquando latius effulgeat. Vestri ideo splendoris jubar tandem sibi oriturum exoptat. Servulus vester observartissimus.[47]

Joh[n] Scott[48]

[I.57]

[2.b.]
Vir Dignissime
Candoris aliquid (probe novimus) etiam cum maxime saeviat, praestare potest ipsissima severitas; ideoque non tam timore quam spe pleni vestram accedimus dignitatem criminis ignoranter patrati veniam impetraturi; vestrae enim excandescentiae, ut speramus, flam[m]a non adeo tota in vindictam

[45] George Tibbols, son of George Tibbols of Asby, Westmorland; matriculated Queen's College, Oxford, aged 16 in 1674; BA 1679. See *OAD*.
[46] 'Most distinguished patron of letters. Since by your labour and at the same time example you do not disdain to promote my zeal for the noble arts and to arouse latent virtue by the reward of praise, you will, as I hope, forgive me, because with this unpolished and unfinished letter I have ventured to cause a delay in your studies, for according to the proverb it is better to play the fool than the ingrate. Many and unlooked for benefits have you conferred upon me, which I shall preserve fixed (as they say) on the fast spike of memory, and I shall imitate those beggars who, since they are unable to make like return for the alms they have received, repay the kindness by act of words. That incredible goodness of yours has far surpassed not only my merits but also my prayers; for which reason I call [you] not my friend but my genius and my tutelary spirit, and you will hold me eternally bound by adamantine chains of gratitude. From the hand of your most obedient and insignificant client. George Tibbols.'
[47] 'Most worthy Maecenas, such splendour is there in your brilliance that it shines, even in the manner of Phoebus, to benefit all, nay, even the unworthy: to such an extent that if my wrong-doing should deserve a near eclipse of dignity, nevertheless, taking refuge in your humanity, it would be excused without penalty. I do not think Phoebus angry when his visage is darkened by gloom: for, by veiling his brightness, those little clouds do, after all, bring it about that straight afterwards he shows us more brilliant rays: nor do I judge you enraged when the stream of light of your benevolence is a little withheld; for I think it withheld only so that in due course it may shine more widely. Thus the brightness of your splendour desires finally to dawn again. Your most obedient servant. Joh[n] Scott.'
[48] John Scott (b.1659), son of Richard Scott of Carlisle. Matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, 1673, BA 1678, MA and fellow 1681. Vicar of Carisbrook 1689; rector of Shorwell 1697 (both Isle of Wight). Died 1697. *OAD*.

corripiatur, ut aliquantum non admittat favoris mixturam. Gratam ergo, precamur, impraesentiarum candoris vestri influentiam nos sentiamus; et si hic, qualis est error vestram adeo offendit dignitatem, ut crimen non nisi ampliori supplicio delendum judicetur; parcams tamen, et in posterum cavebimus ne demus laesum patientiae vestrae numen. Sentiamus.
Dignitatis vestrae
Cultores Observanntissimi[49]

Anth. Tonstall[50]
Barnard Gilpin[51]

[II.482]

[3.] [From John Cocke to Thomas Machell, undated.] [52]

To Mr Machell Dean of Queens College
Insignissime Vir
Incensum rei metuunt Iovem, nec aras appropinquare audent, ne ijsdem flammis, quibus adolentur sacrificia, perirent: pari ratione, supplex vester, temeritatis improvidae sibi conscius, advolvitur, vestra tamen clementia fretus: et inde est quo vester Ganymedes suum interpellat Iovem, quia candidiorem sperat. Meae stultitiae vestra facilitas evadat Asylum, meam quippe felicitatem vestra solum humanitate metior. Scio petentium desideria, regijs animis lenitatis Theatrum sternere, eosque raro aut nunquam repulsa pati, qui pudore suffusi limen intrare erubescunt. Tua proin clementia delicti nostri dissipetur nubes: non adeo (crede) errores depereo, ut lapsibus addam et pertinaciam; satis quidem ad poenam facit onerosa mei criminis recordatio. Nescit Epistola nostra tam graviter delinquere, ut culpas, quas admisi, stultitia mea patrocinando, studeret: nostrum vehementer triumphabit obsequium, si Maecenatis indulgentiam mereatur, quas si dignabaris, usque me cautiorem reddes
Tuae humanitatis
cultorem Humillimum
Johannem Cocke.[53]

[49] 'Most Worthy Sir, Real severity can mean a kind of fairness (we know it well), even when most harsh; and for this reason we approach your revered person filled not so much with fear as with hope, to implore pardon for an offence committed in ignorance; for may the flame of your anger, as we hope, be not taken up in vengeance so entirely that it admit not some admixture of goodwill. Therefore, we pray, at the present moment may we feel the gracious influence of your open-mindedness; and if this error, such as it is, offends your worthy person so much that the offence be judged discharged only by a heavier sentence, may you nevertheless grant pardon, and in future we will take care that we do not try your patience of spirit. Let it be decided. Most obedient servants of your Honour, Anthony Tonstall, Barnard Gilpin.'
[50] Anthony Tonstall, son of Nicholas Tonstall of Selside, Cumberland. Matriculated at Queen's in 1672 aged 17; BA 1677; MA and fellow 1680; canon of Exeter 1686; rector of Cheriton Bishop, Devon, 1687. Will proved at Oxford 1688. *OAD*.
[51] Bernard Gilpin, son of Alan Gilpin of Strickland, Westmorland. Matriculated at Queen's 1673/4 aged 18; BA 1678. *OAD*.
[52] John Cocke, son of J. Cocke of Kendal, matriculated at Queen's in 1672 aged 17. BA 1677; MA 1680. Vicar of Thatcham, Berks, 1687. *OAD*. For James Cocke of Kendal, see Part 2, Ch.9, II.323, fn. 174.
[53] 'Most Illustrious Sir, People fear Jove in his rage, and dare not approach his altars lest they perish in those same flames by which sacrifices are consumed. With like thoughts, your suppliant falls at your feet, aware of his rash forwardness but relying on your clemency: and hence is the reason why your Ganymede accosts his Jove, because he hopes him more radiant. May your graciousness offer sanctuary to my foolishness; indeed, I measure my felicity by your humanity alone. I know that, to regal spirits, the urgent requests of petitioners spread out a theatre for leniency, and that they rarely or never suffer rejection who, suffused with a sense of shame, blush to cross the threshold. Accordingly, through your clemency the cloud of our fault will be dispersed: I am not (believe me) so much in love with my mistakes as to add persistence also to my lapses; indeed, the burden of recollecting my offence makes for punishment enough. Our letter cannot stray so far from the mark that my folly should seek to furnish a defence of faults which I have admitted: our compliance will succeed completely if it should earn the indulgence of Maecenas, if such you deem fitting, until you render me more circumspect, one who most humbly strives for your gentle treatment, John Cocke.'

[4.] [From John Troughton to Thomas Machell, undated. Annotated by Machell.][54]

{Sat Sent. tis mouldy}[55]

Most Honourable Sir
Quod magnis licet devinctus beneficijs ad limen tuum, trepide procumbo, facit et Imbecillitatis nostrae, et dignitatis vestrae ratio; uti veniente numine fas est semper sacrificijs Onerare, non solum mos antiqua, sed ipsa ratio nos docuit ut ad numen non nisi reverenter recedamus, gratiorque aestimatus est iste horror qui sacro cordisque ac oculorum tremore te mitissimum fateatur; nunc vero causae propter quas te coli fas est (Vir Colende) sunt sumendae a tua Clementia, qua delicti nostri nubes dissipiatur, et ne posthac invenies me deliquentem, quin semper observantissimu[m] et obedientissimu[m]tuu[m] servitu[m]
John Troughton.[56]

[I.475]

[5.] [From Thomas Poole to Thomas Machell, undated.][57]
Insignissime Vir
Cum ut vestram recuperarem benevolentiam epistolam scribere subinde cogitarem, nigro carbone papyrum, non notare calamo in mentem venerit, nisi atramento atrata charta aeque depingeret peccati mei nigredinem, et actionum lituras. At […] dum vestram benevolentiam enixius efflagito, veniam pro se ipso precari meo opus est epistolio; meam tamen utrimque vestrae dignitatis placito submissionem testetur styli humilitas; et Tropis expertes lineae paenitentiae meae indigitent realitatem. fateor me in Te peccasse, crimen dolens, [...] sco, et a Te veniam exoro; nec vereor quin in hoc perinde ac reliqu[is] numen imiteris benignum condonando scilicet
servulo Tibi de [...] clissimo
Tho: Poole[58]

[D. Correspondence and Memoranda relating to Machell's Antiquarian Pursuits]

[III.41A]

[1.] [Anonymous letters to Thomas Machell, undated; later used as sketchpads.]

[1.a.]
Yuu'le ~~agr~~ pay him so much for the first moneth, and tell me, where I may repay it here in London, and to whom, it shall be done. I am glad to heare, you are well, and though providence hath placed us at great distance from one another, yet I shall be glad to heare from you […][59]

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[54] John Troughton, son of James Troughton of Kendal, matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, 1672/3; BA at Queen's, 1676 (just before Machell left for Kirkby Thore); rector of Brauncewell, Lincolnshire, 1680. *OAD*.
[55] In Machell's hand. Since the MS pages before and after this letter are blank, there is no clue as to Machell's comment, which, presumably, applied to the state of the letter [?]
[56] 'The fact that, while obliged by great benefactions, I fall in trepidation at your threshold, is brought about by recognition both of my weakness and of your high status; just as, when divinity comes it is right ever to load [it] with sacrifices, not only ancient tradition but reason itself has taught us that we should have recourse only reverently to power, and that sense of awe is reckoned more agreeable which acknowledges you most clement by a reverential trembling of heart and eyes. Now indeed the causes on account of which it is right for you to be worshipped (Worshipful Sir) arise from your Clemency, through which the cloud of our offence is dissipated and never after this will you find me offending, but that I am ever your most attentive and obedient servant, John Troughton.'
[57] Possibly Thomas Poole, son of Richard Pool of York, who matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1670; BA, 1674. *OAD*.
[58] 'Most Illustrious Sir, When I was thinking to write a letter that I might thereby recover your goodwill, it came to my mind to scribe the paper not with a pen but in black charcoal, thinking a page utterly darkened should both depict the blackness of my fault, and equally blot out my actions. But […] while it is your goodwill I more earnestly request, I must pray pardon for my letter itself; in both matters, however, may the lowly efforts of my pen, so please you, attest how I bow to your greatness; and its lines, devoid of rhetoric, proclaim how genuine my penitence. I confess that I have offended against you, lamenting my fault, [...], and I entreat your pardon; nor do I fear but that in forgiving this just as in other matters you will indeed show a kindly spirit.
Your most […] servant, Tho: Poole.'
[59] The note breaks off here because the paper has perished.

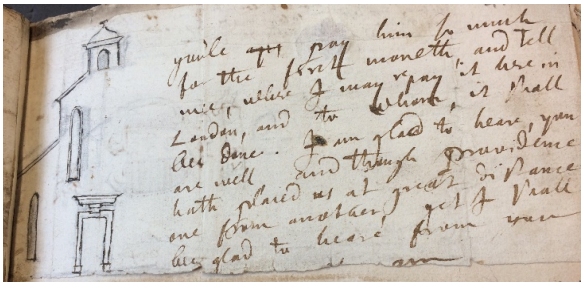


Figure 3.2.2. Letter to Machell, on which he sketched the west end of Lowther Church. III.41A.

[VI.482][60]

[1.b]

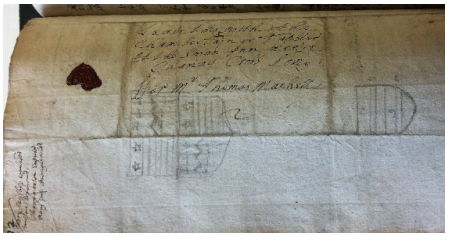


Figure 3.2.3. Letter addressed to Machell in London, later used as a sketch pad. VI.482.

Leave this with the Chamberlajn or Tapster at the Swan Inn ne'ere Charing Cross, London. For Mr Thomas Machel.
{Berry. Cap. ship wounded; bowson drownd;[61] Throgmorton executed;[62] Mary Put Brought in bed.}[63]

[V.2B]

[2.] [Thomas Machell, Memorandum: A trip to London, undated.]

Monday:
Dine with Mr Dean of Rochester.
Meet Nic. Lough at the Fleece Tavern in St Martins Lane att one a clock

Tuesday:
Meet Mr Glen at the Bull Head at Charing + [Cross] at 6. a clock at night.
– Mr Dugdall at 9. a clock in the morning.

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[60] Re-use of mail stationery.
[61] Jottings in Machell's hand. They might all refer to events in 1682. In 1682 the Frigate, 'Gloucester', bound for Scotland with the future James II on board, ran aground and sank within hours. Some, including the captain, Sir John Berry, and the Duke of York, escaped in the long boat, but many drowned. See 'Two letters from Scotland giving a true relation of the unhappy loss of the Gloucester-frigot, whereof Sir John Berry was commander : with a particular account of the persons of quality drowned therein, and the miraculous escape of His Royal Highness the Duke of York.' *Early English Books Online*. https://name.umdl.umich.edu/A64017.0001.001.
[62] Francis Throckmorton was executed for treason against Elizabeth I in 1584, but the reason for Machell's note is unknown. Perhaps Machell was referring to Sir William Throckmorton, 4th baronet (1658-1682), who had been a scholar at Christ Church, Oxford, 1677-81; he was killed in a duel in 1682. See Jan Broadway, 'Throckmorton family (per. c.1500-1682), gentry'. *ODNB*.
[63] This 'Mary' might be Mary of Modena, wife of the Duke of York, who gave birth on 15 August 1682 but the infant lived only until 6 October. Mary suffered two further miscarriages: in October 1683 and May 1684. A son was born in June 1688. See A. Barclay, 'Mary [Mary of Modena] (1658-1718), queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland, consort of James II and VII'. *ODNB*.

– Mr Lough at 6. in the morning.
– Call upon Cosan Patteson & enquire for letter.[64] So att Dr Lamp.[65]

Wednesday:
Goe to Mr Glen.
To the Heralds Office.
Herald Painters.[66]

[3.] [Correspondence between Thomas Holford (Herald)[67] and Thomas Machell, 1676.]

[3a.] Thomas Holford to Thomas Machell, 13 May 1675/6.

[I.276]

These for Mr Machell, Fellow of Queens College in Oxford.
Direct your next to me: This from Mr Holford at Mr Balls in James Street in the Haymarket next dore to the Dancing Schole.

[I.275]

Sir. I thanke you for the discourse I re[ceive]d (by the hand of my cosen Sandford)[68] relating to the family of Bellingham, and had returned you an ansare sooner, had I been in towne when it arived. I here send you inclosed the things desired,[69] only that of Talboyse which I must deferr till a farther time, it being a thing of some difficulty to find; but I am apt to believe Mr Dugdale's *Baronagium Anglicae* will helpe you in that affaire. I shall be ~~verry~~ glad if I can serve you at any time; therefore you may at any time when you have occasion freely lay your concernes on him that is
Your very reall servant
Theo Holford
May 13th 1675/6

I shall, the next opportunity I have of writing to you, intreat the favour of you in a thing I am verry desirous to get of the Bishop of Lincolne.[70]

{Answered Trinity Sunday 1676} This was from Mr Holford, one of the Heralds in the Heralds College near St Pauls London.[71]

[V.2C]

[3b.] [Thomas Machell to Thomas Holford, Herald, Trinity Sunday 1676.]

Sir
I receiv'd this with the papers inclos'd for which I give you many thankes; but could wish you had us'd a compass in the roundalls.[72] I know your business you speake of is concerning your fathers picture, & if you please to give my Lord a line I will deliver it with all the advantage that I am able;

[64] A later reference suggests who 'Patteson' might have been: 'Burton's Itinerarium. Blatum Burgu[m] \ p. 114. / is taken by Josias Simler for Abalaba, a station in Cumberland, of which see more out of the *Notitia of the Western Empire*: Mr Pattison at the Read Hart in Fetter Lane.' See F.13 on I.174A.
[65] This might be a reference to Thomas Lamplugh DD, of Dovenby, Cumberland. Queen's College, Oxford, from 1634; DD 1660; principal of St Alban Hall, Oxford, 1664-73; archdeacon of London 1664; dean of Rochester 1673; archbishop of York 1688; died 1691.
[66] The artists of the College of Arms were known as herald painters.
[67] Thomas Holford was Blanche Lyon Pursuivant of Arms in Ordinary from 1686: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/bk16/pp229-306#h3-0024.
[68] The reference is to the Sandfords of Askham, possibly to Edmund Sandford, author of 'Cursory Relation of All the Antiquities and Familyes in Cumberland', now published as *A Cursory Relation of All the Antiquities and Familyes in Cumberland*, CWAAS Tract Series 4 (Kendal, 1890). See also Part 1, Ch.2, Askham.
[69] See information on the Bellinghams on MS.V.2-36.
[70] Thomas Barlowe (1607-91): see correspondence relating to Appleby Corporation, Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, I.279-82.
[71] In Machell's hand.
[72] Machell the architect!

The best way will be to have it copyed out here if we had a good painter, & I hope we shall have some betwixt this and Act. I sent you a letter (since my notes) & desired you to consult a little booke in 4^0 call'd the *Visitation of Cumberland and Northumberland*, which Mr Knight has, who is the Kings chirurgion,[73] & lives behind the ~~Old~~ New Exchange \ Lower. / The business was to examen that coate wherein Bellingham quartered with Barnisteed impaleth Leigh – impaleing Clifford, for in Leigh's quarterings I have drawne 3 Bendletts which as I remember should be Barruletts. Pray send me

[V.2D]

word how it is there & correct your owne. And you may be pleas'd allso, where I mention'd Patritius the son of Thomas, to add in the mergin (instead of – of this family was the founder of Shap Abby) \ the word / – which Patricius liv'd ~~in the~~ anno 40. Hen. 3. [1255-56] / 25. Ed. 1. [1296-97]. And this Thomas his father (son of Gospatritus, son of Ormus, was founder of Shap Abby. This with my service is all att present.

Sent to Mr Tho. Hollford an Herald
Trinity Sunday 1676.

[V.3]

[3c.] [Bellingham Pedigree: Part of Thomas Machell's Report to Thomas Holford, 1676.]

An Impartial account of the Pedigree & Armes of the Bellinghams of Westmorland, sent in a letter to Mr Holford of the College of Heralds att London {at the request of the said College being imployd to draw a ped[igree] & answer som doubts concerning the Armes of the said family by ~~the~~ Mr Petty.[74] Per M.}[75]

I were very unworthy if I did not all \ the service / that lyes in my power for any that belongs to the Heralds Office whence I have received so many civilites, and therefore have sent you, according to my promise (tho not so speedily as I could have wished being hinder'd by indispensable business) all that I am able att present to informe you concerning the family of the Bellinghams of Westmerland; for which I have a singular respect & to whom I am in some measure related; yet I shall deale truly with you & them; remembering what Aristotle said of his master; Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas;[76] and for the better discovery of the truth, I will:

1^t. Give you my judgment concerning their pedigree; & 2^{ly} what proofe I am able to produce of the true Coate of Arms belonging to the family, which is the whole business now in agitation.[77]

1. For pedigrees I have seen 3, and compared them together. One which you showed me in a Booke of yours, yet not without some manifest errors, & composed by I know not whom. But I take this to be the best and most Ancient of any of them, because the fullest \ tho / without date, for 8 generations; This being with Richard de Bellocampo.

2. Another (now in mine own custody) which I had out of a Booke of Mrs Smyths over against St Dunstans Church {London} who was sometime wife to an Herald painter. And this is also of

[73] John Knight (bap. 1622, d. 1680) was surgeon to Charles II. He was also a collector of manuscripts; his father, Thomas Knight (d. 1652), was a herald painter and servant to successive Garter kings of arms; it is likely that he was himself the son of Thomas, Chester herald (d. 1618), and grandson of Edmund, Norroy, king of arms (d. 1593), whose heraldic manuscripts were inherited by the surgeon in 1662 and were left by him to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Extracted from C. Knighton, 'Knight, John, surgeon.' *ODNB.*

[74] 'Mr Petty' was a relative of the Pettys of Orton Old Hall (Petty Hall). There had been doubts about the authenticity of a Petty pedigree agreed by William Dugdale, placing the family's origin in Sir Oates Petit of Cornwall. Machell knew that 'Mr Petty … has the pedigre & is of the same familie with the Pettyes of Oreton; for they of Oreton came lately from about Skipton in Yorkeshire, where this Petty was borne': See Part 1, Ch.20, Orton, I.640. 'Mr Petty' was actually William Petyt (Petit) (1640/41-1707), born near Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire, son of William Petyt, landowner and lawyer of Bolton Abbey and Barnard's Inn. The son became a lawyer at the Inner Temple in 1664, keeper of the Tower records in 1689. An esteemed scholar, he was a student of English historical records and famed for *The Antient Right of the Commons of England Asserted* (1680): J. Greenberg, 'Petyt [Petit], William (1640/41-1707), lawyer and political propagandist'. *ODNB*. For more on Petyt's influence on Machell, see Part 3, Ch.1, VI.431.

[75] 'Per m[anum]': by hand.

[76] 'Plato, I love, but I love Truth more.' Or, 'Plato is my friend, but truth is a better friend.' The maxim is often attributed to Aristotle as a paraphrase of the *Nicomachean Ethics* 1096a, 11-15.

[77] The Report continues on MSV.3-36.

uncertaine Authoritie; but seems to be collected from the other, being not so full & compleat; yet it has the addition of Dates to the pedigree where the other wants them, but suspitiously inserted. This was (by computation) toward the beginning of Kg Charles the I[t], but has its faults also, and begins with the same Richard de Bellocampo.
3. The third \ as the former/ I have seen (sent up from Westm'land and now in that custody) which, pretends to more than either of the other; as having many notes concerning the family; but has indeed less of exactness \ in it / being \ as it seems by the dates therof / taken out of mine, but falsely writ, & voluntarie additions made unto it by I know not whom; yet this (notwithstanding the hand betrays it to be of yesterday, pretends higher than either of the other, beginning with Alano de Bellacampo[78] maryed to Beauchamp, Tempore Conquestoris;[79] whereas if the Author had understood himself, \ Bellocampo / Beauchamp were the same name; but that Bellocampo was not writ Beauchamp till of later years.

{Why the pedigrees (which shall be annexed at the end of this letter) are to be disallow'd of, from Alano downward & to Robert Bellingham who maryed Burnashed: Ratio 1.}

Now my judgement concerning these Pedigrees (if I

[V.4]

may be so bold \ as / to offer my judgement in a Business being your and my profession, and whereof that are judges) is plainly this; That none of the 3 can be authentic, at least no higher than Robert de Bellingham, who maryed with Burnished; for all above him are writ 'Bellocampo'. And my reasons are these:
1. Because they are all (not only of uncertaine Authoritye, but), very incongrouse; the 1[t] without date for 8 generations, but with collaterals (sisters of Roger de Bellocampo) whose names are not mention'd, but their matches are. The 2[nd] with date but \ without / those collaterals, as tho it were a compendium of the former. But the dates are very suspitiously inserted, there being no years but only the Reignes of Kings \ annexed / and those equally distributed \ for the most part. / The 3[d] without collaterals too, and with date also; yet that date differs from the Date of the former in Richard de Bellocampo, who is said \ in / the other to have lived in the time of Henry 2. & Richard the I. But in this latter (as tho it were a coppy and falsely transcribed) in the time of Richard de Veteripont \ where doubtless this meant / of those Veteripontes who were Lords of Westm'land; & besides, that they had not the Honour of Westm'land till the 4[th] year of the Reign of King John which is 2 descents after him. There was never such man \ in the world / as Richard de Veteripont that I could mete with, either in pedigrees or \ in / records, tho I have a most exact and particular account concerning that family.[80]

[V.15]

I hope the pains I have taken in it will not be disliked. Because of this greatness, but ~~rather~~ interpreted (by you) as an Argument \ rather / of the great respect I have for the family, and noe less desire of serving the office (and your self in particular) in all ~~that~~ I am able. Vive Vale. si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti; si non; his utere mecum.[81]
T. Machell
Q.C.O. April 15. 1676.

[VI.253][82]

[4.] [Thomas Machell to Dr John Mill, 7 October 1692.]

To the Reverend Dr Mill, Principall of Edmund Hall in Oxford.
Sir
Pray give my service to Mr Wood[83] with the enclosed letter, which is (I assure you) no begging one; for I am long since broke off that trade. I beg'd books of him; & compasses, pencils & Indian ink

[78] Machell placed a cross above this spelling error, correcting it in the margin.
[79] 'At the time of the Norman Conquest.'
[80] Machell's analysis continues for 11½ pages; these have not been transcribed: see MS.V.3-36.
[81] 'Farewell and keep well. If you know anything better than they, frankly share [it]; if not, join with me in using these my researches.'
[82] Also numbered p.57.
[83] Anthony à Wood, Oxford antiquary; author of *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford* (1691-92).

(with other impliments) of a nearer friend a great while a goe, but never got any. If I were near Oxon, I would try my hand at my own country trade & help my selfe; for the takeing hand (they say) never wants! But spatiis disclussus iniquis - Prætereo.[84]
And so fare you well. T.M.
Oct. 7th 1692.

[5.] [Thomas Machell to Anthony Wood: Enclosed letter.]

To Mr Anthony Wood the Oxford Antiquary
My Old Friend
I thanke you for mentioning in your *Athenæ* the match of Mr Rowland Machell with Elizabeth, the sister of Dr Langton, Bishop of Winchester.[85] And because you take notice of severall lands in the County of Westmorland which the said Bishop gave them, I desire you to send me a copy of his will, or an abstract (at least) of the said lands, which will much oblige
Sir, Your very affectionate friend & servant
Thomas Machell

[VI.186]

[6.] [Thomas Machell's Memorandum of Needs, undated.]

I want:
A Welsh dictionary & Corrispondent
A book of Coynes; Indian Inke; a magnifying glass
A pair of divideing compasses[86]
A pollisher of my Coll[ection]
The Hebrew Inscript[ion], an account of it: And wee are the people of thy pasture, & sheep of thy hands:[87] a solisicme metathesis[88] – see in ancient copyes & consult Rabby[89] Hide.[90]

Query of Sir Joseph.[91] Whether Clericus Regis[92] & Clericus Regni[93] be not the Kings Secretary– as in this Express[ion]

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[84] 'But, kept away by the envious miles of distance - I must let it pass.' Hurt feelings and barbed remarks are common features of Machell's correspondence with his former colleagues, yet the tone is often affectionate.
[85] Thomas Langton (c.1430-1501), bishop of Winchester, was born at Appleby c.1430. He graduated MA at Cambridge in 1456 and was a fellow of Pembroke College by 1462/3. A supporter of Richard III, he became bishop of Salisbury in 1483. After the battle of Bosworth, he was removed from his posts but pardoned. In 1487 he was elected provost of Queen's College, Oxford. Under Henry VII, in 1493, he became bishop of Winchester, richest diocese in England. Langton's will contains more than one hundred items. His money legacies amount to upwards of £2,000, including the provision of six exhibitions at Queen's. Richard Pace (d. 1536), whom he supported financially, remembered that the bishop 'befriended all learned men exceedingly, and in his time was another Maecenas, rightly remembering (as he often said) that it was for learning that he had been promoted to the rank of bishop'. See D. Wright, 'Langton, Thomas, bishop of Winchester and archbishop-elect of Canterbury'. *ODNB*.
[86] Note Machell's letter to Mill 7 October 1692: the 'no begging' letter.
[87] 'For he is our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand. Today, if you hear his voice'. Psalm 95.7 (AVB).
[88] Solecism is a term for deviation against the standard syntax formation in grammar. Metathesis (etymologically from Greek, literally 'a transposition') is an alteration of a word whereby letters, or syllables of a word are transposed, or shifted out of their natural position, as: 'prevert' for 'pervert'; 'Evandre' for 'Evander': https://www.ifioque.com/figures-of-speech/scheme/solecism.
[89] Rabbi.
[90] Machell was probably referring to one of many books authored by Thomas Hyde (1636-1703), Hebrew scholar, orientalist and Bodleian librarian; viz. *De Historia shahiludii tria scripta hebraica viz. Rabbi Abraham Aben-ezrae prelegans poema rythmicum, R. Bonseniora Ben-Jachiae facunda oratio profaica, liber deliciae regum prosa, stylo puriore, per anonymum Omnia ex Chartis MSS jam primo deprompsi & Latine vertit Thomas Hyde*, with Hebrew and Latin on facing pages (Oxford, 1689); and see Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxioensis 4* (extended edition ed. Philip Bliss, London, 1820), 524-26.
[91] Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), see above, VI.518.
[92] 'King's secretary.'
[93] 'Secretary of the realm.'

– datum per manum Mr Rogeri Mali Catuli clerici nostri.'[94]
A Little Booke of Fortification. Edmonds?[95]

[I.479]

[7.] [Correspondence with William Nicolson. 18, 19 January 1686.]

[7a.] [William Nicolson to Thomas Machell, 18 January 1686.][96]

Sir Jan. 18. 86
This comes (to thank you for your last kindness, and) to beg the perusal of those northern words which I gathered for you at Queens. I had a copy of 'em; but my friend has thought fit to keep them, with some others of my books, for his own use. I will thankfully return them, when I send for the old Register.[97]
You may remember I told you I had met with something relateing to the Welp's of Kirkbythore: and, tho' I could not then show you what it was, I have since read over again a great many Instruments (in the Holm [Cultram] Register) on that subject. I find a good share of your Town-fields has bin formerly in the possession of those monks: by the gift of Walden fil, Gamelli fil Welp, Lord of the place, and his Tenants. The places named in the several Instruments as boundaries of Donations, are: Keldes, Barnstathe, Sica regia, Pons Atulphi, Fons Bernulphi, Kirktoftes, Crossrig, Stodeholm major et minor, Goldelands, Crokelands, Sandwath,

[I.480]

Morlandes, Wartheberh, Hale, &c. One I fancy may seem to Justify Mr Dalstons plea for a peculiar at Soureby by this passage: Renuntiando omni privilegio tam fori Civilis quam Canonici mihi vel Heredibus vel meis Assignatis competenti.[98]
Another (if the men of the monastery come to recover their Rights) may doe some service to the Rector; and therefore I send you it entire:
Haec est conventio inter D[ominum] Abbate[m] et Conventu[m] de Holm et Ecc[les]iam B[ea]ti Mich[aelis] de Kyrkbythore. Scil[icet] q[uo]d p[re]dicti Abbas et monachi reddent decima[m] garbam p[re]dictae Eccl[es]iae de Kyrkbythore de omnibus terris quas in eadem parochia de [...] caetero adepturi sunt. dum tamen terre illae prius cultae fuerint antequa[m] ad eos pervenirent. Hijs etc. A[nn]o D[omin]i 1194.[99]

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[94] '…given by the hand of Mr Roger Malus Catulus our secretary.'
[95] Machell was unsure of the name but he was possibly referring to Edmund Gunter (1581-1626), a designer of mathematical instruments with practical applications for a number of tasks, including surveying, for which he invented the precursor to the logarithmic slide rule. His publication, *A New Treatise of Fortification*, was later added to several of his other works by Samuel Foster (ed.), *The Workes of Edmund Gunter, Containing the Description of the Sector, Cross-staff, and Other Instruments; with a Canon of Artificial Sines & Tangent, &c. Much Enlarged by the Author. Together with a New Treatise of Fortification. Whereunto Is Now Added the Further Use of the Quadrant Fitted for Daily Practice* (London: Fr. Egleffeild, 1653). See H. Higton, 'Gunter, Edmund, mathematician'. *ODNB*.
[96] By 1686, Nicolson had been archdeacon of Carlisle for two years and was living in the archidiaconal rectory of Great Salkeld, c.11 miles by road from Kirkby Thore. See D. Hayton, 'Nicolson, William (1655-1727), Church of Ireland bishop of Derry and antiquary'. *ODNB*.
[97] This paragraph refers to a list of Cumbrian words made for Machell when Nicolson was acting as his research assistant at Queen's (for examples of such words, see Machell's Preface, II.353). Nicolson had lent his copy to a friend who had not returned it. In this letter, Nicolson asks if he might borrow the original document. For Nicolson's word-list, entitled 'Glossarium Brigantinu[m]', see, CAC(C), DCHA/11/10/1: 'Nicolson's dictionary of northern English (compiled whilst Nicolson was at Queen's College, Oxford, 1677)'.
[98] 'By renouncing all privilege both civic and canonical due to me or my heirs or my assigns.' For Machell's deep difficulties with Dalston over Temple Sowerby chapelry, see Paul Barker, 'The Reverend Thomas Machell's Complaint: July 2d. 1690', *CW2*, 89 (1989), 279-81. See also, Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin IV: A Narrative about a Chapel at Sowerby.
[99] 'This is the agreement between the Lord Abbot and the Convent of Holm [Cultram] and the Church of the Blessed Michael of Kyrkbythore. Namely, that the aforesaid Abbot and monks will render the tenth sheaf of corn from all the lands of the aforesaid Church of Kyrkbythore which they are to acquire in that parish from the other [...] As long as, however, those lands were previously cultivated, before they came to them. To these etc. A.D. 1194.'

With my own & wife's hearty Respects to you and yours, I am, Sir,
your obliged faithful servant
William Nicolson.[100]

[I.481]

[7b.] [Thomas Machell to William Nicolson, 19 January 1686]

Jan. 19 1686

Sir
Your request is so reasonable, that I make not delay ~~ansering~~ granting it; But have sent the booke by your man, in hopes to receive it agane with Interest. I thanke you for Those hints in your Letter: But I had the chart[er] of Wald. ~~fill,~~ Gamel fill, Whelp, & the other of Holm (which I believe are the same with yours) a great while \ agoe; / yet any thing of That nature is \ welcome, & / kindely accepted.
Your affectionate friend & servant
T.M.
Husbanded til.[101]
Give myne & my wive's kinde love & respects to your wife & sister; & accept the same to yourself, ~~with many~~ wee shal be glad to see you here.
Can you grant me liberty of Rise or Gardfell in Morland – or Kirkander by Newbyging

[8.] [Correspondence with Hugh Todd, 23, 24 February 1686.][102]

[8a.] [Hugh Todd to Thomas Machell, 23 February 1686.]

[I.503A][103]

The Reverend Mr Machell
Rector of Kirkbythore
in Westmereland
This:

[100] Taken at face value, the fact that Nicolson referred to his 'wife' in January 1686 when, in fact, they married on 3 June 1686 [D. Hayton, 'Nicolson, William (1655-1727). *ODNB*] appears irrational, but Nicolson was using traditional Julian dating, which in the Gregorian calendar would be January 1687, 'new style'. The official switch to the Gregorian calendar took place in 1752, but well before that date many people were anticipating the change for the months January to March by using an oblique, for example, 14 February 1676/7, as seen in other correspondence in this chapter and in the edition generally.

[101] Presumably, Machell was referring to the word-list lent to Nicolson, which Machell had husbanded for some time, i.e. looked after carefully, and which Nicolson must now husband until it is returned to Machell.

[102] Hugh Todd DD (c.1657-1728) studied at Queen's College, Oxford. An antiquary and clergyman, Todd was born at Blencow, Cumberland. In 1684, be became chaplain to Thomas Smith, bishop of Carlisle, and vicar of Kirkland, Cumberland. In 1685 he was collated prebendary of Carlisle and presented to the vicarage of Stanwix, resigning that living in 1688 when he was presented to the rectory of Arthuret. Eleven years later Bishop Smith asked him to accept the vicarage of Penrith as well, and he held both livings in plurality until his death. A resolutely High Church Tory, Todd was frequently in controversy with William Nicolson (bishop of Carlisle from 1702). Their initial animosity, which predated Nicolson's shift from Tory to Whig, was probably due to jealousy between fellow antiquaries and professional rivalry. See Michael A. Mullett, *A New History of Penrith Book III, Penrith in the Stuart Century 1603-1714* (Carlisle, 2018), 114-21, for a full analysis of the history of this rivalry. After several petty squabbles, Todd and the absentee dean, Francis Atterbury, questioned Bishop Nicolson's right of visitation, insisting that the cathedral statutes which allowed it were invalid. In 1708 the court of common pleas upheld their contention, but not before Todd had been excommunicated by Nicolson. The ecclesiastical establishment, alarmed by the limitations placed upon episcopal authority, hastened to secure a parliamentary bill to re-establish the episcopal right of visitation. After its passage the sentence of excommunication was removed.' See David Mawson, 'Todd, Hugh (c. 1657–1728), Church of England clergyman and antiquary'. *ODNB*. See also C.M.L Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties. A History of the Diocese of Carlisle 1133-1933* (Kendal, 1948), 296-302. Todd was an accomplished antiquary; along with William Nicolson and Machell, he contributed to William Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*. See, for example, 'An Account of the Division of Cumberland by William the Conquerour amongst his Followers; taken out of two ancient Latin Manuscripts in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle; carefully Collated by the Reverend Dr Hugh Todd', in *Camden's Britannia, Newly Translated into English: with large additions and improvements by Edmund Gibson* (London, 1695), 'Additions to Cumberland'.

[103] The outer sheet of Hugh Todd's letter.

[I.502]

Worthy neighbour!
I had most certainly waited on you and your Lady at your house, in my Returne; but that the weather was so very bad, that I was not able to weather the Point. I ha' done my Penance for the Neglect, or whatever it was, and hope you'l not deny me Absolution.[104] I shall be mighty carefull for the future, and Question not but to gain my Reputation, if ever my business here will allow me to pay my Respects where they are so highly due. Whenever my chain is broke, or taken off, or any way loose: you shall be sure to hear on't.
Your Inventory of Learned Goods belonging to this Country[105] is very Large; and if any of them be moveable, I should be glad to see them at this Place, when you do my Lord the favour of a Visit: but, if they're fixt to the Freehold, be assurd that I'le come to view them;[106] but when I shall be able, is not so certain to me, as that I am with the greatest sincerity
Your affectionate Obliged Friend
& Brother, H. Todd.
Rose. Feb. 23 1686.

[I.503][107]

[8b.] [Thomas Machell to Hugh Todd, 24 February 1686.]

Sir
I Receiv'd your Complement stilo novo,[108] on the 23 Instant: But your Penance should have bin public & in the place where the Crime was Committed; & must be so (by a very hard entertanement here) before you can have a full Absolution. And ergo, though my Goods were not fixed, I should take an occasion to make them so; since I finde it may prove an happy \ effectual / meanes of bringing you hither, where \ yet / you may hope for all the favour That can be expected by such a Criminal. From, sir,
Your affectionate Brother and Servant
TM
Feb. 24, 1686.

Pray Give mine & my wife's due Respects to my Good Lord & my Lady Lowether; & lett her know That her God-Daughter's well, for whom I begg her Prayers & blessing. I hope to see you all very shortly under the Rose,[109] & then perhaps may step over with you to Mr Adams,[110] to whom in the meantime present my service, when your occasions call you to Carlile.

[9.] [From Sir Daniel Fleming to Thomas Machell, 9 February 1693/94.]

[II.143]

For the Reverend, & his much honoured friend Mr Thomas Machell, Rector of Kirkbythore thereat Kirkby-Thore.

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[104] The letter is jocular, but Todd's use of these terms corresponds to contemporaneous rumours about his 'popish' views, expressed in the same year as this correspondence in a letter from Henry Fletcher to Sir Daniel Fleming (Oxford, 12 June 1686). 'We have a report here of Mr Todd's inclining to popery in several sermons in the country, and that the bishop has rebuked him for it.' See *The Manuscripts of Sir S. H. le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall, Historical Manuscripts Commission. Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VII* (London, 1890), 200.
[105] 'County'.
[106] David Mawson's assessment of Todd's antiquarian career is relevant here: 'Hugh Todd … has never really been accorded sufficient credit for his share in promoting the past. An able antiquarian, he was an energetic administrator, who, while a prebendary of Carlisle Cathedral, became a prime mover in re-establishing the Dean and Chapter library, which had been dispersed during the aftermath of the siege of the city in 1644-5. His bishop, Thomas Smith, and the Vice-Dean, Arthur Savage, were the first and largest benefactors of this new library, but where they made generous gifts of books and money, Todd for his part also deposited his own manuscript collections and accounts relating to the cathedral and the diocese'. D.J.W. Mawson, 'Dr Hugh Todd's Account of the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2,* 88 (1988), 207-24, at 207.
[107] Machell's reply to Todd, copied onto the reverse of Todd's letter, continues the joke.
[108] 'In the new style.'
[109] At Rose Castle.
[110] John Adams, see the correspondence between Machell and Adams, below.

[II.145]

Rydal, Feb. 9. 93/94
Sir
Having often occasion to consult Dugdale's *Baronage of England*, I hope you'l be pleased to return mine hither as soon, & as safely, as you can. I am glad to know that you, Mr Arch-deacon and Mr Todd are concerned for Westmorland, Northumberland & Cumberland in the new edition of Mr Camden's *Britannia*.[111] Not doubting but that those three counties will be very well done, I long to hear of that book being published. I have here sent you a copy of a pedigree, which I omitted to deliver unto you at your being in this country, and which is more correct than that which was more hastily taken here by Sir William Dugdale. I wish we had any thing in these parts that would invite you to cross our mountains, your company being very acceptable unto
Sir
Your most faithful servant
Dan: Fleming.

[E.] [Correspondence with John Adams, cartographer. 1686/7][112]

[E1.] [John Adams to Thomas Machell, 18 December 1686.]

[I.522][113]

To the Reverend Mr Thomas Machell
These humbly present at
Kirkbythore

Carlile 18 December 1686

Reverend Sir
I hope that my misfortune will not be taken for a discharge of your kind promise, viz. to give me the Account of the Parish of Kirkbythore in the method I desired and to transmitt it to me with one of your proposals by the 12th of January next. the Account of Kirkland I have, and Ousby, Melmerby, and indeed all the Parishes of Cumberland are undertaken by several hands, I have made noe progress att all in the Bottome of Westmorland, having yet but two Parishes viz. St Wilfred de Burgham, {whether that be not the name of the chapple}[114] and the little Parish of Clifton, and therefore if you will procure me an Account \ of / the Parishes of Dufton, Long-marton, Newbiggin or any other Parishes in the Neighbourhood, or recommend ~~h~~ \ them / as you have opportunity to the Incumbents, I shall take it for a great favour. I saw Sir William Dugdale's *Warwickshire* at your house, and I have a great mind to bestow three Weeks upon that Book, I doe not think that there is an[other] of them in Westm' or Cumb', for I have made Application to the Bishop Mr Chance[...][115] who furnished me with *Monasticon Anglicanum* but want that. I know that the carriage […][116] troublesome, and that I am a prisoner and a stranger, and consequently I [shall] not take it ill if it be denyed me, but if you will favour me with the use of it for three Weeks I will give the Messenger who brings it a couple of shillings for the carriage and I hope not to die ungra[teful] for the kindness, and it shall be safely returned whenever you command.

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[111] *Camden's Britannia … with large additions and improvements by Edmund Gibson* (London, 1695).
[112] John Adams (b. before 1670, d. 1738), was a surveyor and cartographer who worked with his brother, William. In 1677 he engraved on copper a map of England and Wales (177cm × 176cm) based on older maps but with the distance of each town from its nearest neighbours 'entered in figures in computed and measured miles'. To work in conjunction with the map, he published (1680) the *Index Villaris, or, An alphabetical table of all cities, market-towns, parishes, villages, private seats in England and Wales* (reprinted 1690 and 1700). It was compiled from sources such as hearth tax returns, navigational works, and works to aid land travellers, notably those of John Ogilby. See E. Baigent, 'Adams, John, cartographer'. *ODNB*. Machell was inspired by the *Index Villaris* when planning his History: see Machell's Preface, III.vii, V.3-11.
[113] Also numbered p.52.
[114] A margin-note in Machell's hand. All underscoring in this letter is in the same ink as Machell's margin comment, suggesting that Machell himself underlined key points.
[115] The page here has partly perished. The bishop was Thomas Smith but Adams might have been referring to Thomas Tullie (chancellor of the diocese from 1683), who later became dean of Carlisle.
[116] One word following this, has perished.

From
Your obliged humble servant
John Adams.[117]

[I.524]

[E2.] [Thomas Machell to John Adams. 8 January 1686/7.]

Jan. 8 1686/7

Sir
Yours of December the 18th I did not receive till this morning, but heard something of it by Mr Archdeacon and Mr Robinson at Edenhall on Thursday, who required if I had not received a line from you. Had it come sooner I should not have been soe slowe in answering it but might have taken the advantage of Christmas to have promoted your publick designe, though your misfortune has prevented my hopes (& I feare, will your expectations) of any farther subscription in these parts.[118] But it shall never make me unmindfull (nor in truth never did) of the promise I made to give you an account of Kirkbythore Parish: only I thought there was noe haste of it, untill your inlargement, which I long to hear of;[119] Because your Mape (as you rightly propose) can never be truely & accurately done without an actuall survey of the Countrey. And I could wish that more than ordinary paines were bestowed on Westmerland and Cumberland, both because of my love to my native soyle; & because it may be of advantage to me, & save me a labour if ever I should be prevail'd upon to muster up my scattered papers & write the Antiquities of these two Counties, which I am much Importun'd for to doe by some of good note: But must confesse, that both in regards of my owne insufficiency, & for other reasons best knowne to my selfe, I am not forward to undertake it, yet may perhaps leave something behind me to after ages which they may receive with more candour & kindnesse than the present will doe: For things of this nature, if writ without adulation & flattery (as Histories should be) are never acceptable to the present age. And it is to be feared that even your Mapes may disoblige many by inroling some in the Catalogues of Gentlemen who perhaps are none, & leaving out others who really \ are. / As for the booke you desire to borrowe, I have herewith sent it to Mr Shepherd, a friend of mine, who lives in Carlile & will bring it to you; In Lieu of which I desire the perusall of your Collections in the Barrony of Kendall, (which I suppose to be long since finished by reason of the long acquaintance which you have had in that part of the County of Westm'land.) And I hope to returne them with some advantage; I intended herewith to have sent you the Parish of Kirkbythore which I have finish'd but being much troubled with the tothach[120] & my papers removed from place to place, I have either lost or someway misplac'd it. But however, I hope to send or bring it in

[117] In a letter to Daniel Fleming, written 12 March 1686/7, Adams expressed his candid opinion of Machell, while asking for Fleming's assistance at the forthcoming Carlisle sessions. 'Pardon me . . . for this rude scribble. I thought I should have died this Week and am now better and [. . .] like to live. It is my Earnest Request that you will favour an unfortunate stranger soe farr as upon his Account, to be at Carlile the evening before the Sessions and onely to appear upon the Bench upon the opening of the Sessions to do me Justice, and I hope my Affair will be dispatcht before the honorable Bench goe to dinner. My case I will send fully, by my boy, upon the 26th instant and then write more at large than my present indisposition will permit […] PS. How much Mr Machel resents my design the inclosed will declare, which I pray when the packet is returned make it a parcel, for really if he refuses his assistance I will print it and make a diverting piece of Raillary upon it …' See Blake Tyson, 'John Adams's cartographic correspondence to Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall, 1676-1687', *Geographical Journal* 151, 1, March 1985, 37.

[118] Subscription: raising money to publish by seeking subscribers to the volume.

[119] Inlargement: release from confinement or bondage. *OED*. In 1680, John Adams had published the *Index Villaris*, designed to be used with his large map, see above. After its publication, Adam prepared to write another book of maps which demanded a general survey of the country. He collected subscriptions throughout England towards its publication, and promised that the completed work would contain illustrations of country houses and towns painted by professional artists; but he delivered nothing. He was imprisoned in Carlisle when surveying Cumberland during part of 1686-87 – almost certainly for debt – for his survey appears to have placed him in financial difficulties. Blake Tyson (see above) sees his actions as those of a 'brave idealist struggling to fulfil a project obviously beyond the resources of a private individual, a whole century before the national effort to map Britain accurately'. Undeterred, while imprisoned Adams started to work on the history of Cumberland and Westmorland, utilising the books and manuscripts of local antiquaries. His letters to Machell boast of these contacts. As seen in his letters, Machell regarded Adams with suspicion, refusing to release his manuscripts to him. Tyson's article tells some of this story, but the correspondence with Adams in Machell's Volume I, explains it further.

[120] 'Toothache'.

convenient time if in the interim you doe not visit me, which is much the desire of ~~your friend & servant~~
Your friend & servant
Thomas Machell
I cannot, till I be free from this paine, take any care, either of your concernes, or mine owne.

[I.526]

[E3.] [Thomas Machell to Mr Shepherd, concerning John Adams: 8 & 17 January 1686/7.]

[E3a.]
Jan. 8.
Mr Sh[epherd][121]
I received a Letter on Satterday last from Mr Adams who desires to borrow my Dugdal's *Warwickshire* for 3 weeke's space. And I have sent it to you, hopeing that you will deliver it to him, & take care to transmit it to me. I could be a great Assistant to him if I [had] health & leisure, & might be anyway recompenc'd for it; but otherwise have business enough \ to doe / of my own. Be sure you take special care of my Booke; for I would not spare it but to such an one as him, whose misfortune as well as inclination (being at least a lover of Antiquities), makes me have the more kindeness for him. I am in great haist.
Your affectionate friend
Tho: Machell

[E3b.]
Jan. 17: This night a friend is com to my house who will bring the Booke to you, which has already layd a week at Nell Langhorn's. And I am glad of the opportunity, because it will save Mr Adams some money.
post script. com sensu.[122]

[I.513]

[E4.] [John Adams to Thomas Machell, 24 January 1686/7.]

To the truly Reverend and much esteemed Thomas Machell
Rector of Kirkby Thore Westmorland these humbly present
Post paid 2[d] Kirkbythore.[123]

[I.514][124]

Carliol 24 January 1686/7
Reverend Sir
Upon the 20[th] instant I received yours dated the 8[th] instant, together with D[ugdale] Vol. of Warwick from Mr Shepherd, & about an ~~other~~ hour after another from my Lord the Bishop to my great surprize: but upon recollection I apprehended that the reason was this. I did believe that my letter written to you before Christmas, had miscarried, and being an unfortunate prisoner, did distrust my Interest with you to obtain that book. Therefore, to support my credit, I did write to Rose the 15[th] instant humbly requesting that his Lordship's secretary would write to you in that Affair, and it seems

[121] Richard Shepherd was licensed as Machell's curate in December 1680. A Richard Shipherd [sic] is recorded as a schoolmaster at Carlisle Free Grammar School in 1682. In 1689, a Richard Shepherd became rector of Cliburn, remaining there until his death in 1739. These men appear to be one and the same, as a 'Mr Shipherd the trustee' is mentioned in a letter written by Machell's brother, Lancelot, relating to Thomas Machell's will. It appears, then, that Richard Shepherd (Shipherd) was probably living in Carlisle when Machell needed help to deliver his book to John Adams. See Hudleston, 'Thomas Machell, his wife and children, 122, 136; see also Kirkby Thore; Carlisle Free Grammar School; Cliburn. CCED.
[122] Latin abbreviation: 'with consent'.
[123] 'Rates for carrying letters: For the port of every Letter not exceeding one sheate to or from any place not exceeding fowerscore English miles distant from the place where such Letter shall be received Two pence' From 'An Act for Erecting and Establishing a Post Office' (1660): Statutes of the Realm, Vol. 5 (1628-80), Great Britain Record Commission (1819). *British History online* https://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp297-30.
[124] Some parts of this letter have been underlined in different ink, probably by Machell.

his Lordship having the Book himselfe (which was more then I did know) did take the sending the same to me to be the more expeditious way. So that now having two books, I begg leave to keep yours untill I see or hear from you, I will return my Lord's and have another in Lieu thereof, which I the rather desire because in the close of your letter, you hint that you will send or bring the Account of Kirkby Thore, and I assure you, upon my Faith, that I shall esteem an intimate acquaintance with you as the greatest happiness I cann meet with in the North of England.
As to my inlargement, if the person that putt me in prison did write to the sheriff to set me free, yet I would not leave this City until the 25th of March 1688, which is near a year and quarter. Pardon me (worthy sir) that I acquaint you I have openly declared to my Acquaintance here and sent letters to severall of my correspondents, that I have undertaken (to the best of my industry and \ according to the / information I shall receive from men of candour and honesty) to publish a Treatise of the Antient and Moderne state of Cumberland as an evidence of my Vigilie in prison. I long to show you my Apparatus, which is first my collections out of *Mon. Angl.*,[125] which Volumes have perfectly reconciled me to the Antiquary learning, which before I slighted, regarding it nothing but the modern state, secondly by the collections of Mr Denton of Cardew written tempore Elizabeth, which I conceive are considerable, and, third, A Treatise of Tenant-Right, cornage tenure, Border Service, the union of the kingdoms and manner of Country keeping, & remarks upon the stat[ute] to prevent Great Theft and rapine in the Northern parts, all written by Thomas Denton of Warnell Esq., who was with me last night and promised me the full perusal thereof;[126] \ ~~with~~ / which together with the promised Assistance of Mr Archdeacon & Mr Todd,[127] will be materials to build something rough or a model at least, and if I may prevaile with your selfe to digest methodise, smooth and polise the promisses, probably I may bring all to a happy conclusion. As to change (though a prisoner) my own fortune is not soe narrow but that I shall find enough to goe through this worke, and I resolve not to putt the Gentlemen of this or your County to one farthing charge, for a substantial reason expressed in your letter, viz. I will doe it without adulation and flattery, for instance, in speaking of the family of Lowther of Lowther for the sake of a considerable estate in Burgh Barony &c. & for that he is the chief of Lowther of Whitehaven, I will reject as foolish and idle a tradition in that family that 30 males all K[nights] or B[arons] (whereas the father of Sir John now living was neither, because he died in vita patris) were in a lineal descent from father to son married to

[I.515]

soe many wives, and because he has given me the names of the wives, therefore the tradition is true, but say I very false, for either Sir John shall Acknowledge that ~~four~~ six or 7 of his Ancestors married two Wives, or that soe many younger brothers came in for want of issue by the elder, and if this be not granted I will explode his Account as frivolous, and take occasion from thence to putt this Test or Siboleth[128] upon all pedegrees from the Conquest to this day that if the number exceeds 25 descents, that pedigree is mistaken, for I never yet mett with an Authentick pedigree that did reach 24, and as I take it, the daughters of ~~an~~ \ our / King Aurange & Denmarke are the 21st descent from the Conqueror, this I rather hint & offer to your thoughts as a novelty which when I discoursed with Sir William Dugdale he could not make it sink into his head, but that the descents might be about forty, though in all the pedegrees he produced, the number fell out still \ to / between 18 and 24. Yet I doe confess that there may be about 40, nay 50, of a name that shall inherit an estate*, especially if such cases happen as in the surname of Valence where 5 brothers (which I call but one Descent) successively inherited & all died s. p., and I pray God the like instance may not be neerer home in the family of Tufton, Earl of Thanet &c.

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[125] Dugdale, *Monasticon*.
[126] For John Denton (c.1561-1617) and his distant relative Thomas Denton (1637-1698), see M. Wane & A. Winchester, 'Denton, John (b. in or before 1561, d. 1617), antiquary'. *ODNB*. For Machell's own copy of John Denton's manuscript: 'An accompt of the most considerable estates and families in the county of Cumberland', see Machell MS.VI.146-76. For published transcriptions of John and Thomas Denton's Histories, see Angus J.L. Winchester (ed.), *John Denton's History of Cumberland*, Surtees Soc. 213, CWAAS Record Series XX (Woodbridge, 2010); Angus J.L. Winchester and Mary Wane (eds), Thomas Denton: *A Perambulation of Cumberland, 1687-8, including descriptions of Westmorland, the Isle of Man and Ireland*, Surtees Soc. 207, CWAAS Record Series XVI (Woodbridge, 2003).
[127] Archdeacon (later bishop) of Carlisle, William Nicolson, and prebendary of Carlisle, Hugh Todd. For their feud, see above.
[128] Shibboleth: The Hebrew word used by Jephthah as a test-word by which to distinguish the fleeing Ephraimites (who could not pronounce the sh) from his own men the Gileadites (Judges 12. 4-6). *OED*.

Another instance I shall give in the family of Fletcher of Hutton, that the flourishing fortune of that family ~~is owing~~ is a debentur to god's blessing upon the ~~honest~~ endeavours of Richard Fletcher of Cockermouth mercer or Chapman about the later end of the Reigne of Queen Elizabeth and beginning of K. James, his Reigne. but I will forbear to call him petty-chapman as I find him in Denton the Antiquary's book sub lituto. Villa Wythope, hodie Widhope, and without flattery I will express this in honest civil plain English. And I will not scruple to tell the world that Henry Dacre Esq. is the 6th son in descent from a natural son of the Lord Dacre. Ex pede Herculem &c.[129] And perhaps when I have finished the Treatise I may proceed in the Map.[130] I humbly ~~tak~~ thank you for all your favours and long for your Account of Kirkbythore. It is not soe Bulky but It may be sent by post, but if brought by your selfe the favour would be so much the more to

(Reverend Sir)
Your most obliged
humble servant
John Adams
{*Have ever bin of the same opinion in the main tho not critically Ped. up to that number}[131]

[I.516]

[E5.] [Thomas Machell to John Adams, 26 January 1686/7.]

Kirkbythore
Jan. 26 1686

Sir
Yours of the 24th of this Instant I did not receive till The last night, having bin from home. As for my booke, it shall be att your service, either till I come downe for a Monthly space, tho' I cannot well spare it. I am much obliged to you for the greate esteeme you are pleased to have of my acquaintance, & wish I may deserve it at your hands: but to deale plainly & ingeniously with you, it cannot be expected from me (tho' I will not discourage you) that I should be as forward in promoting This, your private designe, as I am in your publick; because it intrenches upon my owne province; and I should be blamed by many of my friends and acquaintances (especially att Oxford who claime some sort of right in my labours) If I should communicate what I knowe & have writ, concerning the Antiquities of Westmerland and Cumberland to any stranger; & he his Assistant, in fishing (as we say) before my owne net. Your apparatus is very considerable: all which (excepting Mr Dentons booke, which that worthy gentleman was pleased to proffer me, & which I knew I could have att any time) I might have showne you in my owne study: Sc. An Extract of all that relates unto these two Countyes out of Dugdal's *Monasticon*;[132] a transcript of Mr Denton's *Antiquities of the County of Cumberland*: & another essay of the same nature (Begun but not finished) in a smarter style \ as prepar'd for the Press; Another cursory & ingenious account upon the same subject in a more jocose stile/ by an unknown hand.[133] And besides all these I have many more, which I shall not scruple to mention to you. Sc. A Collection of all or most of the Coates of Armes, together with the pedigrees, of the Gentry in these parts; which I extracted in my younger years (with much paines & ~~at~~ \ no little / Cost,) out of all the bookes in the Heralds' Office; Mr Sheldon's Library; Dr Knights study; & all that the Herald painters afford \ ed / in London, & Yorke: which I designd to correct & adjust by the writeings & evidences of the surviving families. I have alsoe ready ~~by me~~, an exact account of the foundations & endowments of all, or most, free schooles in the Diocesse: the valuation & present patrones of every parsonage & vicarage in it. A booke of the Sheriffs of Westmorland & Cumberland from the days of K. Henry the second till of late years, & a platforme of Appleby (the shire towne of Westmorland) drawne by my self, with an account of its Antiquities all the inscriptions att the school-house there (excepting ones which I could not come att): all the Monuments which are in Camden,[134] & severall Altars, Coynes &c: which have been found since.

[129] 'Ex pede Herculem': Literally, 'Hercules is measured from his foot;' less literally, a guess or an assumption, or an extrapolation about the whole from the part.
[130] Machell has added a question mark in the left-hand margin at the beginning of the sentence 'and perhaps …'
[131] Machell's margin comment.
[132] Dugdale, *Monasticon*.
[133] Machell was possibly referring to Edmund Sandford's, 'A Cursory Relation of All the Antiquities and Familyes in Cumberland', a copy of which can be found in Machell's MS.VI (540-69).
[134] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 761-73.

I have alsoe reade over All or most of the writeings which did belong to the family of the Cliffords of Apelby Castle, Barrons of Westmorland & Earles of Cumberland; with some others alsoe of very ancient & worthy families (besides our owne), from which I have many remarkable passages. And not to mention what supplies are afforded out of the severall Register Bookes of Bishop Halton, \ the / Priory of Weatherhall, & the two famous Abbyes of Holm & Hepe.

[I.517]

I have alsoe perused *Doomesday Booke*, & the Red Booke, which are in the Exchequer; Inspected Rolls-Chapple & the Tower of London, which were (long since)[135] laid open to me by Sir Joseph Williamson, then Secretary of State & fellow (with me) of Queens Colledge in Oxford; who would take it unkindly if I should not make some use of that favour, but bestowe the printes of it upon another.[136]

And ~~that~~ \ least / I might have missed of any thing worth observation, in my general viewe: I tooke the paines (after all this) to examine no~~n~~ lesse than \ 62 / folio \ & Quarto MS / in the possession of Sir William Dugdale, which were collected (as I suppose by Mr Prin) out of the Tower;[137] And Thence extracted such notes, as I thought made for my purpose. To conclude, I have alsoe a greate many draughts (by my owne hand) of severall Castles, fortifications & other Antiquities which occur in these Counties; And in truth want not anything which I can thinke of, excepting one booke I have long hunted after, called *Cronicon Cumbriæ*; I doe not mean that page which we meet with in Wetherhall Register, but a MS Booke bearing that name, which Sir William Dugdale first told me of, & which (or should be) in the possession of a Northern Gentleman who has bin long time out of the kingdom. {Sir Henry Goodrick; it was old Sir Henry.}[138]

These are my materials: & if I had met with a kind reception among my relations (the Gentry of the Countrey) & but any returne (tho' never so sleight) from the Country Ministrey, to the Queries I sent there (which were design'd partly to assist Dr Plot my friend and consociate in his Natural History; partly to gather where ancient writeings, & other ancient Antiquities might be seen by me; but principally, to gaine the Topographies (or locall description) of these two sister-counties to which I might refer my collections. I have long since finished what you are beginning (& what I have made such progresse in) tho' I am not hasty to appeare in print for the reasons I gave you in my former letter; But whether you thinke it worthe your while to proceede or not, I highly applaud your ingenious humor in sleighting Fables, & rejecting scurrilliry. For men should be cautious (strangers especially) that they be not imposd on. & truth is noe worse for being attyr'd in a comly dresse. Gentlemen should be gently dealt with, & what ever seems to reflect upon them should be related with candour & modesty, which I ever propose to my selfe, as a Rule.

What you observe concerning pedigrees, you may remember I concurr'd with you in it, at the first proposall before you made your Notion knowne to me, declaring the space of thirty years a convenient distance for a descent, which (in the maine), agrees with your Test.

[I.518]

And tho' I doe not confine my beliefe in this affair to the criticall number of soe many descents from the Conquest till now, because some may marry sooner than others, which makes a great difference; yet I doe declare, that I never observed above twenty-five in any true pedigree, whose epocha begins from the Conquest. But you must expect to meet with many that are false & spuriouse; for I have read somewhere (& I thinke it was in the Heralds' Office, or Dr Knights study) that there was a mendicant, illiterate fellow, went about in these parts makeing false pedigrees: & I have found it true by experience, having had occasion to correct some of them for the Heralds themselves; who were pleased to thinke me (how truely I question) the most proper man for that undertaking, as being borne in the same Countrey, & one who had applyed my selfe in my younger yeares, to understand the Antiquities of it. And therefore the rather, because I confined my roaving fancy (not dareing to

[135] Brackets added in different ink.

[136] Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), see above, VI.518.

[137] William Prynne was Keeper of Records in the Tower of London from 1660 to 1669: William Lamont, 'Prynne, William (1600-1669), pamphleteer and lawyer.' *ODNB*.

[138] The margin comment relating to Sir Henry Goodricke is written in pencil in a hand other than Machell's. It probably refers to Sir Henry Goodricke of Ribston Hall in North Yorks, MP for Boroughbridge from 1673 until his death in 1705, apart from a period spent as British Envoy Extraordinary to Spain (1679-1683). J. Davies, 'Goodricke, Sir Henry, second baronet (1642–1705), diplomat and politician'. *ODNB*.

lau[n]ch out into the ocean as you have done) within the Brëas of Westmerland & Cumberland,[139] to the former of which I was endeared by the fathers side; to the latter by the mothers; & to both by the ancient estate & patrymoney of my progenitors {Sc. The Lordship of Crakenthorp in Westmerland beyond[d] any record. And Lazenby & Kirkoswald in Cumberland, ~~from~~ where wee have yet Tenaments from about the Reigne of King Edward 2.}
You see Sir how free I am with you; & I hope you will not take it ill (for the reasons alledged) to be denyed my helpe & assistance in your new designe; which is in a manner Actum agere;[140] but if I can serve you in the other (which is worke enough for any one man to complete in one age) you may command, Sir,
Your very affectionate friend and servant
Thomas Machell[141]

I do intend, shortly, to wait on the Bishop, and then (if I can) will pay you a visit. & because you cannot come to Kirkbythore, will make Kirkbythore come down to you. In the mean time I must reminde you of my former request, about you[r] Collections in the Barony of Kendall, concerneing which you gave me no Answer.

Qu[aere] in the Registry at Carlile; whether it be the church or chapel at Browham, which is dedicated St Wilfridd.[142]

[I.512]

[E6.] [John Adams to Thomas Machell, 7 February 1686/7.]

Carliol. 7 Feb. 1686
Reverend Sir
I send you this after the next post after the receipt of yours of the 26th instant and humbly thank you for your ingenious freedome in plainly declaring what I am to trust to, if I proceed in the description of Cumberland in the way of an Antiquary: and all that I shall at present say upon that Account, is, that then I must bewaile my own misfortune, in wanting the help of so able an hand, and must be content to offer some slight touches of the first century after the Conquest, whereas if I might have had your Aid, the body of my discourse would probably have growne to perfect simmetry, in full proportion and Garniture, whereas now, being left forlorne, I much doubt I shall fright the world with my spectrum, and I think myselfe obliged to Acquaint England that the Chasme of five hundred years in my work will be supplied by an excellent pen and, probably, be hereafter sent for a Token to their children's children.
Worthy, Sir you put me in hopes of seeing you in Carlile, and if then I doe not satisfye you that there is a necessity upon me to appear in print (unless I will absolutely give over all thoughts of my survey) and that the Territory where providence has (against my will) placed me is as proper a subject for my discourse as any other, I will be ready to desist, and bestow my Industry elsewhere. The modern Account, if I mistake not, you think falls within my proposals, and therefore I desire that you will according to your kind promise be pleased to bring or send me the Account of Kirkby Thore, ~~as~~ as alsoe your promised paper of Queries in lieu of my proposals. As to your Volume of Warwick, It is at your service againe with my thanks, for I have leave to keep by me my Lord's Book, and It shall be delivered acording the first order therein sent to
Reverend Sir
Your most obliged and faithful humble servant
John Adams 2/87

[139] 'Brea' as in 'brae': a steep, a slope, a hillside; in the north a 'hill' is always a mount with a summit, and with slopes or 'braes' [breas] on all sides of it. *OED*.
[140] 'Actum agere': to have all one's trouble for nothing.
[141] Here the handwriting changed, as if Machell had signed the letter and added a postscript.
[142] This sentence is placed below the postscript, but, unlike the letter, has been written in Machell's usual hand.

{Four days since I received Sir Daniel Fleming's remarks upon the Barony of Kendal and, indeed, all Westmorland but cannot part with the manuscript out \ of / my custody unless I have his directions therein.}[143]

[F. Personal Notes, reused by Machell as note-paper for his research]

[III.51]

[F1.] [London visit, 1689.]

London, September 9th '89.
Yesterday orderd that Dr Bury be thanked for his sermon and desierd to print it.[144]
The Ingrost Bill[145] intituled an Stat[ute] declareing the rights of the Subs […][146] & settling the succession of the Crown read thrice & past the House.[147]

[II.341B]

[F2.] [Part of a torn letter relating to a Court Case, 1692.]

Administrations to take that they appear at Appleby the 14th of June hopeing you will grant the desine of Sir your assured servant William Smith.[148]

Appelbye the 26th of May (92)

Sir our Court day is Tho[rsday] 15th of June
I heard noe thing of your Corant Nomine […][149]

[I.509B][150]

[F3.] [A haberdashery shopping list, undated.]

8 yrds ½ qtr black serge[151]	2s 4d
½ yrd Drught[152]	9½
2 yrds dimitte[153]	12d
6 yrds firritt[154]	2s

[143] Fleming was a supporter of Adam, subscribing to his published work: see Tyson, 'John Adams's cartographic correspondence to Sir Daniel Fleming', 21-39, particularly at 37; see also Sowerby and McCormack, *The Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming*, 180-81, 193-94.
[144] Possibly Dr Arthur Bury (1623/4-1713) of Exeter College, Oxford. A Royalist, in 1648 Bury was deprived of his fellowship, but after the Restoration Charles II ensured that he become rector of the college. Machell would have admired Bury's loyalty to the Crown but a year after delivering the sermon that apparently pleased Machell so much, Bury was accused of writing anti-trinitarian literature and deprived of his office. As Machell was such a conservative figure, this aspect of Bury's theological position would clearly have displeased him. Hence, the attribution of Arthur Bury is tentative. See J. Benedict, 'Bury, Arthur (1623/4-1713), college head and writer on theology'. *ODNB*.
[145] Engrossed or ingrossed: written out large, written in a legal hand; expressed or incorporated in a legal document. *OED*.
[146] One word is illegible here.
[147] The Bill of Rights 1688: 'an Act declareing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Setleing the Succession of the Crowne': https://www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/WillandMarSess2/1/2/introduction.
[148] William Smith was *cler. Pocciatem*, the town clerk of Appleby. He was mayor in 1667 and 1673 and a supporter of the Tufton candidate in the 1679 election, see Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, III.55, I.209, I.211. See also https://applebytown.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/MAYORS-OF-APPLEBY-PDF.pdf.
[149] 'Current nominee'. the next words are obliterated by a hole in the paper but begin, 'Coming up your […]?
[150] Reverse of 509A: a haberdashery list.
[151] A woollen fabric. Before the 16th century it was mentioned chiefly as material for hangings, bed-covers etc.; afterwards it was said to be worn by men and women of the poorer classes, perhaps rather on account of its durability than of its price, which seems not to have been extremely low. *OED*.
[152] 'Drugget': a heavy cloth of wool, or of a mixture of wool and silk or wool and linen, used chiefly for clothing. *OED*.
[153] 'Dimitte' (dimity): a stout cotton fabric woven with raised stripes or fancy figures; usually used undyed for beds and bedroom hangings, and sometimes for garments. *OED*.
[154] 'Ferret': a stout tape most commonly made of cotton, but also of silk; then known as Italian ferret; also ferret ribbon. *OED*.

white Inkle[155]	2[d]
browne Inkle	2[d]
3 yrds blacke Riben	2
5 yrds black gallowne[156]	2s [?]
1 centrum pines 7	
1 centrum pines 6[157]	
1 qtr ½ silke 6, white filliting[158]	3[d]
1 f. thred	
6 hookes	1½
2 f. browne thred,	
2 f. blacke thred,	
4 Glover thred […][159]	
Coate prices ~~2~~ \ 1 /	
3 dozen Curtine Ringe,	3
1 yrd Linn[en]	12
Lac'es	1

[I.3]

[F4.] [An Oxford [?] Ribbon Seller, undated]

~~Smyth a ribben seller in Inges~~ […] ~~Entery Magdalen parish~~[160]

[I.553B]

[F5.] [Invoice, Spring 1686.]

That his mother had 8? given by him – Ergo: a mort. If he was at Cost with housekeeping; or

Became part in it; q. of Sand[erson]	0: 3: 4.
My foe[161] for his brothers will	
so due upon his mothers account	0: 2: 0.
My foe for her will	0: 2: 0.
My foe for her Apprisements &c.[162]	0: 2: 0.
Inventory due for her mortuary	0: 3: 4.[163]

[F6.] [Invoice, March 14 1686/7.]

Thom. Bushby clames since his time 12 month malt sold & B	5: 6.
Oates drying L.[164] Bushels at 1	0: 4: 2.
Malt[165] at twice xxiv \ at 4[d] /	0: 8: 0.
Big Malt xi & ½ }	
& — vii ½ } xix at 4[d]	0: 6: 4.
Mor B \ Feb. 86 / xiv at 4	0: 4: 8.

[155] 'Inkle': a kind of linen tape, used for various purposes. *OED*.
[156] 'Galloon': a kind of narrow, close-woven ribbon or braid of gold, silver, or silk thread, used for trimming articles of clothing; a trimming of this material. *OED*.
[157] 'Centrum': 'the centre', from which comes the word 'concentration'; thus, one could loosely give the meaning as, 'a packet of pins size 7 and a packet of pins, size 6', see William W. Smith, *A Complete Etymology of the English Language* (New York and Chicago, 1873), 307.
[158] 'Filleting': a woven material for binding; tape; a band or bandage. *OED*.
[159] The last part of this sentence is obscured by the binding.
[160] Anthony Wood's *Antient and Present State of the City of Oxford* refers to 'Magdalen Parish' and to Inge's or Igge's Hall. Brasenose College's full name is 'The King's Hall and College of Brasenose in Oxford (see https://www.bnc.ox.ac.uk/about-brasenose/history/archives/history). Anthony Wood also refers to Oxford's lanes and passages (often between the colleges) as 'entries', Anthony Wood and J. Peshall, *The Antient and Present State of the City of Oxford* (Later Edition, London, 1773), 51-52.
[161] Part of this word has perished.
[162] Apprisement: the action of setting a value upon; appraisement. *OED*.
[163] The rest of this invoice has perished at the page foot.
[164] Unclear symbol.
[165] An unclear word appears before 'malt'.

Wheat 2 pecks at 2s	0: 3: 8
~~B Malt a Bushel~~	~~0: 5: 6.~~
& 2 more Borrowed	
Eggs 1s	0: 2: 0.
	1:14: 4

[I.767A] [166]

[F7.] [Candle Requirements. Undated]

T.M.
E Lib V.[167] Jo. Middleton
Tui Nov. 3.
Chandles bespoke of him.
Nov. 7. Ric[eive]d from him upon the Bargain aforesaid Lib VI of Candles. Qu. how much tallow delivered to Nell Langhorne.

[I.324A]

[F8.] [Receipt, 1678.]

Marton 1678[168]
April 20th
Received of Robert Appleton the sum of ten pounds in full for halfe a year's augmentation due & ended.
Lady Day last I say received by me Henry Allain, vicar of the same: £10.

[I.442B]

[F9.] [Machell's Expenses at York, 1679/80.][169]

{Enter} A note of expences at York sent to me Feb. 6th – 1679-80.

Sum tot. (Beside my Letters)	2-19-01
more To Council	0-10-00
more given	0-01-00
more spent	0-03-06

[V.18B]

[F10.] [Fragment of a letter (from an anonymous correspondent) to Thomas Machell: written on the reverse of V.18A]

But you and I shall talke more of it when I see you here, which is much the desire of [Blank]
My brother is bringing up his eldest for to study the law some time this summer. I wish that could help to a rich heiress, he being a very pretty youth and the chiefe of their family.

[III.90A]

[F11.] [Address Page]

For John Jones at the Signe of the Angell in Petty France West, London.

[166] The reverse of this page is paginated VI.767B. It contains one part of a household shopping list (not in Machell's hand) with prices. For example, 'rasons 5d; currants 5d… Brandy 2-4 was 3 – 2s 7d.' Unfortunately, only the right-hand half of the information has been retained, as the page had been cut to perform other uses. Consequently, it has not been placed in the body text.
[167] 'Libra', a Latin word for pound, both weight and money; the weight measure was usually shortened to 'lb'.
[168] MS: '1768', but as the text is in Machell's hand, the numbers have presumably been transferred.
[169] See also MS.V.312A, 'Bills of expences of Doctor Henry Machell, his owne hand or his mans as I suppose.'

[I.176B]

[F12.] [Evidence of multiple use.][170]



Figure 3.2.4. Evidence of multiple use. I.176B.

Remember Hodgsons Letter.[171]
John Dalston Booke.

[II.36B]

[F.13] Paper scrap, 18cm by 14cm: the reverse of a sealed letter. Comparisons made between two seals, one of them in Kendal church, are written on the reverse.

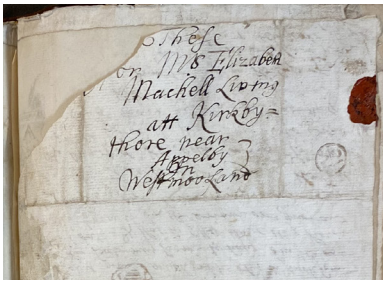


Figure 3.2.5. Letter addressed to Mrs Elizabeth Machell. II.36B.

'These for Mrs Elizabeth Machell living att Kirkby-thore near Appelby In Westmooland'.[172]

[I.174A]

[F.13.] [Personal and antiquarian memoranda, together on the same page]

Burton's Itinerarium. Blatum Burgu[m] \ p. 114. / is taken by Josias Simler for Abalaba, a station in Cumberland, of which see more out of the Notitia of the Western Empire: Mr Pattison at the Read Hart in Fetter Lane.
Mr John Hixon in St Anns Lane near Westminster has an organ cost 60li and offers to sell it to Skipton for 30li. See it for his servant E. Gudgeon.[173]
Write to my mother about the boy-riket syrrup. Sell Corne.
! Quaere de serv[itio] forinseco. Serv[icium] seculare. Lib[eratio] ab omni serv[icio] secul[ari].[174]

[170] The main image is one of Machell's maps, but who drew the fishing net is a mystery. On the reverse (MS.I.176A) is a map of Appleby with the name 'John Machell' written near the margin. It is not Machell's hand and appears to be an immature signature.
[171] In Machell's hand.
[172] Written as seen.
[173] For Machell's part in the purchase and installation of an organ at St Lawrence, Appleby, see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.538, I.548.
[174] 'Ask about foreign service'. 'Ask about secular service'. 'Ask about freedom from all secular service'.

Quid in Blatum-Burgum nomen dant – loco in Apeby vulgo vocato Battleburgh. Per metastasin Literarum T.M. Ibi enim est vetus A[pleby]?[175]

[I.174B]

Caryer: White House, 27 April.

[175] Here, Machell wants to know about the origin of the name Battelburgh and whether it is actually the name of old Appleby. Machell has used the term 'metastasis' in place of the more commonly used 'metathesis', to comment on the transposition of letters in words. He seems to be thinking particularly of the T in Blat / Battl and the M in Burgum, which has not actually been transposed but simply changed. [Is it a coincidence that T.M. are his own initials?]

Part 3. Further Collections

[Chapter 3]

Roman Antiquities

[VI.214]



Figure 3.3.1. Roman Finds. VI.21.

[A1. 1684][1]

[Thomas Machell's research findings presented in a letter to Sir William Dugdale]
[Published in *Philosophical Transactions*, 14 April 1684]

[VI.200]

Here put in the let[ter] to Sir William Dugdall.[2]

[*Philosophical Transactions 14*, 158 (20 April 1684), 555-58.][3]

A Letter from Mr. Thomas Machel of Kirkbythore in Westmorland to Sr. W. D. March 25, 1684. concerning some Antiquities found there.

Your love to Antiquity, and my Obligations to you are such that I cannot omit to give you an Account of a strange Well, discovered here about a week since by the foot of an Horse which stumbled upon it; and therefore may be called the 'Fountain Hypocrene.' Tis in the Street of Kirkbythore by the Bridge-end, on the North side of the River Trout-Beck, the Antient Boundary twixt the Lordship of Crackanthorp (my Brothers Estate) and this of Kirkbythore, and is about ten yards distant from it, in the common Road; and as many yards distant from the Great Roman Causey which leads to Carlile, and goes betwixt it and a place called the Burwens, being part of the Ruines of Whelp-Castle, on the East side of it: And 'tis very strange that a Well should be digged so near to the River, unless perhaps the Castle-walls have gone betwixt them and the way run through it; as at Maiden-Castle on the top of Stanemore.

It hath been covered with a Plank of wood about nine inches thick, in the fashion of a Potlid: but decayed and macerated to the colour and consistance of a Peat, or Turf; insomuch that I could hardly conjecture what wood it was made of but I suppose Oake. And above this was gravel and pavement about a yard thick, which (being tendered by the late great Frost and swelling of the Spring): easily gave way to the Horses foot.

Instead of wall were two large wooden vessels, one upon another, like Hogsheads or Wine-pipes with Bung-holes in them, about three inches Diameter: and the plowings for the heads were fair to be seen. They were made of Firr (whencesoever they came), above an inch thick each of them in depth, by a Perpendicular, 6 foot at the least at the heads, in circumference no less then 8 foot, being in Diameter 2 foot and 8 inches; and in the middle 10 foot and 4 inches, being in Diameter no less then 3 foot 5 inches and ⅓. The wood was found but withal very spongy by reason of the water. At the bottom about 5 yards deep, were 4 Planks of wood laid quadrangular wise, supported with a stone at every Corner, to bear up the Fabric and let in Water through the gravel and sand, which lay loose in the bottom about a yard deeper, as was tried by a Spit, and these also found (though the Cover was rotten) because not so much exposed to the Air.

The men that scearched it, having my permission (for it lies on my side of the high way) flattered themselves with great hopes of some Treasure when they saw the Hogshead set on end: and their expectation was therefore the stronger because they could not possibly imagine that a Well should be placed in an open Street in a publick high way and so near to the River, but they only found Fabritian

[1] In this chapter, Machell's research results are presented in approximate date order.
[2] A pencilled note of instruction which was not followed at the time, but see Machell's draft letter at A2, below (VI.280). His actual letter was printed in *Philosophical Transactions 14*, 158, 555-58, in 1684. The version presented here is a downloaded transcription of the letter with accompanying illustrations as they appeared in the journal.
[3] https://royalsocietypublishing.org.

Plate:[4] old earthen-Vessels, with pieces of Urne, one piece of a drinking glass and several Sandals, which may serve to bespeak the Antiquity of it, for sure 'tis long since any Sandals were worn in this Country.

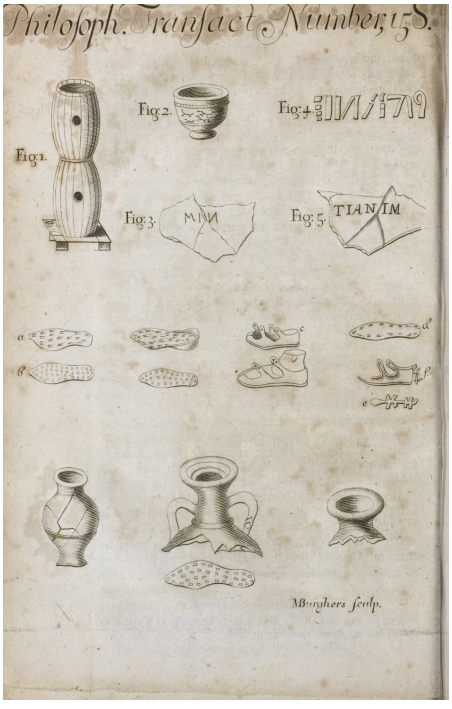


Figure 3.3.2. Illustration from Thomas Machell's letter to William Dugdale, March 25 1684, 'which was published to my unknowledge & printed at Oxford, amongst your Philosophic Transactions, *Apr. 20 at p.555.'*

The earthen-Vessel were of very fine Metal (if I may so call it) of a Brick like colour, and in several Forms: But the most (and most remarkable) were, like a Bason or Posset-Cup, the Bowl, semiglobular; the foot, a Ring: Some were in Diameter about 8 inches, and in depth on the inside, more then 3½, some more, some less, as appeared by the Fragments which came to my hand. They were (for the most part) very finely imbossed, but three more especially, viz. 1. One with a Vine branch, having a Figure in every turning, and in the first place a naked Man standing alone upon his left foot, the other leg cross, and holding his left hand down towards his back, his right towards his belly, with a branch of Lawrel of 3 sprigs in it, one of which turns up to his face-wards over the crooke or bending of his Arm; and at his feet is a Branch of a Blossom or Flower. In the next is a Vine-leaf, 2 Blossoms at the bottom; and at the top 2 Peacocks regardant. In the next is Victory (as I take it), viz. an Angel or Genius holding in its right hand (the Arm stretched out, and the face looking towards the Man) a Garland of Lawrel; in the left, a Sprig of the same; and two sprigs likewise are at the foot with Flowers or Blossoms, and one Flower in the middle betwixt the Garland and one of those sprigs. In the next is a Vine- leaf the same as before; in the next is Victory, and so by turns, till it ends with a Vine-leaf next the Man. And upon it are also some Goth-like Characters of the lesser

[4] 'Fabritian'. Gaius Fabricius Luscinus (Fabritius) the Roman censor of 275 B.C., was a model of the old Roman virtues of austerity and incorruptibility. Despite his public eminence, he chose to live in simplicity and poverty. As censor he sensationally excluded a patrician ex-consul from the senate for possessing 10 Roman pounds (c.3.27 kg.) of silver tableware. Dante took up the theme: 'O good Fabricius, you who chose to live with virtue in your poverty, rather than live in luxury with vice.' (*Canto XX* 24-27). Fabrician plate, therefore, would be plain earthenware, rather than silver etc. See *Oxford Classical Dictionary* Online.

sort,[5] but dim and obscure. Another of these Pots is adorned with Circles and Semicircles; in one of these Circles is the Figure of a Man sitting on a Plinth or square stone; in all the rest are fluttering Genii. In some of the Semicircles are Lions and Goats (or some such like Creatures) here one, there another; all single and current; and near the bottom are Stags in Course and Gray- hounds pursuing, with an Inscription (in a Goth like Character of the greater sort), which see Fig. 4. This may be Paulini.[6] An Inscription with the like Characters is to be seen at Burrowbrigg and publisht by Dr. Lister.[7] And they have been careful in preserving these; for this and some other, having been broke, are crammed (or rather soldered) with lead.

The third sort is yet far more beautiful then any of the rest, being adorned with Gray-hounds very well moulded, and in full pursuite of Stags and Hinds and the Wild Boar; upon which I discovered the same Inscription as in the other. And tho I am not so vain as to say this relates to our Coats of Arms, yet having so near an Affinity with it, both in Creast and Charge (a. the Stags head, b. 3 Gray hounds current.[8] c. Whelp Castle being found at the place which we came from (as is said and believed) I cannot but take some notice of it; and have lent you a piece to look upon, which will (without doubt) give you more satisfaction both for the matter and colour of it, then any Description in writing can do. But I desire you to return it again.

There were several other broken Inscriptions; and one above the rest upon the bottom of a plane Dish or Platter (on the inside of it) writ in this manner, Fig. 5. But whether it stands for Vespatian imperator or Domitianus, or neither of them, I cannot tell.[9]

As to the Glass, there was but a very small fragment of it, 1 can scarce guess the Figure, but I think it a flute Glass made like a Tunnel or Spire inversed. But this is remarkable, that it hath been as thick as a Barly Corn.

The Urns were of a leaden colour inclining to black; one had been large, 2 inches thick in the side of the Pot, but how big I know not, for there was a sherd only brought to me like half of a Shield; I have now the top also, being in Diameter from outside to outside 7 inches, of which the Roll is 2 inches and the Mouth 3 inches. The Neck yet streighter, and only thick there, one third of an inch. The Figure of which you have. And many such are found at this Town, some of which have Ears or Handles as thick as my Arm-wrist, and their Heads and Mouths much of this bigness, but thicker and stronger, such as that Fig. 6. into which I could not thrust in my hand. But the other was almost intire and whole, tho a very small one in depth or height 8½ inches, the Diameter of it 6½ inches, which is in Circumference 19½ wide; in the Mouth almost 3½; in the Neck somewhat more then 2½ by the Diameter: the bottom well nigh as big as the top, excepting the Ring; and the Body in thickness the fifth part of an inch: but thicker somewhat at the top and the bottom.

But Sandals were most admired by me, because I never saw any before. There were some for Men, some for Women, and some for Children; all shap'd by their feet, spreading more to the outside then to the inside: and some were very large and some very crooked as this in the Cut. The leather was Fresh, of which they were made, but very tender when it came to be spread upon a Last. Each consisted of three principal parts; an upper leather (or rathe[r] heel piece with 2 Tabs on each side) an inner Soal, long 11½ inches, broad 3¾[a]; of 3 or 4 Soals hitched together with leathern thongs, and an outer Soal[b] of 2, stuck full of Nails with little round heads (so decayed and rotten that I could scarce

[5] 'Goth-like': gothic. In 17th-century writing and printing, the term 'gothic' was used to mean written characters resembling black letter, and, later, to distinguish them from roman and italic characters. *OED*.
[6] 'Dr Lister observed that one inscription in the margin might be Paulini, probably the potter's name, being the same which he had found on other pots', see VI.268, below.
[7] Martin Lister (bap.1639, d.1712), physician, naturalist, Royal Society member: J. Woodley, 'Lister, Martin'. *ODNB*.
[8] 'Current': courant; running.
[9] Roman emperors: Vespasian (ruled 69-79) and his second son Domitian (ruled 81-96). https://www.britannica.com/biography/Vespasian. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Domitian.

discern them to be Iron) plated on the inside. And to the upper leather (3 fold in the heel piece[c]) is fixed betwixt them and sowed with leather, or rather tacked, which the Iron Nails do help to defend. Yet I think some Womens (of the better sort) had no Nails at all.[d] And of these there is one well worth the observation, of Spanish-like leather and curious workmanship, being exactly stitch'd down round about the fore piece long 2⅓ inches with a pretty Label[f] of the same piece hanging from it, for fashion sake surely; since 'tis too slender to be of any use. As small in the string as the 1 5[t] part of an inch. The Tongue at the end broad half an inch, long one inch, betwixt the two flourishes, which is the length of the small string, 8 parts in 10 of an inch, the two flourishes take up the rest.[d] The Figure of which you may see.[e]

When I first discovered them, I thought peradventure, that the people here in former times might have worn such Shoes as they do in Ireland and the High lands of Scotland, which they call Broagues: and that these might be such; but having the opportunity of discoursing an Highlander that travelled by, while we were digging: and another Gentleman the very next day, who had travelled those Countryes; I was fully satisfied that they were not Broagues; for those (they say) have but one single Soal, and these have six, And so I leave them and the whole matter to your Consideration.

[A2. 1684]

[Thomas Machell's Draft letter to William Dugdale, with notes]

[VI.280][10]

To Sir William Dugdall

Kirkbythore in Westmorland
March 25, 1684.

Sir

Your love to antiquity & my obligations to you are such that I cannot omit to give you an account of a strange well, discovered here about a week since by the foote of an horse, which stumbled upon it & therefore may be called the Fountaine Hypocrene.

'Tis in the street of Kirkbythore by the Bridge-End on the northside of the river Trout-Beck, the ancient boundary 'twixt the Lordship of Crakanthorp (my brother's estate) & this of Kirkbythore, & is about 10 yards distant from it {Cf. It hapned when the water being high, otherwise 20.}in the ~~highway~~ common roade, & as many yards distant from the Great Romane Casway, which leades to Carlile & goes betwixt it & a place calld the Burwens, being part of the ruines of Whelop Castle, on the east side of it. And tis wond[er]ful strange that a well should be digged so near to the river! Unless perhaps the castle walls have gon betwixt them & the way runn through it, as at Maiden Castle on the top of Stanemore.

It hath bin covered with a plank of wood above nine inches thick, in the fashion of a pot-lid, but decay'd & macerated to the colour & consistence of a peat or turfe, insomuch that I could hardly conjecture what wood it was made of, but I suppose oake. And above this was gravel & pavement, about a yard thick, which (being tendered by the late great frost & swelling of the spring) ~~easily~~ gave easy way to the horses foot.[11]

Instead of walls, were 2 large wooden-vessells, {as at f.1.} one upon another, like hogsheads or wine pipe[s], with bung holes in them about 3inch diameter, & the plowings for the heads were fair to be seen. They were made of firr, whencesoever they came above an inch thick, each of them in depth, by a perpendicular, 6 foote at the least; at the heade in circumference no less than 8 foote, being in diameter 2 foote & 8 inches; and in the midle, 10 foote & 4 inches ~~in the circumference~~, being in diameter no lesse than 3 foote 5 inch & ⅓. The wood was sound, but withal very spongie, by reason of \ lying so long in / thee water. Att the bottom (about 5 yards deep) were 4 plankes of wood laid quadrangular wise, supported with stone at every corner, to bear-up the fabric and to let in water through the gravel & sand, which lay loose in the bottom, about a yard deeper, as was tryed by a spect. And these allso sound (though the cover was rotten because not exposed so much to the aire.)

[10] Also numbered p.79.
[11] Margin comment here: {easi, easy}.

The men that search'd it (having my permission, for it lyes on my side of the \ high /way), flattered themselves with great hopes of som treasure, when they sawe the appearance of an hogshead set on end. And

[VI.279]

their expectation was therefore the stronger because they could not possibly imagine that a well should be placed in an open street in a public hig-way, & so near to the river. But they only found Fabritian-Plate: old earthen-vessells with pieces of urnes \ and pieces of a drinkeing glass. / & sev\er/all sandalls, which \ may / serve to bespeak \ discover / the antiquity \ of it / for sure tis long since any sandalls were worn in this country.

[VI.278]

[2.] But the sandalls were most admired by me because I never ~~saw~~ \ see / any before. There were som for men, som for women & som for children, all shap'd by their feet, spreading more to the outside than \ ~~to the~~ / ~~side~~ inn \ side: & / som were very large & som very crooked \ as this in the margent. / The leather was fresh of which they were made, but very tender when it came to be spread upon a last. Each consisted of 3 principle partes: an upper leather (or rather a heale piece) with 2 tabbs on each side; an inner soale of 3 or 4.

[VI.277][12]

{a.} An inner soale of 3 or fower soales stiched together with leathern thongs, &
{b.} An outer soale \ 1 of 2 / Q. of 2 folds of l[eather] stuck full of nales \ b. / with little round heads (so decayed & rotten that I could scarce descerne them to be iron) plated on the inside.
{c.} & so the upper leather \ 3 fold in the heal piece c. / is found betwixt them & sowed with leather, or rather tatched,[13] which the iron nales do help to defend.
{d.} Yet I thinke som womens (of the better sort) had no nales att all. \ d. / And of these there is one well worth observation, of Spanish-like leather & curiouse workmanship, being neatly stich'd down, round about the fore peace ~~& have formerly carved about the […]~~ with a pretty label \ of the same piece hanging down […][14] / for fashion sake surely, since it is too slender \ g. / to put on the shooe, or for any other considerable ~~be of any~~ use, the figure of which you may see in the marg[ent] \ e. / When I first discovered them, I thought peradventure that the people here in former times might have worn such schooes, as they doe in Ireland and the Highlands \ of Scotland, / which they call Broagues, & that these might be such; but having the opportunity of discou\r/seing an Highlander that travaled \ was pasing / by while wee were a digging; & another gentleman the very next day who had travaild those countreys, I was fully satisfied that they were not Broagues; for those (they say) have but one single soale, & these have six. And so I lieve them and the whole matter to your consideration*/ desireing you to returne this letter with your thoughts concerneing them; for I had not time to write it ~~further~~ fair over because the carryers are a going to Kendall, where my friend lives, by whom I must send it; and because he was coming up to London & was resolved to call for the writeings which I left long since with Mr Kings. I would not let let such an occurance pass without your notice, and so writ it in haist, which I hope will excuse the unhansomness of it, and all other faileings. M.
Sir, Your most faithfull and affectionate servant
Thomas Machell
Amphora non meruit tam pretiosa mori.[15]

[Machell's Notes: VI.277]

*{Thus far was printed to my unknowledge and without my permition in the *Oxford Philosophical Transactions*, April 20 1684, p.555, in 4^0.}

[12] Also numbered p.78. This and the next leaf were placed in the volume upside down.
[13] 'Tache' or 'tatch': to fasten, attach, fix, secure. *OED*.
[14] The 6cm of scored-through text following, has been omitted from this edition.
[15] 'convivae meruere tui fortasse perire: amphora non meruit tam pretiosa mori.' Martial *Epigrams I* (18), translated as, 'guests deserved to perish, but so costly a jar did not deserve to die'. See D.R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.) *Martial. Epigrams, Volume I: Spectacles, Books 1-5*, *Loeb Classical Library 94* (Cambridge, Mass.,1993.)

[VI.278

{3.} The third sort is yet far more bea\u/tifull than any of the rest, ~~being~~ adorned with greyhounds, very well moulded & in full pursuit of stags ~~& hinds~~ & the wilde boare ~~likewise~~ upon which I discovered the same inscription, as in the other.
{a. The stag's head; b. 3 grey hounds currant (Argent in a field Sable) c. Whelp Castle}
And though I am not so vaine as to say that this relates to our \ f[amily] / Coate of Armes, yet having so near an affinity with \ it / both in crest & charge, & being fou[n]d at the place which we <u>came from</u> (as is said and believed), I cannot but take some notice of it, and have sent you a piece to looke upon, which will (without doubt) give you more satisfaction, both for the matter & colour of it, than any description in writeing can do. But I desire you to returne it agane.
{And they have bin careful in preserveing these vessels} there; for this and som other having bin broake, are cramed (or rather solder'd) with lead.}

{<u>More remarqebl than al the rest</u>}
There were severall other broken Inscriptions, & one above \ all / the rest upon the very bottom of \ a / plane dish or plater (on the inside of it) writ in this manner: {TIAN. IM.} But whether it stands for Vespasian Imperator or Domitianus \ per incuriam ogrificis[16] / or neither of them, I cannot tell.

{<u>Glass</u>}
As to the glass, there was but a very small fragment of it. I can scarce guess the figures \ ther of / but I thinke \ it / a flute \ -glass made like a turrell[17] / or spire inversed. But this is remarkeable, that it hath bin as thick as a bar'ly-corne.

{<u>IV. Urnes</u>}
The urnes were of a leaden-colour inclineing to black.
One had bin large: 2 inches thick in the side of the pot, but how bigg I know not, for a sherd onely was brought to my view – rough – and to me like halfe of a shield. But afterwards I got the top of it, which was about 7 inch in diameter on the out side the rims, the roll 2 inches thick, and the mouth about 3 inches over: the figure of which you have at this mark: x.
And many suchlike are found hereabouts, som of which have ears or handles as thick an arm wrest, and there heads & mouthes much of this bigness but thicker & stronger, such as that which is marked, into the mouth or neck \ which / I could not \ perforce / thrust my hand.}But the other was almost entire ~~& whole~~, though a very small one; in depth or height 8 inch & ½, the diameter of it 6 inch ½ which is in circumference 19½; wide in the mouth almost 3 & ½; in the neck somewhat more than 2 & ½ by the diameter. The bottom might well [be] nigh as big as the top, excepting the ring. And the body of one sid the shel of it twas \ in thickness / the fifth part of an inch, yet thicker somewhat at the top than the bottom.

[VI.279][18]

{2. <u>The earthen vessels discribed</u>}
The earthen vessels were (& most remarkable) were like of very fine mettall (if I may call it) of a brick-like colour, & in severall forms; but the most (& most remarkable) were like \ to a baron or a / posset-cup, the bowle semi-globular, the foote a ring. \ Some others were / in diameter about 8 inches & in depth on the inside more than 3 & ½, \ som more, som less, / as appeared by the fragments which came to my hand. They were (for the most part) \ very / finely inscribed, but 3 more especially:

{2} Sc. one with a vine-branch, having a figure in every turning; & in the 1[t] place a naked man standing alone upon his left \ foote, / the other leg cross, and holding his left hand down towards his back, his right towards his bellye with a bra[n]ch of lawrell of 3 spriggs in it \ one of / which turns up towards his facewards over the crooke or bending of his arme. & at his feet is a branch of lawrell & a blossom or flower.

[16] 'Through the carelessness of the letter-writer.'
[17] 'Turrell': a cooper's auger (hand tool used for boring holes in wood). *OED*.
[18] A piece of paper pasted onto this page contains the note, 'The Brittans were subdued by the Romanes under his conduct: see Speed, 170.' John Speed's *Historie*, Ch.48, 170, discusses Julian the Apostate, emperor 361-63.

In the next is a vine leaf, 2 blossoms at the bottom, & at the top, 2 peacocks regardant. In the next is Victory (as I take it).[19] Sc. an angel or genius holding in its right hand (the arme stretched out \ & the face looking / towards the man) a garland of lawrell; & in the left, a sprig of the same; & 2 sprigs likewise are at the foote, with flores or blossoms, & one flore in the midle betwixt the garland & one of those sprigs. In the next is a vine leafe, the same as before. In the next is Victory, & so by turns till it ends with a vine leaf next to the man. And upon it, are \ allso / som Goth-like characters of the lesser sort, but dim and obscure.

Another of these potts is adorned with circles & semicircles. In one \ of / these circles is the figure of a man sitting on a plinth or square stone. In all the rest \ are fluttering / geniuses. In som of the semicircles are lyons & goates (or som such like creatures); here one, there another, all single currant;[20] & near the bottom are stags in \ full / course, grayhounds pursuing \ them, / with this inscription in a Gothlike character of the greater sort, which you see in the margin.

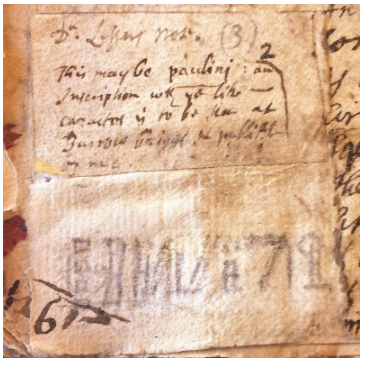


Figure 3.3.3. Machell's sketch of an inscription and reference to Dr Martin Lister's note on Paulini. VI.279.

[A3.]
[Dr Martin Lister, 1684][21]

{III […][22] Dr Lister's note (3) 2}
This may be Paulini. An Inscription with the like caracters is to be seen at Burrow briggs & publisht by me.}[23]

[VI.278]

An inscription with the like characters is to be seen at Burrow brig & publishd by Dr Lister.

[Extract from the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1684]
['Dr Lister produced a letter, which had been written by Mr Thomas Machell of Kirkby-thore in Westmorland to Sir William Dugdale, dated March 25 1684, concerning some antiquities lately found there; as some old earthen vessels with pieces of urns, one piece of a drinking-glass, and several sorts of sandals. The figures of all these were carefully delineated, together with the inscriptions. There was also a piece of a broken vessel shown, of a reddish colour; the relief upon it being greyhounds in pursuit of stags. Dr Lister observed three sorts of materials used for urns in the North country. 1. A fine red earth like a bolus. 2. A blue clay mixt with coarse sand. 3. A blue clay with finer sand and

[19] A faded margin comment in pencil reads, MS: 'If I mistake Vol 10.' But the reading of '10' is debateable.
[20] Currant: courant; running. See above, Machell's letter to Dugdale published by the Royal Society, in which this word is written 'current' (fn. 8). Three greyhounds courant were part of the Machell arms.
[21] See above, VI.200.
[22] 3cm of scored-through MS text has been omitted from this edition.
[23] See, *The History of the Royal Society of London for improving natural knowledge, from its first rise, in which the most considerable of those papers communicated to the society which have hitherto not been published are inserted in their proper order, 4* (London, 1757), 286 (Transactions of the Society, 1684).

micae: specimens of which were shown. He observed that one inscription in the margin might be Paulini, probably the potter's name, being the same which he had found on other pots. This conjecture was confirmed by Mr Richard Waller from a book written at Nimeguen by Smetius on the antiquities of that place.']

[24]

[B.]
[1684, with additional material to 1694]

[B1. Notes on earthen vessels found at the well or 'Fountaine Hyppocrene]

[VI.275][25]

Of Hyppocrene

H	B	L							
32	38.2	72							
	32								
	6.2			07:22:120			7:22	120	
	0.7			22: 7:120					
	4.34						22.7	120	
	32							[x]7	
	36.34		3.65		4.5			22)840	(38.[1]
			x2		x 2			4.6	
			7.30		9.0			180	
			255.50		315.0			176	
		Beer	262.80		324.0	Wine		4.0	

Qu.: What quantity the vessells held?
Ans.: 262 gallons, 3 quarts & cott[yle], Beer-Meas[ure].[26]
Or 324 gallons tonne meas[ure]. Which 324 gallons is one hodgshead & 9 gallons above the common tunn of corne,[27] 252 of which is now in use, the hodgshead thereof goes at the rate of 63 gallons.
Mr Hilliyard sayes that the largest \ vessell ~~the largest vessel~~ / that ever he met with \ was / 300 gallons for Hereford Shire sider.
!!! N.B. The Quality of vessells in the wooden-well.

[24] Johannes Smetius (1599-1651) and Johannes Smetius (1636-1704), *Antiquitates Neomagenses. Sive notitia rarissimarum rerum antiquarum, quas in veteri Batavorum Oppido studiose comparavit Johannes Smetius, pater & filius* (Noviomagi Batavorum: Ex typographeio Regneri Smetii, 1678). Roman antiquities in the vicinity of Nijmegen (the Roman Oppidum Batavorum, home to Legio X Gemina) were gathered by Johannes Smetius (senior), who published a book listing these finds in 1644. His son, Johannes Smetius, continued in his father's footsteps by producing the illustrated catalogue, *Antiquitates Neomagenses*, containing 4,500 antiquities, in 1678. See R.B. Halbertsma, *Scholars, Travellers, and Trade: The Pioneer Years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, 1818-1840* (Abingdon, 2003), 10-11.
[25] Also numbered p.76.
[26] A 'cotyle' or 'kotyle': a small vessel, a liquid measure of about half a pint. *OED*.
[27] Tunn: a measure of weight, now generally 20 cwt., in Great Britain legally 2240 lbs (variant of ton); or a large cask or barrel, usually for liquids e.g. wine, ale, or beer, or for various provisions (variant of tun). *OED*.

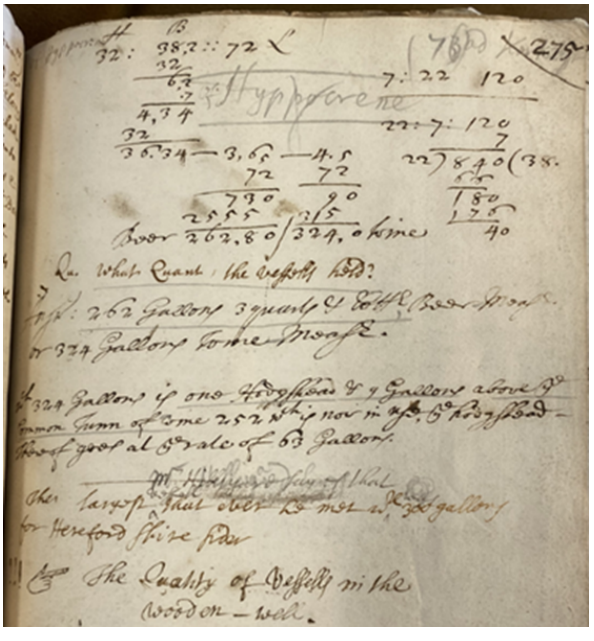


Figure 3.3.4. Vessel Quantities. VI.275.

[VI.276]

See an extract about this well at p.15 & place this letter there.[28]
The cuts sent to London to be inserted in Camden's *Britannia*.[29]

[VI.304]

Hyppo Creene

{a} A golden seale with a blewish agat set therein and a Cæsar's head (perhaps [blank]) ingraved upon it, which was found in Broades-Gardine near the southwest wall of the city of Bath in Sommersetshire, circa 1682 (it was purchased for a ginney & shewn to me by Mr Ed. Addison, August the 12, 1694)[30] near the very place where the excresence growth of a stony substance, upon the said wall.
{b.} (b) is the impression of the said seale.
{c.} A sardonyx stone with a Cæsar's head (perhaps Claudius) found in Walcot Fields near Bath amongst Romane ruines 1691 set in a signet by Dr Guidot. This is the impress ma[r]ked (d.)[31]

[VI.235]

[C. 1687-91]
[Various Drafts relating to {things found at Whelp Castle}

[C1.]

The following Rarities [were] found at Whelp Castle about 5 years agoe amongst the Rifled foundations thereof, whereof the 1ˢᵗ (Marked (a.) is the Shadow & representacon of a most Solid ~~wall~~ & Substantial wall, the like of which I never yet met with \ in any building antient or modern, / being (murus quadruplex) a four-fold wall, Made up of 4 walls Jump'd together & as it were united into

[28] See VI.205.
[29] Camden's *Britannia newly translated into English, with large additions and improvements; publish'd by Edmund Gibson* (London, 1695), to which Thomas Machell contributed, see VI.281.
[30] Edward Addison (1656-1705), architect; see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.538.
[31] Thomas Guidot wrote a number of treatises on Bath and its mineral waters, including, *de thermis Britannicis tractatus. Accesserunt observationes hydrostaticae, chromaticae, et miscellaneae unius-cujusque balnei apud Bathoniam naturam ... exhibentes. (Observationum centuria, pleniorem in thermarum Bathoniensium naturam inquisitionem complectens, etc.)* (London, 1691).

one, which, whether it was for preventing the danger that might happen from Earthquakes, Instead of Those Spiracula\r/ (or windpipes) up the midst of Their walls,[32] which Vitruvius (If I be not forgetful) [VI.237][33] doth som where direct: (if my memory fails not} Or whether 'twas onely for Strength & Defence, I leave others to judge. But it seems to have \ bin / a most excellent way against the Battering Rams, us'd ~~in those days~~ \ of old / & might hold out \ for ought I know / a Considerable Time (for anything know) ~~were~~ against our Canon; because ~~of~~ \ thô / a breach were made in the first wall, or Perhaps in the Second, The Rest might stand firm, having no dependence One upon the other.

They were made of Hewn Stone, ~~&~~ each being 2 foot & 4 Inches ~~in~~ breadth, so that the whole was 9 foot & 4 Inches. The utmost wall was Strongly Cemented to the very foundation with the best Roman-mortar (a Composition \ made as I guess / of Lime Gravel and Brick). The other 3 had their foundations, ~~first~~ laid \ first / in Clay, & then in a coarser sort of Lime, And underneath all was a Pavement of Cobles, to make the foundation more firme & durable – An Invention \ of which / I once \ imagind my self / thought my self \ to have bin the / master[34] ~~of~~ (takeing my Hint from the Casways in London, which support ~~such~~ vast burthens, notwithstanding the Shoging of Carts & Carriages;[35] whence I concluded they would bear greater weights in a foundation where they might lye at rest from all such disturbances). But I found my mistake in 2 Instances here […][36] & in a 3[d] at Kirkbythore Church, when I caused Them to flag it & to level the threshold; Which being builded out of These Ruines (as the Hall & towne are) they ~~have~~ \ had / learn'd from thence how to lay Their foundation firm & secure \ which is made of pebbles; / Which againe was forgotten in after ages; but now is revived. This four-fold wall had a sinke passing Through it (as you se at this Marke (+) which was laid at the Bottom with a sort of Gutter Tiles marked Thus [+ +][37]

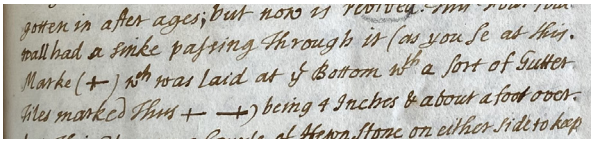


Figure 3.3.5. Symbols used by Machell. VI.237.

being 4 Inches & about a foot over. & at Their Edges was a Course of Hewn Stone on either side to keep in the water which ~~it~~ ran in That Channel. There is a Returne {b*} in the said wall (which had been formerly sought & wrought out) near the Angle or corner, whereof on the Inside (which I have marked Thus with an (*) Asterisc) we found that Broken Piece of an Altar –

FOTVNÆ SERVATRICI

which is so easy & fair to be read that it needs no manner of Explication save that the letter F, being a wanting in the beginning of the first line, must be supplyed.[38]
And thus, I have don with the 4 fold wall, which was near \ to / the Angle of the high Burhanes {c.} towards the South.

[32] Spiracle: from Spiraculum = airduct. A pencil sketch of the walls in the left-hand margin is very close to the binding; it has not been reproduced.
[33] Also numbered p.43.
[34] MS: '{My selfe haveing bin the first finder out}.' Written in a pencilled scrawl in the margin.
[35] To shog: to shake or roll (something heavy) from side to side; to jolt or jar (some one or something); to shake off a load. *OED*.
[36] Here, there is illegible margin comment roughly written in pencil.
[37] See *Figure 3.3.5* for the shape of Machell's symbols here, and for Machell's attractive, legible handwriting.
[38] Much of the information written here in a legible hand can be found in note form in VI.236A: not transcribed.

The 3[d] thing \ c. / of note marked (c.) is a wall {pipe wall} 2 foot & 2 inches broad (the 2[d] Instance of a Pav'd foundation, of the same materials with the former; but with this Remark,

[VI.239][39]

That under the foundation thereof was found Leaden-pipes VIII inch in Circumference; The connecting or joyning of which together is very Observable; for thô the Plummer had shewn himself an \ most / Excellent Artist in soldering up the sides of the pipes, yet they were not soldered one into another (as the manner now is)[40] but made with broad Brimms like unto Sawcers & so Nail'd together: which is fitter for us to admire then imitate. This wall was discovered nearer the midle of the said High Burhanes, Running a long from S. East to N. West, & was pursued to within 10 yards of Burhan-Hall-Lane, where They found the End of it by a Returne which was made in the wall {d.} somewhat towards the North.

{Pillar Wall and Inscription}
And Paralel to it was another foundation of Plane Hewnstone, breasted on both sides as a perpen wall, but with vi. Projectures like the Bases \ or plinth stones / of Columms, each of which was of one entire stone – I foot in depth & 2 in Diamiter every way. The Interspaces betwixt the Projectures were in Length x foot & in breadth 1½ f. And Before it became \ lay / a Conduit of Stones about a yard broad, & Excavated (like Spouts) in the Midle; which so flowed with water (though the situation be somewhat High) That it hindred the Workmen from rasing the stones, & set them \ all / wet shod. The Wall was laid in strong Lime & Sand, som of which (continuing yet moist, because of the water) was clammy & soft & seem'd to be mixed with the powder of Marble or som other hard stone, & with pounded \ pounced / brick: {Testae Tunsae}[41] The old composition that the Romans made use of in mixing the mortar for plastering \ of / walls & laying of \ of / floors \ Are / divers pieces of {old plaster} which were also found here,[42] being variegated in such a manner (with the Said Composition, & Pible stones polished, & with small lumps of Brick) That they seem'd to Resemble our Speckl'd Marble, & were in a manner as hard as a stone, though they had lain so long in the Earth.

{e.} But that which gave me most Satisfaction was This Piece of Inscription on the 2[d] Plinth Stone (the other part of it being taken away \ in former ages / when they Rifeled so deep into the foundations.)[43]

ELL ˆ EQQ ˆ LLAVRELIVS ˆ M
ARCVS ˇ DEO ˇ ALÆ ˇ VSLLM

The Latter Part of which I read Thus: Aurelius Marcus Deo ALÆ \ or Decurio Alæ if the Romans had such an officer.) / votum solvit libentissime merito.[44]
f.f. And near unto it was found a Piece of (the Scapus Columni) or Shaft of a Pillar, fluted on One Side with a Single Gutter &

[VI.241]

having a Mortiss \ Motess / at the End thereof,[45] 3 Inches Square, as at f.f. From \ all / which Together I do Conclude that this hath \ formerly / been a Temple, & of that \ very / sort which the Greeks (& the Romans after them) called Peripteros; from being surrounded with a Row of Pillars; six of which were placed in that End they design'd for the Front, 6 in the other End, & ix on Each Side; which with

[39] Also numbered p.45.
[40] MS: 'as the manner is \ 2 / now \ 1. /'
[41] 'Lime, sand, and pounded pottery', see Vitruvius: 'After finishing the plank flooring, lay a second plank flooring over it at right angles, and nail it down so as to give double protection to the framework. Then, mix with new broken stone one third the quantity of pounded tile, and let lime be added to the mixture in the mortar trough in the proportion of two parts to five.' Morris H. Morgan (Translator & ed.), *Vitruvius Pollio, The Ten Books on Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass. 1914), Book 7, 1, 5-6.
[42] The interlineation in this sentence was added in pencil to correct the text; it has faded and is almost illegible.
[43] MS: A pencilled cross has been placed over the beginning of the text in round brackets.
[44] 'Aurelius Marcus, to the god of the cavalry unit, or decurion of the cavalry unit, pays his vow most gladly and justly.' Pencilled notes in Latin at the foot of the right-hand margin, have faded illegibly, thus not transcribed.
[45] 'Mortise' (mortas, mortase): a cavity, hole, or recess into which the end of some other part of a framework or structure is fitted so as to form a joint. *OED*.

the Angular Ones made xi. But we may Reckon \ account / them accounted \ Reckoned / before, in the Front & Rear; for they are the same Columns, though faceing 2 wayes; {for} “Periptores”, (sayes the Learned {architect}Vitruvius,[46] in his 3d Book, *de Deorum Immortalium Ædibus Sacris*: erit Illa, quae habebit in fronte et postico senas columnas; in lateribus cum angularibus undenas \ nas /; ita autem sint hae columnae collocatae, u\t/ intercolumnij latitudinis intervallum, sit a parietibus circum ad extremos ordines columnarum, habeatque ambulationem circa cellam aedis.[47]

[VI.234A]

There were VIII yards of a Conduit bared, being stones of about ½ a yard broade. The hollow 4 inch & ½ in breadth & 3 inch & an half in Deepness, & something Strater at the Bottom than Top.
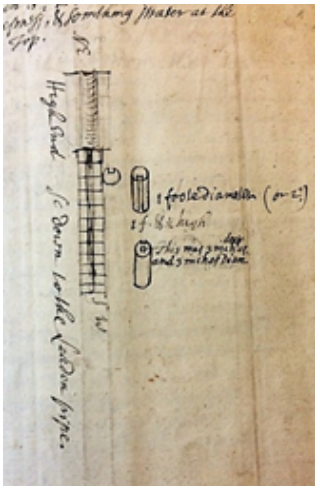


Figure 3.3.6. Pillar Shaft. VI.234A.

[Labels on the image above]
High End Sc. down to the Leaden pipe
1 foote Diameter (or 2?)
1 f. & ½ High
This was 3 Inches \ deep / and 3 Inches Diam.

[VI.234]



Figure 3.3.7. Peripteros: Ground plan. VI.234.

[46] MS: ‘Sayes the Antient Vitruvius.’When editing this page, another hand disagreed with the description ‘Antient’, replacing it with ‘Learned’.
[47] ‘A temple will be peripteral that has six columns in front and six in the rear, with eleven on each side including the corner columns. Let the columns be so placed as to leave a space, the width of an intercolumniation, all round between the walls and the rows of columns on the outside, thus forming a walk round the cella of the temple.’ See Vitruvius (ed. Morgan), *The Ten Books on Architecture*, *3*, 2, 5.

[VI.240]



Figure 3.3.8. Four-fold wall, pipe wall, pillar wall and altar. VI.240.

[VI.241]

{Distance as to Column Shafts}
I cannot indeed Justly say that all these Rules were Exactly observed; for the Intercolumnium (or Interspace betwixt these Pedestals ~~or Basses of pillars~~) was but 10 foot (or xi at most if we reckon to the Shafts of the Columns). But the distance betwixt them and the back-wall (which I take to be part of the Ambulationes Circa Cellam Ædis)[48] was 3 foot more {perhaps 4 foote more, so 15 in all.} But then I find that Th[e]se Directions (in every Circumstance) were not always observed, since Vitruvius himself has left us one Instance in the forequoted place, of the Temple of Vertue, made by Mutius sine Postico, which is a greater Irregularity than to set of a wall, 2 or 3 {3 or 4} foot to inlarge a walk by It. So That This maketh Nothing against our opinion That it was such a Temple, There being so many remarkable Circumstances to Confirme us in It. & the \ very / Platform which is in Vitruvius (& sheweth us what such Templs were), will (if Compared) make it more ~~clear~~ \ Evident. / But Then you must not look on my draughts as drawn by the Scale, for I think it unnecessary: Nor expect that any thing \ which that as here re/presented by me (by my own handy work) should be performed in {Exact} full Proportion, unless it be Coynes & \ Seales & / som other \ such / things as admitt of Miniture; Yet I have don Them in such a manner \ & with so much Resemblance) as may give Satisfaction to any Beholder, though the Rule of Proportion {of one thing to another} be not duly observ'd – Peripteri Fundamenti ICHNOGRAPHIA. Ex qua ad totius Ædis

[VI.243]

Orthographiam facillimè periti architecti peruenire possunt. È Lib. III! M. Vitruvij *de Architectura*, Cap 3ino {vide hujus p.6. 7.}[49] By this it is Evident to any man's eye \ beholden / that the wall we are treating of has been the foundation of such a Temple as is here described. And we find by the letters on the foundation, that it was erected by

AURELIVS MARCVS DEO ALÆ
To the tutelary God of the Roman horse

[48] 'A walk round the cell of the temple', From Vitruvius (ed. Morgan), *The Ten Books on Architecture, 3*, 2, 5.
[49] 'Plan of a Temple Foundation. From which skilled architects can very easily arrive at an elevation of the whole building.' See Vitruvius (ed. Morgan), *The Ten Books on Architecture 3*, 3. The reader will note Machell's frequent references to Vitruvius. On MS. VI.264, for example, he referred again to Book 3: 'Peripteri fundamentum Ichnographia é lib 3. M. Vitruvii de Architectura, Cap. 5. See it at p.48.'

the Troops which they placed on the Right & Left Hand about their Legions being called Alæ from (Ala, a wing) because [they] covered & protected their Infantry (or legions of foote) as the wings of a bird do the Body of it. But who this Aurelius Marcus was, is not so Easy a thing to Determine \ matter to discover, / for I am in a doubt whether the names may not be transpose'd, so that we might read MARCVS AVRELIUS for Aurelius Marcus, and thus apply it to
{1.} Marcus Aurelius Antonius Verus, the Adopted Son of Marcus Antonius, who came to succeed him in the Roman Empire, but was truly son of Ælius Verus. For his stile is MARCO ÆLIus AURELIUS, as we sometimes find \ it; / and ELI in the beginning of the said Inscription may seem to favour it \ This opinion; / or whether the names may not stand as they are. {Or may \ it / not be Aurelius Flavius about CCLXIX years after Xt Nativity? The letters LL being for FL}
{2.} And so to be applied to that once famous but unfortunyt MARCVS, Lieutenant of Brittaine under Honorius at the Declining of the Roman Empire*, whom the armies in Brittaine (fearing least the flames of their Neighbours being all set on fire by the Goths & Vandals, might at length flash out & take hold of them, Elected Emperour, & paid him obedience for a while at the first; but not long after put him to Death. This I should take to be the man (if his Prænomen could be discovered to be \ have bin / Aurelius, concerning which my Author is silent†) because he lived & dyed in this Iland, & presently after the Romans were forced to betake themselves home, leaving onely (as may well be supposed) some few Men of Note to head the Britons (who intermarried & continued amongst them) & som (doubtless) here. For, as it appears by its fourfold wall to have been one of their Strongest Forts, and by this example \ Temple / to have been most Commodious \ Garr[ison]. /

[Machell's Notes: VI.243]
*{This lieutenant was Calphurnius Agricola, whose name was inscribed upon an altar at the Picts Wall perhaps for [blank] ELI}
†{May not this be Aurelius Optatus, as being so called from this election?}

[VI.245]

So it must be of Consequence, be the longer Retained, & upholden by Them.

[C2. Further Notes]

{Unde K.[50] It was caled Gallup & Catuli Gnolea}
But when the Saxons came ~~in~~ to \ this Island to / assist them against the Picts, & They & (Their religion) prevail'd, so far as to overspread the whole Nation & give language to it; They \ may / seem to have Placed their mighty God Thor here in This \ very Roman / Temple whence the Town took its name[51] {of Kirkbythore}, & perhaps the like was ~~scarce~~ \ not thereat / to be found […];[52] whence it is that we have ~~so~~ many Thoresbyes {i.e. places where the image of Thor was erected:[53] i.e. a place where there was a temple} & \ not a / Kirkbythore ~~but one~~ \ save this one onely. /

{Romane Castles}
A little farther from this Noble Temple, towards the south west, we met with diverse floors & c[h]ambers under \ the / ground; for your Romane Castles were not a continued Pile of Building, but rather like to to a little Towne within it self \ having severall / as I shall shew when I come to speak of Plumpton Wall, / where There are the fairest vestigia of it That ever I met with; & yet dark enough. Some of these floores were flagged with stone, & som Paved with Brick, better then \ any / we meet with nowadays. For our workmen Generally are so Penurious, & do things so sleightly to gain the more by Them, that in Process of time they lose the Perfection of all arts & Trades \ facultyes. /

{Bricks of}
Two of These Pavements made of Brick I have \ {here} / describ'd at the letter (h.), which for the

[50] 'From what place Kirkbythore?'
[51] MS Margin: '{might be called}'.
[52] Interlineated words here, written in faded pencil, have not been transcribed.
[53] In the MS, here, there is an illegible word and a group of scored-through words.

most part are x inches square & 2 inches deep; thô I met with som that were ½ inch Thicker & a foot Diamiter every way, which is just a quarter of the Semi te\t/radoron[54] that was used in building amongst the Greeks, whereas the Roman building brick was the διδωεον – so call'd for consisting of 2 palms in breadth & as much more in length – which Vitrivius explanes to be Longum Pede, Latum Semipede, a foot long & ½ foot broad.

{Size}
& in the unfolding of his Scheams of these measures, he shews us what is meant by a Palm (which the Greeks call δϖεον). Namely the breadth of a man's 4 fingers; & I do observe that 2 of these palms (at the thickest part of my fingers \ next to the Palm / when the hand is expanded) are just ½ a foot; from whence I collect that a midle sized man amongst the Romans was \ of / no larger \ taller / then we are \ at this day / & that the Gigantic Ideas & fancies men entertaine {concerneing} \ thus / of them, do only proceeed from Their noble Acts Recorded in Story; nor does the world grow

[VI.246]

old in Th\is/ sense, but all things continue Now as they were then \ in those dayes, / which is no unpleasant speculation.

[C. 1687-88 with additions to 1692]

[C1.] Subterranean Passage found near the site of 'Whelp Castle'

[VI.281][55]

A platform of an arched Su[bterranean] Vault at Kirkbythore.

{This platform was cut out & sent to London to be inserted in Cambden's *Britannia* 1694 per T. Machell.}



Figure 3.3.9. 'A Platform of an Arched Subterranean Vault at Kirkbythore.' VI.281.

[54] Semi tetradoron: Vitruvius explained that the tetradoron was a brick four palms square (in Greek, 'palm' means 'the giving of gifts' and the gift was always given in the palm of the hand). He explained that there were also half-bricks. 'When these are used in a wall, a course of bricks is laid on one face and a course of half-bricks on the other, and they are bedded to the line on each face.' See *Vitruvius* (ed Morgan), *The Ten Books on Architecture* 2, 3, 3-4.
[55] Also numbered p.81.

The remarquable places
(a.a.a.a.) The area or flower.[56]
(b.b.b.) The two scatchments.
(c.c.c.c.) 2 rowes of stones of \ each / a yard long, such as the side-walls are composd-of.
(e.e.e.) The stairs ascending up under the arch towards High Burwens.
(f.) The surface of the earth & a sight of the heavens under the arch in that ascent.
(g.g.g.) The Arch it selfe made of fine stones.

This vault was accidentally found in seekeing for stones at Coppin-hill (so called corruptly as I do suppose ~~for~~ \ from the word / Copped-hill) the place being advanced to a more than ordinary height & eminence by \ reason of / this Arch, and the rubbish ~~which was~~ \ which lay / about it. It is in the upper end of that street which lyeth betwixt the Romane Way and the High Burwens, where we doe conjecture that the main body of Whelp-Castle stood, & not 40 yards from it, where whilst a labourer was striving with an iron gavelock[57] (so they call a craw in this country) / to get up a stone, it slipt out of his hand & it was heard to plunge & dash into water, which gave them occasion to dint[58] deeper in it.[59]

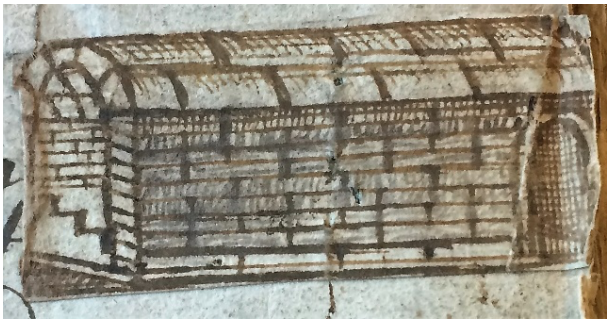


Figure 3.3.10. Vault Detail. 'The figure of it resembled a trunke'. VI.281.

& as they informd me, the figure of it resembled a trunke, the lid of which discribeth the Arch, & the sides – the sidewalls – being in breadth about 4 foote & ½; in length 15. That end which pointeth \ down / to the High Street to the Romane Way was not solid-wall, but of loose stone & rubbish; & the other end which was next to the Burwens (~~a far higher place than Coppin-hill~~) ascended by stairs under the Arch, each step consisting of one entire stone, of which six in number & perhaps many more, for they could not finde the bottom of it \ then / with a long iron gavelok, after they had cleared as low as the scatchment,[60] but \ still there remained / soft mud & rubbish,

[VI.282]

which, with fragments of earthen potts & glasses & boanes \ of / monstrous bigness \ incredibleness for men's bones – if they ~~be~~ \ were such / the materials with which it furnished withal – the water above them ascending as high as the stair{?}

[56] 'Floor'.
[57] Gavelock: an iron crowbar or lever. *OED*.
[58] 'To dint': to impress or drive in with force. *OED*.
[59] MS: 'whilst a labourer was strive with an iron \ ~~craw or~~ / gavelock, ~~for~~ (so they call a craw in this country) to get up a stone ~~he lost his instrument~~ {it slipt out of his hand} & it was heard to plunge \ & dash / into water ~~beneath~~, which gave them occasion to seeke \ sinke / further into it \ dint deeper in it. / ~~as they tell me~~.'
[60] Probably 'scarcement' also 'skersment', 'skarsment': a plain flat set-off or rebate in a wall or in a foundation or bank of earth; also, a flat ledge projecting from the face of a rock. *OED*.

{But I will yet give you a more lively representation thereof, of proposing the idea […][61] of what hath bin said. [I] have exposed the idea \ of it / naked to your view in this following scheem, wherein the earth is suppos'd ~~bin a~~ [to] be taken quite \ a/way from it on every side, the stony-carkass thereby remaining.}[62]
The side walls were faced with stone with great dents in them (as is elsewhere described), and backed up with earth,[63] \ each stone consisting of one foot in thickness & about 3 in length / which rose from the scatchment in regular courses (all of a bigness to 10 quarters as height) up to the springers. I doe suppose that the scatchment was only to support & strengthen & keepe the saide walls from shifting in being ~~backed with~~ \ forced by the / earth. And there was on the left hand by the south west corner of an arched dooer-steed of about a yard wide. Above these walls \ by the south west by the south west corner of an arched dooer-stead of about a yrd wide / an Arch was erected, which consisted only of 5 stones in length: Sc. 2 springers with 2 seconds next unto them & a sprin[g]ling stone \ to binde them / in the midst {?} an so they proceeded (in the like order) from \ one / end to the other end. But to give you yet more clear comprehension of it, behold the figure.[64]

Thus, I have described it as well as I could by mere information. But to discover what it hath bin is an harder taske. Some thinke (by the boanes & blackish mudd wherewith it was filled) that it had bin a sepulchre; but the great store of urnes which are found ~~which are~~ heareaboute, \ which e.e.e.e. / do persuade the contrary. I rather take it either to have bin a port to the castle, unto by which they ascended by the said stairs in the end; & the lefthand dooer ~~a lodge thereunto~~ to have bin for a lodge \ to it /. Or else I gues it to have bin a Bath, fountain or well, having 2 descents: one by the dooer on the left hand (from som \ small / appertments); the other, by the great stair in the end \ ~~of the vault~~ / (from the main castle). The deepness of the pitt perswades the former; and the position of the stair & whol fabric (being directly opposite to the midst of the castle) doe perswade the latter. But in things so abstruse, it is \ hard / to define \ determin. / I therefore leave it to the judgement of others to make such conjectures as they thinke more rational.

[VI.283]

Yet the principal entrance seems to have bin on the opposite side (the house here opening wider & wider to the right hand and left). And we found another in 1692 by the plin'thes of the gate postes, about [blank] of distant near to the midle of Burhan Hall lane, with the foundation of a wall all along, with a conduit under it being 2 yards distant or thereabouts from the said lane.

[VI.285]

De Templo Alæ
{This referd to in the foregoing treatiss at [blank] p. [blank] yet I will not throw it away, there being a coyn mention'd therein, & som other notes which be not here.}[65]

[C2] {1687} {The Pillar W[all} [Machell's Fair Copy][66]

1. The Foundation
On December the 12th 1687 by digging for Stones in a Place calld Highburwens at Kirkbythore in the County of Westm'land (suposd to be the Scite of Whelp-Castle), A foundation of huen-stone was there discovered, plane on both sides but with six Projectures,[67] each (of which was of) one entire-stone, a foote in depth and 2 foote in Diameter every way. The Interspaces betwixt these Projectures

[61] Several centimetres of this margin comment have been erased and overwritten; the ideas expressed appear to be different versions of the same material.
[62] See MS.I.509A, which gives similar information.
[63] MS: 'The side walls were ~~onely~~ faced with \ ~~ruff huen~~ / stone ~~&~~ ~~backed up with earth, the stones roughly huen~~ with great dents in ~~to~~ them (as is elsewhere described) ~~each being about~~ \ and backed up with earth / ~~a free foote in thickness & full yard in length~~.'
[64] See the figures on VI.281.
[65] For Machell's notes, see VI.234-45, VI.286-87, VI.289.
[66] The calligraphy on VI.285-88 is immaculate, contrasting greatly with Machell's notes and drafts elsewhere.
[67] There is a line of illegible scored-through text in the MS here.

were about 10 f. & in bredth one foot an Halfe \ and in length 10 foote / in manner of a Perpen-wall;[68] & before it came a Conduit of stones about a yard broad, and \ Excavated {holloed} like Spoutes / in the Midle, which so flowd with water (thô it be on an Hill) that it hindred the workmen from takeing them up \ raseing the stones, / and set them wet-shod. The wall was laid in strong lime and sand, som of which (continuing yet moyst by reason of the water) was clammy and soft, and seemed to be mixed with the powder of marble or of Coble Stones, and Rubbish of brick; The old composition which the Romanes made use of in mixing their morter.
And (some few days after)[69] under the foundation of another wall (which ran parallel to it at about 5 yards distance) Leaden-Pipes were discovered[70] curiously soldred, & 8 inch in circumference. But the connecting of them together was \ something / most remarkable; [71] for they are not soldred one into another, but made with broad brimms like unto Sawcers, and so nailed together, which is fitter for us to admire than imitate, the figures of both I shall \ here / present you with,

[VI.286]

though not by scale (for that is not necessary). ~~Neither have I leisure at present to do justice.~~ Yet in such a manner as shal \ may / give satisfaction to every eye {the Beholder}, tho the rules of proportion be not \ duly / observed.
The first is a wall of 2 f[oot] & 2 inch broad with 2 Leaden-pipes joyned at [letter] (a); the other, a wall with 6 Projectures for so many Pillars, on each of which wee suppose one hath stood.
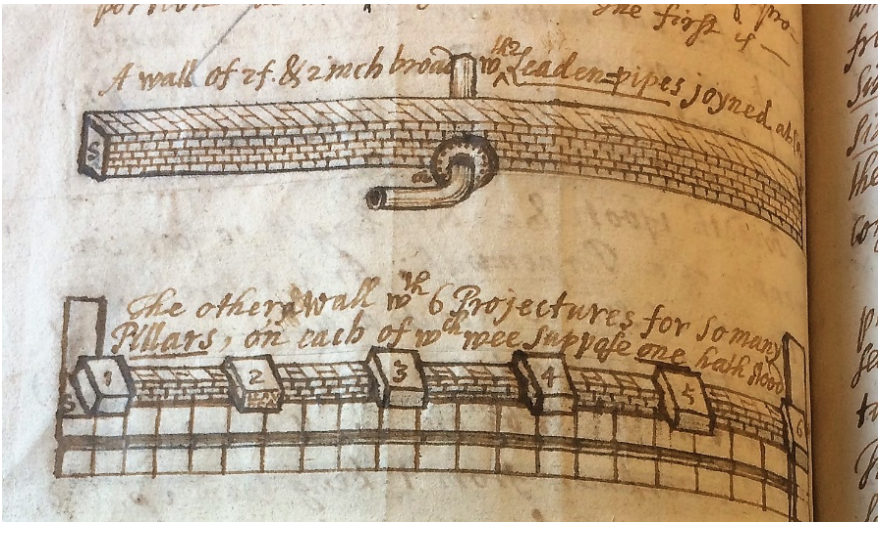


Figure 3.3.11. 'A wall of 2 f[eet] & 2 inch broad with 2 Leaden-pipes joyned at (a); the other, a wall with 6 Projectures for so many Pillars, on each of which wee suppose one hath stood.' VI.286.

And on the second of these projectures was this inscription:

[68] Perpen: a stone running through a wall from one side to the other and having two smooth vertical faces; a perpen (or parpen) wall could also be a mason's term for a wall of a single stone in thickness. *OED*.
[69] Here, two-thirds of a line consists of thoroughly scored-through illegible text, but a margin comment, in another hand, asks, 'The pipe wall?'
[70] A margin comment here offers, 'We found.'
[71] MS: Written as, 'remarcable', but the 'c' was changed to 'k' by another hand.

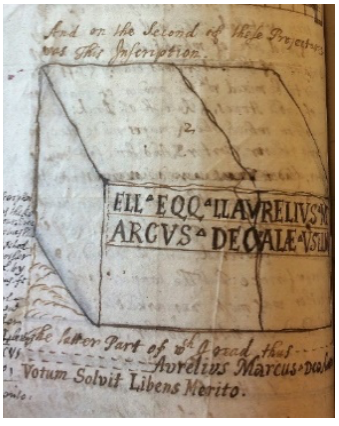


Figure 3.3.12. 'And on the second of these Projectures was this Inscription.' VI.286.

What if the whol should be thus read

(... A …) ELL (US) Equester Quirinalis Libert[is] Libertabusque
AVRELIVS MARCVS DEO (sive DECurio) ALÆ Votum Solvit Libens Lubens Merito.}[72]

The latter part of which, I read thus:

… AURELIUS Marcus. Deo Alæ Votum Solvit Libens Merito.[73]

There is an inscription to M. Aurelius the Romane Emperour, erected by M. Aurelius Philo at Apalby School, Fig. 3; and another Iovi opt[imo] Maximo[74] by Aurelius Fabius, F[ig.] 5.

[VI.287]

The manner of the Platform doth (in my Thoughts) bespeak it a Temple or Place of Worship within this great Fort;[75] and of that kinde which is called Peripteros from being surrounded about \ with a row of / Pillers, six whereof were plac'd in the front, and Six in the Rear; & nine on each side, which, with the Angular ones, made eleven. For whosoever consulteth Vitruvius will be of this minde.
And, By the inscription (reverently placed on a Foundation Stone) it should seem to be Dedicated (DEO ALÆ) to the tutelary God of the Romain Horse {if there was such a deity}; their Troopes, which they placed on the right and left hand about their Legions, being called Alæ from ala: a wing, because they covered and protected their infantry \ or legions of foot / as the wings of a Bird do the body of it {doth her body}. And the Author of this Temple is (here) said to be AURELIUS MARCUS, who seems to have vow'd it upon some hazardous Expedition in case his troupes returned victoriouse; as by the event it appeareth they did.
But it is not so Easy a thing to determin who this Marcus should be? Whether Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius (the word being Transpos'd) Emperour of Rome about the CXXXIX[th] year of Christ's Incarnation,[76] one of whose Coyns I have in Silver,[77] found near to this place about a year since? Or

[VI.288]

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus (commonly called Marcus Aurelius) the adopted son of M. Antonius, to whom he succeeded about CLXII; {An. Xt. 162}) but was the son of ELLVS Verus which theletters ELL in the beginning of the foresaid Inscription may seem to favour. Or Marcus

[72] 'Aurelius Marcus, to God (or Decurion) of his cavalry unit, willingly, gladly and justly pays his vow.'
[73] 'Aurelius Marcus, to the god of his cavalry unit, pays his vow willingly and justly.'
[74] 'To Jupiter best and greatest.'
[75] A pencilled margin comment reads, MS: 'This seems so as ~~it has bin~~ here hewhead, as here we finde them some pieces of shapes of shafts of coll[umns] being here also found with holles.'
[76] A.D. 139.
[77] In the MS there is a rough sketch of two blank circles and a margin heading, 'A Coyne.'

Aurelius Flavius Claudius? Or his brother, Quintilius, about CCLXIX? {An. X^{ti} 269} Or Marcus Aurelius Valerius Probus, about CCLXXVII? Or Marcus Aurelius, sir-named Carus, in the year CCLXXXII?
{*!!}[78] Or lastly, one MARCUS, a Lieutenant of Britaine under Honorius at the Declineing of the Romaine Empire, when the Goths & Vandalls would needs overrun it about 396 years after Xt birth {CCCXCVI}, upon which the soldiers who lived here in Britaine (distrusting the conduct of young Honorius) elected Him Emperour.[79] \ But / presently after put him to death? This I should take to be ~~author of it~~ \ the man / ~~above all the rest~~ (if his prænomen could be discover'd to have bin Aurelius) concerning which my instructor \ author / is silent, because he lived & dyed in this Iland where (for ought I can read) the Rest never came; and presently after the Romains Retired. So, the least Antiquity can be assign'd \ this Romane Temple / is M.CC. LXXXXI years. {M.CC.XCI. 1291.}

[VI.289][80]

[C3.] Of the Temple of Alæ.

{Note. The M[emorandum] notes, & what is at the end with the paper pind to, may yet be serviceable} {A duplic[ate] being the 1^{t} draught.}

Of the Temple of Alæ
On December the 12, 1687, by digging for stones in a place call'd Highburwens at Kirkythore in the county of Westmorland (supposed to be the scite of Whelp-Castle) a foundation of huen-stone was \ there / discovered, placd on both sides (within & without), but with 6 projectures ~~at 2 foot distance after this maner~~, each of which was one entire stone, a foote & in deepth & 2 foote in diameter every way.
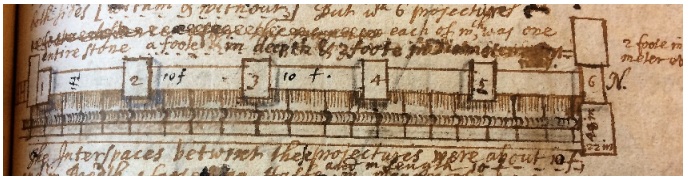


Figure 3.3.13. 'Interspaces between Projectures.' VI.289.

The interspaces betwixt these projectures were about 10 f[oot] and in bredth 2 foote & an halfe \ and in length 10 f[oot] / in manner of a perpen-wall; & before it came a conduit of stones, about a yard \ broad & / hollow in the midle \ excavated like spoutes / which soe flow'd with water \ (tho it be on an hill) / that it hindered the workemen from raiseing them \ up[81] / of the ground† \ & set them wetshod ~~though it be on an hill~~. The wal was laid in strong lime & sand, som of which (continuing yet moyst by reason of the water) was clammy & soft, & seemed to be mixed with the powder of marble or \ of / coble-stones. {And som few dayes after, leaden-pipes were found \ discoverd / under the foundation of an other wall which ran parallel to it at about 5 yards distance.}

†The 2nd projecture was (in the front) inscribed as followeth:
The latter part of which I read thus …. Aurelius Marcus, Deo Alæ, Votum, Solvit, Libens, Merito.[82]

[78] A later hand, probably not Machell's.
[79] MS: 'about the year \ after Xt's nativity / ~~of Christ~~ 396 \ years after Xt birth /{CCCXCVI} ~~whereupon~~ \ upon which / the soldiers \ who lived / here in Britaine (Distrusting the Conduct of young Honorius) elected Him Emperour;'
[80] This is another draft of the content on VI.285-88.
[81] As in the previous draft, this word replaces a longer, illegible word.
[82] Continues on VI.291.



Figure 3.3.14. 'The 2nd projecture' inscription. VI.289.

[Dimensions written on the sketch above}
[Left side] 2 foote deep. [Right side] 1 foote and 10 inch.
[Front] One foot ~~and an halfe~~ and one halfe – rather 2f.
[Depth] 1 foote.

II. The maner of the platform does (in my thoughts) bespeak it a temple or place of worship within this ~~strong~~ \ great / fort; & \ one / of that kinde \ or sort / which is called Hexastylos \ Peripteros /from having six pillars in the front \ & rear / of it \ & on each side / {from being surrounded about with pillars, 6 whereof were plac'd \ XI / in the front, & 6 in the rear, & 9 on each side ~~which with those in the[…]~~[83] ~~made the said 11 which the angular one made~~} For whosoever consulteth Vitruvius will be of this minde.[84]

[Machell's Notes: VI.289][85]

{What remanes at the ends seemed to me only returnes, & supplement at the corners for strength.}
It was length way in the wall a f[oot] & ½, & in breadth 2 f[oot] as all the rest were.[86]
{Query: if this may not be Aurelius Optatus? So calld peradventure from the soldiers electing him Emperor.}
{se 220. His coyn. N.B. Antoninus Pius is stiled Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, whose lieutenant was Lollius, p.220, 2 & 5., in whose time the dike was cast twixt Carleile & Tine.[87]
{EQQ 237. Forsan (A)eli(us) Equest. Quirinalis. Libertis Libertabusque Aurelius Marcus Decurio-Alæ votum solvere libentissime merito. LL? ante Aurelium.}[88]
Marcus Lieutenant [pres]ented emperor by […] The armies there. 276. 5. Ibid. Speed.[89]
Marcus Aurelius the emperor […] parentage 221. & hon-rable titles 223. 12. His […] aise, 224. 12
Unhappy in his son. […] \ 247. /248. 249.
† Such a cross as this in the stones found at Kirkbythore […] After erected in The Picts Wall by Aulus […] ens who perhaps was A Christian) see Speed 222 […] -our M. Aurelius con-vincd by miracle[90] enco […] his edict & Lucius our 1ᵗ Christian King encouraged the […] See also what Trebellinus & Pertinas […]

[83] There is one illegible word in this scored-through passage.
[84] This paragraph was written on a piece of paper (19cm x 7½cm), pasted to the foot of VI.289 over Machell's text, much of which is now hidden.
[85] The dotted lines in this section represent text hidden by VI.292B. Part of it appears to echo text on VI.291 relating to a Christian miracle.
[86] The following sentences are covered by a piece of paper pasted over them, obscuring a significant part of the text beneath. Parts obscured are shown by: […].
[87] A Latin phrase here begins, 'non sed murus p[…]'; the last word is unclear. For Lollius, see VI.291, below.
[88] 'Perhaps Aelius, a Quirinial knight. To the freed men and the freed women. Aurelius Marcus Decurion of the cavalry unit pays his vow most willingly and justly. LL? Before Aurelius.'
[89] John Speed, *The Historie of Great Britaine Under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans. Their Originals, Manners, Habits, Warres, Coines, and Seales: with the Successions, Lives, Acts, and Issues of the English Monarchs from Julius Caesar, unto the Raigne of King James of famous Memorie* (London, 1611 and many other editions).
[90] Machell is referring here to Speed's description of a Christian miracle: 'Aurelius the Emperour … was inclosed about with his enemies, called the Quadi, and suffered great mortality both by Pestilence and much by want of water, whereby himselfe and Host were almost consumed. At which time many Christian Souldiers

[VI.291]

And, by the inscription, it should seem to be dedicated (DEO ALÆ) TO THE TUTELARY God of the Roman Horse; their troupes which they plac'd (on the right & left hand) about their legions, being called Alæ, from ala: a wing, because they cover'd & protected their infantry, as the wings of a bird do the body of it. And the author of this temple is (here) said to be AURELIUS MARCUS, who seems to have vow'd it upon some hazardouse expedition in case his troupes returned victoriouse, as by the event it appearse that they did.

But it is not ~~a thinge~~ so easy a thing to determin who this Marcus was; whether Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius (the words misplaced \ transposed / ~~who was~~ Emperour of Rome about the 39th year of Christ's Incarnation, one of whose coyns I have in silver, found near to this place about a year since; whose Lieutenant \ Legate / Lollius \ Lieutenant of Britaine / built a turfe-wall to divide the province & to impeach the incursions of the Barbarians \ people / after he had reduced the Brit~~ains~~ish \ provinces / to their wonted subjection. {Julius Capitolinus.}[91] {This lieutenant was Calphurnius Agricola, whose name was inscribed on an altar at the Picts Wall.} {Marc Anthony}[92]

Or Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus (commonly called M. Aurelius) \ the adopted / son of M. Antoninus, to whom he succeeded in the Empire about 162. But was the son of Elius Verus, which the letters ELI \ prehab for ELI / may seem to favour in \ the beginning of the foresaid / inscription: Marcus Aurelius Flavus Claudus \ LL being for FL. / Or his brother Quintilius about 269 ~~or 71~~. Or M. Aurelius Valerius Probus, about 277, or M. Aurelius

[VI.292]

sirnamed Carus in the year 282 {whose other names are not discovered to us in history.} Or lastly one Marcus, a lieutenant of Britaine under Honorius at the declineing of the Roman Empire, when the Goths & Vandalls would needs runn it, circa an X^t. 396. Whereupon the soldjers in Britaine, distrusting the conduct of Young Honorius, elected him Emperour, & presently after, put him to death. This I should take to be the founder of this ancient Temple, above al the rest \ (if I could trade his prænomen, Aurelius, / because he livd & dyed in this Iland, where (for ought I can read) the rest never came, & presently after the Romans retir'd, so the least antiquity can be ascrib'd to it \ assign'd it / id M.CC.XCI years \ 1291. /

{May it not be Aurelius Oplatus, so calld perhaps from the soljers electing him emperor. If I could finde his other name to have bin Aurelius? See Sabellicus, *Enn.*7 Lib. 9.}[93]

A better account was sent to Oxford to Dr Mil[l] Jan. 13. 1688, to be return[ed]; wherein of the lead pipes.[94]

[C4.] Addend[a]

{!!!} And from hence it may seeme that in the Declineing of the Roman Empire this place was so large and so considerable that a whol wing of the Romain Horse kept their station here; for the

being in his Campe, and commanded (as Ionas was) to call upon their God; they fell prostrate on the ground in prayers, & obtained of him so plenteous a shower of raine, as therewith after five daies extreamest drouth and thirst, the whole Army was refreshed, and the Quadi contrariwise by Thunder and Lightning were quite dispersed and overthrowne. This wonder (saith Eusebius) is reported even by those Historians who favoured not Christianity, and the prudent Epistle of the Emperour himselfe (which hee wrote to the Senate for confirmation of this miracle yet extant) doth warrant the same: whereupon he both mitigated the rage against Christs Professours, and (by testimony of Apollinaris) named that Legion of the Christians, for an everlasting remembrance, The Lightning Legion.' Speed, *Historie of Britaine* (London, 1611; this edn, 1623), Book 6, Chap. 19, 221. Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260-c.339) was a historian of Christianity.

[91] Julius Capitolinus was one of the supposed authors of the *Historia Augusta*, presented as a series of imperial biographies by six writers. A critical edition published by Isaac Casaubon in 1603, gave it its name: see Andreas Mehl (tr. Hans Friedrich Mueller), *Roman Historiography: An Introduction to its Basic Aspects and Development* (Oxford, 2014), 171.

[92] Added in pencil.

[93] Marcus Antonius Sabellicus (Italian; 1436-1506), *Enneades sive Rhapsodia historiarum* (1498). Machell probably took this reference from Speed, *Historie of Britaine*, see 1623 edn, Book 6, 179.

[94] Roughly written in pencil. The 'better account' is the fair copy of VI.285-88, see above.

Temple shews it to have bin more than a moveable Quarter; and that Marcus himselfe, the Lieutenant of Britain, resided then here that he might be in readiness to send his Instructions with his troops of horse out upon all occasions to assist the Infantry upon the frontiers;[95] to which purpose also the Maden-way, which leades from hence to Caer-varon at the Picts Wall, may seeme to have served, & give som colour to this conjecture.

[VI.292A]

[Notes] Ad Templum \ Dei / Alæ
What Rem[ains] at the Ends, semes to be returns and additional[96] suppliments for supporting the Coynes[97] & strength[ening] the foundations of them.
{Peripteros[98] 6 Coll; Pseudoperipteros[99] 8 col.}
Ergo if 10f in leng. The walke would be but 10 – Ergo if 10f in leng. The walke would be but 10 – sit inter collumnij latitudinis \ intervallum / Quorum inter collumniorum et imæ lassitudinis. collumnæ spatium; ergo XXf. II.[100]

[VI.292B]

The mannor \ verg[101] / of the platform does (in judgment) \ my thoughts / bespeak it a temple or place of worship, ~~within~~ and of that sort which is called Hexastolos, from hence the precincts of this ancient fabric, which has bin in 6 pillers in the front of it, for whosoever constructeth \ erected / DEO ALÆ – to the tutelary God of the Romaine Horse – their troupes which they placed (on the right hand & left about their legions, being call de Comitibus,[102] see Speed, p.222, or Capitolinus Valerian 2.2.[103] Vitruvius will thinke so with me, be of my minde. And by the inscription, which I read that[104]

[D. Ring Stones, 1687/8]

[VI.246]

[1] {A Cornelian ring stone with a seal cut upon [it] found in a lump of Roman [s]tone by the temple f. 1687/8, Feb.}
[2.] {A Sardonix ring stone with a seale cut upon it, found in Bleckats Burhans 30 March 1687/8.}
[3.] Lastly – those Ovals at the foot of the Table mark'd with the letters (h. i. & k.) are several Ring Stones found hereabouts & in my Possession; whereof the 1[t] part, which is marked h., is either a Ruby or Deep Cornelian (but pardon me if I mistake in these things \ matters that I know not / being no profest Lapidary; Having \ and has / the Figure of a man upon it, with a Dog at his foot, a trident or forked-Mace in his right hand (with a Mantle hanging down from that arm, & in his left I do not know what). But Because the Impression quite alters the Posture and may yield \ far / greater Satisfaction to the Inquisitive than my Scratches[105] can do, I have thought fit to add it.
Which whether it may be some of Their Lares,[106] which the Romans worshipd ~~or the Saxon God Thor~~, or may have relations to som of the Catuli, Let others Conjecture. I know nothing of it, but That

[95] MS: 'in readiness to send ~~aid and~~ \ his / Instructions, ~~and~~ with his horse \ ~~guards~~ \ troops / of horse out upon all occasions / to assist the Infantry upon the frontiers ~~on emergent occasion~~.'
[96] MS: 'adionals.'
[97] Wall Quoins.
[98] 'Peripteros': a temple or other building surrounded by a single peristyle or row of columns; the encompassing peristyle itself.
[99] 'Pseudoperipteros': a form of temple or other building with free columns forming a portico in front (and sometimes in the rear) as in a peripteral building, but with the rest of the columns engaged in the walls instead of standing free.
[100] 'The walk would be but 10 feet in length, if we assume an interval of a column's width between; and between these columns, a space for the plinth at the base of a column: therefore 20 feet II.'
[101] An indistinct word, added later. Because 'mannor' is underscored by a pecked line, Machell seems to have preferred to write, 'the verge of the platform', i.e. 'boundary, border, edge'.
[102] 'The ranks of the companions.'
[103] The life of Valerian I appears in the *Historia Augusta*, 2, 98-102 (supposedly written by Trebellius Pollio).
[104] Here, the fragment ends.
[105] An interlineation here, written in thick pencil, appears to say, MS: 'I am able to draw here thought fit to subjoyn the Inscription.'
[106] 'Lares': Roman family spirit-deities, worshipped as guardians, patrons or protectors.

it was stuck in a Piece of Roman ~~Plaster~~ \ morter or cement / amongst the Rubbish of the Temple Describ'd; & That there was another found also (within ½ a yard of the same place, which I never saw, being carelessly lost by an unhappy boy; & I have h\e/ard of a third[107] taken up som 40 years since, of the same sise & colour, which was offer'd in Sale to Mrs Dalston of Acorn Bank, but not purchased by her. {So I was informed by her daughter Duket, Feb. 9 1688, T.M. She told me also of a booke 550 yeares of age, found in a wall at Burhans hal, with curious lining, which Dr Smith, B[ishop] of Carlile, bid 10s for.}[108]



Figure 3.3.15. Seal Ring Stones. VI.246.



Fig 3.3.16. A sardonix ring stone with a seale cut up on it found in Bleckatt Burhans, 30 of March 1687/8. VI.246.

The 2[d] Oval, which is mark'd with (i), is without doubt a Sardonyx Stone: Of a Duskish colour on the inside (which is the Reverse). But on the Outside, round the Rebate, a little Readish like a man's naile & veined with black & yellow strokes as small as an hair. But then the small Oval, wherein the figure of a man standeth, pointing as it were to the ground with a rod in One hand, & in the other holding an Helmet (or som such like Thing) is now become (through long Continuance) like Discolered Ivory; wherein are som little Transverse, blackish st\r/okes; which to Dissemble & alter the Graveing (\ as /

[107] MS: 3[d].

[108] Thomas Smith, bishop of Carlisle from 1684, was an enthusiastic collector of books. A fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, from 1639, he built up a substantial library, helpfully inscribing his books with his name, the date purchased and the price. On his death in 1702 he left a number of these books to the cathedral library. See David Weston, *Thomas Smith 1614-1702, Dean of Carlisle: 1672 to 1684, Bishop of Carlisle: 1684 to 1702* (Carlisle, 2020), from 56. The Philemon Holland edition of *Britannia* (London, 1610), consulted by this editor, was published in 1637. Purchased by Thomas Smith for £1.10s. in 1656, it remains in Carlisle Cathedral Library (CCL, 6A. 9.7).

to outward appearance) That it seemeth more like a worm than a man, But yet the Impression thereof is Delicate – & was formerly better.
{Have […][109] to London. Som little injuryes to be set on gold.}

[VI.244B]

[Instructions relating to the] Ring stones found in Whelp Castle ruines, 1687.

[VI.244A][110]

Memorandum:
To get these stones sett in 2 seal-rings firmly & handsomely with this inscription on the inside of them: Lapis inventus apud Whelp-Castle. 1688.[111]

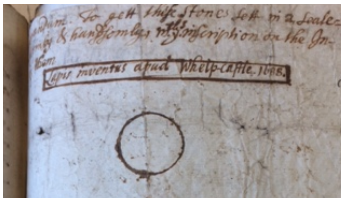


Figure 3.3.17. 'Lapis inventus apud Whelp-Castle. 1688.' VI.244A.

Enquire into the value of the stone; what the figures ingraven is? And have it weighed before you carry it to a goldsmith. That when it is don, you may know what weight of gold the ring is by subducting the weight of the stone, & by this means you will not be cheated. But you may do well to get my cosan Framptons assistance, or Mr Shepherds, to both whom I pray give my service.

[VI.244][112]

		LI	O	d	Gr[113]
The gold of the tow rings is	=	00		04	06
				6	
Which is		00 =		17	00
LI					
The stones w. (H) ii (Gr) 8 the fashioning		1		07	00
	Graving	1			
{6 –15[0]}					
Which is a penny weight					
eighteen grains					
		01		04	00

March the 10th 1690/1
Rec[eive]d of Mr Thomas Machell by the hands of Mr Shepard, one pound four shillings.
By me Geo: Brooke.

[VI.247]

For lending this, & the other stone on the opposite page, lately to London to be put in gold rings, they unluckily broke a piece out of this, which makes the 2d impression of it worse than the former.

{A Cristilline Stone found at the S. west corner of the High Burhans where Whelp Castle Stoode, in 1691.}
The last marked (k.) was a Christalline Stone, much thicker & larger than the other, which for that

[109] The following word in the MS is indistinct. From the context (see following pages) it appears that Machell sent the ring-stone to London to be set in gold.
[110] Piece of paper, 14½cm square, attached to the main page.
[111] 'Stone found at Whelp Castle, 1688.'
[112] Piece of paper, 14cm x 9½cm, attached to the main page.
[113] Machell appears to refer to Troy weight, a standard system of units of mass originating in the French city of Troyes during the medieval period, primarily used in the precious metals and precious stones industries. Troy weight units are the grain, the pennyweight (24 grains), the troy ounce (20 pennyweights), and the troy pound (12 troy ounces). *OED*.

Reason was unfit for a Ring; neither was there any thing graven upon it, which makes me ~~think~~ \ suppose / that it has been a Locket, for wearing upon a ladyes arm only. It was found at High Burhanes, on the S. west side, near the South angle, & was kindly given me by (Susan Dobson) {A good wife in the town; a neighbouring woman};[114] and many such Stones have been found hereabouts. Yet (which is most strange) I never h\e/ard of a Ring, saving one about 60 years since, which was taken up in Bleckats Burhanes (as they now call them) & sold at first hand for a small price, but at the 2^{d} hand for 60^{li},[115] as I am inform'd, the Stone being a Diamond. & truly if it had such virtue as is ascribed by Dioscoridesto such kind of stones:[116] That being born upon the left shoulder it was good against strife, contention (~~or hideing~~), the ring might be richly ~~valued~~ worth the money. Or, if it would take away fear & melancholly & strengthen the Heart (as the greatest Naturilists say that it will) were but now in some mens hands of my acquaintance.

[Machell's Notes: VI.247]

{in K.: stuck in the Plaster of their Chamber Wall for their private devotion.}
{One found formerly (as Mrs Elizabeth Ducket informed me Feb. 9 1688) of the size with the Cornelian & offerd in sale to her mother Dalston, but not Purchased by her. Query: whether they have not bin their Signa or Simulation Deorum: see Vitruvius.}

[Conclusion]

Thus have I exposed \ un/to your view a most Noble Treasury of Choyce Antiquities, which was opened on the 12th of December, 1687, by \ in / seeking for stone in the High Burhans – the Place which I always assign'd for Whelp Castle; & it gave me abundant satisfaction therein, shewing the Riche\s, / Strength & Magnificence of a most Sumptuous Palace, thô long since Destroyed & Buryed under Ground. & the plenty of water which so flowed upon them, the Leaden Pipes which went under the wall, with the Conduit & Channels which I have mentioned within & without

[VI.248]

do show that it hath been vere' Castellum: a Castle Indeed. Which is further confirmed by a Stone I met with in the Side of an house on your left hand as you goe up the town, with this Inscription, but (like the Castle) turn'd upside down:[117]

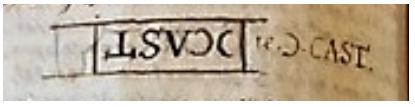


Figure 3.3.18. 'With this Inscription, but (like the Castle) turn'd upside down.' VI.248.

Whence we may Conclude –
HIC STETIRIT CATVLI
REGIA CELSA SENIS[118]
Here stood
WHELP=CASTLE

[114] MS: '{A good wife in the town; a neighbouring woman} a neighbouring wife.'
[115] Machell placed numerals 1, 2, 3 above words in this passage to change the order; the text is transcribed as seen but if the alteration had been made the text would have read, 'but for 60li at the 2^{d} hand.'
[116] Pedanius Dioscorides (c.40-90 AD) was a Greek physician travelling with the Roman army, whose fundamental work is known by its Latin name, *De Materia Medica* (c.77 AD). The work describes how to make medicine using almost 600 plants and minerals. www.britannica.com/biography/Pedanius-Dioscorides
[117] MS: 'by a stone I met with in the side of an house on your ~~right~~\ left / hand as you goe ~~down~~ \ up / ~~from hence towards~~ the ~~bridge~~ \ town, / with this inscription, but (like the castle) turn'd upside down.'
[118] Compare Ovid, Heroides 1. 'Letter from Penelope to Ulysses', 1.34: 'hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis.' 'Here stood the lofty realms of old Priam.' Machell was referring to Ovid speaking of ancient Troy, but adapting the line to refer to, and give lustre to, his own family by association with King Priam of old.

[VI.viii]

[E. Discoveries, 1687–1692]
[E1. From William Nicolson's List of the Contents of Volume VI]

A collection of Roman Inscriptions (with a discourse on them) sent to Dr Mill in 1692, p.181 to 249. Some draughts referr'd to are wanting here; but are in a fairer transcript in 4to, which was the Book sent by the author to Oxford.

[VI.181]

[E2.] {Out of my collection of the antiq[uities] of W. & C.}
A Booke of Antient Inscriptions sent to Dr Mill
Principal of Ed. Hall in Oxon in
1692
With the Cuttes[119]

[Note] I write antient with a (t) not a (c) because it comes from the Latine antiquus: T.M.[120]

[VI.189][121]

Inscriptions at Apulby
{Stephanus è *libro Notitiarum*}[122]
At Apalby (the antient Aballaba, reckon'd amongst the great cities of old, and yet the County Towne of Westmerland) are divers Inscriptions both Antient and Modern. There was One at the Castle (grav'd upon Brass) in the Tower call'd Cæsars: which evil hands have depriv'd us of. But there are yet Severall about the Schoolhouse, being the Collection of the learn'd Mr Bainebrig, Schoolmaster here in Camdens time, whereof Some are Topicall, the Rest translated hither by Him from other places {of which tis Reported (& by some believed) that He left a Spell or Inchantment upon Them; That no man could read them unless he lay 3 days & 3 nights upon his Back.}[123]

[a.] On the Front of the little Schoolhouse (vulgarly calld the Gardine House from its Situation in the midst of a Gardine, & which is allover adorned with Inscriptions) are these purely Topicall. Whereof the 1st (marked a.) shews the situation of the Towne \ chiefe street / of Apalby: "Quam circumfluit Ituna": which Eden Incompasseth, & the Antiquitie of it, as having been a Roman Station. As also the devastation Thereof by War & Pestilence. And that the Market was translated thence, to a Place call'd Gilshaughlin, which is iiii or v miles N.W. from Apalby. And the Reason why it was Their, rather than any other Place, is Probably This; That some of the Fallowfields (whose Seat was hard by at Great Strickland Hall, commonly call'd Melkinthrop Hall) might at that time be Maior of the Town. Note: C.C. in the end of the 1st line stands for Circum.; F.F. in the ivth for Funditus; F., in the end, for fuit. All the rest is easy enough.

{b.} The 2^{d}. Marked b.) Gives an account of the Foundation of this little Schoolhouse; for there was a School long before this – ex fundatione Burgensium de Apalby;[124] as I have shewn in my Treatiss

[119] 'With the engravings.' Cut: a design cut or engraved upon wood, copper, or steel; the impression from this; an engraving, a plate, now restricted to engravings on wood, those on metal being called plates. *OED*.
[120] Another note here, remarks, 'Cornage' [commuted] 'consisted of "Eundo cum regis exercitu contra Scotos in vantgard[ia], et redeundo in reregard[ia]. T.M. É Tur. London"'; which translates as, 'going with the king's army against the Scots in the vanguard and returning in the rearguard' [N.B. The most dangerous position in each case.] 'T.M. From the Tower of London.'
[121] Also numbered p.3.
[122] 'Stephanus, from *The Book of Lists*.'
[123] For similar information see Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, II.507, II.509.
[124] 'Founded by the burghers of Appleby.'

of it. The only difficulty in this Inscription is F.F. for fundati fuêre; & in the VI[th] line H.M.O.B. &c. i.e. Hoc Monumentum ob Ma\e/rita[m] Præstita[m] Riginaldus Bainebrig Posuit.[125]
{c.} The 3[d] (marked c.) sheweth how Mr Bainebrig Dr LL taught School Here, till the Great School was builded by Him & Hoc Monumentum Sibi Vivens Posuit.[126]

The rest which follow are on the Same Front; whereof som perhaps were found about Apalby & Therefore not marked with any Townes Names (which I have Noted with an Asterisc) do sufficiently testify. And yet some suchlike may be Published in Camden,

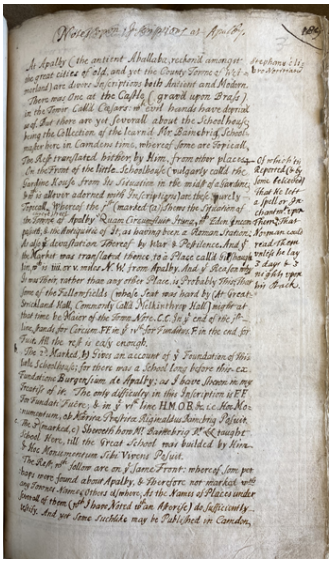


Figure 3.3.19. Fair Copy of Machell's work on Appleby Inscriptions sent to Dr John Mill at Oxford. I.189.

[VI.191]

forasmuch as 'twas usual with the same Legions to leave the same Inscriptions behind them in severall places. Note, the 4[th] Inscription is Pub[lished] in Camden, but with this variation in the ivth line: II. UVG. F. And there is also one like the 5[th], but not so perfect, in Ædib[us] Howardorum de Naworth.[127]
I wonder much at this Second Stone having Legio Septima Victrix upon it. Because I never remember my selfe to have met with such a Legion as This in any other Inscription or Author. Blatumbulgulium is Bulness, vulgo Bowness in Cumberland, where the Picts wall begins.[128] Æsica is the ruines of an old towne, so call'd, near Netherby upon Esk in Cumberland, where a piece of Roman Gold (I think

[125] 'Reginald Bainebrig set up this monument in honour of the estimable Margaret.' This was Lady Margaret Russell (1560-1616), daughter of Francis Russell, 2nd earl of Bedford, wife of George Clifford, 3rd earl of Cumberland and mother of Lady Anne Clifford.
[126] 'He set up this monument to himself in his lifetime.'
[127] 'At the seat of the Howards of Naworth.'
[128] Camden wrote in *Britannia*, 'Promontoriolo huic incumbit antiquum illud opidum Blatum-Bulgium (fortasse a *bulch* Britannorumquae *interstitium* sive *divortium* sonat)' which translates as, 'Upon this standeth that ancient towne Blatum-Bulgium (happily of *bulch*, a British word that signifieth *a separation*).' According to Bulmer's *History and Directory of Cumberland* (1901), 'There is some uncertainty as to the name by which this station was known to the Romans. Camden, from a resemblance of sound in the names, says it was the Blatum Bulgium of that people; but Horsley, Hutchinson, and others affirm that it was the Tunnocellum of the Romans, and that it was the eighteenth station on the wall, being occupied, according to the Notitia, by the Cohors prima Ælia Classica.' T. Bulmer & Co., *History, Topography, & Directory of Cumberland* (Preston, 1901) 32.

of Nerva but the letters are dim) was found \ the / last year; {penes Hugone' Todd}[129] about the bigness of a Roman penny.

Chesters.
There are 3 places of This Name in Northumberland, as I have observed in my Pervestigation of the Picts-wall; whereof 2 of Them are upon the said Wall, one being 2 miles distant from Hexam near Wallic Grange, which therefore I call Chesters by Wallic; the other near Woa-Town (not far from Cærvorran & Thirleway {Castle which therefore I call Chester by Woa Towne.} The 3^{d} (not far ~~distant~~ S. from it, where I suppose ~~this~~ stone was found) is call'd Chesters-Iverton, or Chesters on Caudley, so I thought fit to distinguish.[130]

8. There is an Inscription, much like unto this, published by Camden apud Whitley Castle yet with considerable variacions; for that begins thus: IMP. CAES. L. … This, CAES. IVL. … That erected by the COH. III; this by the II NERVIORVM. That at Whitley Castle; this at Alsten-moore: with divers others. But one may serve to explaine the other. Note in This, That DV stands for D·V, i.e. DIVI per implicationem & reduplicationem litera I.[131] And yet Alsten-moore is in the way which leads from Whelp Castle at Kirkby-thore to Cævarron on the Top of Glen-Whelp near the Picts-wall; which is an antient Roman Cas-way paved with Pebles & call'd Maiden Way {for Mr Camden was imposed upon by the bordering Troopers, both as to the matter & Termini of it when they made him believe it was paved with flint & extended to Maiden Castle on Stainemore. By which it appeareth that he never came to the Bottom of Westmorland (the best part of the county) and therefore no wonder he gives so slight a relation of it.}
{via virginea ducit a Castro Catulino, ad Convallem Catuli juxta Cærvorran ~~via virginea ducit ad convallem~~ Catuli.}[132]

9. There is One like this in Camden, At Rochester, but This differs from it, 1. By Implication of Letters in the 2^{d} & 3^{d} lines, which in That are at Large; 2. By Variation of Mood in the fourth; 3. By wanting of the Transverse Stro\a/kes over N. & H. in the beginnings of the 5th & 6th; 4^{ly} by the Redundance of a Leaf after C. in the 5th also; and by several Periodical Points diversly dispers'd. The like differences may be observ'd in the Rest that Occur in Camden, but I pass them over for Brevities Sake.

[VI.193][133]

The 14th in Number (as they stand in the wall) is placed at d.

{15 & 16} The xvth & xvith are in Mr Camden. But then his letters are not so Genuine. For these (as I take it) may be Originals. The only difficulty is in the Subscriptions; whereof the 1st is Hic lapis invent[us] est Brovonaci[134] i.e. at Browham. The other, Hoc Monumentum est Gallagi,[135] i.e. At Kirkbythore, where Whelp-Castle stood; for Tho' Mr Camden calls it Wheallop to bring it as near as he can to Wallatun and so to Gallatum, yet we (with all due respect & reverence to so Great an Author)[136] being better informed by antient writeings, do with the vulgar call it Whelp-Castle. {For there was one WHELP (sic Anglo-Saxones dixêre CATVLVM)[137] Lord of this place at or before the Norman Conquest.}

[129] 'In the possession of Hugh Todd', see Machell's correspondence, Part 3, Ch.2, I.502, I.503A.
[130] For analysis of this paragraph and Machell's association with Hadrian's Wall, see Eric Birley, 'Notes: Thomas Machell and Hadrian's Wall?', *CW2*, 51 (1951), 181-82.
[131] 'Divi, by implication and by reduplication, of the letter 'I'.'
[132] 'The Maidens Way leads from the castle of the Catuli to the valley of Catulus, by Caervorran.'
[133] Also numbered p.7.
[134] 'This stone was found at Brovonacum.'
[135] 'This monument is at Gallagum.'
[136] MS: 'with all due reverence \ 2 / & respect \ 1 / to so great an author'.
[137] 'For this is what the Anglo-Saxons called Catulus.'

[VI.214]



Figure 3.3.20. Inscription '16. ad App[leby].' VI.188.

[VI.186D]



Figure 3.3.21. 'The xxth is design'd by Mr Bainbrig as a fairer copy to preserve the Memory of Those Inscriptions upon the Rocks which are at Crawdundale.' VI.186D.

20. The xxth is design'd by Mr Bainbrig as a fairer copy to preserve the Memory of Those Inscriptions upon the Rocks which are at Crawdundale in Newbigin Parish, as appears by the letters which he has caused to be graved under them & which I read Thus: Qvæ. Svpra SCRIPTA SVNT APVD Crawdundale. But when I went to view the Place, I found The Original (which much surprised me.) \ Thus / exactly:

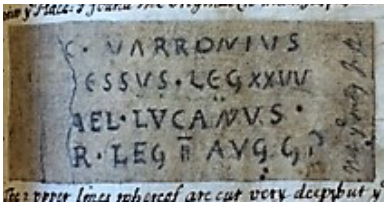


Figure 3.3.22. Varronius Inscription. VI.193.

The 2 upper lines whereof are cut very deep, but the lower are don with a lighter hand \ & / in a much finer and more Polite Character; which maks me suppose them severall Inscriptions: Whereof that of Varonius seems the more antient, The Letters Λ. E. C. L. & V, carrying (as it were in their very foreheads) the Prima Literarum Elementa, before they \ were / jump'd together in Forme, & arriv'd to perfection. And the Judicious CAMDEN observes, That in this Iland from the Time of Severus til Gordian & afterwards, The Letter A was always writ (in Roman Inscriptions) without the Transverse or Coupling stroake. And so it is in that of Varronius; But otherwise in that of Lucanus. And as to the former He Readeth it Thus:

[VI.195][138]

Varronius Præfectus Legionis Vicessimæ Valentis Victricis.[139] But the word Præfectus, or –Ectus, is not visible now (however, the Alteration came or the Mistake was committed) but planely ESSVS. The Latter he Readeth after this manner: Ælius Lucanus Præfectus Legionis Secundæ Augustæ, Castra metati sunt,[140] or som such like thing (But you se the Characters). And Then, He tells us "That the LEGIO VICES-SIMA VALENS VICTRIX (which quartered at DEVA, now called West-Chester) and the LEGIO[141] SECUNDA AVGVSTA (which quartered at ISCA now CAERLEON in Wales) Being call'd against the enemy in these Parts, may seem to have Pitched their Tents Hereabouts, which is not unlikely. But I do observe That the Romans were wont to leave very many Inscriptions behind them upon such Rocks as afforded them Stone for their Public Buildings: whereof This is One; as appears by stones which are yet Digged up out of the Foundations at Kirkbythore & which (we are satisfied) came mostly from Thence.[142] And doubtless there have been more Letters \ here, / though now Done away. For in a Rock just above this (looking for OCTO. COT. COS. which Camden mentions in vicina Rupe;[143] not now to be found) I met with another, which is as followeth and which he hath not.

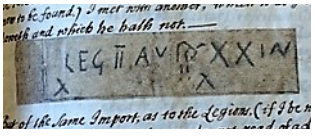


Figure 3.3.23. Inscription not known to Camden. VI.195.

But of the Same Import as to the Legions (if I be not mistaken with the former), for we do not read of Legio Vicessima Prima. Nor will the various forms of the A (in the same Line) favour such reading.

{Appleby}

But to Returne againe to APALBY. I hope it is possible (by these little Hints that I have given) To Read all the lines which are writ on this house, without the Trouble of lying 3 days & 3 nights on your Back, As a Counter Charm against Mr Bainebrigs Reported Magick; who being a Learned Ingenious person, & understanding the use of the Globes

[VI.197][144]

(with some other things which \ yet / are not vulgar) is therefore look'd upon as a Conjurer, but was in Reality a very good man; as appears from his Building The Famous Schoolhouse (wherein they now teach) with the Help & Assistance of some Benefactors. On the Front of which he hath placed These Inscriptions.

{1.} 1st over the school door: Whereof (as I take it) the 1st is Read Thus:

---

[138] Also numbered p.9.

[139] 'Varronius, Prefect of the 20th Legion, Valens Victrix.' Camden (followed by Machell) named the 20th Legion as 'Valens Victrix' instead of 'Valeria Victrix.' RIB 998 (Roman Inscriptions of Britain) gives: 'Gaius Varronius [.]essus legionis XX Valeriae Victricis | Aelius Lucanus | cornicen legionis II Augustae C[…]; translated as, Gaius Varronius [.]essus, (soldier) of the Twentieth Legion Valeria Victrix. Aelius Lucanus, cornicen of the Second Legion Augusta.' https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/998. According to RIB, 'The surviving portion is now built into the west wall of the barn at Underwood Farm, Milburn, 4.8km. north of Kirkby Thore. The rest is now lost.'

[140] 'Ælius Lucanus Prefect of the 2nd Legion Augusta moved camp.' For a fuller discussion of Machell's transcription and interpretation, see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, III.283.

[141] MS: 'Legio \ EGIO. /'

[142] MS: 'Thence Hence.'

[143] 'On a neighbouring rock.'

[144] Also numbered p.11.

"Haec Schola Anno Quinto Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis a Riginaldo Bainebrig Scholarcha Ejusdem, Domino Autore, Fundata fuit. 1607";[145] wherein S. standing for 5 (which figure it somewhat represents) is chiefly remarkable.

2. The II[d] is a Fragment, Translated hither by Mr Bainebrig from Bowes in Yorkshire, which Place was antiently call'd Lavatris, perhaps a lavando (and Bowes a Baijs) from the Roman Baths that were builded there. It is Published in Camden with a Remarke on another Inscription, which gives light to this & to my Conjecture Concerning the Antient and Modern name of the Place whence it came. "Imperante Severo (sayes he) Cum Virius Lupus Legatus, et Proprætor Britanniæ esset, Cohors Prima Thracum Præsidium a(pu)d Bows egit; Cui Balneum (quod etiam BALINEVM dicitur) restituit (vi ignis exustum)". Ut patet ex inscriptione quae hinc Cottingtoniam, ad Ædes Roberti Cottoni; translata est.[146] In which is added CVRANTE VAL. FRO[N]TONE &c.[147]

{4} The IIII[th] is so eassie, that He who runns may Read.[148] I shall therefore need to say nothing of it. But there is another Inscription on the North end of the same Schoolhouse, Over the Door of the highest Story, Design'd for a library, which gives an account of the kind Assistance Mr Bainebrig met with in his Designe of Building This school, from the noble family of the CLIFFORDS of Apalby which is now Extinck; and the letters in a manner worn out but \ that / I took care to preserve them formerly, which is (as I read \ them /) De Schola Bene Meruerunt, Franciscus Nobilis Comes Cumbriæ Dedit Ligna: Margareta Comitissa Cumbriæ; Clarissima Fæmina, Saxa Dedit.[149]

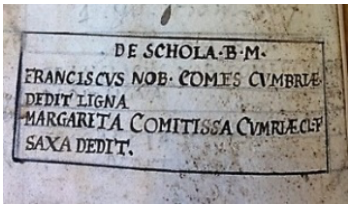


Figure 3.3.24. Appleby School; Clifford Inscription. VI.186B.

[145] 'This school was founded in the 5th year of James King of Great Britain by Reginald Bainebrig, Teacher, inscribed by the Head-Master.' (i.e. Inscription set up by Bainebrig himself).
[146] The passage in Camden's *Britannia* is as follows: 'Imperante Severo, cum Virius Lupus legatus et propraetor esset Britanniae, cohors prima Thracum praesidium hic egit, cui balneum (quod etiam balineum dicitur) restituit, ut patet ex hac inscriptione quae hinc Cottingtoniam ad aedes clarrissimi et eruditissimi viri Roberti Cottoni ordinis equestris translat'; which translates as, 'Whiles under Severus the Emperour Virius Lupus ruled as Lieuntenant Generall and Propraetor of Britaine, the first Cohort of the Thracians lay heere in garison: for whose sake he reedified the Bath or Hote house, as appeereth by this inscription, which from hence hath beene translated to the Cottingtonian, unto the house of that right worshipfull and learned Sir Robert Cotton, Knight: See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1607), Latin translation, Dana F. Sutton, Yorkshire, 64. https://philological.cal.bham.ac.uk/cambrit. The Latin in Machell's MS translates as, 'During the reign of Severus when Virius Lupus was legate and governor of Britain, the First Cohort of Thracians did garrison duty at Bowes; for these men he restored the bath-house (which is also called a hot-house). It had been destroyed by a serious fire. As is apparent from an inscription which has been transferred from here to the Cottington [library collection] at the house of Robert Cotton.'
[147] The inscription given by Camden is as follows,
'DAE … FORTVNAE / VIRIVS LVPVS / LEG. AVR. PR. PR. / BALINEVM VI/ IGNIS EXVST- / VM. COH. I. THR- / ACVM REST-/ ITVIT. CVRANTE / VAL. FRON- / TONE PRAEF - - - / EQ. ALAE VETTO'. See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1607, Latin translation, Dana F. Sutton, Yorkshire, 64, https://philological.cal.bham.ac.uk/cambrit. CVRANTE VAL. FRO[N]TONE translates as, 'under the supervision of Valerius Fronto.'
[148] A biblical quotation: Habakkuk 2.2.
[149] 'They have deserved well of the school: Francis noble earl of Cumberland gave the timber; Margaret Countess of Cumberland, most illustrious lady, gave the stones.'

[VI.199] [150]

And there was also another House (with a little Gardine) at the South end of the Great School, Design'd for the Usher by Mr Bainebrig,[151] whereon was this writ: Reginaldus Bainebrig Hoc Ædificium Hipodidascalis Dono Dedit In Perpetuum.[152] But this House of the Ushers was demolished upon the erecting of a new dwelling house for the use of the master, over the door of which is writ thus:

[VI.198A]



Figure 3.3.25. Appleby School Inscription; Thomas Smith and Ran[dal] Sanderson 1671. VI.198A.

[VI.199][153]

Which shews it was built at the cost of Thomas Smith, Dr in Divinity (then Dean, now Bishop[154] of Carlile, who was born at Whit-Wall not far from Apalby), and of Rand[all] Sanderson, Master of Arts (then rector of Way-Hill in Hantshire, born at Regill in Westmorland), who had been Fellows of Queen's Coll. Oxon, & scholars here.[155]

There is but one inscription more (that I know of) in Apalby, which is this above the gaol-door:

PORTA (2) PATENS (3) ESTO (1) NVLLI CLAVDATVR HONESTO.[156]

And thus having finished all the Inscriptions that are in This PlaceI shall proceed to Kirkbythore, which has bin another Roman Station. But by the way shal \ also / take notice of this Romane Camp & other antiquities in the Lordship of Crakenthorp.

{Crakenthorp}

The Roman Way (called Via Regia in Deeds, S.D.)[157] Leads by Abalby to Kirkbythore all along Down Crackenthorp moore; At the Low end of which, on the South \ We[st] / side, the way, is a large Roman Camp of Quadrangular form (but that the Corners Thereof are abated) & having 3 Gates on

[150] Also numbered p.13.
[151] Usher: an assistant to a schoolmaster or head-teacher; an assistant-master. *OED*.
[152] 'Reginald Bainebrig gave this building as a gift to the Ushers, in perpetuity.'
[153] VI.198 contains text in faded pencil beneath an otherwise empty square containing the words, 'Place here the Camp on Crackanthorp moore.' The faded text reads, 'When Marius or Morus, King of the Britans & General of the Roman forces had conquerd the Picts, on the top of St[anemore] where had ful another […] of \ the very / same forme, […] Morus advanced thus far.'
[154] MS: 'Bibshop'.
[155] 'Randall Sanderson of Westmorland. Plebeian. Matriculated Queen's College, Oxford, 1628; BA 1632; MA 1636. Delegate of the Parliamentary Visitors, 1647. Rector of Weyhill, Hampshire, 1650-79; Canon of Sarum, 1662'. *OAD*.
[156] Two possible translations of this common inscription: A. 'Let the door stand open, let it not be closed to any honourable man.' B. 'Let the door stand open to none; let it be closed to the honourable man.' [An ironic twist, possibly suitable for the doorway of a prison.] By numbering the first three words, Machell seems to have been aware that the translation is open to question. This inscription also appears in Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, II.521.
[157] SD: without date.

every side, with Bulwarks afore them; which is a Mile Distant from Kirkbythore, & therefore supposed to be cast up against it.
When Galgacus*, Prince of the Caledonians, That Noble General (from whom it may seam to be call'd GALLAGVM if he may be supposed to have marched thus far) Advanc'd his Army against the Romans under the Command of Julius Agricola (of whom we find mention in the 4th inscription at Apalby School) And gave him 2 Battles. In the 1st of which he was pretty \ somewhat / successful, falling in upon their Camp, where the IX LEGION lay; Yet was Repuls'd ~~again~~ by Agricolas horse. But in the Latter, He was utterly Ruin'd; for 10000 of the Brittaines fell in it \ that conflict / & but 00300 Romans.[158] After which they were Absolute Masters \ of them; / this being the last effort of the
[VI.205][159]
Brittish valour; the last field that was fought.)

[Machell's Notes: VI.199]
*{The Camp: I fear this of Galgacus is not consistent, tho it is not improbab[le] that the Pictish Britanes held this part of England which is now cald Westm'land till the Battle of Manus.}

[VI.202]

Crackenthorp in St Michael's Apalby vulgo Bongate.[160]
The figure of an Urne found amongst severall others in a hole of Ashes at a place call'd Machells Bank in the Lordship of Crakanthrop, & near Kirkbythore, within x yardes \ on the left hand / of the Great Romane \ Way / which Leadeth thither.

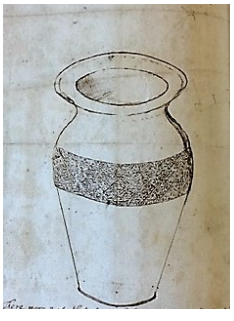


Figure 3.3.26. An urn found at Machell's Bank. VI.202.

High 4 \ in[ch] / & 1/5; the d[i]am[eter] in the mouth as here, 2 inch. The brim as here ½. The diam[eter] at bottom 1 \ inch / & 6 partes (in 10) a little thicker than a 5s piece. Of a blackish earth,[161] light & sponge, not sounding. There were 3 of these Urnes (whereof this was the least) which stood Contiguouse ~~in~~ Triangular ~~form~~ wise.[162] But in Such a Repository as I have not heard of, & perhaps was never observed before. For they were hid in a Circular hole or pit of Clay (made for the purpose) 6 foote in Circumference & about 3 in[ch] depth, the sides whereof were perpendicular. And herein they were compassed & covered \ over / with burn'd-boanes ~~a sort of black ashes~~ \ and ashes, / laid within a foote of the Surface of the Ground; The Remainder being ~~covered &~~ cloas'd up with earth. And in the 2 Greter were ashes & boanes; But in the Lesser (which is here described) Black ashes only.
And at about 40 or 50 yards destance (by the wayside also) was another Repository

[158] One altered numeral is unclear: the number of men slain could have been 00340 or 00300.
[159] Also numbered p.15.
[160] This heading has been moved from MS.VI.201.
[161] MS: 'Blankish'.
[162] MS: Machell added pencilled lines to place 'triangular wise' before 'contiguouse'.

[VI.203]

with Ashes & Boanes; But it had no Urnes in it, which seems to have bin for som ordinary persons; but That ~~other~~ for som persons of \ greater / Quality, \ with / his wife & ~~his~~ child & ~~som~~ other Relations.[163] {Informante. Thomas Longhorn: teste occulato.}[164]

[VI.205][165]

A little further towards Kirkbythore & by the way side, is a small Forte call'd Maiden-Hold, which I look upon as the Prætentura that belong'd to the Camp, being but a Bowshott distant from it, & to have som Relation to the Maiden way (mentioned before) and the Maiden Castle which is upon Stainemore {a ~~stony~~ mountaine \ lying / twixt Yorkshire & Westm'land}& lyes (in like manner) Before another Notable Camp of the Same Sise & Shape on the Top of the Mountaine but at far greater distance, where the Romane way first enters Westmerland.

{A nest of urns} {Machels Bank}

And ½ a mile nerer to Kirkbythore at a Place which is calld Machells Bank (in the Lordship of CRAKANTHORP, about x yards of the Roman Way, on your left hand) were lately discovered 2 strange Repositories of Urns & Ashes, with Burnt Bones amongst them, one of which Urns was transmitted to Oxon by my very worthy & ingeniouse friend Mr Hugh Tod, who (being Chaplaine to the Bishop of Carlile, the Reverend & learned Dr T. Smith, and sent to preach at Kirkbythore for me whilst I was busied in contriving & altering the castle at ROSE for his Lordships Reception, being newly made Bishop),[166] met with [it] Here; whereof This is the figure & full Dimension.[167]

[VI.204]



Figure 3.3.27. Urn, drawn on a separate piece of paper and pasted onto the page. VI.204.

[VI.205]

There were III of these Urns (This being the Least) which stood Contiguouse one unto another, in Triangular ~~wise~~ \ figure, being placed / in the ~~very~~ midst of a Round Pit of Clay made for the purpose, about a Yard deep, ~~with~~ the sides Perpendicular. And herein they were compass'd, & Covered Over \ with / Burn'd Bones & black Ashes, to within a foot of the surface of the ground \ ~~earth~~ / the Remainder bein[g] closed up with Earth. The 2 Greater Urnes were in shape & proportion much like unto that which I have Graphically described \ heretofore / (amongst other things) in a letter to Sir William Dugdale of March 25 1684, which was Published to my unknowledge & Printed at Oxford, amongst your *Philosophic Transactions* Apr. 20 at p.555, upon which they (as kindly as unexpectedly) sent me the complement of being Elected into the Fellowship

[163] This paragraph has been lightly scored through with a cross.
[164] 'Eye-witness.'
[165] Also numbered p.15.
[166] Thomas Smith became bishop of Carlisle in 1684: David W.V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), 142. For Machell's skill as an architect, see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.538.
[167] See dimensions on VI.202, above.

[VI.207]

of the OXFORD PHILOSOPHIC SOCIETY, which I think my self bound in Point of Gratitude, Here, to acknowledg as a Respe[c]t beyond my deserts.[168]

One of these greater sort of Urns was unhappily broke all to Pieces by the careless Hedgers \ Labourers / who accidentally light upon them in casting a Ditch; the other (which I freely bestow'd on my Honour'd Brother, Hugh Machell Esqs (Lord of the Mannour) was a little disabled; But the 3^{d} (which is sent up to OXFORD) was whole & entire. They were all of a Blackish sort of Clay, but softer then Earthen-pots use to be, for the Sheards would not ring. In the 2 greater, were Ashes & Bones, but in the Least (which is here discrib'd) were black Ashes only.

{Another Repository of Ashes onely}
The other REPOSITORY was about 40 or 50 yards distant from the former, by the way side also, and was nothing else but a Pit of Like Forme, full of Ashes & bones \ without any Urnes / {which make mee imagin that urnes have bin used as [blank]}[169] which gives ~~us~~ occasion to look upon them as a mark of Distinction twixt Persons of a Greater & lesser Quality; (as coffins are now \ adayes, / being seldom \ made / used of for the meanest sort) \ for / Terra Tegitur, qui non habet urnam.[170]

[A Coin and two Altars]
A Quarter of a Mile from Machells Bank thus Northwards,[171] At a Place call'd Miln Butts on the Southside of Machells Ing (which is a Meadow lying directly under the ~~mantle of~~ skirts of WHELP-CASTLE, the River Troutbeck being only betwixt them), ~~A~~ This Coin[172] was found ~~in 1687~~, of Trajan the Emperor \ in 1687; / who Reigned Anno Xti 99.[173]
And about as far Westwards from the said Place, a Roman Altar \ ? / was found som years agoe at a place that is called Charles Dub, in the river of Eden; & another at Old Troutbeck Foot. But all the letters are quite washed out, which notwithstanding I thought fit to describe for the workmanship of it,[174] amongst Other Antiquities at Crakenthorp Hall, the Chief & most Antient Seat of the Machells, where they have continued Lords of the Mannour ~~many Hundreds of years~~ {beyond all record, for there is no evidence how or when they came by it; may they be thankful for so great a blessing and long may they flourish.}
The 1st of these is the Coin I now spake of; the 2^{d} is the Altar which [was] found in Ellerkar, which stands in the End of Crackenthorp hall; & the 3d is an Altar which standeth there also, translated thither from Kirkbythore, concerne which next ~~from~~ \ with / Kirkbythore,

[VI.208]

[a] co[n]siderable town con[sisting] as it were, of 3 villages […][175]

[Machell's Notes: VI.208]
Then p.35/36 of Gallatum Cat. Guolph; then the p.ij of the new name K. &c; then 31.[176]

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[168] See Section A1. of this chapter: research findings presented in a letter to Sir William Dugdale, published in *Philosophical Transactions*, 14 April 1684.
[169] This phrase is in pencil.
[170] Augustine, *City of God*, 1.12. Augustine's actual words were 'Caelo tegitur, qui non habet urnam': 'his covering is the sky, who has no urn.' Machell, however, substituted 'terra' for 'caelo', so that his meaning became, 'He is covered with earth, who has no urn.'
[171] MS: '\ 2 / From Machells Bank thus Northwards \ 1 / a Quarter of a Mile' [pencilled interlineation changes the form of the sentence].
[172] MS: 'Co~~yn~~e \ oin /.
[173] MS: 'a \ this / coyne \ in / was found ~~in 1687~~ of Trajan the emperor \ in 1687 / who reigned Anno Xti 99.'
[174] MS: '~~som years since, in Ellerkar at~~ \ som years agoe at a place that is called / Charles Dub, in the river \ of / Eden, ~~not to mention~~ \ & / another ~~which was lately found~~ at Old Troutbeck Foot. But all the letters were \ are / quite washed away \ out / which notwithstanding I shall \ thought fit to / describe for the workmanship of it.'
[175] The rest of this sentence is illegible: not transcribed.
[176] Machell was referring to pages of the various 'books' of notes he had created in the course of his research. These are now dispersed throughout the MSS as a result of William Nicolson's reorganisation of the material prior to binding. On VI.223 (Appleby), for example, Machell's note reminds readers to, 'See p.19 hujus, a

3 principal streets which mett at the Castle, Sc. Cross End, Down End & Wharton End, being arguments of it[s] former capacity.

[VI.209]

[Gallatum]
Here Camden tells us great Ruines of an antient Town are to be seen, & Ptolemy records it as the 4 city of the Brigantes. But all the Vestigia I can finde of it (after so long ~~a tract of time~~) lyes betwixt ~~the river of~~ Troutbeck on the S. East the Roman Way, with a piece beyond it called Waterman Croft on the S. West; Keld, or Kelk-bottom (as tis commonly call'd) on the N. West. For within this Circuit (but Rarely elsewhere) we have often observ'd foundations of Walls, both brick & stone (some of which were 4 wal's on a breast standing close to one another); Channels of stone & Leaden Pipes for conveying of water \ from the castles which stood some time[177] in the midst of the T[own]; / Urnes, Altars & Tiles with other fragments of Roman Antiquity; & a \ whol bag of Coynes found at several times & in several places / ~~number of coyns~~ which I have now by me, amongst which is one of Julia Mamêa, Augustus, his wife; & another of Julia Augusta, his frolicsome Daughter, whom he could not govern & of whom Macrobius tells in many \ diverse / witty & som wanton Passages.[178]

{Whelp Castle}
Near the East point of this Tract of Ground in the most antient part thereof (as having an easy ascent on all sides) stands the Main Fort (now & antiently called WHELP CASTLE but commonly known by the name of High Burhans, from its high situation comparitively to the Rest of the Towne; the English Saxons calling the Ruines of Old Forts & Castles by the name of Burwens (or rather Burhanes, as I have seen it writ in old Deeds) of which this country affords many Instances. And it (yet) doth appear to have been a Large Square replenish'd with Buildings, containing ~~about~~ \ beside the Mantle and Outworkes / 6 acres of Ground, whose Angles respect the (Quatuor Cardines Caelorum) \ or / iiii Points of Heaven.
And about 40 yards from the East Angle of it, at Burwen Hall end, was this Altar found, with a little Ara, or Portable Altar / attending upon it, which was rude & unfinished, but all the Letters were quite worn away (except what you see), which seemes to have bin [done by] sharping of edgetools,[179] which may seem to have hapned after Xtianity had prevailed so far as to make them brake down their Altars & Images; whereof this […][180]

[Machell's Notes: VI.209]
{Gallatum or Kirkbythore described as Brigantes. ~~Sometimes the 4th city of the Brigantes~~. This is wrong.}
{Kirkbythore. N.B. This is varied & inlarged to Millbeck & Ch[arles] Dub. in Camden.}

[VI.211][181]
(which was also found about the Same Place but close by the Castle) may seem to be one; But the Inscriptions upon the Next Page {p.36}[182] are purely Topical, Relating to the Family of the Machells of Crakenthorp Hall, for explication of the former of which, see what Sir William Dugdal has published in his *Monasticon Anglicanum* out of the Charter of King Henry II, Reciteing & Confirming the gifts of King Henry his Grandfather, & of ~~severall~~ others with him, amongst which Hugh ~~de~~ Morvil (Lord of Westm'land*) confirms the donation of Halth Le Malchael and Eve his wife of XV acres of land, & of certain meadows in Ellerkar (in the Lordship of Crakanthorp). Given to them by

description of the town & castle; & at p.35/36 of the old name, Galatum.' For Machell's original p.36, see VI.210; for 'Cat Guolph', see VI.230; for the name of Kirkby Thore on Machell's original p.31, see VI.223.
[177] The word here is faded and near to the page edge. 'Time' is suggested but is questionable.
[178] Macrobius, *Saturnalia.* For the 'witty' and 'wanton passages' see Jacqueline Long, 'Julia-jokes at Macrobius's *Saturnalia*: Subversive decorum in late antique reception of augustan political humor.' *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 6:3 (1999), 337-55.
[179] Edge-tools: any implement with a sharp cutting edge, as a knife or sword; technically denoting chiefly chisels, gouges, planes, etc., also axes, hatchets. *OED*.
[180] MS: 'which \ seemes to have bin / sharping of edgetools \ which may seem to have hapned / after Xtianity had prevailed so far as to destroy \ make them brake down their Altars & / their ~~Altars & throw down~~ Images. whereof this ~~that followes (which was~~).'
[181] Also numbered p.22.
[182] VI.210, below.

the said Priory ~~&~~ \ which are / now held by the Bishop of Carlile or his \ under / Tenants ~~under him~~ who did a yearly Homage & Service to the Lord of Crakenthorp and payes a final Rem[ittance] on St Barnabas Day for enjoying the same.[183]

{Hoveden p.690.[184] Mali Catuli}
And for the Latter see Hoveden, temp. RIC. I [1189-99], who gives an account of this Roger Machell, whom he calls Malus Catulus: that he was Drown'd at Messana in Sisily and the Broad Seal of England found about his neck. And here we must note that the Machels were anciently calld MALI CATULI, as appears by severall Deeds beyond date which belongs to this family, in the bodyes of which they bear the one name & in the Roundalls about the Seals (which I have inserted in the following page for confirmation) is inscribed the other, se Fig. 4.

[Machell's Notes: 211]
*{This seems to have bin Hugh Morvil the First: father to that Hugh Morvil who slew Thomas a Becket in the Time of King H. & thereupon forfeited al his estate.}

[VI.210]

M.M.
FRM SIV. HALTH. LE MALCHAEL ~~DOM~~
DOM DE CRAKENTH
ET CL. F. EVÆ VXORIS EIVS.
PRIORAT.VS SAN. MARIÆ KARL.
INTER PRIMOS …… TORES
TEMP. H. CONQVESTORIS F.[185]

For explication & confirmation of this inscription see what Sir William Dugdal has publish'd in *Mon. Ang.*[186]

E. M.
CL. V. ROMA. CATVLI. DOM. CVST.
MAGNI ANG. SIG. S. PLENI. POTENTQ.
RIC. I. QVI SANCTA SVA EXPED. CONT.
RA TVRCAS NAVFRAGGIO PERIIT
HOC AVTEM KENOTAΦIONE.
CORPUS ENIM MESSANÆ REPONITUR
ROGERHEAVED[187]

[183] See grants to the Abbey at Carlisle (inc. Halth de Malchael and Eva his wife) in a Confirmation of Henry II, in Dugdale, *Monasticon, Vol. 6.* (London, 1846 edition), Priory of Carlisle Charters no.3: Charters of Henry II, 144. See also *N&B2*, 240-42. For Halth de Mauchael see Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, III.78, III.87, VI.221.
[184] Roger of Hoveden (or Howden), *Gesta Henrici II et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Deeds of Henry II and King Richard), c.1192; revised in *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hoveden* ('Chronicles of Master Roger of Howden'), c.1192-1201, which tells the story of England from before Henry II's reign to 1201.
[185] 'FRM [?] Halth le Malchel, Lord of Crackenthorpe; and of his illustrious wife lady wife, Eva. Prior of St Mary's at Carlisle Among the first [Blank] at the time of Henry, son of the Conqueror.'
[186] See above.
[187] 'To Eva Machell. At Rome. The illustrious wife of Roger Malus Catulus, Lord Keeper of the Broad Seal of England & sub-plenipotentiary to Richard I; who, in his Holy Crusade against the Turks, perished in a shipwreck but commemorated by this cenotaph, for his body is laid to rest at Messana. Rogerheaved.' For Rogerheaved and Roger Malus Caltulus, see Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, III.76-77. N.B. The uncommon use of the word 'cenotaph' is marked by the use of Greek lettering

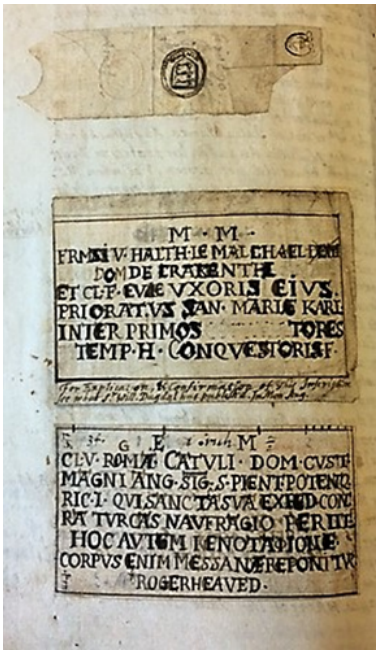


Figure 3.3.28. Machell Seal and Inscriptions. VI.210.

[VI.488]

Places visited by Mr Dugdale in Westm'land besides the places elsewhere

Maybrough Castle

On a mean Ascent. In depth from Crest to Skirt about 60 foote, the perpendicular from the Crest to the

Level ground within about	12f.
The Level within in Diameter about	266f.
Near the centre 4 stones the Biggest conteineing in Height above Earth	11f.
In bread[th] One way	6.
an another	4.

Round Table

Laying ope N. &. S. At the north pas 2 stones	of about 5in[ch] thickness
From the Crist to the midle of the Trench in depth	50f.
Thence to the Level ground therein Ascending	14f.
The Diameter of which Levell is about	160
The 2 Enterances in wideness a piece	15f.

[VI.211]

[F. Coins]

[Fig. 4] These Coyns were in my collection for Crakathorp & therefore I have placed them here. {The 1st is Gallienus Emperour of Rome, who began to Reine in 256 – the other I have not yet discover'd, but it was found \ up/on the South side of Crakenthorp Hall Anno Xti 1674.} The Lyon came from Kirkbythore out of Whelpcastle & alludeth somewhat unto the name, for thus Juda & Dan[iel] are call'd Lyons WHELPS. Genesis XLIX. 9. Deut[eronomy] XXXIII. 22.

[VI.210A][188]



Figure 3.3.29. Coins. VI.210A.

N.B. This was don upon the Back of a Covered Booke (the *Cambridge Concordance*)[189] after the paper had first bin moisten'd with a Touch of my Tongue.
Query: If a coin may not be Taken of by way of Impression, first [try] takeing it of on the end of a stick of wax & then sealing with it.

[VI.211]

[G. Seals]

The 1st of the Seals is of White Wax within (as appears by the edges being broke a little with carrying to London since I first drew it out), though otherwise 'tis so disco~~u~~lo\u/red (through long continuance) on the outside as to looke Readish inclining to Browne, like to the top of a Rye Loaf. Tis appendant (in a blew string) to a Deed without date (for dateing was not used in those days)* whereby Willielmus Malus Catulus conveys

[Machell's Notes: VI.211]

*{Deeds without date are no mark of high antiquity; the Saxons, as first Normans, dated all their Deeds.

[VI.212][190]

{1} to Alexander his brother 2as[191] Bovatas terræ in Crakenthorp, free from all Service & from Secular Service; with this further Priviledge (Ita) Quod si Prædictus Alexander vel heredes sui forefecerint verbo ut opere quod non sit Blodwita, et convicti fuerint; dabunt; xii denarios et emendabunt cui forefecerint{sex denarios & exmendabunt cui forefecerint et sit Blodwita & convicti fuerint}.[192] Which I mention only for \ the / strangeness of it.

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[188] Page much torn around the edges.
[189] Samuel Newman, *A Concordance to the Holy Scriptures: with the Various Readings both of Text and Margin, in a More Exact Method then hath Hitherto been Extan.* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1672, many reprints, e.g. 1682). Known as the *Cambridge Concordance*.
[190] Also numbered p.25.
[191] Acres.
[192] 'That if the aforesaid Alexander or his heirs incur forfeiture in word or deed such that there be not bloodwit and they are convicted, they shall give 12 denarii and they shall compensate the person they have wronged. {Six denarii and shall compensate the person whom they have wronged even be it bloodwit and they have been convicted.}'

{2.} The 2nd is not so Brown as the former but rather like a piece of leaven; & is affixed to a Lease for life, Granted by Willielmus Mauchael to Mr Adam de Kirkebythor of his Demaine – Arable Lands (in the Lordship of Crakenthorp) ad fossatas more;[193] about the Camp which we have described) Now calld More Dikes &c. And herein he also mentions one Alexander his Brother, so great a Respect had this W[estmorland] family to the Conquering Names of Alexander & William. This Deed is S.D. {The like Priviledge is granted in a Deed S.D. of Gal. Malus Catulus to Galfridus Malus Catulus, with 2 Oxgangs of Land, but with this Alteration, "Et si prædictus G. vel heredes sui vel aliqui suorum forefecerint et convicti &c. dabunt pro forefacto vid." &c.[194]

[Machell's Notes: VI.212]
1. Note 1. I suppose Will. Malus Catulus gave these 2 ox. to Galfridus Malus Catulus.
2. Galfridus Malus Catulus gave them I suppose to Alexander de C. & see A!
3. W. Malus Catulus gave or rather the same by a Deed of Confirmation.

Will M.C. Alexander Mauchell dom de Craken.
|
John Mauchell
Galfridus Malus Catulus
/ \
Thomas M. Catulus Henricus M. Cat.

[VI.217]

Seales [continued]
{3.} The 3d is the Deed of One John Mauchael (Son of Alexander Mauchael & Lord of this Place) at a Deed bearing Date in the Time of King Henry, son of King John [1216-72]. Wherein he grants to Will. son of William de Crakenthorp, to be Moulter free for a certaine Rent: to be serv'd at Crakenthorp Mill next him & his heir & the Lady Dowager; for so I render "Domina dotata de hereditate dicti Johannis."[195] About this is writ: S. IOHAN MAVC, for Sigillum Johannis Mauchael.

{4.} The 4th are 2 seals which I have placed one above the other; But are appendent to 2 Deeds without date; One of Thomas Machael, Son of Galfridus Malus Catulus; the other of Henry Machael, Son of the same call'd in the body of the Deed: Henricus fil Galfridi Mali Catuli.

{5.} Whereby they confirm to Radulphus de Crakenthorp 2 Oxgangs {2 acres Bovatas} of Land in the said Lordship, which he had by the Gift of Galfridis Malus Catulus their father. Which is a plane & clear Demonstration That the Names of \ 3. / Machel. \ 2. / Mauchael or \ 1. / Malchael; & Malus Catulus ar one & the Same.

[VI.186D]

{Mal} Maul & Malus is without doubt of Norman original.

[VI.219]

{Machell ad Catulus}
Now as to the Originall & true meaning of it. The Machels of Crakenthorp are said ~~by Tradition~~ to Descend of Catulus – or Whelp of Whelp-Castle – for that their was such a man at the Conquest (or then abouts) – Lord of that place – appears from an antient Deed without Date in the Registry of Holm; wherein one Waldeve, son of Gamel, son of Whelp (a branch of the family \ which was / perhaps less injurious \ perhaps / to the conquering ~~sword~~ \ Norman / & so continued still upon the place that the castle there ruin'd. Upon that spot; which at length took the sirname of Kirkbythore,) gave divers lands there to the said monastery. And tis more then probable That the Epithet Mau, Mal or Malus was impos'd by the Normans:

[193] 'Arable lands … up to the dykes of the moor.'
[194] 'And if the aforesaid G. or his heirs or some of his people incur forfeiture and are convicted etc. they shall give as compensation 6d. etc.'
[195] 'Lady endowed from inheritance of the said John.'

"Quod primus id Nominis, Catuli instar Mala cujusdam feriatæ Bestia (Qualis in insigillo Willielmi exprimitur) in hostes sævijt eosque dilaceraverat."[196] Of which the Lyon might be a fit emblem, as well as those figures upon the Seals. Thus, as the Antient Roman Catuli were [c]alled Luctatij, a luctando cum Hostibus,[197] from resisting their enemies: so ours might be called Mali Catuli, a Malum Hostibus inferendo,[198] from Mauling (or Mischeiveing) their Enemies.
And this Halth Le Malchael (of whom we have spoken) is thought to \ be the first to / This Sirname, as \ being the eldest / son to Catulus; for there is an Emphasis in the particle Le, which implyeth as much: Halth Le Malchael being as much as to say, Haltheus Catulus Ille Malus, Halth Whelp the Mischeivous {q.d. præcipue et præ alijs}[199] where the Epithite Mal may seem to be added as a Mark of Disfavour for opposing the Conquerour.

{Malignant}
Thus, those worthy Hero's who espous'd the Interest of King Charles the First, in or after the late Civil-Warrs (of which this family was not the least) were called Malignants on the like occasion.[200] But Benefacere & Mal~~um~~ \ e / audire Regium est.[201]

[VI.219]

{Those warlike dayes}
Or perhaps there was not ~~that of~~ Malignity in the Epithite Mal in that warlike age, being rather a note of ~~undauntable~~ \ indomitable / courage & \ of / Martial Ferocity. For it was admitted into the Names of Persons of the greatest Quality amongst the Normans & is still retained by many worthy & Antient Families who might have exchang'd their Sirnames \ at pleasure / and Assumed others from the Names of the Places of that aboad (if they had seen good \ so pleased /); which (where they had \ a / remarkable sirnames) they commonly left to their principall freeholds (though Orphans or Brothers) {Coseins} for Distinction of Families.

[VI.221][202]
To give you \ som / Examples (in both kinds) – William the Conquerour had One Uncle (Archbishop of Roan)[203] {Speeds *Cronicle*} who was called Mauhgerus; And another Great Uncle (son of Richard the Hardy, III Duke of Nor\ma/ndy, who name was Maliger, which is Malus Gerus,[204] & which they would certainly never have chosen if it had been disgracefull. And we find the Epithite is still retained as no way dishonourable by many Antient and worthy Families; as \ in / Mallory, Mallovel, Malltravers*, Malliver\er/ and many others – Sed ut cunque fuerit impositum, sive gloriosè sive injuriosè, honorificè semper est retentum in hunc usque diem.[205]

But however the name was imposed, This Family of the Machels \ of Crakenthorp / have retained their Antient Manner of Crakenthorp (at the least by Capitulation.) Non per Drengagium sed per Nobile Cornagij Servitium sicut ipsi Normanni. And have long agoe deserv'd so well of the Kings of England: 'Ut Canem Optimum & Generosissimum, Graium, Nimirum (~~Non minu~~ \ tam / fidei quam

[196] 'Because the first of the name Catulus like a wild beast of particular ferocity (such as is depicted on William's seal) raged against his enemies and tore them to pieces.'
[197] 'Luctatii, from wrestling with their enemies.'
[198] 'From bringing ill upon their enemies.'
[199] 'Especially and above others.'
[200] MS.VI.304 repeats this: 'Thus, those worthy hero's […] (of which this family was not the least), were called Malignants on the like occasion.' MS.VI.186D offers a comparison, both faded and obscured, which in precis suggests: 'Wee had a like instance in those {generous souls} who espous'd the interest of King Charles the First in and since our late civil wars: the best of men.'
[201] 'To do good and be ill-spoken of is kingly.' Proverbial; supposedly one of the sayings Publius Syrus, a first-century B.C. Syrian slave. See 'Est regium male audire et bene facere', in *Publilius Syrus Sententiae*, http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/syrus.html.
[202] Also numbered p.29.
[203] Rouen.
[204] 'Maliger', 'Malgerius', and 'Mauger', see Speed, *History of Great Britaine* (London, 1611), Book 9, Ch.1: 22 & 24; Ch.2: 62.
[205] 'But howsoever it has been imposed, whether honorifically or pejoratively, it has always been retained as a matter of honour up to the present day.'

fortitudinis Symbalum) in scuta sua transtulêrunt.'[206] As is expressed in their Seal at Arms at Fig. [blank], and the early use of Seals in this Family may be an Argument of their \ high / Esteem & ~~grat~~ \ great / Reputation in the days of old; For thô they (Generally) began to be used at the Norman Conquest, yet they were not allowed of to persons of Inferior Quality of a long time after: In somuch that Ric. De Lucy, Chief Justice of England in Henry the 2[d] time, is said to have checkt an Inferior Subje\c/t for presumeing to use a Private Seal \ of his own; / whereas he said that appertained only to the Kings & his Nobles. {Lamberts *Perambulation of Kent*, p.404.}[207]

[Machell's Notes: VI.221]

{*Antient Barons of England, which honour is now in the Earle of Arundale since Edward 3[d].}
{Drengage or Drevgage is a servile tenure, whence our word Drudge; But Cornage is a sort of Knights Service, which consisted eundo cum regis excercitu contra Scotos in vanguard[ia], & redeundo in reregard[ia].[208] The most hazardos & most honourable Posts in war that can be: Ingulphus, f.512, n.20.}[209]

[VI.223][210]

[H.] Kirkbythore: why so called

And so to return to the Roman way which we left at the Camp & Places adjacent in the Low end of Crakenthorp Moor. It Leads us Thence to Kirkbythure as 'tis commonly called, but Now & Antiently writ Kirkbythore & sometimes Kirkby-Thor, which gives us clearly the Ratio Nominis,[211] shewing that the Saxon God Thor (from whence our word Thursday) had a famous Kirk (or Temple) Here, after the Romish Idolatry vanish'd & gave way to theirs; Whence the Houses surrounding or standing by it, were call'd Kirkbythor*; And thô I will not trouble you here with any account of his manner of Worship, or the Magnificence of his Throne & Temples; [that] which others have given may be counted \ as such. /

[Machell's Notes: VI.223]

*Which yet is vulgarly cald Kirkby thûre as they call Thorsday Theurday – corruptly Thursday.
See p.19 hujus a Description of the Town & Castle [of Appleby]; & at p.36 of the name Galatum; & p.51: Many Thersby & but one Kirkbythore.

[VI.228][212]

[Notes on the meaning of the name: Kirkbythore]
From its pleasant situation in amongst the woods. Either from κάλατον,[213] being in a wodiy country, for the very m[ountains] – 3 miles distant on the E. side thereof were cover'd with wood; &, as

[206] 'Not through drengage but through the noble service of cornage, just like the Normans themselves … that they put on their shields an excellent and most noble dog, indisputably Grecian (a mark of loyalty as much as of fortitude).'
[207] William Lambarde (1536-1601), *A Perambulation of Kent conteining the description, hystorie, and customes of that shyre. Collected and written (for the most part) in the yeare 1570. Nowe increased by the addition of some things which the authour him selfe hath observed since that time* (London, 1576). William Nicolson also related this story, '… the common use of seals did not prevail in England before the reign of Edward the Third, and there is a passage in a MS history of Battail Abbeyy… which tells a story of an inferior fellow's being reprimanded by Richard Lucy, Lord Chief Justice under Henry the Second, for daring to use a private seal; which, as he observed to him, was the proper prerogative of the king and peers of the realm.' See William Nicolson, *The English, Scotch and Irish Historical Libraries giving a short view and character of most of our historians, either in print or manuscript* (New Edition, London, 1776), 198-99.
[208] 'Going with the King's army against the Scots in the vanguard and returning in the rearguard.' See above, VI.181.
[209] Ingulph (Ingulphus), 'Chronicle of Croyland Abbey', first printed (in part) in Henry Saville's *Scriptores post Bedam* (1596).
[210] Also numbered p.31.
[211] 'Reason for the name.'
[212] This page consists of rough notes in pencil.
[213] The word κάλατον is not found in classical Greek.

app[ears] from thos[e] found there & many trees in the peat mosses, DEO SYLVANO, or else from Gallatum q[uery] Vallatum i.e. Vallo Cinctum.[214]

[VI.266]

I find (in Burton *Upon Antoninus*)[215] that Kirkbythore ~~alias~~ antiently Gallacum, was the 4th city numbred amongst the Brigantes, which I have not noted amongst those papers which I sent you before.

[VI.230]

Cityes of the Brigantes according to Ptolomy
1. Epiacum – Papcastle in Cumberland
2. Vinnovium – Binchester in Ep.[216]
3. Caturactorium – Cateric in Yorkshire
4. Calateu' – Whelp Castle at A.
5. Isurium – Aldburg in Y.
6. Rhigodunum – Brampton in Cumberland
No. Gal \a/cum in the Introduction.
κάλατον[217] Calatum.[217]
7. Olicana – Oteley in Y.
8. Eboracum – York.

The best way is (by order of time) to shew first the antient name of Kirkbythore which

2. By A[n]tonine called Gallacum. T.M. q[uery] Vallatum, being mostly woods; or from καλός pulcher […][218] And not as Camden – Gallatum & Gallagum.[219]

1. By Ptolomy κάλατον Calatum. T.M.

The former name seems to be Brittish; as Gall. Sever for Severus-his-wall, doth sufficiently shew. However, there walls may well be supposs'd to have bin first of earth.
The Greek Geographer seems to have given it ~~either~~ the name of κάλτον either from the British name thereof, or from κάλον lignum,[220] the British citye.
{It seemeth afterwards to have bin called Gouloppum or Guoloph, and was known more definitely by the name of Cat-Guolph – or Guoloppum – i.e. Cat. Guolph – where a discord happened – at Guoloppum i.e. Catguolph.}

To which wee may add:
Dr Gale, in one of his Appendices, which he met with in some antient copyes and has Published in his edition of Nennius, Speakes of a Discord (xii years after the death of Guortigirn.[221] {This Discord was betwixt one} Gort\o/lin (otherwise called Maurion Guitolin) and Ambrosius or Embris, otherwise alias Idris,[222] whose death ensued in that Transhumbrian expedition against the Saxons. And he takes this Cat Guloph, \ bothe which there is but obscure mention, / to be the same with Ptollomæs Gallacum & Camdens Whallop (thô Antiquaries are silent herein), which gives som light ~~to what has bin said~~ / to the old name of &c.; for Cat Guolph may seem to import \ Guolophulum Catuli, as if / ~~what~~ some of the Catuli \ had / Resided Here & ~~were~~ \ bin / Lords of the Place {masters of it}; whence the Castle also in after ages might \ com to be called Catuli Castrum: in English, Whelp

[214] 'To the god Sylvanus or else from Gallatum? Vallatum? i.e. surrounded by a wall.'
[215] William Burton, *Commentary on Antoninus, his Itinerary* (1658).
[216] In the Bishopric of Durham.
[217] Kalaton: Gallatum.
[218] 'Beautiful.' The rest of this sentence is obscured by the binding.
[219] The numbering of the sentences is as seen.
[220] 'Beautiful wood.'
[221] Dr Thomas Gale, dean of York, antiquary and secretary to the Royal Society 1679-81, 1685-93. See N. Doggett, 'Gale, Thomas (1635/6-1702)', *ODNB*. Gale inserted a tract supposedly written by Nennius into the first volume of his *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores XV* (1691): see Thomas Wright, *Biographica Britannia Literaria: Anglo-Saxon Period* (London, 1842), 130.
[222] MS: '(otherwise called Maurion Guitolin ~~at Guoloppum i.e. Cat Guolph (whom the Dr takes to be Marchant (whence Marchator ibus~~) and Ambrosius or Embris alias \ otherwise / Idris, ~~at Guoloppium i.e. Cat Guolph~~.'

Castle / i.e. Cat-uli Castrum, as it is to this day; which, If Judicious Mr Camden had known, he would have distinguished twixt the Town & the Castle, & not have confounded them under one name;[223] there being one Whelp, Lord of this Place about the Time of the Norman Conquest, \ tho / The Town's name ~~being~~ \ was / changed long before that into Kirkbythore, as hath bin shewn.

[I.] 'Runic Silver'

[William Nicolson's Letter to Ralph Thorseby, 1691]

[VI. 225][224]

"This \ is / a transcript of part of a letter which I wrote to Mr Thoresby of Leedes in 1691,[225] which was afterwards printed in Dr Gibson's new edition of Camden.[226]
W. Carliol."[227]

[VI.226][228]

{Mr Nicholson the learned A[rchdeacon] of Ca[rlisle.}
Mr N.'s notes on a runic piece of silver in the possession of Mr Thoresby of Leeds,[229] sent to him in Aug. A.D. 1691.[230]



Figure 3.3.30. Two faces of a silver coin, 'the bigness of a 3d.' VI.226.

[VI.227][231]

Yet having an extraordinary rarity[232] (a piece of silver which relates to this name) communicated by one Mr Thoresby {of Leeds in Yorkshire} to my very worthy and Ingeniouse ~~Colleague~~ \ friend / Mr William Nicolson (Archdeacon of Carlile) for his opinion, and by Him to me, I think fit to insert it; which is as followeth.[233]

[VI.226]

"The best Danish Antiq[uaries] are of opinion that no currant coyne was ever minted in the northern kingdoms till the use of the runic character was laid aside, so that thô they did now & then meet with

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[223] MS: 'which, If Judicious Mr Camden had known, he would not have sought any other original have distinguished twixt the Town & the Castle, & not have confounded them under the name of Whallop or Whellop {under one name.}'
[224] Transcript of a letter written to Ralph Thoresby in 1691, printed in Gibson's edition of *Britannia.*
[225] The well-known Yorkshire Antiquary, Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725), commenced his correspondence with William Nicolson in 1690. See Joseph Hunter (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby FRS Author of The Topography of Leeds,1677-1724 in 2 Volumes, Volume 1* (London, 1830), vi. Although trained by his father for the wool trade, Thorseby's interests turned to the study of antiquities. His father had founded the Musaeum Thoresbyanum by purchasing the cabinet of coins and library of Lord Fairfax from his heir. Ralph Thoresby expanded the collection. He was elected fellow of the Royal Society in 1697, after sending an account of some Roman antiquities he had discovered in Yorkshire. At least thirty of his communications to the society were published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. These deal with Roman and Saxon monuments in the north of England, inscriptions on coins and accounts of uncommon accidents. See P. Kell, 'Thoresby, Ralph (1658-1725), antiquary and topographer'. *ODNB*.
[226] See Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 'Additions to Westmoreland', 813-16.
[227] In William Nicolson's hand. The letter was first copied by Machell, but after Machell's death (and after Nicolson had become bishop in 1702), Nicolson edited it with his own explanation, seen here.
[228] MS.VI.227 contains an earlier draft of Nicolson's text: omitted from this edition.
[229] An MS margin comment here gives, 'If it may be known where was found.'
[230] Both this and the following narrative are in Machell's hand.
[231] Also numbered p.33.
[232] MS: 'Yet \ having / have I an extraordinary rarity.'
[233] MS: 'I think ~~fit~~ to insert ~~it with his observations, & therefore~~ the ~~rather because of a runic inscription upon it~~ which is as followeth {fit to insert it, which is as followeth}.'

pieces of the like fashion with this before us, "Ast ego (sayes Th. Bartholin T.S.[234] who speakes the sense of all the rest of his profession) "Amuletorum quoddam genus fuisse magici usus crediderim, cum ex Antiquitatibus nostris Edoctus sim, habuisse veteres, in Paganismo, Res quasdam portatiles ex Argento vel Auro factas, imaginibus Deorum facie humanâ expressorum signatas: quibus futurorum cognitionem explorabant, et quarum possessione felices se, et (quodam quasi numinis præsidio) tutos judicabant."[235]

And he is of opinion that this will prove one of those amulets, rejoyceing extreamely to meet with so noble a proffer of this learned opinion, which he confirmes by these following reasons:

1. The imagery gives us a more humane visage, with a Glory encircling his head \ for the account / which S. Stephanus (in his notes on *Saxo Grammaticus*[236] – and som others of his learned countrymen, give of their antient God Thor, is this – that in the postures they worship'd him, he had

[VI. 225][237]

"Caput flamma circumdatum in modum solis alicujus; eodem modo quo pictores ora divorum exornare consueverunt. In manu etiam sceptrum, aut (prout alij volunt) malleum igneum pingunt."[238]

A description so agreeable to the portraiture above, that it could not have bin more exact if it had bin copyed from it.

But 2ly. The inscription & character on the reverse puts the matter (to me) beyond al dispute; where wee have these words fairly legible: μόνος οὐρανοῦ θεος [239] Thur gut: Luetis, i.e. Thoronis Dei facies[240] (sive effigies), upon which he farther proceedeth thus:

"I never yet saw any Runic Inscription so plane and intelligible. And yet (if there were any occasion for it) the figures of the 2 half moones & stars in the midle might serve for (a good) comment on a text much darker than this is. For the Old Gothic Nations had the same opinion of their Thor, that the Phoenicians had of their μόνος οὐρανοῦ θεος the sun: Cuius Nutum Planetae Reliquaque Sidera Observabant."[241]

{Mr N. has Hadriani leg. iij Battavia.}[242] καλός

[VI.229][243]

2. Copyed from this original.

"But (2[d] ly) the Inscription & \ Runic / Characters on the Reverse put the matter to me beyond all Dispute; where we have these words (fairly legible), i.e. Thur ut luetis (which signifies) Thor: Dei: Facies: (Sive Effigies) the face or effigies of the God Thore. I never yet saw any Runic Inscription so plaine & intelligible."

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[234] Thomas Bartholin (1616-1680), was the Danish physician and writer who discovered the lymphatic system. 'He also defended the use of amulets. He believed that they operated "by an external species of vapors and atoms attracted either through the respiration or through open pores of the skin"; and he used this reasoning to support amulet therapy… Bartholin felt that his approval of common amulets needed no defence, for "there are a thousand other amulets whose virtues happily are recognized by the consensus of physicians."' Extracted from Martha R. Baldwin, 'Toads and Plague: Amulet Therapy in Seventeenth-Century Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* 67, 2 (Summer 1993), 227-47, at 240. See also Machell's possible source: Thomas Bartholin, *Historiarum anatomicarum rariorum centuria III et IV* (Copenhagen, 1657). The letter might, however, have referenced Thomas Bartholin the Younger (1659-1690), Professor of History at the University of Copenhagen, later appointed Royal Antiquarian and Secretary of the Royal Archives.

[235] 'But I believe a certain type of amulet to have been of magic use, since I have been taught by the Ancients, that the men of old, in Pagan times, had certain [jewelry? boxes?] made of silver or gold, engraved with images of the gods depicted with a human visage: with which they sought knowledge of the future, and through possession of which they judged themselves lucky (as if through the guardianship of some divine spirit).'

[236] Stephanus J. Stephanius (ed.), *Saxonis Grammaticae Historiae Danicae Libri XVI* (1645).

[237] In Machell's hand; transcript of a letter written to Ralph Thoresby in 1691 and printed in Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia.*

[238] 'The head is surrounded by flame in the manner of a kind of sun; in the same way in which painters are accustomed to adorn the faces of the gods. In his hand they depict also a sceptre, or (as others have it) a fiery hammer.'

[239] 'Only God of Heaven'.

[240] 'The countenance of the God Thor.'

[241] 'The sun: whose nod [command] the planets and the rest of the stars observe.'

[242] A pencilled note in Machell's hand, referring to Hadrian's 3rd Battavian legion. 'Mr N' is William Nicolson.

[243] The interlineation is in pencil, in Machell's hand.

And \ yet / (were their any Occasion for it) The Figures \ also / of the Half Moon & Stars might serve for a Comment on a much darker Text; for the Old ~~God Thor~~ Gothic Nations had the same Opinion of Their Mighty God Thor as the Phoenicians had of the Sun. Their μόνος οὐρανοῦ θεος, Cuius Nutum Planetae Reliqu\a/que Sidera Observabant*.[244] And this was the Deity which the Saxons honoured above any \ all / other God, from which Kirkbythore derived its \ said / name. But it was formerly called Gallagum, ~~perhaps from Galgagus The Noble King of the Caledonians, as hath been said~~: After Gallatum, query Vallatum, i.e. Vallo Cinctum, when the Romans had won It & Intrenched Themselves there; (~~which reconciles Ptolemy to Antoninus~~) though ~~now~~ we \ now / do not find the l\e/ast Example of a Ditch about It; Except in the Burhanes where the Old Castle Stood, and a little Beyond the Parsonage-house, where there is appearance of a Rampiard & Ditch, which hems in the Croft & Returnes againe Westwards like to a Bastion towards the Parsonage, if it has not been Rather a Bulwark about It.

[J. Inscriptions]

[J1. Altar]

But the following Altar, now at Kirkbythore Hall, The Seat of the Whartons, \ chief / Lords of this Manner), which was found he\r/abouts since Camdens time, may seem to in forme us \ somewhat / more of this matter, If it could be ~~discovered~~ \ read / & well understood. But, Alas! The Letters had taken their flight before I came ~~at them~~ \ there. / Yet \ But / afterwards I found them {in som wafer in the Herald Colledge London} preserved by my most Learned & Industrious friend,[245] Sir William Dugdall (of worthy memory)[246] in his visitation of the County of Westmerland in 1664; which are as followeth:

FORTA. + BALLI + N. M. S. S. + C. CALEZI~~TI~~ + VS. FOR + NTINVS + NƟV

wherein I have plac'd the Croslets-fitche[247] onely for distinction of lines upon the Altar; and which (with Submission to better Judgements) I would willingly read after this manner:

FORTABALLI (pro valli, sive Vallati) N(u)M (inibus) s(acrum) C(aius) CALEZIVS.[248]

[Machell's Notes: VI.229]

*{see Camdens Deo Belatu Cadro … att Gallatum.[249] No, it is a mistake in Mr Camden or the printer, for tis καλατον in Ptolemy, and which at most Calatum or Gallatum, & has nothing to do with Galgacus.}

[VI.186C]

'Kirkby Thore forsan pro valli FORTA BALLI i.e. Fortalitij. Ex vallo factum. A castle made of earth or turves. Bein[g] in sepissime præsertim Notitia Antiquitatum[250] pro v. ponitur Deo sic ideo Legimus. Fortalitij Valli. Numinibus sacrum. C. Calizius Forntinus (vel forsan Frontinus per metathesin).[251]

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[244] 'Whose nod the planets and the rest of the stars observe.'

[245] MS. '… preserv'd, by \ most / Industrious & Learned \ 1 / friend, Sir William Dugdall.' Machell shows here that he wishes to change the position of the adjectives relating to Dugdale.

[246] Sir William Dugdale died in 1686.

[247] Machell's cross croslets fitched are represented here by the symbol, '+'.

[248] 'Forta Balli instead of Valli, or Vallati; sacred to the spirits. Gaius Calezius.'

[249] Camden's inscription is as follows, 'DEO BELATVCADRO LIB VOTVM. FECIT IOLVX'. See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1607), Westmoreland, 6: 'From thence the river with his full course passeth directly North-west by Buley a castle of the Bishops of Carlil, and by Kirby Thore, under which are seene great ruins of an old towne and peeces of Romane coine otherwhiles digged up, and not long since this inscription …'

[250] Notitia Dignitatum…

[251] 'Kirkby Thore, perhaps instead of valli Forta Balli i.e. Fortalitij. Made from a wall: a castle made from earth or turves. Being placed very frequently and especially in front of a wall in the *Notitia Antiquitatem*.' See also Part 3, Ch.4, Heraldry, VI.489.

{Green Castle}
Had This bin Found on the Top of the Fell I should have Taken It for a Pacafyc[252] Altar to the Gods of Green Castle at the Head of Grange Beck (whence the other altar Inscribed to Silvanus (as they say) was brought); for It is nothing \ else / but Trench above Trench & Forte above Fort in a Circular manner on the top of a Mountain. I can only say That It is not Impossible \ that This / might com from Thence.[253]



Figure 3.3.31. Detail. Frontinus Inscription. VI.186B.

[VI.231][254]
CALEZIVS FORNTINVS (pro Frontinus per transpositio[n]em Litera R.) NƟ (i.e. Numini Iovis Opt[imo] per Implicationem, Sc. et Reduplicationem Litera O.) V (i.e. Votum) … Solvit[255] – or som such like thing.
But what this Frontinus might be to Julius who subdued the Silures & the Brigantes, as we are informd by the Inscription at Apalby School \ (F.) /, or whether he be not the same Frontinus whom I take to be Captain of the 1st Thracian Cohort, Mentioned There also \ at T. / I leave to others; but the Letters C'AL in the said Inscription Incline me to be of That Opinion: And that he might have \ {quartered here or have bin} / Imployd (with his Cohort) in Subdueing this Place. In Order to which we find divers Romaine Camps & Intrenchments about the Towne; as namely That Great One on Crakenthorp More which we have describ'd, being South from hence about a Mile. Another which is opposite to it (The River Troutbeck running betwixt them) at a place cal'd Bran-Crooke (i.e. Brant Crooke) in Marton Field, South-east from hence about the same Distance. And a Third at Hale, upon the Moor Edge (which hath Double ditches, & joyneth into the ~~same~~ \ Maiden / Way on the south side {thereof} about as far Northwards, being the least of \ the three / them All.

{W[help] Castle}
But after the Romans became Masters of it They began to build (more Romano)[256] with Brick, Lime & Stone. And in Process of time \ amongst other ~~buildings~~ houses / erected a magnificent Castle; which the English Saxons (who Succeded them Here & changed All our Names into their own language*) transmitted to us by the name of Whelp Castle; as if som of the Catulis (A flourishing Family amongst the Romans) {or Lords of the Place} had been concern'd in Building of it; for what Catulus was with the Romans, the same was Whelp with the English Saxons†. And we find it continued in that very name at the Norman Conquest‡; which if judicious Camden had know, he would not have named the word so far from the Common use of it as to call it Wheallop for the sake of Gallatum; nor would he have sought any other original. The Strength of this Place & Situation of it being in a pleasant & Plentiful Country, gave the Romans Occasion to make it a Colony, & \ a / standing Qua[r]ter for their light horse, who had a

[252] Pacafyc (pacific, pacyfyque, paciffick): a peace offering; an offer or overture of peace. *OED*.
[253] Here (but not transcribed) Machell repeated his remarks about the crosslets fitche, above.
[254] Also numbered p.37. Several pages in this chapter demonstrate Machell's most careful handwriting. To a large extent, this page represents a fair copy as it was created for, and sent for publication to, Dr John Mill. The text (apart from some interlineation and pencilled margin comment) is easy to read when compared with Machell's notes, allowing us to note (for example) his carefully considered spelling.
[255] 'Calezius Forntinus (instead of Frontinus by transposition of the letter R.) NƟ (i.e. to the divinity of Jupiter the Best by implication i.e. a reduplication of the letter O. V (i.e. his vow) … pays.'
[256] 'In the Roman fashion.'

[Machell's Notes: VI.231]
*{As Aballaba into Apleby, Brovonacum into Brou., Blatabulgium into Bowes.}
†{Mr Camden in the […][257] Deed s.d. {For he cals it there Whellop.}[258]
‡{for Waldeve the son of Gamel, the son of Gamel, the son of Whelp, gave divers lands within his lordship of K[irkbythore] to the monks of Holm Cultram. Deed s.d.}

[VI.233][259]

[J2. Maiden Way]
Temple for their Devotion within this Castle, as appears by a stone lately dig'd up (~~which I shall exhibit by & by to your view~~ amongst other Antiquities which were found there) {Bring it in here} Inscribed DEO ALÆ {or DEC. ALÆ}, as \ if / a whole wing of their Rese\r/ve Guards had laid thereabouts \ this Place. / And for a farther ~~observation~~ \ Confirmation / \ of It / there is the Casway calld Maiden Way all paved with stone, which goes from thence directly Northwards unto Caervoran (near the Picts Wall where the Foot were ingarrison'd) to facilitate & hasten them to Their Aid if ther should be occasion.[260] And upon som Glorious Expedition which they had perform'd, an altar was erected here \ also, / by one Antonia Stratonissa (a good wife I warrant you) = FORTVNÆ SERVATRICI: to Preserving Fortune; upon sight of the Army Returning in Triumph (which they might easily see from this Place \ on / to the Top of the Mountains) and for the arrival of their husbands & children.

{Maiden Way}
And now all the young maidens running in numbers upon the highway to meet all their brothers, cosans (& sweethearts, to whom I should have named it, as may well be supposed \ up/on such \ a / occasion~~s~~) it might thence be call'd Via Virgineæ: The Maiden Way, which our old English call'd Maiden Gath & Maiden Gate. Thus, the Lane near Sourby within the Parish of Kirkbythore, which leads to Mitrig, is call'd Maiden Lane from the resort of som maiden Gentlewomen \ of my Relations / {which I thought fit to take no[te]} who used to walk there.

If this Conjecture ~~upon so good a ground~~ do not please all men because they find there is Maiden Castle on the edge of Stainmore, Maiden Hold on Crakenthorp More, & Maiden Castle againe at Edenbrough in the Kingdom of Scotland, which have the like Compellations with this but cannot be Grounded upon the like reason, I answer neither Is it Necessary. Divers things may have had the same Name upon divers Occasions. And to set aside what may be conjectured of Madan, one of the \ ~~antient~~ / Brittish kings (Grandchild of Brute) who is said Indeed to have Built Maiden Caister now calld Doncastar (how truly I know not) but not a word of his having any hand in these things which are purely Romane. To set (I say) such fancyes aside; these Places of Strength might be so called, because they were never won by Assault; upon which account the City of Tourney[261] was look'd upon as a Virgin City

[VI.235][262]

Till Ravish'd by King Henry VIII & \ having / had This Sentence writ over A Gate:

> Iannes ton ne àperdèu ton Pucillage:
> i.e. Thou Hast never lost thy Maiden-head.

[257] One word here is illegible.
[258] Written in pencil beneath margin text written in ink.
[259] Also numbered p.39.
[260] MS: 'to facilitate & hasten ~~their march upon all occasions to their reliefe~~ \ them to their aid if ther should be occasion. /'
[261] Early in th 16th century the city of Tournai and surrounding area formed a French enclave within the 'Burgundian-Habsburg' Netherlands. When, in 15I3, Tournai was besieged by an army led by the Emperor Maximilian and Henry VIII, the city surrendered to Henry VIII in his capacity as 'King of France'. Determined to keep Tournai, Henry left a resident garrison to build a citadel. In 1519, however, under the terms of the treaty of London, Tournai was returned to Francis I of France. Extracted from C.S.L. Davies, 'Tournai and the English Crown, 1513-1519', *The Historical Journal*, 41, 1 (I998), I-26, at 1.
[262] Also numbered p.41.

The Like of which was Reported of Edenbrough \ Castle / That she was never taken by storm till ~~now~~ (of late) by […][263] King William {2} […][264] But this will not agre to the Maiden-way.

Now as to the Author (as well as the Name) of so Noble a worke, I know there is a Northumberland Story of a Young Lady there who, being courted by a person of Quality out of These parts, required of him (as a Proofe of his Love) That he should ~~pave~~ \ cause a way to be pav'd / over all the Mountains & Through all the Bogs to make ~~the way~~ it passible betwixt Their 2 houses, by the nearest Cutt, which (they say) he did accordingly {was performd accordingly.} Yet the Peevish maid refus'd to have him until he could set it up on End. And so he lost both his love & his labour. Whereupon it was call'd Maiden Way.

[J3. Crawdundale]
But leaving such storyes to their relators {& every man to his own conjecture} I do conclude it a work of the Romans:[265] and that it was either done by VARRONIVS, because his name is not only preserved in the Fort of Caervorran whither it Leadeth; But Inscribed also upon that known Rock near to This Place, called Crawdundale in Newbiggin Parish as has been shewn. Or els perhaps, som of the CATVLI might have an hand In it, Because It extendeth à Castro Catulino ad Convallem-Catuli; for the Castle at This End (which is the only Place considerable whereto it relateth \ leadeth / is call'd Whelp Castle. And the Gill at the other end \ thereof / under Caervorran[266] (Whence ~~perhaps~~ \ are descended / the Whelpdales of Skirsgil, a Family of Good Note in Cumberland), is called Glen-WHELP, where \ in which place / I met with This Fragment of a Roman Inscription \ in a little house, / which had stood 60 years \ on a knok[267] on the back of / behind the fire.[268] And hence the Remainder (if it be not a solecism to call That so which doth not remaine) was consumed to Ashes. Hinc illæ lacrymæ![269]

[VI.248]

[J4. Further Altar]
I have one Altar more to be inserted, found 20 years since in Burney beck within this Parish of Kirkbythore & suppos'd to have stood \ on the top edge of Burney / near unto Green Castle, which is a great Fort with Double Rampiers on the very Top of Milburn Fell, at the south end of it. But, being round, I think tis no Roman Fortification.
The letters upon it are – DEO SILVANO ----- ÆLIVS ----- VOTVM – SOLVIT[270]

[263] In the MS, 2cm of scored-through text appears here.
[264] In the MS, 5cm of scored-through text appears here. A partially legible pencilled interlineation appears to read, 'is able to oppose on'. In fact, 'Edinburgh Castle was captured and recaptured many times. It has been besieged more than any other place in Britain: there have been 23 recorded attempts. Captured in 1296 by Edward I, the Scots reclaimed it in 1314. The English took it again in 1335 before, in 1341, Scots disguised as merchants took it back. Cromwell's forces occupied the castle in 1650. At one point it was even handed over to the English as a ransom payment. It was captured twice by Covenanters in the 17th century, fighting against King Charles I's imposition of Episcopacy.' Janice Hopper, 'Edinburgh Castle history: 900 years protecting Scotland's capital', https://www.britain-magazine.com/features/region/scotland.
[265] A similar passage appears in the margin of MS.VI.234: not transcribed.
[266] Here, a pencilled margin addition is illegible.
[267] Perhaps this is a variant of 'nok' or 'nook': an out-of-the-way corner. *OED*. Machell seems to have described something on a wall or plate lining the back of a fireplace.
[268] MS: '(whence ~~perhaps~~ \ are descended / the whelpdales \ of Skirsgil / a family of good note in Cumberland \ may perhaps be descended / is called Glen-WHELP, where \ in which place / I met with this fragment of a Roman inscription \ in a little house {dwelling} which had stood 60 years \ on a knok on the back of / behind the fire (~~hinc illæ lacrymæ~~).'
[269] 'Hence those tears.' This MS passage continues at the beginning of the section, 'Things Found at Whelp Castle.1.'
[270] 'To the god Sylvanus Aekius pays his vow.'



Figure 3.3.32. Further Altar. Detail. VI.248.

[VI.249]

And so we have done with Kirkbythore, from whence the Romaine Way doth lead us directly nor-west to another antient Romaine town called BROVONACUM, now vulgarly Browham, being v. miles from thence & viii. from Apalby.[271] Here, if any where, should be the Ruine which Camden calls the Ha[n]ging wall of Marc. Antonius. The Conflux of Eden & Lowther sheweth It, but I never yet could finde or hear of any thing like It, unless the outwall of Browham Castle Court may be thought to be It, which was in the Battlement which hung over the wall, being rased upon Corballs as high or higher than the wall It selfe. This was pulld downe by the Lord Thomas Tufton – before whome nothing is able to stand – in 1691.[272]

~~Emot & Lowther \ here / being~~ Emot here having swallowed up Lowther, loseth itselfe in the River of Eden about 2 miles below, near the Head of which \ River / at Russendal Church there [are] 2 Monuments with Hebrew inscriptions. And not far from thence springeth Lyvennet.[273]

[VI.250]

Lilly Beck brings us into Kent, into which runs Kentmere, at the Head of which and on the other side of them spring Ulswater, the head of Emote, which brings [us] to the Castle of Browham where wee left of, & where wee meet againe with the Roman Way.

[VI.267]

[J5. Brougham]

The following {priestly} figure[274] was found near the place where it now standeth (by digging up stones for the wall of Browham Castle Demane circa anno 1665) not far from the Pillar, which may seem to have been a Romane Flamen by the canonicall habit upon it, if that gens togata may be supposed to have wore any such in those antient days. Though I should rather have judged it to have bin a Saxon priest or a Bishop[275] if it had not occur'd amongst other fragments of Romane antiquitys.

[VI. 269]

This oval figure stands in the said wall in the midst of the lane as you go to the castle on your right hand; and was found near that place on the same occasion and about the same time.[276] I take this to be the portraiture of Julius Crispus, son of Constantine the Great, our famous countryman; as appears to me by comparing of it with a coin of his which Speed hath exhibited; and therefore the rather because there was an altar found here, inscribed to his father (D.C. Valerio Constantino) which is to be seen at Apalby s\c/hool.

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[271] The page continues in pencil.

[272] Thomas Tufton, 6th earl of Thanet and 18th Lord Clifford (1644-1729). He succeeded to the titles on 12 December 1691. For Machell's difficulties with this particular Lord Thanet, see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, June 5 1697, 'A narrative of the matter in contest about the Chapel of Sowerby within the Parish of Kirkby-thore in Westmorland to the Right Honorable Thomas Earle of Thanett Patrone of the said Parish-Church, T.M. R[ector]', from III.229.

[273] The page has perished here, but could read, MS: 'which brings [us] to the river Kent & …'

[274] The sketch is missing. There is a vertical gap of 16cm here, with indications of a previously attached sheet of paper.

[275] MS: '{it \ to have bin / a Saxon priest or a Bishop} it one of the Saxon Bishops'

[276] There is a vertical gap of 16cm, but no sketch.

[VI.257]

[J6. Kirkby Lonsdale]
An altar



Figure 3.3.33. 'An altar (above a yard high) digg'd up at Kirby in Loansdale, circa an. 1684.' VI.257.

(above a yard high} Digg'd up at Kirby in Loansdale, circa anno 1684, in a Banke in the River Leun call'd Abbats-Brow, adjoyneing the North East Side of the Churchyard: and now lyeing in the High Street, for a Seat, at Widdow Mans doore. One side of this Altar (which I have Supplyed) is broke of & lost. The 1st Line seemeth to be NVMINIBVS. The 4th APOLLINIS; the last VOTVM SOLVIT &c.[277]

Cætera legant alij[278]

[VI.259][279]

[J7.] Near Ambleside
At the Head of Windermer water, is a small Roman fort. Being an Oblong Square of above 100 Yards in Diameter. Here severall fragments of Roman Antiquities have been discovered, & amongst the Rest divers Medalls of Gold, Silver & Copper; some of which are in That Collection of Mr Thomas Brathwaite, of Ambleside Hall, which he gave by Deed to the Library at Oxford, dated 26 of November 1674. Since which was found one Medall of Gold with Hadrians Image & Superscription upon it, valued at 17s and 6d. And a piece of Gold about 5 Inches long, as thick as the small end of a Tobacco pipe, Sollid & Streight {which the country people took for a piece of bridle bit &) which was purchased by Mr James Cock, Booke Seller in Kendall, for 34s, who also bought the Former Medall, But resold them both some years agoe; so that they never came to my view.[280]
And there is a field house call'd Borosrigg-Hoghouse, 1. mile south from hence in the way twixt Ambleside & Windermer Church, in the East end of which I found a stone (brought from the said Borrans) with this broken Inscription concerning a Roman Cohort there. Which Cohort may seem to have pinn'd up the Brits in Cartmel & Furness, where They continued till King Egfrid's time, who was King of Northum[berland].[281] Gre. Anno 671.[282]

[277] See Part 2, Ch.8, Kirkby Lonsdale, II.204.
[278] 'Let others read the rest.'
[279] Also numbered p.63.
[280] This is Machell's third reference to finds bought by Kendal bookseller and mercer, James Cocke. See Part 2, Ch.9, Windermere, II.323; Part 2, Ch.10, Itinerary, II.424.
[281] Ecgfrith (c.645-685): king of Deira from 664 until 670, and king of Northumbria from 670 until his death in 685. See Hugh Chisholm (ed.), 'Ecgfrith', *Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. 8* (11th edn, Cambridge, 1911) 870.
[282] 'Gregoriano Anno' refers to the Gregorian calendar.



Figure 3.3.34. Roman Inscription found between Ambleside and Windermere church. VI.259.

[VI.261]

[J8.] {Near Kirkby L. in Lancashire}

[VI.262]

Barrow upon Leun in Tu[n]sdal Parish in Com. Lanc.
These 2 Fragments of Romane Inscriptions are on the Vicaridge[283] House in Tunstal. Being found at Barrow upon Leun in the said Parish. On the Steeple of which Church, on the 3 sides, are 3 Angells \ in stone / holding the Coat of Armes which is marked (a). And in the Quire on each side the East window an Angel \ in stone / holding the Coate marked (b) which are Tu[n]stals; the Monument of one of which Family is under an Arch near the East of the South Ile.
Near Tunsdal Church is Thirland Castle, the chiefe & most antient seat of the Tunsdals (who had a great Estate in this country) {1000 li per annum}, which now belongeth unto the Girlingtons. And they had a Parke about a mile hence, with a good old Hall in the midle of It, calld the Parke House {a good old house with good court and gardines, but no fair access. It stands on a plane.} Purchased by Wilson of Dallan-Tower 60 years since; & now the Seat of Mr Edward Wilson, Justice of Pease = heire Apparent to Dallan Tower; where on the Back Side of the House I saw a tree calld Abour Vitæ, 3 foote in Circumference, and as high as other Ordnary Trees. It grows like a Savin.[284] Arbor Vitæ is the th\u/ya of the Botanists.[285]

[VI.263][286]

At the vicaridge in Tunstall are two Fragments of Romane Inscriptions, Translated hither by the Late Minister for Barrow upon Leun in the said Parish, which I have placed one upon the other, for the better convenience of Graveing. And have added two Coats of Arms (for Ornaments sake, & to fill up the Spaces); The former of which is on the Church Steeple & the Latter (being Tunstalls) is under the window behind the High Altar.[287]
From this Larger Inscription I should have conjectured The Name of The Burrow (Alias Over Burrow) to have been Aurcubia in the time of the Romans. If Mr Cambden, the best of Antiquaries (who yet speaks doubtfully concerning this matter) had not ~~been against It~~ thought otherwise. For I read the Inscription, so far as legible, after this manner: Dis manibus Sacrum et perpetu[a]e securitate Aureus N N IO TU AN […] 52 Hic Mili […] AUREUBIÆ […][288]

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[283] MS: 'vacaridge'.
[284] '{It grows like a savin…}' Savin = juniper. The rest of this comment is obscured by the binding.
[285] Arbor Vitae: popular name of several evergreen shrubs of the genus *Thuja*, family *Coniferæ*. *OED*. Arbor Vitae grows like a shrubby juniper bush.
[286] Also numbered p.65.
[287] There follows a vertical gap of 13cm, presumably where the two drawings were eventually to be placed.
[288] Machell wrote the inscription twice: once as part of the text (as above) and once in his sketch (*Figure 3.3.35*). The first was written in pencil and is almost illegible; the Figure is easy to read but words are missing. It begins, 'Sacred to the gods of the underworld and eternal freedom from care…' Using Machell's MS, Historic England translated and commented on the inscription: 'The stones cannot now be found there, and have, no doubt, perished. The first of the two inscriptions ... opens with the phrase, "Dis Manibus Sacrum, et Perpetu(a)e Securitate."... In the fourth line the letters seem to be a mis-representation of ANICETV(S), and have probably been followed by VIXIT, as there is a large space left vacant in the drawing. It is, of course, possible that we may read simply AN(NORVM) Lll., but the space after ANICETVS would hardly be left blank. I was inclined to think that AVREVBIAE was simply a misreading of AVRELIAE, but Dr. McCaul … suggests the reading,



Figure 3.3.35. Fragments of Roman Inscriptions at Tunstall Vicarage. VI.262.

[K. Correspondence between Thomas Machell and Dr John Mill c.1670-1692]

[IV.79]

Correspondence 1. Undated

[1. Letter from Machell to Mill, undated.][289]
Sir, I am glad to heare of your good health and better promising fortune, for tis partly my owne since I am sure to be a sharer, if not in your preferment, yet at least in your joy.[290] The loss of two friends, Mr B. & Mr M. doth not truble mee halfe so much (tho very considerable) as the hopes of your preferment doth already delight \ rejoice / mee. For I could be very willing to forgoe my owne, rather than you should \ and will / any way miss, fore you, if elected, may \ both / credit your colledge \ & countery; but I shall be happy if I be no disgrace to either of them.
I hope you will pardon my detagneing your booke, for I was not willing to trust with carriers \ by / whome I have suffered so many great losses. \ But now I have it with the Inscriptions at Apalby \ schoole, which / I have sent \ out / you, \ tho / very preposterously, for I thought to have writt them in one leafe side, but was hard put to it to containe them in two; soe that \ without a paradox / the first must be last and the last must be first. Cancros imitare legendo.[291]
One onely Inscription I have \ voluntary / omitted, which stood so high that I could not come to \ at / it; yett I hope to have it before my returne, & then, as the rest, it shall be at youre service. This is the first time that they were writt \ or read that we hear of. / Diverse Herrald and \ other / travellers when

AVR. EVSEBIAE, conjecturing that Machel has omitted the letters SE … In the last line Dr. McCaul suggests F.P.P. as the concluding letters, expanding them as F(ILIVS)P(IE)P(OSVIT). [Therefore] Aurelius Anicetus, as we gather from the inscription, lived fifty-two years, and appears to have been stationed some time at Overborough, from the use of the words "hic militavit" ("here he has fought"). Aurelius Eusebia, his wife, lived thirty-seven years, and it was probably their son Aurelius, who put up the stone from motives of filial piety ("pro pietate posuit")." Historic England Research Records, Monument No. 44052, https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk.

[289] This is a draft letter which, in the MS, was scored through; the lines have been removed in this edition.

[290] John Mill was elected fellow of his college in October 1670 and ordained in the same year. Preferment included chaplain to the bishop of Exeter (1676); prebendary of Exeter (1677); nominated for rectory of Bletchingdon Oxon (1682); royal chaplain (1682); principal of St Edmund Hall Oxon (1685). S. Handley, 'Mill, John (1644/5-1707), Church of England clergyman and college head'. *ODNB*. Though the letter is undated, Machell was possibly congratulating Mill on the prospect of his becoming principal of St Edmund Hall.

[291] A proverb relating to the crab: *Salutem Mitto tibi Metulas, cancros imitare legendo*, seen in the work of the minor Latin poet, Pentadius, i.e. moving crablike, sideways, not in a straightforward fashion. See C.L.F. Pankoucke (ed.) *Poetae Minores* (Paris, 1842), Pentadius, 406.

here \ have attempted to Read / but never could take the paines to observe \ conquer / them. I was full two days on a ladder aboute them, but att last got the ~~conquest~~ \ victory / & now finds them bound \ unto you / like slaves in Tryumphe, unto him who like a generall incouraged me to make this onset. But I must confess they jayded me soe much that I have not attempted to take a Transcript for my own use.

But I took occasion to goe from thence to Kirkby thore, where I drew out the Altar. But (alas!) the Inscription is so much defaced by the Injury of Time ~~then carelessness of the people~~ that to read the characters \ is / no less than impossible. There's a faire F beg[inn]ing the first line, but ~~whose~~ \ he who is able to read the rest / goes further ~~reads better~~ than I. The place where twas founde was the seat of our ancestors (as appears from old writeings) \ and / cald Whelep Castle, after Whelp Castle; & the towne was cald ~~Whelope~~ \ Callatum alias Gallatum / as Mr Cambden will tell you \ will better inform you. / Hic steterit Catuli Regia celsa senis.[292] But iam seges est, ubi domus erat.[293] And the furrow plowes every day more and more [to] make windowes by its woundes, to lett in light to those obscured antiquities. For not much more than a 2 yeare agoe {circa 1667} a great roaleing stone of aboute 2 yard lenth was digd up here ~~the ground~~, which now remaines at Nebiggin Hall.

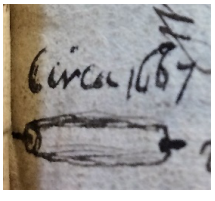


Figure 3.3.36. 'Roaleing stone'. IV.79.

[IV.80][294]

And when they dig the foundacions of there houses, many curious peces of Antiquity are here descovered.[295] I was inform'd by a credible person (whom I have ~~constituted and~~ appointed \ to be my / Stuart […][296] if any such things come againe to his hands) that In diging a little depth for the foundation of a little kill \ which is / now standing on your left hand as you \ journey[297] / for Browham aboute 15 yards beyond the water Troutbeck, a great barr of Iron was taken up, about the thickness of a mans legg, which as soone as touched (such a consumer of all things is Time) fell into shivers.[298] But diverse vessels of brass were taken up whole, perfect and uncorrupted, ~~save only rust which it had contracted~~ that rusted all over. And \ there were / fine Earthen potts & enameld Glass, as I am informd,[299] which gave the spectatoures occasion to thinke (and perhaps not amiss) that People in those days Fabe\r/tius-like, T[r]ichlia sua Samnetico preferebant auro.[300]

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[292] 'Here will have stood the lofty realm of old Catulus.' Compare Ovid, *Heroide*s. 'Letter from Penelope to Ulysses', I.1.34, 'hic steterat Priami regia celsa senis': here stood the lofty realms of Priam.

[293] 'Now are cornfields where home once was'. Compare Ovid, *Heroides,* 'Letter from Penelope', 1.1.53, 'iam seges est ubi Troia fuit': Now are cornfields where Troy once was.

[294] From here to the end of IV.82, the text becomes more difficult to read: scored-through passages jostle with interlineated phrases. What follows is not a verbatim transcription; rather, it is an attempt to use Machell's words to make sense of what he was trying to communicate.

[295] Here is a blotted interlineation.

[296] 'Steward.' More illegible words follow.

[297] Unclear word.

[298] A 'kill' is the cell of a monk or hermit. *OED*.

[299] For another version of this paragraph, see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.558.

[300] [People in those days], 'Fabertius-like, preferred their own wattle huts to Samnite gold'. 'Marcus (sic: Manius) Curius Dentatus refuses the gifts of the Samnites', is a painting by Govert Flinck (1656), hanging in the Royal Palace of Amsterdam. It depicts the Roman consul, Marcus Curius Dentatus, preferring a gift of turnips to an offer of gold and silver objects. 'Fabertius-like' echoes another of Machell's references to righteous frugality, viz. VI.200, at the beginning of this chapter, which refers to 'Fabritian plate' i.e. earthenware used by Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, a similarly self-denying Roman censor in 275 BC.

I made strict enquiry after \ all / these and other things of the like nature; as likewise for coynes diggd up in this place. For coines I enquird much after them […] but as the cocke in the fable,[301] they sleight these jewells and gave them [to] their children \ to play with / who threw them away.[302]
Prodegious stone was likewise here found, which baffle the apprehensions of oure modern workemen \ who cannot imagin / that wonder much, how they could be layd. In diggeing for which, a Vault {Coppin hill Vault} was discovered in the midle of that street as you turn toward the castle, which was closed up at the command of Mr Wharton, under the pennalty of undergoing paying a fine. ~~and~~
These Ruines are found for a vast space together, which discovers the castle to have been very large.[303]
And certanely the territories were not disproportionate \ unanswerable. / But this being from where wee descend, I may seem to have writ to[o] much concerneing it; but I doubt not your pardon since you requir'd it; and know that I do it rather to gratify your curiosity than my owne ambition. For I finde not any thing in this long preservacion of oure name & familie, but a just occasion to glorifie god for so great a Blessing; who I hope allwayes will come nigh the family in there Ancient Inheritance, as hitherto he has done; birthr[ight] neither so poor as to be contemptible, nor yet so rich as to despise others, & forgett themselves.

[IV.81]

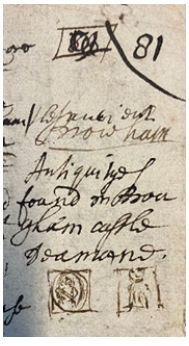
But to goe on a little further in my Itur Boreale.[304] Found at Borovonacum – Browham – 2 memorable figures in stone, noe less remarkeable, set up in the wall which apperd lately in the castle demaine in digging of stones to wall it about. Stones were then digged up, many of them hewne, these 2 above others to be taken notice of because seeme to be the statue of an Ancient holy man \ perhaps one of their [?] as may be gathered from the habit I have scratched out with my pen. But the head \ they have placed / upon it can not att all belong to that body, both by cause of its \ great / disproportion and also because of its workmanship. It is far more Rude than that of the Body, for the 2nd which stood nearer the castle, is a Roman head with a lawrell wreath about it, having a very youthful countenance and a Coate of Male? or of net worke upon him.



Figure 3.3.37. Margin. IV.80.

Figure 3.3.38. Margin. IV.81.

They were found in a place flagged over like a church, which confirmed som in their beliefe in an old conjecture that Browham had been a Towne of a large extent conteineing no less 9 churches, 8 whereof, with the Towne, being demolishd; the ninth had, as it now hath, the Name of Ninechurch, which I rather submit too. But findeing no Ground at all for this Story, save that it was a Roman Colony, I have heard of other opinion con[cerning] a Scotch Saint whose name (they say) was on the wall; and picture was there in the memory of man upon the w[all] – I shall further enquire into – and that thence it was called Ninechurch.
{I conclude this church has taken it name from St Ninianus at whose n. it may seen to have been dedicated. Mr Savage, Ecclesiæ, Rector.}[305]



[301] Aesop's Fable. The Cock and the Jewel. When a cock was scratching in the ground to find food, he found a precious jewel. The cock knew that the jewel was valuable to some, but would have much preferred to find even a single ear of corn. Moral: precious things are worthless to those who cannot appreciate them.
[302] Machell was much struck by this, mentioning it several times in the MS: e.g. see Part 1. Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.560.
[303] From this point on the page, Machell begins to score-through much more thoroughly, and to rewrite interlineally. As the words are so closely written, a perfectly precise transcription cannot be made. Nevertheless, this edition uses only Machell's words, in an attempt to reproduce what Machell was endeavouring to say.
[304] 'Northern Journey.'
[305] As several words in this margin comment are too indistinct to transcribe with certainty, they have been omitted. In the MS, Savage is named as 'Salvage', but a margin comment corrects the error. For Savage, see Part 1, Ch.7, Brougham, II.479-480. Arthur Savage was ordained deacon at Rose Castle, 1637; rector of Brougham, 1643-1662; prebendary of Carlisle Cathedral and Rector of Caldbeck from 1665 to 1701. CCED.

But that be as it will. Certanely the Towne had been very large, as is further probable both from the distance twixt X[C] and parsonedge, which if there had not been nigher would never have beene build at 2 miles distance. And appeares allso from the rubbish plowd up thereabouts where they can onle riple,[306] the ground being hindred with stones.

[IV.82]

I was also at Lazenby in Cumberland.

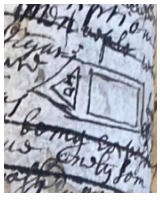


Figure 3.3.39. Stone at Lazonby. IV.82.

Lett me carry you a little further with mee, where tho I cannot have your assistance to read, yet I shall have your company to lament with mee the Injury of Time \ and negligence or rather ignorance of men / which has washd away 2 noble Inscriptions which have bin writ on 2 stones of this figure in the church-yard; but brought as from P[l]um[p]ton Wall;[307] whose inscriptions being exposed to violence from the wether & so washed away, now have onely som characters left remaneing to tell us they were not intended as now a dayes. And that the one was Saxon, and the other Roman. And those symbols[308] in the triangle D.M. Dis man.[309] On the other, in the same place, a crescent[310] for theire Goddess the Moon, whence we yet retaine our Dies lunæ: Munday or Mooneday, as you very well know.

And these I thinke are the most observances that I have made, being destitute of my best companion and 2[nd] selfe, and also being hindered of going in the chefe season of the yeare by the indisposition of my Body,[311] by cold wether partly, partly by my […]ends.[312] Yet while I was at home I was not altogether idle for I have drawne the Armes of the Gentery of Westm'land and informd myself a little concerneing theire families.
But that I may not bore[313] \ you / in so lamenting a condi[tion] for the neglecting the time [and] opportunities here (or my negligence of […][314] industry in the discovering of those remnants of Antiquity), I'le Bring you Back to Pendraggon Castle.

I also rambled to Pendraggon Castle which is a Building so uniforme & compact & so well contrived with a Gallary all round the Top of it that bespeakes the workmens praise and the wisdom of the Ancients, and detractes from the honour some take in these later dayes for their skil in Building [and in] Architecture. It stands betwixt 2 great fells which far overtop it on either side, but the River assaying to Reach about it, change the fine rotunders to strong Bulworkes. [To list] the Roman or rather Brittish strong Bulworke[s] of a square figure which here & there lye up & down the countery would be too large a Taske. But there are 2 or 3 more Remarc[able]. One \ a Campe an Crakenthorpe: more a watch tower; / a campe cald Maiden-holde, as allso of castle demollishd: Maiden Castle on Top of Stanemore, where I saw stone of a dore or window. {And tis no less then a wonder, how ever they should get stones unto such a vast a[nd] craggy mountaine.} {Brough Castle, part whereof fell (as Tradition sayes) on that good Friday our Saviour sufferd, where there is distant from the castle a Tower cald Cæsers. Browham Castle, \ Apalby Castle / where an other \ there be of them at; / & \ Browham[315] C[astle] \ where there is / an other calld Pagan T[ower]. And but the handsomest of all: Maybrough \ Mabrough / Castle at Yeamont, not far from the Rounde Table, for I have neither time nor paper to proceed any further.}

[306] To scratch lightly, graze. *OED*.
[307] Plumpton/Plumpton Wall, Cumberland, is a township in Lazonby Parish containing the Roman site, Voreda.
[308] Editor's substitution; the word it represents is illegible.
[309] 'Dis minibus': to the spirits of the dead.
[310] Machell drew an illustration of a crescent here.
[311] Two words here appear to read, 'since that'.
[312] The letters at the beginning of this word are obscured by the binding.
[313] This a tentative substitution for a very unclear word.
[314] Here, the transcription omits several illegible words.
[315] 'Browham' has been written over 'Appleby': Machell appears to have been careless here.

[Correspondence 2. February 1687]

[Letter 2A. Mill to Machell. 7 February 1687][316]

[I.764][317]

D.L.[318]

I receiv'd your last, and before I come to it, must say something to ~~some~~ former letters I have had. In yours of Oct. 22 last you desird me to speak with Mr Walker to communicate what he mett with in his readyng concerning Westmorland and Cumberland. You know I cannot – Acheronta movere.[319] I was never very well acquainted with him; and now I should be sorry to begin. And I doubt Mr Wood will not wag in this matter.[320] Walker is taken up now with other concerns. However I will talk with Wood, & see what can be done about your monuments in Sicily, if there be any such –

As to your lease 'tis drawn, and seal'd, and ready for you. Your way of haveing it paid to your bailiff in Hampshire, will not be so well.[321] For if it should be paid in that way, it must be return'd afterwards to London, to the Collector in Smithfeild, which is a trouble not fitt to give the Colledge: who will expect, you know, to receive it without trouble. I am advisd by Mr Newlyn their Steward (who gives you his service) to tell you that your best way will be to send your servant in Hampshire over to the Colledge with the money. He \ may / come in one day, and go the next. And therefore, without giveing yourself or me any further trouble, pray write to your Agent, and take this method –

Your large account of the monument dugg up by you, I cannot yet communicate to Dr Plot; he being at London. I chuse to send it back to you, not knowing when we shall see him here. Pray, proceed in gathering what antiquities can be found, relateing to our Country. As to the inscription in Cambden DEO &c., the Circumstance of its being shewn Cambden by an old woman who liv'd upon the place is in the Latin Edition.

And thus I have made a shift to give you a short answer to your several Queries. You know my business is great: so that I cannot expatiate, as I would. Pray remember to send up your old Lease by

---

316 Letter copied in Machell's hand.

317 Also numbered p.24. Part of the reply to the letter can be seen as a scrap on VI.763A, below. Words underscored are in different ink, suggesting that Machell underlined these points as important.

318 'Deo Laudes': praises to God.

319 Virgil mentions the river Acheron in his description of the underworld in Book VI of the *Aeneid.* In Book VII, line 312[13] he gives to Juno the famous saying, 'flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo': 'If I cannot bend the will of Heaven, I shall move Hell'. In his letter to Machell, Mill appears to be saying of Walker, 'I cannot move the infernal powers.' This suggests that the victim of Mill's opprobrium was Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, Oxford. An excellent scholar, he was also a determined royalist who remained with Charles I in Oxford, and, after the king's death, was ejected from his fellowship. After the restoration he was reinstated and voted Master of University College but his encouragement of Roman Catholicism made enemies. He converted in 1686. When James II was deposed in 1688 and fled England, Walker attempted to follow him but was captured and returned to Oxford, where he was imprisoned and later put on trial. His ghost is reputed to haunt staircase 8 of University College. R. Beddard, 'Walker, Obadiah (1616-1699), college head and author'. *ODNB*. See also a letter from Bishop Thomas Smith to Daniel Fleming (3 June 1686), which refers to John Mill's scathing description of Walker's 'papist' conversion, in J.A. Bennett and R. Ward (eds), *The Manuscripts of Sir S. H. Le Fleming Esq., of Rydal Hall, Historical Manuscripts Commission. Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VII* (London, 1890), 199-200.

320 Anthony à Wood, Oxford antiquary: see Graham Parry, 'Wood, Anthony [Anthony à Wood] (1632-1695), antiquary'. *ODNB*. In 1667, Obadiah Walker became a delegate of the newly founded Oxford University Press. His influence enabled Wood to publish his pioneering *History and Antiquities of Oxford*: see Beddard, 'Walker, Obadiah'. *ODNB*. Nevertheless, Wood was critical of Walker's Catholicism, see Andrew Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself, collected from his Diaries and other Papers, Volume III (1682-1695)* (Oxford, 1894), January 1686, 176-77.

321 C.1680 Machell had married Elizabeth, widow of Andrew Whelpdale, rector of Newnham and Dogmersfield, Hampshire, the daughter and coheir of William Godson, lord of the manor and advowson of Dogmersfield. See Angus Winchester, 'Machell, Thomas (bap. 1647, d. 1698), antiquary'. *ODNB*.

Burnyeats.[322] & contrive to pay in the money speedily! That upon recit of it, I may have your Lease from your Colledge, so as to send it you down by the same Carrier. I am
Your most affectionate
J.M.[323]
Oxon, Feb. 7, 1687/8

[I.763A]

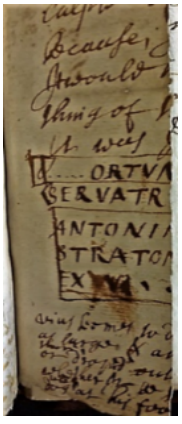


Figure 3.3.40. Part of an Inscription within a discarded draft of Thomas Machell's letter to John Mill, 20-21 February 1687. I.763A. [324]

[VI.295]

[Letter 2B. Machell to Mill. 20-21 February 1687: a precis of a longer narrative]

{This is extracted into the following disc[ourse]}
Feb. 20, 1687/8
Sir
I see you~~r intension~~ \ are so intent / upon your business that makes you unmindeful of other matters, for the lease you desire with such expedition is in your owne hands, as appears by your letter on the 1[t] of December 1687, wherein you acquaint me that you have received my old lease from London, sent to you by one Mr Baynes &c. But I thinke my mother will be up very shortly and therefore you need not haisten that business. However, I shall order the payment as you have directed.
Pray give my service to Mr Wood, & renew my request about the monument, if there be any such in Sicily.
Send me word also in what Latin edition of Mr Camden (for there are diverse) the circumstance of that Inscription (DEO BELATUCADRO), being shewn unto him by an old woman, may be found {no, it was in Northumberland}.[325] As also whether it be not sayed in that Latin edition in the Taberders Library, or on the other in the college library, that Kirkbythore, heretofore calld Gallagum, was the principal town of the Brigantes? For I thinke, somewhere I have read som such matter, but doubt very much \ of the truth of it / because of Yorks being famouse in those dayes.[326] {No[t] suer.}
I have found a piece of a Roman altar since I sent you last, which has bin layd \ with the letters downwards / for a foundation stone, as I suppose, upon the repare of som part of Whelp-Castle, after the first desolution of it, & perhaps by the Christians, or at the least \ som Roman enemyes / by the

[322] Burnyeats, The Kendal Carrier; see below, VI.185; VI.301.
[323] Dr John Mill: Principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford. Born a weaver's son at Hardendale near Shap in 1645, and educated at Bampton School, he entered Queen's College as a 'poor child' in 1661; known as Milne up to 1673. Politically, a waverer, he was nick-named 'Johnny Windmill' in the 1680s. He died in 1707: S. Handley, 'Mill, John (1644/5-1707), Church of England clergyman and college head'. *ODNB*.
[324] Tiny page (4cm x 3cm) containing part of a Latin inscription in a draft letter from Machell to Mill. The reply to this letter appears in this chapter on VI.764: Letter 2. Mill to Machell. 7 February 1687.
[325] See I.764. This margin comment and the neighbouring underscorings have been scrawled in pencil.
[326] This paragraph has been lightly scored through.

Goths and Vandals; for I do not imagin it would have been counted horrendum nefas,[327] while Roman paganism was on foote, to have defaced anything of that nature & put it to such an inferior use. It was inscribed to Preserving Fortune, after this manner: ORTVNAE / SERVATRICI / ANTONIA / STRATONIS / EX VI. SO / {Every word is a line} But adverse fortune has denyed us the happiness of the rest of it, being laid in som other part of the building.
{ἀγχδή Jύκη: bonæ fortunæ. Idem cum bene vertat = sit faustum felixque = cum bonis auspicijs. Apud Græcos in basibus et cipis statuarum virorum. Bene merentium honoris ergo, aut futurum ominandi causa præfigibantur. *Marmora Oxon*, p.57.58.}[328]

[VI.296]

Wee also found pieces of rubble floores, such as Vitruvius seems to describe: L.VII Cap 1^0, {Ruderi novo tercia pars Testae Tunsae admisceatur, Calchisque duae partes ad quinque mortarij mixtionibus praestant responsum, Vitruvius,}[329] composed of like stone dust or sand, together with beaten, pounded or pounced brick, & marble stones of variouse coulers,[330] well rubd & polish'd, which render'd it like unto speckled marble. And in one lumpe of lime or cement, rather which was harder and stronger than stone it selfe, a curious Cornelian Oval was found (either drop'd by accident out of a ring or stuck there on purpose when the morter was made), upon which this figure was fairly ingraven:



Figure 3.3.41. Cornelian gem stone seal figure. VI.296.

Which, whether it be one of the Roman lares or the Saxon god Thor or ~~signo~~ \ one of the / Catulus, with his dog at his foot, I leave you to conjecture.

[327] 'An unholy atrocity.'
[328] 'Good luck! To good fortune! Likewise, with, May it turn out well! May it be lucky and happy! With good omens! Among the Greeks, on the pedestals and pillars of the statues of men. Therefore, they were attached in front, in honour of those who deserved well, or to bring good luck for the future.' See Humphrey Prideaux, *Marmora Oxoniensia ex Arundellianis, Seldenianis, aliisque conflata recensuit & perpetuo commentario explicavit* (Oxford, 1676). Pages 57-58 contain: 'in Appendice saepius inscriptionibus habes praemissa significant idem quod apud Latinos bene vertat, seu sit Faustum felixque, seu cum bonis auspiciis, & apud Graecos in omnibus fere statuarum basibus & cippis in alicujus viri bene meriti hono|rem, aut foederis promulgandi gratiâ erectis, bene ominandi causâ praefigeban|tur.' Translated as, '… in the Appendix you have several inscriptions before them, signify the same thing which among the Latins turns well, or whether Faustus is happy, or with good auspiciousness, and among the Greeks in almost all the bases of the statues and cypresses erected in the honor of some man well-deserved, or by the grace of promulgating a treaty, they were prefigured in the cause of good omens.'
[329] 'The pavement is composed of two parts of fresh rubbish, one of potsherds, and two of lime.Vitruvius.' The whole of Vitruvius's Ch.1.5. translates as, 'Pavements are, however, more fit to be used in the open air, in as much as timbers expanding in a moist atmosphere, and contracting in a dry one, or sagging in the middle, cause defects in the pavement by their settlements. Moreover, frosts and ice soon ruin them. But as they are sometimes required, they must be made as follows. Over the first flooring, boards, others crossing them, must be laid, fastened with nails; thus, giving a double covering to the beams. The pavement is composed of two parts of fresh rubbish, one of potsherds, and two of lime.' See Morgan, *Vitruvius Pollio, The Ten Books on Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass. 1914), Book 7, 1, 5.
[330] MS: 'together with ~~brick~~ beaten \ pounded or pounced / ~~in pieces &~~ \ brick, with / & marble stones of variouse coulers.'

If you know any books in the public Library *de dijs Gentium* let this be enquired of;[331] & note that the sceptre, or whatever it be, is in his right hand a[nd] grav'd in the stone, tho' here it appears to be in the left.[332]
I have since, this: a cristilline stone of an oval figure presented to me, which was found on the west side of the High Burwens in 1691, which I suppose has bin used as a locket, having nothing at all ingraven upon it:[333]



Figure 3.3.42. Image from a ring stone found in 1691. VI.296.

There was alsoe an Urne of the largest sort (such as I described heretofore in my letter to Sir William Dugdale) but unhappily broke by the stroake of a gavelock before it was seen; and this puts me in mind of what was lately said in a newes letter (as I am informed by those that trade in them),[334] that there was an Urne full of Roman Medals found in Wiltshire, concerning which, if it be not to great an avocation, I would desire you to give me an account: Sc. of what metall they are generally made, & whose images & superscription they beare. For if you put me upon this fruitlesse & laborious study, you must expect some part of the trouble as occasion requires. For here we want books & correspondents, without which, you know, nothing can be done. Pray gô[335] inspect my former Letters & let me have further satisfaction concerning my Queries – both in them & this, or else forbeare to impose your commands in this particular upon
Sir
Your most faithfull & affectionate friend

Pray send me a copy of the matriculation oath, and other oaths, which wee tooke in the college & schools upon our promotion & degree, that I may take care to observe and performe them, as God shall inable me.

[Correspondence 3: October 1688 – July 1689]

[V.168][336]

[3A. Mill to Machell. 13 October 1688]

These
For the reverend my very worthy friend
Mr Thomas Machell, Rector
of Kirkby Thore near
Appleby
In Westmerland

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[331] Machell would probably have known Tertullian's *De execrandis gentium diis* (On the Execrable Gods of the Heathens), but perhaps did not know Lilius Gregorius Giraldus, *De Deis Gentium varia et multiplex Historia, in qua simul de eorum imaginibus et cognominibus agitur* (*A diverse and manifold History of the Gods of all Peoples, in which at the same time there is an account of their images and their epithets.*) (Basel, 1548 and Lyon, 1565).
[332] A rough sketch of a stone appears in the MS margin here.
[333] The paper containing the image has been pasted onto this page (*Figure 3.3.42*).
[334] 16th- and 17th-century newsletters, newsbooks and pamphlets (produced in print or in manuscript), predated the modern newspaper. Suspected by political authorities, often unreliable in their veracity, they were subject to strict control until the failure to renew the Regulation of Printing Act in 1695. Ross Eamon, *Historical Dictionary of Journalism* (2nd edn, London, 2021), 1-14.
[335] 'gô' = ergo: therefore, a common contraction in Machell's MS; for Machell's list of contractions, see MS.IV.97-101.
[336] The outer part (with seal) of a letter to Thomas Machell.

[V.165][337]

Oxon Oct. 13. 1688
D[eo] L[audes][338]
For my own part, I'm goeing to answer your letter, but, I confess I am heartily ashamed of my negligence. I laid yours by upon the receipt of it, and thither rumbling among my papers, I found it, dated Febr. 10th. Well, I must trust to your good nature. Ey' well I mett with it at last; for, but for this accident, it would have remaind in my Archive. It is full of queries, and I am glad to find it so, considering the nature of them, for I would gladly have you pursue your design of searching into the antiquities of our native country. If you meet with ever an old charter relating to my ancient abbey in Valle Magdalenæ, not extant in the *Monasticon*, pray let me have it, for I have a great treasure of charters already! and I would willingly be adding. Hereafter we may add another volume, for ought I know, to the *Monasticon*. As to your last, I need say nothing. 'Tis in Mr Godson's hands and I have deliver'd the counterparts to C.C.C. so that that business is over. – And Woods[339] I have spoke with, but he can say nothing to the Sicilian monument.
– The history of the urn & medals in Wiltshire, I have had the opportunity to be fully inform'd of by a Person of great worth & curiosity, Captain Hatton, who made a very peculiar enquiry about them. & 'tis all, he assures me, forgery & fiction. The medals he saw several of them, were recent things.[340] As to the Inscription Deo Belatucadro &c. in The Library Cambden,[341] ther's not a word of its' being there in Mr Cambden by an old woman[342] \ *a. /. And what he says of K[irkby Thore] is onely this: 'Nomen vetustum penitus obliteravit ipsa vetustas, Wheallop Castle hodie nuncupant. Si per antiquitatis Prætorem liceat, dicerem esse Gallagum Ptolemæi quod Antonino Gallatum suffragante itineraria distantia, nec prorsus reclamante nomine &c.'[343] Not a word of its being the principal town of the Brigantes.
–The Cornelian Oval you must give me further time to enquire after; but I will not fail to give you the sense of the Curious in this place. Your release from Ric. Davis's {?}[344] agents he tells me was sent you long ago – And as for your oaths, that of your matriculation is out of doors with you; it obliges you, while here, to observe the customs and statutes of the University – And for the Coll[ege] Oath at

[337] Letter in Mill's hand.
[338] The letters, 'D L' are probably a contraction of 'Deo Laudes' (Praises to God).
[339] Anthony Wood, antiquary. In his lifetime he was formally known as Anthony à Wood, but he appears in many published works as Anthony Wood.
[340] Captain Hatton was possibly Christopher, first viscount Hatton (1632-1706). In 1670 Hatton succeeded his father as second Baron Hatton and governor of Guernsey. A collector of books and antiquities, Hatton senior had patronised William Dugdale and had carried on an extensive correspondence on scientific and philosophical matters. Five years after the father's death, the son presented to the Bodleian Library his father's collection of four volumes of Anglo-Saxon Homilies and 112 valuable manuscripts (in part Anglo-Saxon), which are styled 'Codices Hattonianæ.' (See Edward M. Thompson (ed.), *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton, being chiefly Letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton, A.D. 1601-1704*, 2 vols., Camden Society, London, 1878). In 1687, Christopher, first viscount Hatton, became Captain of Grenadiers in the Earl of Huntingdon's Foot, which might explain why Mill referred to him as 'Captain Hatton'. See Jan Broadway, 'Hatton, Christopher, first viscount Hatton (bap. 1632, d. 1706), politician'. *ODNB*; see also Victor Stater, 'Hatton, Christopher, first baron Hatton (bap. 1605, d. 1670)'. *ODNB*.
[341] Camden left his library of books to his former pupil and friend Sir Robert Cotton, the creator of the Cottonian library; both libraries became foundation collections of the British Library. See British Museum, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library deposited in the British Museum* (1802).
[342] See Machell's request, VI.295, above, in which he asks 'In what Latin edition of Mr Camden (for there are diverse) the circumstance of that Inscription (DEO BELATUCADRO), being shewn unto him by an old woman, may be found.'
[343] Correctly transcribed by Mill, this translates as, 'But tract of time has quite out-worn the old name, and it is called at this day Whealop-Castle. If I might without prejudice to the judges of antiquity, I would say it were Gallagum mentioned by Ptolome, which Antonine nameth Gallatum, the distance of journeys accord so well, and the name doth not altogether gainsay...' See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1607), Westmoreland.
[344] A question mark in Machell's hand.

your admission Scholar, & Fellow, you oblige your self cum ad uberiores fortunas perveneris imminente articulo opportunitatis, ad Collegij meliorationem insister[e] auxilijs et consilijs.[345]

Since I consulted the Library Cambden, I have consulted that of the Taberdars; there's not a word relating to the 2 above mention'd passages wherein you desire satisfaction; only as to the Inscription "Belo Sancto Bela tucadro" {?}[346] \ b. / first 'tis in the Tabitors edition, Cambden saies 'twas describ'd for him by one Mr Oswald Dykes, a Cumberland minister. I think this is all which may concern the questions purpos's in your letter. Pray proceed and make use you think fitt of your old friend & servant, J.M.
{Oxon. Oct. 13 '88}

[V.168]

[Machell's Notes relating to the letter above]

*! a. But I finde an Inscription, Sc. Deo vitirine[o] Limeo Rov[a] P & M ad Kirkbythore in Westmariæ: anicula quae causulam proxima[m] incoluit Arulam votivam Antiqua[m] hanc Camdeno Regionem illam perlustranti ostendit Deo indigiti vitirineo inscriptam. MS Inscrip. P.33. {No. It is a mistake for it was about Caervoran.}[347]
Inscription 2
{q?} Which being an Argument that Camden himselfe was in this country – I must farther enquire if this passage be not either in the Library ore Taberders Camden.[348]
b. I suppose that is another Inscription which in the correct copy is DEO SALVETO &c. and not Belo Sancto and a different thing from that of Kirkbythore.
{!} I have allso an Inscription V. (Deo Silvano) upon an Altar found in Grainge Beck \ in the Parish of K., / The rest being Obliterated: See if it have no affinity with this which was found in an Altar at Moresby in Cumberland.

DEO SILVAN... / COH. II. LING / CVI PRÆES… / G. POMPEIVS M … / SATVRNIN…

To be read thus – Deo Silvano. cohors secunda Lingonum, Cuj præst G. Pompeius M. Saturninus. quæ quidem Ara cum cornuta' Silvani imaguncula. Fossa fuit. MSS Inscrips. p.8. Fig.2.[349]

[V.166][350]

[3B. Machell to Mill. 9 July 1689]

July 9^{t} 1689

Sir
I thank you for the last \ trouble / I gave you in searching the Libraryes – but am still in earnest expection of an Account concerneing the Oval Impressions I sent you, as likewise of the Sicilian monument, but of this I suppose conclamatum est.[351] When I was not well last winter gon a twelve month, I diverted my selfe in Reading Vitruvius; and there I met with a certaine Diagram concerneing an artificial Eccho which ~~I am not so much master of musick which~~ the ancient Romans used in their Theaters. I am not so much Master of Musick as to understand it so well as I ought,[352] much less to render the Thing Intelligible to vulgar capacityes. But Mr Principal of Alban Hall is (as I remember), an Expert musitian; wherefore I desire you to consult him in it, & (if he pleases to do me that favour)

[345] 'When you arrive at a more prosperous station in life, and the moment of opportunity presents itself, to apply yourself to the betterment of the College by your help and counsel.'
[346] The question mark is in Machell's hand. Mill appears to be referring to the inscription, Deo Belatucadro.
[347] 'To an ancient god of pathways, in a lane P & M at Kirkbythore in Westmorland: an old woman who dwelt in a nearby cottage showed this little old votive altar to Camden, when he was traversing that region, inscribed to an ancient native deity.'
[348] I take from this that Machell asked for two libraries to be checked for a particular copy of Camden's *Britannia*: the Bodleian library and the Taberdar's library (Taberdar's Room) at Queen's College, both in Oxford.
[349] 'To be read thus – To the god Silvanus. The second cohort of the Lingones, commanded by G. Pompeius M. Saturninus. It is an altar with a little horned image of Silvanus. It was excavated.'
[350] This page is in Machell's hand.
[351] It is dead past all hope.
[352] MS: 'I am not so much Master of Musick as to understand its & so well as I ~~would~~ \ ought. /'

to send me a plane description of the matter, so as to render it easy and practi\ca/ble.[353] I am resolved according to your repeated desires, to continue my search after the Antiquities this County of ~~afords~~ \ Westmorland / [affords], being very glad to contribute any \ way / to your satisfaction. But in truth I have not that otium scribendi,[354] which is necessary for one being so much diverted with the fattegues & troubles / of a Country life, That it oftentimes distracts my thoughts when I should set upon it. The Best Remedy for which I thinke is, now that Our friend is Archbishop of Yorke,[355] to bespeake me my old Unckle Henryes preferment, Or In order thereto a chaplains place:[356] which I leave to your management.
I heare you have a young man in your Hall for whom I had a singular kindness upon your account. I mean James Gibson;[357] and as I doubt not but he will answer the character I gave him, so I hope he will with your favour and kindness upon[358] my account; which will ~~highly~~ \ ever / obliege,
Sir, your very affectionate friend & servant, T.M.

{Mr Brierly, Lieutenant Collonell to \ a / regiment of horse quartered in these partes, does often with me Remember his Tutor; he is growne a very ingeniouse Gentleman & is much esteemed of amongst the soljers, and all that are acquainted with him.}
{The copy of CCC Lease.}

[Correspondence 4: March – October 1691]

[VI.183]

[Letter 4A. Mill to Machell. 28 March 1691][359]

[VI.298]

These for the Reverend Mr Machell with a book at Kirkby Thore Westmorland.

[VI.183]

Dear S[r]
I presume you have receiv'd my answer to your last. This I send by one Embassador Burnyates;[360] and together with it a Paper book, which I beg leave to lodge in your hands, till he come up again to

[353] The only obviously musical principal of St Alban Hall during this period was the campanologist, Richard Duckworth, author of *Tintinnalogia, or, The Art of Ringing* (1668, 2nd edn, 1671), the first book on the art of change ringing. See J. Eisel, 'Duckworth, Richard (bap. 1631? d. 1706)'. *ODNB*. The dates of Duckworth's tenure are uncertain, so not given in *ODNB*, but Anthony Wood has suggested a starting date of '1692 or thereabouts', which is later than the date of Machell's letter. See Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses 1632-95, Vol. IV* (ed. Philip Bliss, 1813-20), 794.
[354] 'leisure for writing'.
[355] The newly enthroned archbishop of York was Thomas Lamplugh, son of Thomas Lamplugh of Dovenby, Cumberland. He entered Queen's College, Oxford, in 1634 aged 16; BA 1639; MA and fellow 1642; BD 1657; DD 1660; Principal of St Alban Hall, Oxford, 1664-73; archdeacon of London 1664; canon of Worcestor 1669; dean of Rochester 1673; bishop of Exeter 1676; archbishop of York 1688 to 1691, see *OAD*.
[356] 'Old Unckle Henrye' was Henry Machell LLD, prebendary of York in the stall of North Newbold, 1512: see Edward Bellasis, 'Machell of Crackenthorpe', *CW1*, 8 (1886), 425; see also Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain & Ireland Vol. 2* (London, 1894), 1292. By seeking 'a chaplain's place', Machell is referring to the law that allowed episcopal and noble chaplains a legal right to hold two livings in plurality. Their status was defined in 1530, and further clarified in subsequent acts over the following century; see Daniel Reed, *Patronage, Performance, and Reputation in the Eighteenth-Century Church*, PhD thesis, Oxford Brookes University (Sept. 2019), 44; see also William Gibson, *A Social History of The Domestic Chaplain, 1530-1840* (London, 1997), 67.
[357] James Gibson is described as 'Son of Richard, of Bampton, Westmorland, pauper. St. Edmund Hall; matric. 7 March 1688/9 aged 22; B.A. 1692, *OAD*. Gibson was ordained priest in Oxford on 15 June 1701. CCED.
[358] Here, 3½cm of text has been thoroughly scored-through.
[359] See another transcript in a letter sent by R.S. Ferguson (then editor of CWAAS *Transactions*) on 17 December 1885 to the *Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne*, and printed in the Society's *Proceedings* 2 (1887), 142. Ferguson was frustrated at the quality of Machell's reponse to Mill's invitation, contained in the six volumes of Machell's researches: 'It is very disappointing; it refers to drawings in the book sent to Oxford, but a few rough sketches on tracing paper are pasted in.' Some readers might have been similarly dissatisfied at the lack of finished drawings. To quote Ferguson, thy are 'rough'. But see Letter 9, below.
[360] The Oxford Carrier.

Oxford. You must know, among our other literary designs this is one: to collect by our selves and our correspondents both at home and abroad, all the Inscriptions in what language soever, excepting English, that are not already in Gruter,[361] Reinesius[362] and the Book of our Theater Marbles. A very great Collection is already made; and we are very Zealous to pursue this design as far as it will go. Among those who must promote this work, I must beg leave to mention (I have done it already) the worthy Person to whom I'm writeing; who has made great observations of this kind; and has got together Several Inscriptions in the Northern Parts, not as yet noted by Cambden or any Body else. My request to you is, that you would give \ me / an in this book I send you, all your inscriptions, those of Appleby Schole & all others never yet publish'd. Write them very fair and exactly just as they are upon the stones, even with the Errata. And above every Inscription, set down in English the Pedigree, as I may call it, of such Inscription. The figure (& other considerable Accidents) of the stone on which tis engraven, the place where & the person by whom twas found &c. And order your matters soe as to have them ready by the time Tom Burnyates comes up, so as to send them by him. When ever we print you may depend upon it I will do \ you / justice and honour. Pray be kind in gratifying me in this request; and believe me to be ever
Dear S[r]
Yours most faithfully
J.M.
Oxon March 28. 91.
What we have in Cambden already you need not write.
My humble service to your good Lady &c.

[VI.297]

[Letter 4B. Machell to Mill. 11 May 1691]

May 11, 1691
Dear Sir
I receivd your kinde letter concerneing your Godson a great while agoe, and should have made a more early acknowledgement of your great friendship in adopting him as it were your own childe, and expressing your selfe so freely towards him upon my account; but that I know such a true friend as you are will give way to business, and that no remissness can alter the friendship that \ is so well grounded / has bin so long continued betwixt us ~~& so very well grounded~~.
And this suggests also a ready answer to your ~~rather~~ \ last / letter sent by Burnyeats, wherein you desire me to transmit unto you (in the Booke you sent) all my Inscriptions at Appleby-school or any where else, never yet publish'd; which, though ~~it be~~ a request that would not be granted \ unto / another (considering the \ present / designe \ which / you \ so lately / have revived in me, of writing a Booke of that nature my selfe) yet it cannot in friendship be denyed to you by
Sir
Your Most faithfull and affectionate servant
Tho. Machell.

[VI.185]

[Letter 4C. Mill to Machell, 26 October 1691]

For the Revd Mr Machell, Rector of Kirkby Thore, Appleby

Dear Sir
I sent you down a Paper book, wherein I desir'd you to write down The Inscriptions you mett with from Time to Time in your parts, never yet publish'd. In your answer to this request, you promis'd me to Transcribe them into my Book, and send them up by the Carrier; but Burnyeats all this [time] having brought me no account from you, I am apt to think he neglected to call upon; for otherwise I am confident you would not fail me. I have order'd him to deliver this with his own hand; and I beg

[361] Jan Gruter (1560-1627), *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis romani, in absolutissimum corpus redactae*, ('Ancient inscriptions of the entire Roman world, edited in the most complete assemblage.') (1603).
[362] Thomas Reinesius, *Nova Reperta Inscriptionum Antiquarum* (Leipzig and Frankfurt, 1682).

you will send up my book by the next return of the Carrier. My Service to your good Lady and all our Friends. I am ever
Your most faithful servant
J.M.
Oxon Oct. 26. 91.



Figure 3.3.43. Letter to Machell from John Mill, October 1691, with Machell's riposte. VI.185.

[Machell's Note: VI.185]

To shew my readiness to serve an the pu[b]lic wherein I may especially in a thing which may lend credit to our University, I have depauperated my ow[n] collection to inr[i]ch your store.[363]

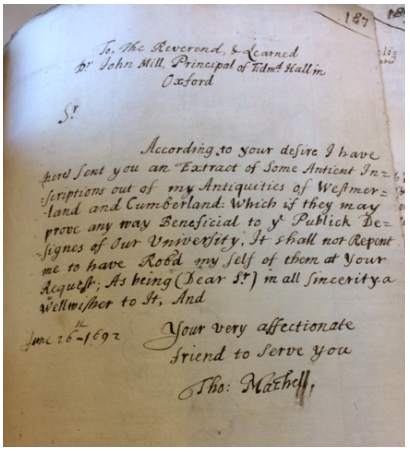
[VI.187]

[Correspondence 5: June – October 1692]

[Letter 5A. Machell to Mill. 26 June 1692]

To the Reverend & Learned Dr John Mill, Principal of Edmund Hall in Oxford.
S^{r}
According to your desire I have here Sent you an Extract of some Antient Inscriptions out of my Antiquities of Westmerland and Cumberland: Which if they may prove any way Beneficial to the Publick Designes of our University, it shall not Repent me to have Rob'd my self of them at Your Request; As being (Dear Sir) in all sincerity a wellwisher to It, And
Your very affectionate friend to serve you.
Th. Machell
June 26th 1692

[363] In Machell's hand; written on Mill's letter in scrawled pencil.


To the Reverend & Learned
Dr John Mill, Principal of Edmd Hall in
Oxford

Sr

According to your desire I have
here sent you an Extract of Some Antient In=
scriptions out of my Antiquities of Westmer=
land and Cumberland: Which if they may
prove any way Benefecial to y^r Publick De=
signes of Our University, It shall not Repent
me to have Rob'd my self of them at Your
Request; As being (Dear Sr) in all Sincerity a
Wellwisher to It, And

June 26-1692 Your very affectionate
friend to Serve you
Tho: Machell.

Figure 3.3.44. Letter from Machell to Mill, 26 June 1692. VI.187.

[VI.299]

[Letter 5B. Machell to Mill. 1 July 1692]

{This below to a Booke of Inscriptions sent Dr Mill}[364]
Sir
I have Laboured all that I could (even under the Pressure of som mighty affairs that intervened & of diverse Disturbances & Interruptions) to gratify you in Your Request, with such inscriptions as occur in These Parts; but have not had leisure to compleat and finish them as I Intended.[365]
However, Sir, that you may not be altogether frustrated in Your Designe, I have sent you your Book with all the Inscriptions at Apalby-School, and som other Places, fairly writ in It. And (That nothing may be awanting to do you service that layes in my power) I have also sent you The very first Draught of all my other Rude Notes & \ other / Inscriptions as they were Scratched out ~~at the first~~ \ in haste / on Horseback or Otherwise, in my Travails and Rambles; which, notwithstanding, I dare affirm to be very Exact as to the Letter: which is all you desire. But for the notes Interspersed amongst them, they are so ill writt (for want of Convenient time & place) and so full of Blotts & Interlineations, That (unless it be you, who pretend to read anything that falls from my Penn) no body besides my selfe can Compose & Bring them in Order. And you may be suer that I would not expose them in so Rude a Dress to any man liveing Excepting your selfe (my old friend and Confident) who I know will conceal them from all Carping Eyes, & Communicate onely what is for your Purpose (Sc. The Inscriptions) to som Cunning Graver in your own Chamber, who may supply the Defects & Shadowings by his owne Ingenuity; And for the Rest (if you like it so well) you may either take panes to transcribe it your selfe with your own hand, or at least Returne the Deformed Fœtus to be li[c]ked over into som better shape, by the Parent of It.

[VI.300]

In the meantime, that these Inscriptions may be Render'd more serviceable to Your Designe, I have taken care to Stitch them all up in the very same order wherein I purposed to have Treated of Them. For my Intention was to follow the Tract of the Romane-way, which enters Westmerland at Rear-Cross on the Top of Stanemore where:

KING WESTMER*
SLOE KING ROTHNGER

{* Bishop Usher. Note my Authors differ about the Inscription; ergo, see them all.}

And runns through Brough (where I wonder \ much that wee finde / there are no Inscriptions); & Thence by Apalby through Kirkbythore, & so to Browham Castle, where it leaves Westmerland and

[364] Written in pencil.
[365] In the MS, 11cm of scored-through, mainly illegible text follows.

where I ~~would~~ \ intend to / have left It, that I might recurr to Water Crooke {(a.) where I have made a fine Collection} in the Barony of Kendall; and thence to Russendal {(b.) where in the church are 2 Hebrew Inscriptions, which I would have my friend Rabbi Hide (as being the best at it) to translate & send me a Copy of} before I Entered an other County.[366]
Then from Browham Castle I purposed to pursue the said Way through the County of Cumberland, as it runns by the Edge of Penrith fell twixt the Town & the Beacon to Plumton-Wall (3 miles East from which at a Place call'd Nunnery was the last Inscription which is placed there \ not long since discovered / found.) And thence \ I purposed / to Carlile and so on to the End of the Romane-way (which I have not yet found out by \ any / Enquiry but may perhaps Discover hereafter by Traceing of it som where about Bowness. Thence, from the West to the East of Cumberland (by my Pervestigation[367] of the Picts wall) as far as Powt-Ross. Thence to som Towns upon the

[VI.301]

said wall (or not far distant from It) which I saw in Northumberland. And so to other more foreine Inscriptions, ~~in Yorkshire &c.~~ which are not in this Roade.
And in this Method my Papers are laid: so that (if you please) you may goe on & prosper; haveing Materials enough at your hand to fournish a pretty Considerable volume alone by It Selfe. To which may be added (If you please to command them on such a score) all the Coins I have met with In their proper places, wherein they were found: for If you would but polish what I worke ruffly \ rudely / over, I should not scruple to finde you materials; But Indeed it is Endless to undertake both; unless I had nothing else to do, or were free from the variouse avocations & troubles of a Country life.
But however, Sir, Since I have put all I have of this kinde into your hand; & kept nothing back though never so naked; I hope you'l be very tender of them; and, when you have taken out what you please, Returne them agane \ with all possible care / to
Sir
Your affectionate friend & servant
Tho. Machell
Kirkbythore July 1. 1692.

[Addition to the letter]
I have sent the Booke & papers mention'd (as I hope) by Thomas Burneyeates; but there is som thing of a doubt in it; for I was forced to sit up all night (being willing to do all I could for you). And to send my man to Kendal on Sunday to deliver Them to him. But he was gon as far as Kirkby,[368] whereupon Dr Gray advised ~~my servant~~ \ him / to send them by the Kendal Carrier, who set out last Monday & said he was to overtake him. But if they com not by Thomas Burnyeats, you may do well to send to London to enquire at the ware-house for a Book in 4^0 wrap'd up in Linnen, which Dr Gray and my man delivered to the Kendall Carrier ~~who was to set forward to London on~~ on Sunday the 26 of June, directed to you at Edmund Hall, Oxon.
I could not possibly write with it then, for want of time; nor had I an opportunity since, for \ by reason / titheing & som other occasions that \ have / Thronged \ in / upon me. But I hope this Letter will com time enough to give Notice of it, & perhaps may be with you before the Carrier.
Pray excuse all false-spelling, for I minde Things, not Words; & yet of set purpose do aftertimes deviate from the Common way, for which if you do but well & Consider, you will find […][369] som good Reasons. \ ~~And~~ besides which / There are many Things ~~also~~ in the Booke I sent you, which have nead of Correction, which I desire you \ freely / to Bestow ~~upon it~~; & which I ~~would~~ \ Intend[ed] to / have ~~alter'd~~ \ don / myself in som particulars if the Time had not faild me; As, for instance, in my

[366] See Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence, 'Thomas Machell's Memorandum of Needs', VI.186. Machell was probably referring to Thomas Hyde (1636-1703), an oriental scholar, M.A. (Queen's College, Oxford) 1659, chief librarian of the Bodleian Library, 1665-1701. In 1691 he became Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford, and acquired the Regius Professorship of Hebrew, together with a canonry at Christ Church in 1697. He served the government for many years as translator of diplomatic correspondence with the Ottoman empire or the states of north Africa. Though tolerant of other faiths, Hyde was an Anglican clergyman. See P. Marshall, 'Hyde, Thomas (1636-1703), oriental scholar'. *ODNB*.
[367] 'Diligent research or investigation'. *OED*.
[368] Kirkby Lonsdale.
[369] Here, 2½cm of scored-through illegible text has been omitted.

notes upon Crakenthorp at the name Malchael there is a paragraph begins \ as I remember / with Latine, ~~wh~~ sed ut cunque fuerit impositum &c, which I intended to \ begin with English, & / have altered thus [blank]. But however the name was impos'd (sive gloriose sive injuriose), the Ma\u/chells of Crakenthorp have retein'd it with honour to this very day: still holding This, Their Ancient Mannor \ ordering / (at the least by Capitulation) from the Conquest downwards {without any evidences} utque non per Drengagium &c.[370]
And a little after, in my note about ~~seales~~ \ Nobles: / "For wee do not pretend to have had any such, in This Ancient Family" &c. And many such like. But canis festinans coelos parit Catulos.[371]

[VI.255]

[Letter 5C. Machell to Mill. 7 October 1692]

Sir
I wonder I have not heard from you since I sent you my Book of Romane Antiquities, which I understand by Thomas Burnyeats came safe to your hand. I have Ransack'd Since, That all the Barony of Kendall (that I might not leave one Stone unturned in the County of Westmerland); And have only met with a Broken Altar at Kirkby-in-Loansdale; One fragment of a Romane Inscription at Ambleside in the parish of Windermre, and another at Tunstall in the County of Lancaster; which I have here sent you, together with some other things Relateing to Browham & Kirkbythore; which through hast were omitted, but do appertaine to my former Collection. Pray, if you have taken what is to your Purpose, Returne them againe by Thomas Burnyeates To
Your very affectionate friend to serve you
Tho. Machell
Kirkbythore
Octob. 7. 1692.

[L. Discoveries post 1692]

[I.509A][372]

[L1. Fragment of a draft letter from Thomas Machell, relating to his Antiquities Research at Kirkby Thore, undated]

Sir
I have really don what I have promissd you, but ~~findeing~~ haveing so great an hand my selfe in \ most of / the rarityes, of which art hath within this Parish; I doe repent of the undertakeing of a thing \ subject / more fit for another mans pen. Because I can not describe them unto you so well as I should \ ought / without seeming guilty of selfe commendation. ~~Yet~~ \ & though / I have don it in a Third person, & according to your method proposed, as it had bin your purpose [to] excuse me from the censure of others if any should see it; I desire to be excused for imparteing it to you – & that you would release the kinde promiss which was formerly made by [blank]. I have not leisure to ~~new do~~, nor indeed any patience to new doe it agane, & therefore desire to [be] excused from Impart – &c.

[370] See VI.221, above: 'Sed ut cunque fuerit impositum, sive gloriosè sive injuriosè, honorificè semper est retentum in hunc usque diem': 'But howsoever it has been imposed, whether honorifically or pejoratively, it has always been retained as a matter of honour up to the present day.' 'Non per Drengagium sed per Nobile Cornagij Servitium sicut ipsi Normanni': 'Not through drengage but through the noble service of cornage, just like the Normans themselves.' 'Ut Canem Optimum & Generosissimum, Graium, Nimirum (~~Non minu~~ \ tam / fidei quam fortitudinis Symbalum) in scuta sua transtulêrunt': 'That they put on their shields an excellent and most noble dog, indisputably Grecian (a mark of loyalty as much as of fortitude).'
[371] 'A running dog makes the Catuli equal to the heavens.'
[372] This page, 18cm x 14cm, is pasted onto a blank page in MS.Vol.1. As it is undated, it is difficult to ascertain to what aspect of his research Machell was referring, but the top part of the fragment contains text reused in his work on archaeological remains at Kirkby Thore (see the top of the fragment and compare with this chapter, I.281-82). Moreover, an image on I.281 states, 'This platform was cut out & sent to London to be inserted in Cambden's Britannia 1694 per T. Machell'. Given the tenor of the letter, we might remind ourselves that Machell died in 1698, only four years later.

which you [can] well do, haveing received a Generall account from [?] D. {who knows for certaine it was don by […][373] ~~and I have~~ no ~~time to publish it in pieces~~.}[374]

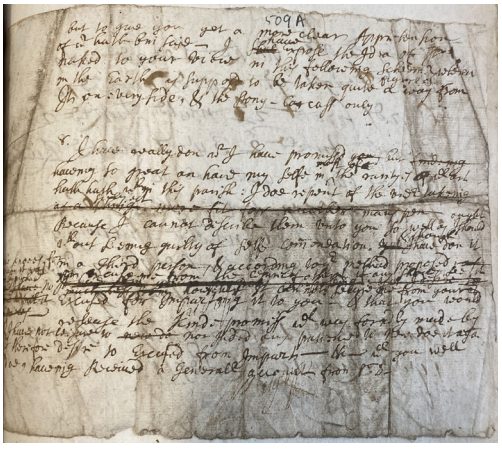


Figure 3.3.45. Page fragment containing a letter. I.509.

[VI.188][375]

[L2. Coin] Sent up to L[ondon] Aug. 1694, to be inserted in Camden *Britannia*

[VI.271]

{1. Kirkbythore}
Constantine the Great, having put to death Julius Crispus whom he had som time created Cæsar, being his own son by Minervina \ his concubine / (as is said elsewhere in the Parish of Browham);[376] he left to succeed him \ in / the Empire as the Augusti (or chief rulers thereof. T.M.) \ 3 of / his sonns, whom before \ his death / he had made Cæsars: / ~~namely~~ Constantine, Constans & Constantius; The Empire bein[g] divided \ amongst them into 3 partes; And by his Testament he then designed Dalmatius, his Nephew, son of his brother Anniballinus, to be Cæsar \ unto / with them, one of whose Coynes was found at Kirkbythore in Soulbyes \ gardine / Burwens in 1688, mense martij;[377] whose figure I have thought to Subjoyne, together with that which occurs in Mr Speed, which will serve as an Explication to It, because this is imperfect*.[378]

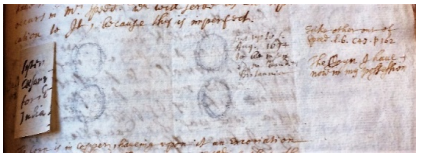


Figure 3.3.46. Coins. VI.271.

Sent up to L[ondon] Aug. 1694, to be inserted in Camden *Britannia*
The Coyn† is in copper, having upon it an Excoriation of greenish rust, yet Shining as pollish'd, so that the figures & som of the Letters may be fairly seen, namely his face on the foreside, very youthful

[373] An initial and a word here are illegible.
[374] This draft, written on a scrap of paper on which many words have been scored through or repeated, is difficult to untangle. The resulting transcript is the closest possible approximation to the original. The following phrases, '~~much less from~~', and, 'lest it can not secure me from yours', have been omitted from this transcript.
[375] Fragment measuring 8½cm x 8½cm.
[376] See the parish of Brougham, I.445.
[377] 'In the month of March.'
[378] See *Figure 3.3.46*.

& smooth, with a sharp picked nose, the bridge being streight and not raised in the midle, as that in Mr Speed – which I do suppose, through the gravers falt, is not so true \ like / as it ought to be. And on the Reverse are 2 Armed men with their Spears in one and colours in \ vexilla[379] in / the other \ hand / without those flo[u]rishes on the Top of the Ensigne & those picked Crookes neer the foot of the Staffes, which Mr Speed hath \ perhaps omitted for want of compass in so small a Coyn. / In the midle of the said Reverse are a pair of Pinchers or som such like thing \ tho it be otherwise in Mr Speeds, / and above the heads of the Armed men where the Coyn is not broken, these Letter[s] are readible = I Ā EXER = which is doubtless a fragment of that Inscription about the Reverse of Mr Speeds – GLORIA EXERCITVS – ~~under~~ \ Then / what should be underfoote, is quite broken \ out, / but may

[Machell's Notes: VI.271]

*{Taike other out of Speed, lib. (4) p.162.}
†{The Coyn I have now in my possession.}

[VI.272][380]

seem to be the same with the other – se these 5 Letters CONST, \ as well as the Letters P.L.N. in Stat[ue] of Constantine […][381] / which may stand in my judgement for Constantinople as the place of its coinage, notwithstanding the opinion of som* from an Inscription on of his Statue, That it was at first Called New Rome {Nova Roma}; for doubtless a Coyn is a better as \ good / Authority as that of a Statue.[382] For Coynes are made in the life time \ commonly / of those whose Image they bear, but Statues, ofte times [ma]ny years after.[383]

{2. In Blekets Burhwens. Query Mr Walker?}[384]
I have another \ Coyn / found in Bleckets Burwens in the same month and year, but being […][385] myne owne I need not to draw it. It is in copper, the face fairly visible with som markes of Letter; the Reverse not so clear. It has som Resemblance of The British King Galgacus & is somewhat hollow, but of this I must Enquire farther, for as I remember therres were of iron†.

I hav also another, found in the same place in the same month and year, Stamped in Honour of Julia Mamæa Augusta, who was […][386] to Julius \ Cæsar & / Grandmother to Augustus; who is called Mamaea Augusta […][387] [for] distinction's sake (as I suppose) from […][388] Augusta, who was his daughter; whose Coyn I have also, found this time twelve month, in the same place.

{L3. Ringstones}

I had ~~not~~ \ scarce / Entertained this noble and renowned Lady Julia Mamæa a weeke in my house before the same place afforded me also another Rarity: an Oval Stone, drop'd out of a Ring \ as if she had scattered her jewels about her / which I have described in another paper but cannot tell what sort It is of. It is ingrav'd with a dillicate figure, holding a long rod in the one hand & an, if I mistake not

[379] Military banners.
[380] Also numbered p.73.
[381] Some words here are obscured by the binding.
[382] MS: 'for doubtless a coyn is a better \ good / authority as that of a statue.'
[383] Here, a pencilled margin note is illegible.
[384] See Walker, Master of University College, Oxford, and a Roman Catholic convert, in Letter from Mill to Machell. 7 February 1687, above. Despite their religious and political differences, antiquaries of note were invited to contribute to Edmund Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*. An expert on Roman and Saxon coins, Walker rewrote an essay for the volume. See Thomas Roebuck, 'Edmund Gibson's 1695 Britannia and Late-Seventeenth-Century British Antiquarian Scholarship', *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* Volume 5: Issue 4 (Oct 2020), 427-481.
[385] A word is blotted here and is illegible.
[386] A hole has been cut out here, see VI.271.
[387] Another hole here.
[388] Another hole here.

an Helmet in the other, which will serve very well for a Seal, and has bin desiged I suppose for the purpose; which will much advance the Antiquity of them.

[Machell's Notes: VI.272]

*As well as the Letters, P.L.N. in that of Constantine (p.259) may sig[nify] the pl[ace] of it[s] minting at London as sig[illum] affirmes: 260. S.9. / from an Inscription of his Statue.[389]

†Send the Coyn to Mr Walker the 1ˢᵗ opportunity.

[389] 'Sig' could be 'sigillum': a seal; alternatively it could be 'signatura': a mark, stamp, signature or impress.

Part 3. Further Collections

[Chapter 4]

[VI.371]

Collect[ions] Concerning Heraldry & of the Arms & Pedegrees of Westmorland

[Foreword: Honour and Dishonour; Dues and Duties]

[I.603]

{Honourr & Deshon[our]?}
Tho Gold come from the earth, none despiseth it, and the dross come from Gold, yet none regards it; so the verteouse comeing from mean parentaige, are honoureble, and the vicious comeing from Noble parentaige are Contempteble. Tis better to \ be / famous from a contempteble family then to be contempteble from a famous family: Ibid. *Milk & Hony*, p.101, §689.[1]

[I.602]

For by that Aristotle[2] dos not show that are honourable;[3]
They are compeld and bound to doe it [to] honour those that are in Authority over them what ~~shall be done to that~~ persone whome the King delighteth to Hon. And Aristotle sayes that onely to show that fælicity consists not therein, not that worthy men are not[4] to be honoured. Sed ibi plura.[5] {It [is] the due of one & the duty of the other.}

{Birth more Honourable}
Now those are more worthy, honour those fro[m] there ancestour (vid. *Polit* tom[e] d.) Hanc quæstionem an virtus sequitur sanguinem. vel simi[le]:) Nobiliores because there loud tongued fame yet sounds in the eares of after, and still are is though[t] on tho they be in the land where all things are forgotten.[6] 'virtus post funera viget'.[7] Nor does it availe that some object, for matter of policy, that worthy men now being, are to take place as less worthy tho more Ancient; for that is not to be don except by[8] persons who by there office represent the Kings majesty & too according to Circumstance: for this bespeakes an unutterable gratitude to those Noble Heroes; and others, by seing what honoures are done unto there lively monuments, I meane there children, are transported into admiration of there worthiness, and raised into high t[h]oughts of equalling those never (nor never to be) forgotten

[1] The aphorisms used here were taken from Ralph Venning, *Milk and Honey, or, A Miscellaneous Collation of Many Christian Experiences, Sayings, Sentences, and Several Places of Scripture Improved* (1654), 101, sections 689, 700.
[2] See one other reference to Aristotle in Machell's letter 'to Mr Holford of the College of Heralds att London', Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence, V.3.
[3] 6cm of scored-through text follows here.
[4] MS: 'nōt'.
[5] 'But there is more there.'
[6] 'See *Polit tom[e]* d. [for] this question, whether honour [naturally] follows blood. Or [whether] those who are like them [are] the more noble?' Machell was almost certainly referring to Aristotle's *Politiká* ('Politics') [Things concerning the Polis], a work of political philosophy in eight books. The acronym or abbreviation, 'tomd' is not an obvious one but might perhaps read as 'tom[e] d' (i.e. the fourth book of Aristotle's work.) Perhaps Machell was using an edition of *Politiká* in which the eight books were named 'tomes'. Machell's text utilises 'tome' in the sense of 'volume' or 'book' only once, when discussing a work written by Dugdale, i.e. 'Tome 2. of Dugdalls *Baronage*, p.30': Part 2, Chapter 3ix, Staveley, II.472A. The analysis here is suppositional but since Machell did not regularly cite Aristotle we cannot tell how he thought it fit to refer to the work or even be sure that the abbreviation has been accurately transcribed.
[7] 'Honour is esteemed beyond the grave.'
[8] MS: 'I'.

virtues, and when they see Antiquity take place, strive in time to outstrip one another that (as the Romans did) ~~they~~ \ which of them / may first of all become Deityes. But to the objection, I can farther answer that its far outh of vise[9] of honour onely to respect, interest & honour them most that can doe something; and dispise them that can doe no more.
{1. Quia[10]: The ancestors of this family were [cl]earely deserveing.}
{2. Quia: It will be a spur to others to behave themselves so that they may have earth[ly] honours.}
{3. Quia: Haveing continued in Loyal[ty] for many generations, they will be more careful Loosing it: and the King who is found […] of Honour does there admitt it.}[11]

[VI.373]

[Part I]

Of Familyes

Concerning familyes
I thinke fit to enquire into these three things, viz.
1. Their Antiquity
2. Their Armes &
3. ~~Their~~ Matches
There is no better way of discovering the Antiquity of familyes that I know of, than by serching their ancient writeings, and soe drawing a pedegre according to them, observeing ~~out of them~~ \ thence / what you thinke is remarkeable, but especially the date, according to which you must marshall your succession. But he who takes this in hand will finde it a difficult taske, not onely for the ~~travaile and~~ paines he must ~~take~~ \ undergo / but allso for want of access to these writeings, which few in this aige will expose to view (for fear some flaws should be found in their titles).

As touching the Arms of each particular family in this county, I thinke I am able to ~~produce them~~ \ giv som account, / having long agoe taken notise of them, and confirmd \ a /new my observation by a view which I lately tooke of the most Visitations and Collections of Arms that are about London; but that which grieves me most \ of all / is that I meet not with any that were taken before King Hen[ry] the 8th time, if they reach soe high, and these very imperfect in severall particulars, especially their Visitations of the northern countyes, Westm'land & Cumberland, ~~the family~~ wherein the familyes are so intermixed and compounded together that when you looke for a Westm'land ~~Gent~~ name, you shall find both it and the place of residence in the other Visitation soon[e]r than this: an unusual oversight committed by Heralds, either through negligence or misinformation, and from which Mr Dugdall (the most carefull and accurate man of them all) cannot be excused.[12] For [of] the places ~~there~~ \ in his Visitation, / the Round Table \ is entered / in Cumberland, which all men know (that know anything \ att all / of the country) to be in Westm'land, laying on this side of the River Emote which parts the 2 countyes. Nor will I promisse to be so accurate ~~my selfe~~ as to scape all oversights; som can not be avoided.[13] But I will doe my \ best / endeavour, and be very much beholden to those who shall take

[9] 'Vise': view, contemplation, regard. *OED*.
[10] 'Because'.
[11] The text has perished here. There is one more numbered paragraph (4.) but as much of it has also perished, it has not been transcribed.
[12] MS: '~~which is~~ an unusual oversight ~~For Heralds~~ committed by Heralds \ either / through negligence or ~~false~~ \ mis/ information, and from which Mr Dugdall (the most carefull and accurate man ~~that ever yet made one~~ \ of them all) cannot \ be / excused ~~himselfe wholy in his last Visitation~~.'
[13] R.S. Ferguson's description of family pedigrees and the involvement of the Heralds' Office is pertinent here: 'In Machel's days, the records of heraldic visitations appear to have been the private property of the heralds, and to have been consulted in the hands of their descendants, or the shops of the herald painters. Thus, Knight's visitation was found … in the possession of the herald's grandson, Dr Knight [VI.464]; at the house of Mrs Smith, a widow, near St Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street [see VI.501; I.287; V.3, V.12, V.14-15], he found a very good visitation of Cumberland, "by whom taken I know not" [VI.429]. He guessed the date of it to be 1638, but the extracts he made from it prove that it was a copy of St George's visitation of 1615. He also discovered in the

the paines to correct these papers where they are amiss if ever they happen to come to light; for I doe not write them with any intentions of pub[l]ishing a Booke

[VI.374]

but to gratify a \ particular / friend who will neads believe that I know more of that state of this countrey / ~~county~~ than any other; nay, more indeed than I know my selfe.[14] However, I hope by this means (and that I suppose he chiefly aims att) to provide rough materials for a Temple of Hon[our] if they happen hereafter to fall into the hands of a skilfull Artist who has more time and more ingenuity to order them than I can pretend to.[15]

The 3d thing I purpose to touch upon is the matches of each severall family; but that I can never expect to compleat. However, I shall declare what I know, to which posterity may make their additions in after Ages if they would have a minde, and discover more than I know att present or have time to seek out, by the same means & methods which I have proposed, and allso by searching the Prerogative office, where by wills they shall finde the wife's Xan names & most of her children, who are either therein left executors or legacies.[16] But I almost dispaire that any man \ being, / beside my selfe, will talke so much about so triviall & thankeless a matter; & for my owne part, having a greater imployment upon me, I am not willing to misspend much time in the serch after vanity.[17] Nay I grutche[18] the scribbling of what I \ am / already \ known to / ~~am acquainted with, for little does it esteem of what I know, which yet I would never know but for the love which I had to Antiquity and country, nor never writ before the respect which I have to my [...]~~[19] ~~& country together~~.[20] Because I thinke it not worthy my patries. Nor am I willing in my riper years to expose the --- of my youth.[21]

possession of Mr Fawcett of Sowerby [VI.397] an old book containing a visitation of Cumberland and Westmoreland in 1580.' See R.S. Ferguson, 'Notes on the Heraldic Visitations of Cumberland and Westmorland', *CWI*, 2 (1876), 20-27, at 25.

[14] There are several candidates here. One is Dr John Mill, Principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, for whom Machell prepared his work on Roman antiquities, although their later correspondence suggests Machell's equivocation about releasing what he considered to be his own material. See Machell to Mill, 26 June 1692. 'According to your desire I have here Sent you an Extract of some Antient Inscriptions out of my Antiquities of Westmerland and Cumberland: Which if they may prove any way Beneficial to the Publick Designes of our University, it shall not Repent me to have Rob'd my self of them at Your Request.' See part 3, Ch.3, Roman Antiquities, Letter 5A, VI.187. Another candidate might be the antiquary, Robert Plot, see Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence, I.516-17.

[15] MS: 'However, I hope by this means (and that I suppose he chiefly aims att) to bring ~~such materialls~~ \ provide / rough materials for a Temple of Hon[our][15] \ ~~rough materiall~~ / (~~stones & morter to thr erecting of a Temple of Honour~~) if they happen \ hereafter / to fall into the hands of a \ skilfull / Artist who has more time and more ingenuity to order them than I can pretend to.' This sentence also contains 9cm of illegible scored-through text (not transcribed).

[16] MS: 'but that I can never expect to compleat ~~or give~~. However, I shall declare what I know to which ~~those who come after me~~ \ posterity may make their additions / may ~~make additions in severall aiges~~ \ in after Ages / if they ~~please~~ \ would have a minde / and discover more than I know att present or have time to seek out, by the same means \ & methods which I have / I proposed ~~before~~, and allso by searching the prerogative office, where by wills they shall finde the wife's Xan names & most of her children, who are either \ therein / left ~~as~~ executors or ~~else to whome some~~ legacies ~~are bequeathed~~.'

[17] MS: 'But I almost dispaire that any man \ beside my selfe / will take~~ing~~ so much about so triviall \ & thankeless / a matter; & for my owne part, having an ~~other~~ \ greater / imployment \ upon me, / I am not willing to misspend ~~the hore~~ much time in the serch \ after vanity. /'

[18] 'Grutch': grudge. *OED*.

[19] Illegible word.

[20] Machell's preferred text (without the scored-through element): 'Nay I grutche the scribbling of what I already known to. Because I thinke it not worthy my patries. Nor am I willing in my riper years to expose the --- of my youth.' The scored through element has been retained above because of the sentiment revealed.

[21] Machell drew a pecked line here, but provided no alternative word.

[VI.377]

[Queries and Answers; Notes on Method] [22]
{I heard of Machells de Wendover, 3 miles from Buckingham; do, Horsham in Sussex; de Gilford in Surrey {the same family}; de Crackenthorpe in Westmorland.
Enquire whether the Arms be the same with[23] in a bordure.
Machell, whose armes be these [empty shield] what this actiom means: a nom. ad arma &c.}

{Whether}
1. The institution of the Heralds Office (since tis certain that arms were before) begun in the reine of Edward 3[d]? [Answer] Noe, the office is no way long.
2. By the Heralds register I can certainly know which familyes in any county are most ancient according to order, and which of lesser duration? If so [Blank].
3. Denton de Cardew or \ Denton de / Warnell in Cumberland be m[ore] ancient? And whether Blenkinsopp de Helbeck in Westm'land or de Blenkinsop-Castle in Northumberland be the 1[t] house. Helbeck is with a crescent Argent on the fess for distinction \ of Helbeck. /
4. It be observable in Northumberland that their Arms (as some will have it) do want Crests? And when they 1[t] began to be added unto the heldmets amongst […][24] [Answer] Not usually till of late years by patent.
5. Mantles have their originals \ as Cartwright would have / from love locks […] mistrisses favours (for if so, seems improper to have a mantel Ermin); or rather from som habit which the Knights wore of old, the wreath indeed may probelely […][25] from the former, if it be not rather the coulours of bearer folo[…][26]
6. Supporters bee proper onely to the gentery down to a Barron, or allso to others of inferior degree. [Answer] Se[e] Guillam,[27] but the contrary has bin in practise[28] for Knights.
7. The Honour of a Barronett (which in defect of an heir the estate passeth to a younger brother) \ yet it goes by pattent / be allso heret[ance] to, unto him with his estate. Or supposeing \ any Gentlemans / family extinct, & the estate to pass to an other of his name, whether the title of honour be allso extinct or transfer to the successor. [Answer] If he be heire it goes by patent: Dugd[ale].[29]
8. Other of the same name \ or title / with ~~Gentlemen~~ \ persons of / quality by Industry advanceing them selves, can withoute the produceing of a pedigree, demand or have granted the beareing of the said Gentleman? For if so, it intitles him to the estate entailed, which, peradventure, he has no right to it att all. [Answer] Noe, he may not with\out some material difference: Dugdale.
9. When the custome of entaileing was first us'd in England.
[Answer] {Anno 13 Edward 1 [1284-1285] etat West: 2; 331 years since} whence derived habet originem a statut Westminster 2. Anno […][30]
10. There be any punishment to be inflicted on those who take […][31]

[22] Much text on VI.377-378 was written in a hand similar to, but not exactly like, Machell's; it might demonstrate an earlier manifestation. Interlineation and marginalia are by Machell (sometimes initialled T.M.) and William Nicolson.
[23] Words here have perished.
[24] The next word has perished.
[25] Several words in this passage have perished.
[26] The rest of this sentence has perished. The mantle is a device surrounding the shield, representing the covering of a knight's helmet: A.C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (New York, 1978), Chapter XXIV. The name 'Cartwright' as a heraldry expert is unknown to this editor (although the Elizabethan puritan, Thomas Cartwright, wrote sermons denouncing sinfulness: see Patrick Collinson, 'Cartwright, Thomas (1534/5-1603), theologian and religious controversialist'. *ODNB*).
[27] John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldry* (London, 1610).
[28] MS: 'p'tise.'
[29] William Dugdale, *Baronage*.
[30] The paper here has perished.
[31] The paper here has perished.

{Queries for the herald painter}[32]
{Enquire for Mr Smiths in Fleet Street, a little below St Dunstan's Church.[33] Send to Peter Rowlandson. Mr Ward. Whether a Doctor of Physic take place of a squire.}

[VI.378]

{Whether}
Prohibition of duels and what it is. See *Parsons Councellor*.[34]
11. Those that have been traytours, or borne Arms ~~from~~ against the King, ought not either to have lost their scutchions, or att leaste received some abaitment of honour, notwithstanding the Act of Indempnitys.
12. He hath met with any circumstance of antiquity showing when […][35] the dateing of writeings began? {G. hand}[36]
13. The antiquity of Appleby be knowne unto him from any othern author or circumstance than what Camden out of the *Booke of Provincial Notices* has declared, and what that booke is or where to be se[e]n?[37]
Ans[wer] Noe. {In the *Poetical Dictionary* it is cal'd *Urbs Westmarie Antiquissima* e lib. Vol. Province.}[38]
14. There has not been a Family of Duftons de Dufton near Apleby. The last heiress whereof marryed to Duftons de Kirkouswald in Com. Cumberland, where her coat as I suppose (the same being in Dufton & Morton church windows) is to be seen in the 4th quarter of Lord Dakers, his? If not, what her name was to whom this coat belong'd and where her seat?
[Answer] It was Baron Graystock. T.M.
15. Dalston de Dalston, formerly a seat of the Vauxes, were not cal'd Dawsons before they came there.?
[Answer] No, ut put[o].[39]
16. He have not red of King Arthur or Uter Pendraggon's residence in Westmorland, for it should seeme to be so from the Round Table there & Pendraggon Castle.

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[32] The queries are in Machell's hand. The artists of the College of Arms are known as Herald Painters: https://www.theheraldrysociety.com/articles/the-herald-painter/.
[33] Further references mention 'Widow Smyth' in the same role, see VI.494; VI.501. This St Dunstan's would be St Dunstan's in the West, in Fleet Street, as opposed to St Dunstan's in the East, near the Tower.
[34] Simon Degge, *The Parson's Counsellor, with the law of Tythes and Tything, in two Books* (2nd edn 'corrected', London, 1685). There is mention here of the prohibition of fighting with weapons in churchyards, but no specific reference to the term 'duel', see Part 1, 150.
[35] There follows an illegible two-word interlineation.
[36] Machell was probably referring to Gothic Hand or Blackletter, a script used throughout Western Europe from approximately 1150 until the 17th century. See Geoffrey Dowding, *An introduction to the history of printing types; an illustrated summary of main stages in the development of type design from 1440 up to the present day: an aid to type face identification.* (London, 1962), 5.
[37] Philemon Holland's translation of Camden's *Britannia* (1637) contains, '… for that the high streete of the Romans, as yet evidently apparent by the ridges thereof, leadeth this way to Brovonacum by Aballaba, whereof mention is made in the Booke of Notices': see 'Westmoreland'. John Speed wrote similarly: '… the Aurelian Maures kept a Station in the time of the Romans, and their high-street is apparently to be seen by the ridges thereof, which lead by Apelby to a place named Brovonacum, mentioned in the *Book of Provincial Notices*.' See John Speed, *An Epitome of Mr John Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain and his Prospect of the most famous parts of the World* (London, 1676), Chap. 49. Otherwise known as the *Notitia Dignitatum*, the Book of Notices is the official list of all ancient Roman civil and military posts, which survives as a 1551 copy of the missing original. A major source of information on the administrative organisation of the late Roman Empire (late 4th and early 5th centuries), it is divided into two sections covering the eastern and western parts of the empire as divided in A.D. 395.The document names the chief civil and military officials of the empire, together with their departmental staffs and, occasionally, the areas of their expertise or competence. The manuscript includes drawings of the regimental shield of each magistrate and the fort of each military commander: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Notitia-Dignitatum.
[38] Thomas Cooper (drawing on the dictionaries of Stephanus), *An Historical and Poetical Dictionary, briefly covering the Proper Names of Places and Peoples* (London, 1565).
[39] 'No, so I think.'

17. He have not red of some highly renowned and much celebrated maiden Queen in Westmorland, which has given denomination to so many places there; as Maiden Castle upon the top of Stamemore, Maiden-Hold upon Speedy-Moors, otherwise Crackenthorpe Moore in my father's lordship, & Maidne-Way, a vast casway, all which retaine their names to this very day.
18. A field of colour (for so it seems by our noblest coats in England) charged with metal, or the contrary be better armoury.
[Answer] Not materiall. T.M.
19. An Esq for his late deceaset father being a Knight may take place of an other, tho his family be ancienter if remoter from of the Esq. […][40]

[VI.379]

{Lib. Sic Notatur Φ.[41] Penes Mr Sheldon}

The ordering of Estates of all Degrees according to their Estate & Degrees. Or: A Table of precendency taken out of a MS booke in 4[0] penes Mr Sheldon de {Beoley} in Com. Warwick

which I have great reason to believe was compiled dureing the reign of H.8. because in the end thereof is a catalogue of the coronations & burials of the successive Kings of England from June in the Year of Our Lord MVIX: 1509.

{[Note] This conjecture will not hold; se the note at the hand[42] and other notes. However, it may serve to compare with Dugdalls in the following pages.}
{It probably was in time of K. Henry 8 but certainly before Queen Elizabeth, by the visitation of the Mayor of Calais in no.19.}[43]

1. The Emperor.
2. The King.
3. The Kings son: a Prince.
4. The Archbishop.
5. The Duke {A Duke's eldest sonn and heir being of the Bloud Royal, shal goe or be sett above a marquess. And if he bee not of the Bloud-Royal, he shall sitt above an Earle.
\ 6. The Bishop. /
7. The Marquess.
8. The Earle {And an Earle's sonn and heir, if he bee of the Bloud-Royal, shal sit above a Viscount. And if he bee not of the Bloud-Royal, he shall sit above a Baron.
9. The Viscount.
10. The Baron.
~~10.~~ 11. The Baronet*
(Note: I wonder when this was made for wee had none of these till King James*}
{*Baronet & Baneret were anciently used promiscously, see below.}[44]

[40] The rest of this sentence has perished. See VI.433, below.
[41] 'The book is marked thus.'
[42] 'Note at the hand': In the MS Machell usually drew a pointing-finger as his 'N.B.' device. It has been removed from this edition and replaced by 'N.B.' or 'Note'.
[43] In another hand, almost certainly that of William Nicolson.
[44] In another hand, almost certainly that of William Nicolson. First mentioned in 1321, the term 'baronet' was applied to noblemen who had lost the right of summons to Parliament. Edward III created eight baronets in 1328. Further creations were made in 1340, 1446 and 1551. Sir William de la Pole's baronetcy in 1340 was created in return for help to maintain the King's army. It is not known whether these creations were hereditary, but all died out. The present hereditary Order of Baronets in England dates from 1611. Created by James I, the Order was granted initially to 200 gentlemen of good birth with an income of at least £1,000 a year. As James aimed to fill the gap between peers of the realm and knights, baronets were created to form the sixth division of the aristocracy following the five degrees of the peerage. More importantly, James needed money to pay for

12. The Knight Batchellour.
13. The Dean. }
14. The Arch Deacon. } None of this allow'd of in Dugdall: see quaere of 4.
15. The Knights. What? Not a word of Esquires. This is strange!
16. The Masters of the Rolls.
17. The Justices.
18. The Barons of the 'Chequer.
19. The Mayor of Calais. }
20. The Dr in Divinity. } None of this in Dug[dale]
21. The Dr of Both Laws. }

{N.B., I take this to be very unauthentic & of later date than King H.8 because of the Baronetts mentioned att Figure 11, T.M.}

{But Baronet here only stands for Baneret who always took place of Knight Bachelors. No 19 shows this to be compiled before the reign of Queen Mary.}[45]

22. Them that have bin maiors of London.
23. The Sergiants of the Law.
24. The Masters of the Chancery.
25. The Preachers & Clerkes Graduites.
26. The parsons & priests.
27. The Worshipful Merchiants. In good time! What, before Gentlemen?
28. The Gentlemen.

{From the omission of Abbots, Priors &c. this was written after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, & from the Respect shown to Preachers in no. 25, probably at beginning of King Edward VI reign.}[46]

[VI.381]

A Table of Precedency in the Kingdome of England[47]

1. The King & Queen.
2. The Prince of Wales & his Princess.
3. Dukes of Royall Blood & their Dutchesses; as the sons, brothers or sisters sons of the King in being, or of a deceased King.
4. The Kings Vice-general in Ecclesiasticall affairs; when one is appointed or made.[48]
5. The Archbishop of Canterbury.
6. The Lord High Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the Great Seale.
7. The Archbishop of York.
8. The Lord High Treasurer.
9. The Lord President of the Kings Counsell.
10. The Lord Privie Seale.

These four officers next aforesaid are to be of the Degree of Barrons of Parliament or above. Otherwise they are not to be placed as aforesaid. The Lord Steward of England is not heare

soldiers to carry out the pacification of Ireland, thus each new baronet was required to pay for the upkeep of thirty soldiers for three years, amounting to £1,095. Extracted from 'The Standing Council of the Baronetage', https://www.baronetage.org.

[45] Almost certainly in the hand of William Nicolson.

[46] The stylistic differences here point to the work of yet another hand, which could be that of Charles Lyttelton, bishop of Carlisle 1762-68. See Part 3, Ch.1, 'Directions for those who shall undertake to finish the Antiquities of Westmorland', VI.432, A & B.

[47] Most of VI.381-386, has been written in another hand but points 1-5 on VI.381 are in Machell's hand.

[48] In January 1535 Henry VIII appointed Thomas Cromwell royal vicegerent, or vicar-general. See H. Leithead, 'Cromwell, Thomas, earl of Essex (b. in or before 1485, d. 1540), royal minister'. *ODNB*.

mentioned, nor in the Stat[ute] 31 H.8.10. because it was not intended that, when the vise of him should be nescary, he should not endure longer than a hac vice.[49]

11. The Great Chamberlan of England, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Steward of the Kings House and the Kings Chamberlan shall be placed after the Lord Privie Seale in manner following: viz. every of them shall be placed above all other personages being of the same sta[tion] Degree. As if he be a Baron above all Barons; if a Viscount, above all Viscounts; if an Earle, above all Earles.

12. Then Dukes and thire Dutchesses.
13. Marquesses and thire Marchonesses.
14. Then eldest sons of Dukes of Roÿall Blood and thire wifes and there sisters.
15. ~~And their sisters~~ If one be daughter and heiress of a Duke she shall take place of all ~~eldest~~ Dukes eldest sons wifes and after Marchonesses.
16. Earles and thire Countesses.
17. The eldest sons of Marquesses, there wifes and there sisters.
18. The yoiunger sons of Dukes of the Royal Blood & their wives.
19. The yoiunger sons of other Dukes and there wives.
20. Viscounts and their Viscountesses.
21. The eldest sons of Earles, their wifes and sisters.
22. The youngest sons of Marquesses and there wives.

[VI.383]

23. All Bishops of England. Viz. The Bishop of London, the Bishop of \ Durham, / the Bishop of Winchester and then all the other Bishops of both \ provinses /shall take place according to the seniority of there confederations.
24. Barons of the Parliament and thire Baronesses. The Kings principal Secretary, being a Baron of the Parliament shall take place of all barons not having any of the offices aforesaid; but if he be a Viscount, Earle or any other higher Degree, he shall not take place of any Viscount, Earle or higher Degree. And if the Secretary be a Bishop, he shall take place of all other Bishops not having ~~not having~~ office aforesaid. But not above the Archbishop, all the Barons, Viscounts, Earles and the above mentioned not having any of the offices aforesaid are to take place amongst themselves according unto the Antiquities of thire severall titles and thire severall Ancestors Creation respectively; and the Heir survives accordingly.
25. The eldest sons of Viscounts, there wives and there sisters.
26. The younger sons of Earles and thire wives.
27. The eldest sons of Barons and thire wives and sisters.
28. The Treasurer Comptrouler of the Kings Household.
29. Knights of the Garter and there ladys.
30. Privie Cou[n]sellers of his Majestys Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, Chancelor of the Dutchy,[50] Chiefe Justice of the \ courts of / Kings Bench, Master of the Rowls, Chiefe Justice of the Corte of Comon Pleas, Chief Baron of the Corte of Exchequer and the other judges and barons of the Degree of the chiefe of the said courts, who take place amongst themselves according to the seniority of the severall patents.
31. Knights Barronets made by the Kings majestie or ~~Kings~~ \ Prince / Henery[51] and his standerd displayed in an Arms Royall, in an open warr[ant] and the Knight or Prince personaly present for the Time of thire lives, and noe longer. Also there ladyes.

[49] '… because it was not intended that, when the vise of him should be nescary, he should not endure longer than from this turn of office.' The office of Lord Steward has generally remained vacant since 1421, and is now a primarily ceremonial, ad hoc office, filled only for a coronation. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 17 (11th edn, 1911), 'Lord Chamberlain' to 'Luqman'.
[50] Duchy of Lancaster.
[51] Henry, Prince of Wales (1594-1612), eldest son of James I.

[VI.385][52]

32. The younger sons of Viscounts and there wives.
33. The younger sons of Barons and there wives.
34. Baronats and there ladys.
35. Knights \ barr\n/onats made otherwise then as abovesaid and there ladyes.
36. Knights who have been Enbassadors.
37. Knights of the Bath and there ladyes.
38. Knights Batchellers and there ladyes.

1. First \ those / select Esqs for the Kings body and there wives who take place only during their office.
2. Baronets eldest sons, their wives and their sisters.
3. Knights eldest sons and there eldest sons likewise sucksesively; so also there wives. These take place amongst themselves according to the priority of the knighting of there first ancestors, not of the last; and he who is descended from a younger brother, shall, if the elder brother be dead, and all his issue male, take the sam place as if he were desended from the elder brother.
4ly. Esqs. The younger sons of baronets, and there wives.
5ly. The younger sons of the eldest sons of Baronets and of other nobles of higher estate.
6ly. The created Esqs with a Collor of S:S,[53] called in the west, White Esqs.
7ly. Those who have any superio\u/r publique office in the common weall, or serve the prince in any worshipfull […][54] calling, whose place or precedence contrived soe for life.

[39.] Others only during the time of there being in office, as ~~an~~ a sherife is an Esq. for life and a Justice of Peace only whilst he is in commission.
40. Gentlemen and there wives.
41. Citysons or Burghers and their wives.
42. Craftsmen, artisans or workmen and there wives.

All Peares, Knights and Baronets abovesaid, there wives and children, doe take place only[55] according to there severall and respective antecedents,[56] priority of the date of their Pattents, or of the time of their being knighted respectively.

[VI.386]

If any of the daughters of any Baron, Viscount or other Peare doe marry any Gentleman, Esquire or other person amongst the minor nobility, yet she shall retaine her honour and place; but if she marry with any of her inferiours amongst the major nobility: to wit with a Baron, or any other her superior, by the custome ~~of~~ now used in England, she shall onely ~~to~~ take place of hir husband. Soe if any daughter of the minor nobility shall mary hir inferior, she shall loose hir owne place and take that of hir husband, excepting onely the daughters of Baronetts, who shall still retaine there places due unto them by birth; by reason there places are particularly granted unto them by the Kings Majesty in there patents under the Great Seale of England.

{Graduits} The Degrees which any man shall take, either in any university or in any Inns of Court, shall not intitle to any other place out of the said university or Inns of Court then what he might justly take without any of the said degrees.

All the eldest Issue males descended from knights shall take \ such / place inter Sc. as there Ancestors would doe if they were now alive, from whom they claim there presedency.

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[52] Also numbered p.27.
[53] Collor: an ornamental band or chain worn round the neck for ornament or as a badge of office or livery. *OED.*
[54] An unclear word follows.
[55] MS: '~~only~~', followed by an illegible substituted word, not transcribed.
[56] MS: 'anncents.'

{Quere} What place the nobility of Scotland and ~~England~~ Ireland, there wives and children ought to take amongst the English.}[57]
{Answire} Next to those of the same Degree in England. But Scots before Irish: informante, Mr Dugdal, apud London, May, 1675.}

{2. Quere} \ 2 / Whether all the daughters of Baronetts are to take place next after there eldest wives during there fathers life tyme.
{Answire} They are.

{3 Quere} Whether all the daughters of Baronetts are not to have there precedency of all junior Baronetts eldest sons, wives, by the decree of the 14th of King James [1616-1617], and of all junior Baronetts daughters.
{Answire} We doubt not but they are.

{4. Quere} Whether a Bishop or Drs wife can take ~~pres~~ any other place then according to there husbands Quality by birth.
{Answire} They can-not.

[VI.387][58]
See excellent laws enacted by King Henry the 1st, confirmed by his hand & seale, against Wardship more especially, and his assent to King Edwards laws: Speed *History* p.435 Col. 1.

[I.151]

Of the Title Esquire

The barristers at Law have of Late affected to be called Esquires, which never was allow'd amongst the Heralds and in the Late Poll for King Charles the 2nd they generally ~~app~~ payd their Poll of Esquires, \ & / so they [~~on record use Esq.~~] stand returnd in the Exchequer, How be it, as it hath hereto fore been a thing unheard of, so I thinke it now altogether improper that they should be soe termed; for it doth not be long to the Gens Togata,[59] excepting those only of the military cassock; unless ~~it be~~ derived ~~unto them~~ from their progenitors \ who were / knights or esquires, of ~~an~~ descent. And then, it does not belong unto them by vertue of their imployment & office, but by ~~descent~~ their berth.
That a Barister should be writ an Esqr (as it has bin unheard of till late dayes) it seems to me always improper and an incroachment upon the sergiants at Law who have the best pretence to it. & title; for they are call'd Servientes ad Legem, which was the ancient word for a Squire. & out of these (It being the highest degree in Law) the Judges – the milites – are chosen.
The Judges, who bear the sword of Justice in their hands not only to cutt off superfluous branches & rotten stems, but to cut out & divide to every \ one / the harvest that which is his right. So that if \ wee / would appropriate the Titles \ of Esquire & Gentlemen to / Long Robes, & speake like men of standing & sense, wee must call the Bar. Inns of Court, Gentlemen; the Sergeant, Esquire.

{Consider of the Notion}
{~~Howbeit~~ \ For I have / reason to believe (from which I have read) that only the[m] being of the Inns of Court does not make them Gentle \ men /, although a Degree, as that of Barister, may \ possibly doe / make them so). But ~~it was designed at firste that none but Gentlemen should~~ that those Inns of Court were at first designed only for Gentlemens sonns, especially for younger sort; whence the terme \ of Inns of Court Gentlemen / became universal to graduits & others – Gentleman is a Degree of Honour. Non Graduits, quatenus,[60] such cannot be.}

[57] Margin queries and answers are in Machell's hand.
[58] The text is now in Machell's hand,
[59] I.e. 'long robes' (see below) the defining toga of the Romans.
[60] 'To that extent'.

[VI.387]

[The vital importance of ancient evidences of descent]

If any difference should arise, as I hope there never will, touch[ing] the antiq[uity] of any familys which I have taken notice of, I would not have them lay any stress upon anything I have written by conjecture; for precedence is matter little ~~which is not~~ and therefore it must be determined by evident proofe, not by conjecture. Though therefore I have in many familyes, for their greater honour, run them by higher than their \ own / pedegrees will allow, or writeings maintane, yet not without some probably[61] (as finding men of that name witnesse to deed of more ancient date). Yet I must pre[a]cquaint them that I dar not maintane that they are really of the selfe same family & lineally descended from them, because we know there are many of one and the same that will not acknowledge any affinity \ continuity, / especially where names are taken from townes and such townes are frequent in England in severall counties. But my determination upon the matter is that they shall \ not / ~~putt~~ \ confide / too much ~~confidence~~ in mee neither, but have recourse to their ancient evidences and trust me no further than I agree with them; for I am sure I have dealt so faithfully that I am not afraid to be putt to the test; for what is conjecture I deliver as opinion, & what is \ proved / evidence, as demonstration.

Onely as concerneing the matches of familyes I dar not maintane so punctuall a relation, because much of them, as I could not otherwise see, taken from gentlemens owne information, some from visitations, some out of glass windows, and in many familyes they have bin so careless that tho their matches be \ in part / preserved, yet the order is con \ fused / jectural.[62]
The 1^{t} family I finde mentioned now in being in the writeings of the Vip[onts] is John Mauchell \ Hardclay. / The 1^{t} in this country \ John de Ormesheved, who was his servant. / 2^{t} is Hellebeck.[63]
1. Ormesheved
2. Helle beck
3. Hardclay & Mauchaell

[Machell's Notes: VI.387]

It seems Whinfell belonged to Apleby, as by King Johns Deed.
Memorandum that the Countisses Evidences were collected & translated by Barron Hales.[64] King John's ~~mad~~ truce, E. of Essex, Lord Ludgarshalle in Wiltshire & chief Justice of England from him. {Hollin[shed]}[65]

Grant. pro Tempore
Rex &c. G. filio Petri &c. sciatis quod commisimus dilecto et fideli nostro Roberto de Veteriponte castra nostra de Apelby et de Burgo et Totam Baliuam de Westmerland cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, custodiendo quam diu Nobis placuerit & ideo vobis mandamus quatenus sine dilatione Rob. De Boel et Johi de Ormeshevet servientibus ipsius Roberti de Veteriponte predicta castra et Totam Baliuam de Westm'land cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus habere facialis, et in hujus rei &c. T[este] me ipso apud Rothair xxxmo die martij é patent[e] de anno 40 Joh[annis] Regis mem. 2 in Turri Lond.

[61] Probability [?]
[62] Machell's unresolved decision as to whether to use 'confused' or 'conjectural'.
[63] This word is followed by an illegible scored-through sentence.
[64] Matthew Hale (1609-1676), Chief Baron of the Exchequer and Chief Justice of the King's Bench under Charles II; author of influential works on the law, https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/hale-matthew-1609-76.
[65] The rest of this margin comment is almost illegible but appears to comprise, '… fils Geofrey & … fils Geofrey married to Rob. De Vet. 3d &.' Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles: The firste volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande… faithfully gathered and set forth by Raphaell Holinshed*. (1577, enlarged 1587).

Idem. Johannes de Veteriponte habet alias literas patentes directas Omnibus tenentibus de Honore de Apleby et de Burgo et de Tota Baliua de Westm'land quod sint intendentes ei tanquam Baliuo quamdiu &c.[66]
i.e. So they doe service & homage unto him as Baliue &c.

[VI.388]

I submit this to the Norroys judgment.

In man[n]ers of takeing place as which bro[thers] compare with themselves, so which family compared one with another.

1. It is not manners for a man from a later family to take place of one of a more ancient extraction, tho he have greater possesions; no more that it is for a younger brother to take \ place / of his elder who is not so rich as him selfe, which [in] any man to be a great peace of pride, clownishness and folly. Ergo the gentry in the Bar are hugely commended for give precedence to Mr Thornborrow.
But if there be a difference of degree in honour, then the higher takes place. So a Knight[67] of a later family take precedence of an Esquire of an ancienter; and so a younger brother that is a Knight, take place of his elder who is but an Esquire and his eldest son o[ver] of the others eldest son during their fathers lives; for as then the Knights son is an Esq. and the other but a Gentleman. But when they come both to bee of the same degree in honour, the ancienter family doth by right take ~~the~~ place.
2. It is not manners ~~for men~~ for an Esq. by birth to take place of an Esq. by ofice whilst he is upon the actual execution of his ofice as of a Justice a Peace upon the Bench, for there he has a pr[er]og[ative]; as likewise it is not manners for the locall Esqs to take place of the native Esqs when they are of the Bench, except he bee of an ancienter family. So, a mayor out of his Corporation may not take place of his superior in birth, nor a Master of Arts out of the university (or fellow of a college out of his) of an other in whose family is more ancient or birth more noble, nor Dr &c., but by curtesie & in reverence to the profession of Divin[ity], tis often given to them, but them alone.
3. A Knights younger son is but Gentleman & therefore he ought to take place, not as the son of a Knight before other Gentlemen, but as a gentleman amongst those who are Gentlemen according to the antiquity of his family. Except (maybe) durante vitâ patris.[68]
4. The daughters are no more then Gentlewomen, yet they peradventure may have precedence durante vita patris of Infer[ior] Gentlemens daughters of ancient families, & may be of durante vita unius cuiusq[ue][69] till the[y] be marrid, but then the[y] must have place but according to their husband qual[ity]. Nor can the children of Knights sons & daughters however, challenge[70] any precedency from the parents but as the fall in ranke of Gentelty.
5. Noe honour by office doth descend unto wife and children; neither does mans being Justice a Peace, tho he was an Esq. before, give him any precedency of his seniors, save only as afore said upon execution of justice.
6. Esqs by place or creation give place allwayes to Esqs by birth.
Tho a father give place in his owne wrong, yet the son may challenge it agane, for the birthright of honour cannot be aliened from posterity. It cannot be given away, for tho an elder brother give place

[66] 'Grant, for the time being. The King etc. to G. son of Peter etc. Know ye that we have entrusted to our beloved and loyal Robert de Veteripont our castles of Appelby and of Brough and the whole Bailiwick of Westmorland with all its appurtenances, to ward as long as it shall be pleasing to us, and therefore we command that, without delay, Robert de Boel and John of Ormeshevet, underlords to Robert de Veteripont, shall hold the aforesaid castles openly, and the whole Bailiwick of Westmorland with everything that pertains to it; and in [the provisions] of this matter I myself am witness, at Rothair, on the 30th day of March, following a Patent of the 4th year of King John, membrane two in the Tower of London. The same. John de Veteripont has other letters patent directed to all the tenants of the Honor of Appelby and of Brough and the Whole Bailiwick of Westmorland, to the effect that they look to him as Bailiff for as long as etc.'
[67] MS: Here, 2cm of the text is scored through.
[68] 'During the life of his father.'
[69] '… during the lifetime of each one.'Here, the MS contains 4cm of scored-through text.
[70] MS: 'challened.'

to his younger, yet hee cannot make his younger brother elder, nor his younger brothers children, elder brothers children.

{He that has most be lest; & commoner shal often times take place of a courtier. And he that has the best gifts, be the best man & than he that is a scholer, which I suppose many gentle[men] would grumble to submit too.}

[VI.389]

Authorities for the Table in pag. 381, 3, 5, 6[71]

The authority for the several places aforsaid with reference to the figures in the Margent.
For all the figures until the 28th vide, Stat. 31. H.8. Cap. 10 &c. Sir Edward Cokes exposition thereof inst. p. 4th page 361.[72]
In Dugdal's *Antiquities of St Pauls*, towards the end thereof,[73] and the printed *Proceeding of his Majesty from the Tower to Westminster* April 22th 1667. {7? 1.}[74] {Cookes Inter.?}[75]
For the 20th 0 29th: Dr Heylins *History of St George*, page 3 Chap.2, sect. 5th and Ch.3 Sect. 30.[76]
For the 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36: Robt. Cot.[77] 10 Jacoby Regis [1612-13] \ Pact. / se[e] in Dugdale.
For 36. 37. 38. Viz. Mr Dugdalle ut supra.
For the 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. Viz. Robt Cot. 14 Jacoby Regis [1616-1617]. Pact. 2 in 24. Camden's *Britannia* page 176. 177.

This table was revised by William Dugdale Esq., Norroy, King of Arms, and all the queries answerd by him as aforesaid in May Anno Domini 1665: vide his letter and a table inclosed. J.

Query what place younger sons or Esqs are to have amongst equalls? & whether respect shall be had to 2 & 3 sonns &c.
Objection against fig. 38 (&3) why the descendant of ancient squire by creation (tho there never was a knight of his family) should not take place of a less ancient esquire, whose ~~descendant~~ ancestor was a knight. Quere de hac.[78]

It should seem that the ancienter in every degree ought to have precedence of those of the same quality, as among lords he of whose family had the 1t lord has precedence of other of the same quality who were made so lately. So, in familyes of Knights Baronetts, & one would thinks of Esqs to; not he

[71] In another hand: similar to some of the interpolations on VI.379.
[72] Edward Coke, *The First Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England. Or, a Commentarie upon Littleton, Not the Name of a Lawyer Onely, but of the Law it selfe* (London, 1628). Often referred to as 'Coke upon Littleton', it is a commentary on Thomas Littleton's treatise on land tenure.
[73] William Dugdale, *The History of St Paul's in London from its foundation until these times* (London, 1658).
[74] Clearly the writer had written the wrong date [1667]. In the margin, Machell questioned it, substituting '1' [1661]. See, 'The Ceremonial and Proceedings at the Coronation of Charles II (23 April 1661), republished in Thomas C. Banks, *An Historical Account of the Ancient & Modern Forms, Pageantry, & Ceremony of the Coronation of the Kings of England* (London, 1820), 22-76 (particularly 28-30).
[75] Possibly a reference to Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms. As well as heraldic compilations, visitations, precedencies, heraldry treatises and ordinaries of arms, Cooke compiled *The Armorie of Nobility*, a treatise on the English Baronage (1606, 1621): See J.F.R. Day, 'Cooke, Robert (d. 1593), herald'. *ODNB*. *The Armorie* was completed after Cooke's death by Robert Glover (Somerset King of Arms) and Thomas Lant (Portcullis): see *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. 3 (London, 1872), 208.
[76] Peter Heylin, *The History of St. George of Cappadocia* (1631).
[77] Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631), politician and antiquary, who, with William Camden and others, inaugurated the Society of Antiquaries and opened his extensive library to fellow scholars. As a politician, Cotton was highly involved in issues of precedent; in November 1602, for example, he was asked to produce a list of precedents relating to the office of Earl Marshal. Though he wrote little during his lifetime, many of his tracts were published by James Howells in *Cottoni posthuma* (1651). See S. Handley, 'Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce, first baronet'. *ODNB*.
[78] 'Query this.'

who has the 1ˡ knight of his family but the 1ˡ Esq. Otherwise a cobler's purchasing [a] knighthood shal have his posterity to take the places of the most ancient familyes which are squires by creation.
? Whether the right line extinct of an Esq., the collaterall may take ~~place~~ the title? And whether prescription be a sufficient ground for assumeing the title of an Esq.

[VI.390]

All I can answer in opposition to this argument is that in the same degree, precendence should be given to the ancienter family of that degree; except title be derived from a greater. For the \ younger / sons of a lord are only Esq. but must have the precedence of other Esqs, because their title is derived from an higher dignity; & in like manner the eldest son of a knight for the same reason.
Query: what better distinctions of familyes may [be] thought of, than are now in use? As crissent, mullet, martlet &c.? These are good for brothers, but bordure better for familyes.
I take it that official titles & honours derive a quality to posterity in a lower degree, tho not in the same? Though as \ a / Knight derives to posterity the title of Esq. in the first branch, an Esq by office; as a Justice a Peace or mayor of a towne may I presume doe the like for gentlemen. For they must have a begining, & those who serve their King & Country in any qualitye deserve som honour. Sed de hic quer.[79]

But there is another sort of Esquires which I have not yett mentioned, nor \ indeed / ever read of except in their own subscriptions & writeings: Sc. Squire Baristers, or if you please weed call them Squires Templers (because there were formerly knight of that order) but that I fear[80] The other Inns of Court will be angry at me as excludeing them, who have as good a clame \ to right / to the title \ squire / & to save the king[81] \ a labour / have created them selves such. For an honest gentleman (& barrister at law) upon my proposeing this question whether a barrister as such was not an Esquire, & where there were not an Act of Parliament (in this kings reigne) for it \ as some had endeavord to make me believe, / he answer'd no, there was no such thing; but indeed saith here wee have many amongst ambitious of title who write{them selves so (which no man else do), and to publish their honour. They have got a trick: such as have lodgings in the lowest chambers to write large & fair subscriptions to themselves. These to sue an one Esquire &c., which they stick in their windows to be seen through the glass so that he who runs may read; & take no smale pleasure to whatch in their chambers & hear the ignorant vagrants in or from false[82] the true conclusion: a barrister I warrant Him.}

[VI.391][83]

And ~~truly sayeth he~~, since 'tis our will & pleasure to be such, who can hinder us? We write ourselves squires, & the country people dar not for their lives (or estates att least) ~~calls by~~ \ call us / any other \ wise / ~~compellation~~. And besides, whee have the law in our own hands, & if a writ be issued out against ~~any~~ barrister without that title, tis our common practice to returne it, as an in valid & against (our own) law. Som may thinke I impose upon the lawyers, but I profess seriously on the word of an honest man that I had this story from a gentleman barrister in these very words, or much to this purpose. And he was pleased farther in the conclusion, to reminde me of the fable of the man & the lyon which \ had / a contest, which the man contended as Lord of the Universe, and to convince the lyon, showd him a picture (such as that of the London Apprentice) where a man was strughling with & got above ~~the~~ \ a / lyon. O, quoth the Lyon; you men can make pictures! Which if we could performe that would finde as many lyons above the men as men above lyons. The moral of which leave to the reader, with this protestation, that I highly dout those professors of law who ar men of honesty & sober principles; content with their owne & not watching to invade the propertyes of others & Kings prerogative. But such men as to thus, ough[t] to be blaz'd in their proper colours – parted per pale Or & Gules. For there is a <u>coat</u> belonging to this order of unmade Esquires, whose […][84] {is full as ridiculous to the soberer part of their owne profession, as to any other men. But the absurdity of

[79] 'But of this, query.'
[80] 7cm of illegible scored through text has been omitted here.
[81] 4cm of illegible scored through text has been omitted here.
[82] The next word begins with 'pr', but the rest has perished.
[83] Also numbered p.30.
[84] A word here has perished.

their personal clame to this title will appear if you consider that many Barristers have no Arms attal but by usurpation. Yet these men without Arms must be call'd Armigeri, those that have no scutchons must be calld Esquires; indeed, for sergeant to be counted, so there may be som reason, som kinde of analogical, for the one was anciently Serviens ad Arma, as the \ color / was, & in[deed] is, serviens ad legem. But for barristers as such, ~~tho they may~~ to pretend unto it, is very incongruouse. They may justly \ indeed / be calld Men of Contention; but by no means, Men of Arms.

[VI.393][85]

Of Heraldry

Heraldry is the Art of blazoning Coats Armour. Armes are hieroglyphical symbols or signes demonstrating the nobility or gentility, acquired by virtue and good service performed by the bearer or some of his ancestours, either in martiall exploits or by the learneing they have attained too. P.3.[86]

A Rebus is a quaint allusion to ones name; as this: Take the first letter of [87] Our Father, a maker of wax, an I & an N, the colour of an ass. And what have you then. We have: ABINDUN.[88]

A Devise is a conceit of wit, which is made by means of a comparition, having allwayes the figure of some natural or artificiall (so it bee not humaine) thing, which some smartor acute sentence goeing along with it: as the devise of his Majestyes life-gard of Horse, a lyon passant, crowned Or, with this motto: Dieu et mon droit.[89]



Figure 3.4.1. Dieu et mon Droit. VI.393.

Many in the late wars, both on the Kings side and Parliament, had their devises, amongst whome that of Collonell Cookes of Gloucester-shire, a Parliament, is very remarkable. He figured an armed man cutting the corners of a University cap with his sword, & his motto was:

[85] Also numbered p.32. The text on VI.393-96 is written in another hand.
[86] For the exact words, see John Guillem, *A Display of Heraldry* (London, 1610), 3.
[87] 3½cm of scored-through text is illegible here.
[88] Rebus: a cryptic representation of a word or phrase by pictures, symbols, arrangement of letters, etc., which suggest the word or phrase, or the syllables of which it is made up; spec. an ornamental device, often of heraldic appearance, associated with a person to whose name it punningly alludes. *OED*.
[89] Device: a fanciful, ingenious, or witty writing or expression, a 'conceit'. *OED*.

MUTO Quadrata RORUNDIS

That is: he would convert Square Heads or Cavaliers into Round Heads.



Figure 3.4.2. 'He would convert Square Heads or Cavaliers into Round Heads'. VI.393.

But Queens Colledge in Oxon. most remakeable for its loyalty in that loyall university, both in the time of the war and \ during the / Tyranny of Oliver \ Cromwell / never laid downe their ancient formalityes, nor without great unwillingness admitted of noveltyes or any innovations; inso much that to were a square cap in Oxford was enough to denominate the man a Cavalier, and with the same breath, old soldjer of Queenes.[90]

Hieroglyphics are much of the nature of Arms, only they are sacred signes, used by the Egyptians to expresse their religions mysteryes. Ring was an hieroglyphick of faithfulness; buckle, of steadfastness; bracelet, of industry.
The Antiquity of Arms appears from the antiquity of those Nations that boare them; as the Syrians.
[VI.394]

Syrians	bore a dove
Indians	a dragon
Athenians	an owle
Persians	a [bow[91]] & arrow
Romans	an eagle
Israëlites	the Hebrews
Sythians	a thunderbolt
Phrygians	a swine
Reuben	a mandrake
Dan	a serpent

[90] A scored-through passage at the beginning of this paragraph offers, '~~And well might Cavaliers be represented under the hieroglyphic of a square cap~~.'
[91] Sketch of a bow.

Numbers Cap. 2: Every man of the children of Israell shall pitch under his owne standard & under the arms of their Fathers houses.[92]
The Saxons also bore an Horse anno 450 when they entred this nation under the conduct of Hengist & Horsus. It is their emblem of celerity, & being stamp 1st on money caused to be cald currant; or may be because it goes so fast away.
Romulus bore a bundell of hay at the end of a long staff, which bundell was cald Manipulus; & hence the soldiers under him manipulare.
And Agamemnon a lyon ~~rampant~~ with this epigram: Hic pavor est hominum, manibus gerit hunc Agamemnon.[93]

Concerneing a Coat of Arms, 4 things are observeble:
1. The Crest.
2. The supporters; & the lyon & unicorn in the Kings.
3. The comportment containing the bordure with an inscription, as DIEU ET MON DROIT.
4. The coat it selfe.

Not[e] ad 1. (In Northumberland, that they seldom have any crests.)
Note ad 4. (In Ireland, that many noble families have no Arms at all.)
For understanding of Coats and their Blazonry, gett Guillams *Heraldry*,[94] or, if you can: Lee's Acc*idenc[e] of Armory*.[95]
For understanding the new orders of Nobility & Gentry, get Carter.[96] & with him you may read Lee-Gerrad,[97] out of which many of his coats are borrowed, which treats of these orders sursum ascendendo:[98] Esqs, Knight Batchelor, Knight Barronett, Baron, Viscount, Earle, Marquess, Duke, Prince, King, Emperor.
Gett also: Brookes *Catalogue of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts since the Norman Conquest*.[99]
And for the Antiquitie of Brittain, gett Verstêgans *Antiquities*.[100]

[VI.395]

Of Heraldry
1. Physical amongst natural things; as the noblest is the

Planets	The Sun
In Animals	Crow, beasat
Mettalls	Gold
Gemms	Diamond
Colours	Sable,

[92] *AVB*: Numbers 2.2.
[93] 'This is the terror of men, this did Agamemnon bear in his hands.' The lion was the symbol of Mycenae, the Bronze Age fortress near Mykines in Argolis, north-eastern Peloponnese, Greece, where the legendary Agamemnon lived. The stone gateway leading into it, surmounted by two lions, is known as the Lion Gate.
[94] John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldry* (London, 1610); see also I.286; II.179; II.409; III.201; VI.394.
[95] Gerard Leigh, The *Accedence of Armorie* (1562); see also 1.133; I.295.
[96] Matthew Carter, *Honor Redivivus. or, The Analysis of Honor and Armory: Reprinted with Many Useful and Necessary Additions and Supply'd with the Names and Titles of Honour of the Present Nobility of England, the Bishops, Baronets, Members of Parliament, &c.* (1673).
[97] Gerard Leigh. Leigh's only published work was *The Accedens [Accidence] of Armory* (London, 1562; reprinted 1568, 1576, 1591, 1597 and 1612. See J. Day, 'Legh [Leigh], Gerard (d. 1563), heraldic writer'. *ODNB*.
[98] 'In order of ascendance'.
[99] Ralph Brooke, *A catalogue and succession of the kings, princes, dukes, marquesses, earles, and viscounts of this realme of England, since the Norman conquest, to this present yeare, 1619: together, with their armes, wiues, and children: the times of their deaths and burials, with many their memorable actions* (1619).
[100] Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the most noble and renowned English Nation* (1605; reprinted 1628, 1634, 1652, 1655 and 1673). For Verstegan's career, see Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1995), 49-69.

Birds	Eagle, Phoenix
Serpents	Basiliske
Flowers	Rose, Lily or flore de lice
Plants	Cedar Tree
Trees	Palme or Olive Tree
Fishes	Dolphine
Frutes	Pomgranate
Beasts	Lyon
Dogs	Grahound, which som esteem nex to a lyon

Not[e] that things which have life are preferd, in armes, before things that have no life, except crowns imperiall, whereof there are but two: Englands and Germanys, mentioned in Carter, pag. [blank][101]

{Nobility is twofold, vel:)
2. Politicall amongst the members of a Commonwele or humaine associates; and that is either by
Blood.
Desert.
or Both.
And Desert is sub-divided into that which is acquired use – precedit
Marte by Pike.
Arte by Pen.
Not[e] that Nobleness by blood has precedency of desert in as much as wee see that Gentlemen of the same ranke, if they be so by right, always take place of those who are so by office. But the Blood preceed desert. Yet where those two meet both on one, it is most noble.
Note. Amongst men of equall ranke the Ancients family should still take place.

[The King]
It is worth a mans labour to seeke out the Nature & Constitution of King & Parliament; for which I commend Seldons *Titles of Honour*: the best booke he ever writ.[102] The Kings Coat you have att large in Guillam, 'Blazon*s*', to your hand (with) the reasons of additions.[103]

The King of England
was formerly cald Rex Diabolorum because of his subjects, so often by rebellion (the Divill's Stombling Block) attempted soverainty, and a de defenso,[104] of which hereafter.

The King of Spaine was cald Rex Hominum, because the Spaniards (from the highest to the lowest) has so much of gravity, seriousness, manhoodness and fidelity \ in them / as they ~~who~~ seldom or never

[101] Matthew Carter, *Honor Redivivus. or, The Analysis of Honor and Armory: Reprinted with Many Useful and Necessary Additions and Supply'd with the Names and Titles of Honour of the Present Nobility of England, the Bishops, Baronets, Members of Parliament, &c*. (1673), 260-61.
[102] John Selden, *Titles of Honor* (1614). Selden (1584-1654) was a lawyer and historical and linguistic scholar. *Titles of Honor* dealt historically with European honorific titles such as king, duke, count, baron, and knight. Breaking away from the genealogical concerns of most heralds and kings of arms, Selden derived honour from virtue, portrayed all civil honours as granted by the sovereign, and dismissed any claim to a hereditary nobility independent of the state: Paul Christianson, 'Selden, John'. *ODNB*.
[103] Reference is here made to a later edition of Guillim's, *A Display of Heraldry*. The 4th edition of 1660, for example, contained, 'a true register of all the blazons of the knights of the garter'. Richard Blome was a descendant of the printer Jacob Blome, who held the copyright of Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*. A 5th edition was published by Richard Blome in 1679. See Part 1, Chapter 1 on Appleby, (I.297) for Blome's letter (27 February 1674) to the 'Maior, Aldermen and other the Majestrates of Appleby', concerning his desire to include a chapter 'to treat of the cittyes and cheife townes corporate in England' in his latest edition of Guillim.
[104] 'In defence.'

rebeld. He's allso cald Rex Catholicus, because one of them ~~expeld~~ \ banished / the Arians (who denyed Xt's divinity) out of Spaine.[105]

{Germany}
The Emperor was calld Rex Regum because of the 7 Electours of the Empire, who have almost a kingly power & in their owne territoryes have *OS Gladij {*jus Gladij}[106] & may depose the Emperour if he do not stand \ to / and \ perform / promises in Bulla Aurea.[107]

The King of France is cald Rex Asinor[um], because he makes his subjects beare such heavy burthens of taxes \ 2 / & impositions \ 1 /.[108]

Note that England had the first Xtian King, Lucius; the 1[t] Xtian Em: Constantine; the 1[t] Protestant King: Ed.6; & 1[t] martyrd King: Charles 1[t].

[VI.396]

Charles the 1[t], who calls himselfe in his speech upon the scaffold, the Martyr of the People. He dyed for maintaineing their liberty and freedome: Sc. King Charles, *His Works*,[109] especially his ἐικων βασιλικη:[110] which will sufficiently manifest \ him / an other David: a man after Gods owne heart, who followed the footesteps of his Saviour as well in his death as he did in his life, praying for his enemyes & grievious persecutours, even till he dyed for, and by, them.

That there were Kings before the flood, Selden proves in his *Titles of Honour*.

The King of England title of Defensor Fidei,[111] they commonly say he has from Henry 8, who received it from the Pope because hee writ a booke against Luther in defence of indulgences.[112] But the title is far more ancient, for he is cald defensor fidei in a Charter of King Richard the 2[d] to the University of Oxon, concerneing which se Rex Platonicus[113] & Dr Crackenthorps Epistle to his Booke against the Bishop of Spalatro.[114]

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[105] 'Catholic King'. Ferdinand and Isabella, joint rulers of Spain, were awarded this title by Pope Alexander VI in 1494. See Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict* (London and New York, 1983, 2014), 37.
[106] King of Devils'; 'King of Men'; 'The Catholic King'; 'King of Kings'. 'OS Gladij' is probably an archaic form of 'IUS Gladij: 'The right of the sword' [i.e. power of life and death/supreme jurisdiction]. The margin comment explaining the error was made in another hand, probably William Nicolson's.
[107] The Golden Bull of 1356 was a decree named after its golden seal, which fixed the constitutional structure of the Holy Roman Empire for 400 years.
[108] 'King of Asses.'
[109] See, Charles I, King of England, 1600-1649, William Fulman, Richard Perrinchief and John Gauden, *Basiliká. The works of King Charles the martyr: with a collection of declarations, treaties, and other papers concerning the differences betwixt His said Majesty and his two houses of Parliament: with the history of his life: as also of his tryal and martyrdome* (London, 1687).
[110] ἐικων βασιλικη translates as 'royal image'. The word usually means a physical representation, like a statue. The phrase was used when describing busts of the Roman emperors. It could also possibly mean 'model' or 'pattern'.
[111] 'Defender of the Faith.'
[112] The title was first conferred by Pope Leo X on Henry VIII (1521) as a reward for the king's pamphlet *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum* ('Declaration of the Seven Sacraments Against Martin Luther'). When Henry broke with the papacy, Paul III deprived him of his title but it was restored to the king by Parliament in 1544 and is still used by British monarchs. 'Fid. Def. or 'F.D.' have been regularly on the coinage from the time of George I. Extracted from https://www.britannica.com/topic/defender-of-the-faith.
[113] Isaac Wake, *Rex platonicus: sive, de potentissimi principis Iacobi Britanniarum regis, ad illustrissimam Academiam Oxoniensem, adventu, Aug. 27. Anno M. DC. V.* (1635): A description, in Latin, of the king's entertainment at Oxford in 1605.
[114] Richard Crackanthorpe (1567-1624), *Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae; Defence of the Church of England against the calumnies of M. Antony de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro* (published in 1625 after his death).

The Kings Arms are sometimes given to a subject, but allways with a distinction: so the Ro[y]all Society now bears them as a badge of his Majestyes favour to the propagatours, as Morgan relates in his *A\r/malogia*.[115]
Upton sayes that the cross is the most noble beareing; and of all crosses, the plane cross (cald St Georges) takes place.[116]
That marke which the angels set on the doors of the Israelites is supposed to have been a cross; & Maemonides tells us that the character of the sacerdotall unction was a ✠ cross betwixt the brows of the high priest.[117]
Obs[erve] that those nations that were ingaiged in the Holy War, obliquely* thus: X; but the more noble nations, as English, Germans and French, bore it with right-angle; thus: †.
Observe that in the Kings Coat theres a chaine about the unicorne of Scotland, because, as some say, they have been false to the Crowne & therefore are to be chained. Others say that it is a reward of that service, according to the Romans custom, who gave bracelets & chanes of gold to persons well deserveing.
{*The Spaniards & Scotts bore the cross obliquely.}

Axioms[118]

1. Non licet insignia mutari magis quam nomina.[119]
2. a nominibus ad arma sequuntur argumenta.[120]
3. Insignia sicut antiquissima, quae alludunt ad nomina Gestantium. Fern: 231.[121]
4. Metalla praeferuntur coloribus quia Argentum sive luna, et Or sc[ilicet] Aurum: sc[ilicet] Sol omnes colores producunt.[122]
5. Qui sanguine solum nobilis maiorum insignia, non sua venditat.[123]
6. Primogenitus est splendour totius familiæ. Gen. 49.2.
Jacob sayes (Deut[eronomy). 21.17) to Reuben: Thou art my first borne, my might & the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity & the excellency of power.[124]

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[115] Sylvanus Morgan (1620-93), *Armilogia, sive, Ars chromocritica. The language of arms by the colours & metals being analogically handled according to the nature of things, and fitted with apt motto's to the heroical science of herauldry in the symbolical world : whereby is discovered what is signified by every honourable partition, ordinary, or charge, usually born in coat-armour, and mythologized to the heroical theam of Homer on the shield of Achilles : a work of this nature never yet extant* (London,1666).
[116] 'Place' = precedence. Nicholas Upton (c.1400-1457) was a cleric, lawyer, and writer on warfare and heraldry whose *De Studio Militari* (1447) concerned heraldry and the arts of war, drawing on traditional writings but also reflecting 15th-century apprehensions. A. Brown & C. Walker, 'Upton, Nicholas'. *ODNB*.
[117] Moses Maimonides (1135-1204) was a Jewish philosopher, scholar and physician, see *Britannica.com.*
[118] MS: 'Axiom's.'
[119] 'Insignia may not be changed [any] more than names.'
[120] 'Themes follow from names to coats of arms.'
[121] 'Insignia which allude to the names of those who bear them, count as the most ancient. Fern: 231.' See Sir John Fern (c.1553-1609), *The Blazon of Gentry* (London, 1586), dedicated to his mother's relative Lord Sheffield, as 'a moral advertisement of gentry to the practice and action of virtue, without which none can be cleped a perfect gentleman'. His work discussed the relative merits of lineage and talent: 'a gentleman of blood, endued with virtues is to be preferred before all others in the receiving of a dignity, offices or rule in the commonweal'. https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/ferne-john
[122] 'Metals are preferred to colours because Silver if the moon, and Or or Gold, that is to say the sun, can represent all colours.'
[123] 'He who is noble by blood alone, blazons the insignia of his ancestors, not his own.'
[124] 'The first-born is the splendour of the whole family.' Genesis 49.2. Genesis and Deuteronomy appear to have been confused here. The author quotes, 'Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power', but attributes it to Deuteronomy 21.17, when it belongs to Genesis 49.3 (not 2). Deuteronomy 21.17 is as follows, 'But he shall acknowledge the son of the hated for the firstborn, by giving him a double portion of all that he hath: for he is the beginning of his strength; the right of the firstborn is his.' (All *AVB*.)

[Cumberland and Westmorland Family Arms]

[VI.397]

These Arms taken out of an old B[ook] penes Thomas Fawcet de Sowerby.

Note. This Visitation was taken about 1580, John May being Bishop of Carlile. T.M. Consecration [29 September 1577].[125] Obijt 1598.
Note also: That in the Original they stood 3 on a row.



Figure 3.4.3. Thomas Fawcet's Book. VI.397.

Sc. In the first Order these: Lord Wharton, Musgrave and Lowther.
In the second, Machell = & Crackenthrop & Clibourne which made the first page.
Whence it appears that at the time of this Books being made, the ancient family of the Machels of Crackanthorp were in chiefe repute, next to Lord Wharton, the Musgraves and Low[thers], which are Knight by familyes.

[125] The MS is blotted here; the actual date of John Maye's consecration was been added. May (Meye) died of plague in 1598: David W.V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), 142.

[VI.398]

A Relation of Proofe of the Arms of
Fothergill of Great Strickland, Threlkeld de Melmerby in Cumberland, Rigge de Strickland Parva, Salkeld de Rosgil, Blenkinsop de Helbeck, Helton {de Murton TM?}

[VI.399]



Figure 3.4.4. Thomas Fawcet's Book. VI.399.

[VI.400]

A Relation and Proofe of the Arms of

[VI.401]

Burton de Ormside, Sandford de Askam, Dudley of Yanwath, Browham de Browham, Birkbeck de Hornby in Westm'land, Lough de Blenkearne in Cumb'land.



Figure 3.4.5. Thomas Fawcet's Book. VI.401.

[Second-right Coat] {It seems at the time when the Booke was made out of which I tooke these, that the Browhams (now of Scales in Cumberland) were seated at Browham!!!!! {These are arms of Redding}[126]
[Bottom-right Coat] {This was misplaced in the original, being a Cumberland coate. T.M.}
N.B. That the second Coat in this page was torn out. Instead of which I placed this here together with Dudleys which I fetched from a page misplaced in Cumberland; having also in it Whitfield, Lancaster of Sockbridge Armes, & another Lancaster and 1 Coate Torn out. But in this page also before this of Browhams came in Martindales: Sc. Argent 3 barrs Gules, over all a bend Azure.

[VI.403][127]

Wharton de Kirkby-thore, Prekering de Crosby, Ducket de Grarig, Strickland de Sisars, Bellingham, {Brathwate de Warcop. TM}



Figure 3.4.6. Thomas Fawcet's Book. VI.403.

[126] Written in another hand.
[127] Aso numbered p.41.

[VI.405][128]

Thornburrow de [Blank] Westm'land; Harr\in/gton de W.; Midleton de Midleton Westm'land; Bradley de [Blank] Westmorland; Preston de Howkar; Redman de [Blank]



Figure 3.4.7. Thomas Fawcet's Book. VI.405.

{Memorandum: he concludes his collections of Westmerland after this of Readmans, with many blankes ready for more coates, and in one of them: Argent a cheveron Gu[les]. Betwene 9 cloves Sable, 4.2.1 & 2, which having no relation to any particular family, but only to the Grocer Company, I purposely omitt.[129]

[VI.407][130]

Lancaster de Sockbridge; Lancaster de Kendale*; 3. Wiber de Clifton; 4. Warcop de Colby; 5. Sandford de Askham; 6. Dalston de Acornbank; Helton; Scaife.

{N.B. These marked with the figures 3,4,5,6 are additions to the Book per me T.M.}

*{Note this field had bin on at first, but altered afterwards into Argent. This is of Sockbridge T.M.}

[128] Also numbered p.43.
[129] Nevertheless, the following page gives more coats of arms.
[130]Also numbered p.45.

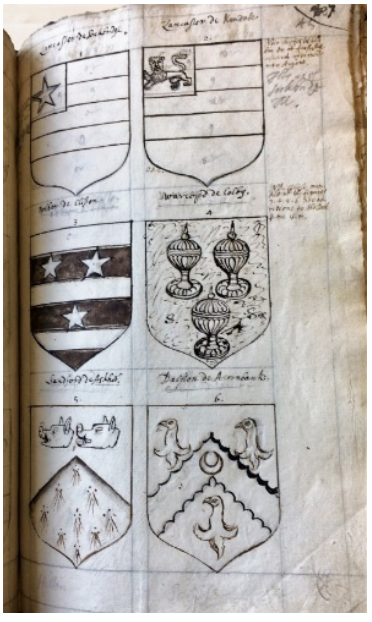


Figure 3.4.8. Thomas Fawcet's Book. VI.407.

[VI.409][131]

Suddaick de K.; Whitfield; Martindale.

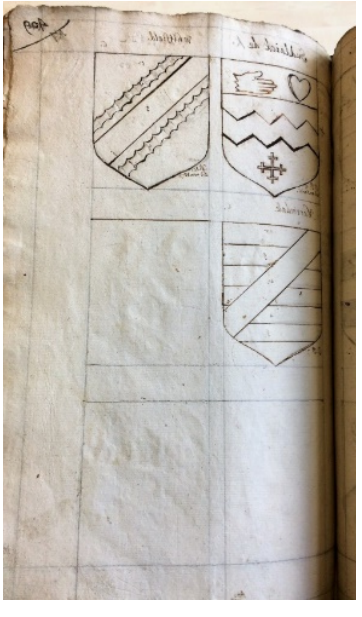


Figure 3.4.9. Thomas Fawcet's Book. VI.409.

[131] Also numbered p.47. For coats of arms of families in Cumberland, see MS.VI.413-25.

[Part II]

[VI.433][132]

Miscellaneous Notes for Families & Armes &c. in order to the Antiquities of Westmorland

Out of III bookes marked by me for distinctions sake after this manner
I. marked thus: χ, in folio } Penes Mr Sheldon de Weston in Com Warwick.
II. marked thus: ## in folio }
III. marked thus Φ in Quarto }
Memorandum: the books had noe titles, nor pages figured, so that I could not refer to the pages.

[VI.451][133]

A Barons Cap

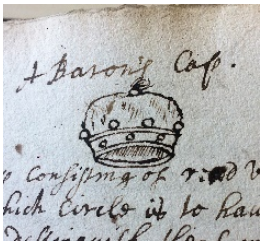


Figure 3.4.10. 'A Baron's Cap'. VI.451.

This sort of cap consisting of read velvet & a circle of gold (which circle is to have 6 pearles on the top of it) to distinguish the same from the circles or coronets of viscounts) was granted by King Charles the 2[t] (as appears by his warrant to the Attorney or Solicitor Generall, bearing July 6[th] 1661, Whitehall) to all Barons & their heires after them who are Peares of the Realm of England & have right to vote in the Upper House of Parliament; which they have liberty to weare on the dayes of coronation of the Kings & Queens of England; & place the same over their Coates of Armes or elsewhere as they shall thinke fit.
By His Majesty's Command
Edward Nicholas.[134]
This out of a booke in folio in the custody of Mr Sheldon of [Blank] in Warwick shire} sic notat ##, where the warrant is under the Kings owne hand ut puto.

In lib. Sic notate (χ) in folio penes Mr Sheldon de [Blank] in Com. Warwick.
There is an account of one William Dakins, who had his eare cut of by sentence in the Star Chamber for making false pedegrees & giving Coates of Armes; and was afterwards taken & imprisond, upon which he confessed amongst many others that he had made false pedegrees for these which follow, mongst many others which are not for my purpose, & subscribed unto it 23 of January 1597, Sc.
For \ Mr / Bellingham of Bromby, Lincolnshire.
For Mr Sanderson of the Bishoprick of Durham.
For Sir William Hilton, Knight.
For Mr Conyers of Sockbourne in the Bishoprick of Durham.
For Mr Grymston of Smeton, Yorke.

[132] MS.VI.435-50 contains general remarks on the nobility of England: not in Machell's hand and not transribed
[133] In Machell's hand.
[134] Sir Edward Nicholas (1593-1669), follower of Charles I and Charles II, was Secretary of State during part of the royal court's period in exile. Never a particular favourite, he retained office after the Restoration, but by 1662 he was out of the king's favour. See S. Baron, 'Nicholas, Sir Edward government official'. *ODNB*.

[VI.452]

For Mr Wivell of Barton.[135]
For Mr Ellerker of Ellerkar.
With abundance in Lincolnshire – almost all the gentry there; all which he confesseth to have made & to be false in the greatest part.
And he descovered severall others who practised the like forgeryes, among whom one Edward Waterhouse, who gatheres fees as an herald.[136] To which and many things more the said Dakyns subscribed in the presence of William Dethick, Garter Principall King of Armes.
There is allso a warrant for apprehending Christopher Dakyns & Edward Waterhouse, according to the tennour of Lord Marshalls warrant in that behalf. March 4th 1597, subscribed by:
William Dethick, Principle King of Armes.
William Camden, Clarenceaux King of Armes.
William Segar, Norroy King of Armes.
Lant. Winsor.[137]
Robert Treswell Somersett.
Thomas Knight, Alijs Rouge Croix.
William Smyth, Rouge Dragon.
S. Thompson, Portcullis.
The whole relation is to be seen out of the miscellaneous MS out of which I writt this; or in the iron barr'd chist in the Heralds Office where the original is kept. Quere whether they have it.

Quere. Whether the Ped[igree] of Bellingham herein mentioned be not the same with that in my book which I su[s]pected.
Quere. Whether Hiltons herein mentioned be not that att Hilton Castle in Bishopric.

There are fine notes in the said manuscript: a warrant of King James dat at Westminster Aug. 1 anno Regni ejus in Ang. 20, Scot. 56.[138] per Breve de privato sigillo:[139] to establish the Earle Marishall in equal power & authority with the Constable, whereon it

[VI.453]

is said to be found by clear proofe in the \ Privy / Council that the Constable & Marshall and joynt judges together, & severall in the vacancy of either, & ergo the King, doth authorise, will & command Thomas Earle of Arundale & Surrey his Earle Marshall, to proceed & judge in all causes whatsoever which pertaine to Constable, or to an Earle Marshall jointly & severally &c. Executed 4^0 September 1622.
There are allso very good accounts of the jurisdiction of the Earle Marshall, Provost Marshall \ Knight Marshall &c. / with the ordinances of the field in time of warr {good for soljer or Herald} excellent

[135] Barton/Burton?
[136] Edward Waterhouse (1619-1670), son of a London fish-monger, entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, but did not take a degree. Although never a member of the College of Arms, Waterhouse's heraldic and historical interests led him to write books such as *A Discourse and Defense of Arms and Armory* (1660). His earliest work, *An Humble Apologie for Learning and Learned Men* (1653), was a historical survey of the contribution of learned men to human affairs. He was fascinated by the fluctuating fortunes of great families of distinguished ancestry. Anthony Wood thought him a 'cock-brain'd man' of small ability (Wood, *Ath. Oxon.: Fasti*, 2.164) but William Dugdale gave him greater credit. His best-known work is *The gentleman's monitor, or, A sober inspection into the virtues, vices and ordinary means of the rise and decay of men and familie*s (1665). D. Woolf, 'Waterhouse, Edward (1619-1670), heraldic writer'. *ODNB*.
[137] Thomas Lant, Windsor King of Arms: see T. Woodcock, 'Lant, Thomas (1554/55-1600/01), herald and draughtsman'. *ODNB.*
[138] James I of England (1603) and VI of Scotland (1567); James's reign of Scotland was the longest of any monarch pre-union of the crowns: 57 years and 246 days. M. Brown, 'James I (1394-1437), King of Scots'. *ODNB*.
[139] 'By writ of privy seal.'

things & well worth transcribing if I had time. There are allso transcript of Records of all or most of those who have bin Marshalls in most kings reignes, att least from Ed. 3 to Q. Elizabeth.

There is allso a Catalogue of the Armes of Noblemen: bannerets, & knights in the reign of King Edward the Second, out of which I tooke these:

Sir Robert de Clifford, Or & Az. a fess Gules.
Sir Thomas Moulton: Argent, 3 barrs Gules.
Sir Robert Thony: Argent, a manch Gules.
Sir John de Engayne: Gules Crasuly \ & / a chev. Or.
{1.} Sir William Leyburne: Azure, 6 lyons rampand Argent.
Sir John Huddleston: Gules fretty Argent.
Sir Robert de Escales: Gules, 6 scallops Argent.
Sir William Vesey: Or, a plane cross Sable. {This differs from the seal in Clifford ped[igree].}
{2.} Sir Randulphe Nevil: Gules, a fallier Argent.
Sir John Deyncourt: Azure, billette & a fess dancetty[y] Or.
{2.} Sir William Leybourne de North: Or, 6 lyons rampand Sable.
{2.} Sir Hugh de Nevil: Azure, a lyon rampand Or.
Sir Nicholas Ponte: barry of 8, Or & Gules.
Sir Nicholas Vipount: Or 6 annuletts Gules.
Sir John Cromwell: Gules, 6 annuletts Or.

[VI.454]

Sir Robert Hilton: Argent, 2 barrs Gules.
Sir William Maleverer: Argent 3 greyhounds Gules.
Sir Nicholas Carew: Or, 3 lyons passant Sable.
Sir John de Lancaster: Argent, 2 barrs and quarter Gules, on the quarter a leopard Or.
Sir John de Harcourt: Or, 2 barrs Gules.
Sir Walter Beauchamp: Gules, a fess inter 6 martletts Or.
Sir Simon Ward: a cross pate[140] Or: field Azure.
{Daker} Sir William D'acre: Gules, 3 scallops Argent.
Sir Robert de la Ward: Vairy Argent & Sable.
{Malevl} Sir John Maleverer: Gules a Chief Or, a baston gobonne[141] Argent & Azure.
{No collers} Sir William Maleverer: Argent 3 greyhounds Gules.
Sir John de Haverington: Sable, frette Argent.
Sir Michael Haverington: distinguished with a label Or.
{Strikland} Sir Walter Strickland: Argent 2 barrs & a quarter Gules. This must be compared with that seale in our ped[igree].
Sir Thomas le Rous: Ermin on a chief indented Gules, 3 scallops Argent.
Sir John Conyers: Azure, a ma\u/nch Or.

These may be were taken out of my Lord Brudenells Boke;[142] for it follows the names of such familyes which beare different Coates of Armour, taken out of my Lord Brudinells D.[143]

[140] Probably a cross paté: a cross with arms, narrow at the centre. See Fox-Davies, *Heraldry*, 129.
[141] 'Baston': stick or staff. 'Gobony or Gobone': of a bordure composed of a row of squares of two alternate tinctures, sometimes a colour and a metal. *OED*.
[142] Thomas, Lord Brudenell (c.1583-1663), first earl of Cardigan. Royalist soldier and antiquary. His treatise concerning the nobility (1605-12); genealogical papers; drawings and coats of arms (1635) and correspondence with Sir Christopher and Sir Thomas Hatton (1622-60) are held in various English repositories; see TNA Collections, https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/c/F45645.
[143] A similar reference occurs elsewhere, viz. 'In an old MS penes anct. intitled Lord Brudenell's Book (B) é carta Rogerh'm in parochia de Herton in Comit. de Staff.' The quotation is taken from C.T. Banks, *Baronia Anglica Concentrata: or, A concentrated account of all the baronies commonly called baronies in fee; deriving*

Amongst others I shall onely offer a family:

1. Beauchamp Earle of Warwick: Gules, a fess inter 6 cross crossletts Or. B. of Elmly Gules a fess Or.
Sir Walter Beauchamp: Gules a fess inter 6 martletts Or.
Sir Miles in Bucks: Vaire, a label Or.
Sir Humphrey in Somersett: Vaire, a label Or.
Sir John in Essex: Gules, Brilletty & a fess Or.
Sir John, B. of Fyfield: Or a lyon Sable \ crown'd / Gules.

2. Nevil, Raph Earl of Westmorland: Ruby a saltier Pearle.
\ Sir John in Yorkshire: Argent a saltier Gules. /
Sir James in Surrey: Gules, crusule[144] & 2 trompes Or.
Sir Theobald: Azure crusule & 3 leopards heads fleurie Argent.
Sir John: Gules, crusule & 3 fleurs-de-lis Argent.
Sir Robert: Gules, a fess da\u/ncy Argent, a bordure ingrailed Or.
Sir Richard: Gules, a fess indented Argent, a label Azure.
Sir Phillip: Gules, a fess indented Argent, 3 mullets in chiefe Or.
{Sir Thomas of Lincolnshire: Or, a chiefe indented Vert, a bend Gules.
Sir Phillip: Argent, a fess dauncy Gules, a bend Sable.
[Blank] Azure 3 bustards riseing Or.

[VI.455]

Foes allowed by the King to his Councill of the North while established at Yorke

	li.
Lord Presidents foe	100: 0:0 with budget for himselfe & the rest of the Councill
7 Councillors, their foe	040: 0:0 a peece
The secretary, foe	033: 0:0
The Messenger, foe	006:13:4

For severall expenses allowed yearly amongst the officers & Councillors aforesaid:
Foe, 100:00:00 per annum
Ex Lib. MS Misc[ellaneous] in folio χ not.[145]

{Morvile}
Anno 1171 Willielmus de Traci, Hugo de Morevile, Richardus Brito, Regnaldus filius Ursi, milites, generis permanentia conspicui occiderunt Thomam de Becket Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, & Pos[t]mod[ic]um Alexandrum Romanum Pontificem adien[te]s, et accepta ab eo pænitentia, ierosolymam profecti sunt; et ex præcepto ~~ab eo~~ Papæ in monte nigro Pænitentiam agentes obierunt, & sunt ierosolymis sepulti, ante ostium Templi.[146]
Hoveden, f. 298 6 & 299.[147] Lib. X Paulo post med.

their origin from writ of summons, and not from any specific limited creation, whereto is added the proofs of parliamentary sitting, from the reign of Edw. I to that of Queen Anne…, Vol. I (Ripon, 1844), 103.

[144] 'Crusule or crusilly': of a field or charge covered or strewn with crosses, usually crosses crosslet. *OED* .

[145] Machell possibly meant, 'note'.

[146] 'In the year 1171 William de Traci, Hugh de Morvill, Richard Brito, Regnaldus son of Ursus, knights notable for the long continuity of their family, killed Thomas de Becket Archbishop of Canterbury, & soon after, going to Alexander the Pope in Rome, and receiving penitence from him, set out for Jerusalem; and while doing penance according to the order of the Pope on the Black Hill, they died and were buried at Jerusalem, before the door of the Temple.'

[147] Roger of Hoveden or Howden, *Chronica*, republished by G. Bishop, R Nuberie & R. Barker Typographij Regii as, *Rogeri Hovedeni Annalium Pars Prior & Posterior, in Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Post Bedam Praecipui, ex vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi* (London, 1596).

{Q. An haec fuit transgresio ob quam Apleby venit in manus Dom Johans \ Hen. 2 / Regis: et sic Richardi: inde Johannis qui dedit Rob. De Veteriponte.}[148]

{Ad Courts Baron}
Valvasor
Thain – Saxon: Major, a baron or Pear of the Realme.
Baron – Danish: Minor, & proprie such as may be impleaded in Jury among the Knights where Baron is party \ su[n]t / qui ad valvas tentorij Domini sui in Bello excubantes ad quamlibet vim et injuriam propulsandam, valvasor q. vas sortitu[s] ad fortitudinem: viri magnæ dignitatis Brouton.[149]
Minimus, sive valvassimus,[150] Lords of Manours called Barons (but abusively)* the Courts of their Manour calld, ergo, Courts Baron {Lib. 6, Cap. 11. Se Dugdals *Baronagio Angliae.*}[151]
*For of these Glanvil speaketh (Lib. 8, Cap. 10. Fol. 64}.[152] Præterea recordum habent minores curiæ de hijs quæ in ijs factæ sunt, in curia Domini Regis: quod contingit quando Aliquis Baro habet aliquam loquelam in curia sua, unde aliqua Rationabilis dubitat[io] oriatur; ita quod curia ipsa non sufficiat eam determinare, tunc potest {vid[e] versa pagina.}[153]

[VI.456]

Collection out of a miscellaneous MS ## penes Mr Sheldon

{ad bellum cum Scotis. sic notat[um] X pro certe: cetera suspic[io].}[154]
Anno 7. Ed. 2. [1313-14]. A grant was made out of the 15th part of goods moveable within cityes, 7 burrows, & a 20th part of the other laie people, with a forme for the assessing & levying of the same.
Anno 9. Ed. 2. [1315-16]. A like grant of the 15th – out of cityes & burghes; & out of every other towne one X armed man for the kings warrs in Scotland att their charges.
Anno 10. ejusd.: An impost of greater custom is laid upon merchandise, to be levied to the Kings use for a certain time by the way of loane.
Anno 12. Ejusd.: One 18th part of goods moveable of the layetie is granted for the wars in S\c/otland
Likewise, subsidies granted annis Ed. 3.[155] 6^0, 13^0, 13^0, 14, 15^0, 18^0, 20^0, 22, 25, 27, 29, 36, 38, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51.
Likewise, Rich. 2t.[156] Annis 1^0, 2^0, 2^0, 3^0, 4^0, 5, 6, 8^0, 13^0& 14, 18^0 & 20
Temp. Henry 4t.[157] Annis 1^0, 2^0, 4^0, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13

[148] 'Whether this was a transgression on account of which Appelby came into the hands of the Lord King John \ Henry 2 / and so of Richard: thence of John who gave it to Robert de Veteripont.'
[149] 'They are those who watch at the doors of their master's tent in war to repel any kind of violence or injury. valvasor q.: one who has received his military equipment for his steadfastness: men of great respect: Brouton.' A partly illegible margin comment opposite this paragraph, offers, '{The civilians, as Sha[?] *Lexicon Juris*, the […] valuæ Petrius Gregor, *Syntagma Juris Lib. 1*, Cap. 18.}' Machell was probably referring to Petrius Gregorius (Gregorii*), Syntagma Juris Universi, atque legume paene omnium Gentium Lib. 1* (Frankfurt am Main, 1599, 1611; Geneva, 1639).
[150] 'The lowest ranking, or valvassimus'.
[151] William Dugdale, *Baronagio Angliae* (1675-76).
[152] *Tractatus de legibus et consuetudinibus regni Anglie* (*Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom of England*), often called *Glanvill*, is the earliest treatise on English law. Written for Henry II and attributed to Ranulf de Glanvill (died 1190) and dated 1187-1189, it was revolutionary in its systematic codification, defining legal process and introducing writs. https://earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/glanvill.
[153] 'Moreover, the lesser ranking have a court record of the things which have taken place among them, in the court of the Lord King: a thing which happens when some Baron has some suit in his own court from which some reasonable doubt may arise, in such a way that the court itself is not sufficient to settle it, then it is able {see next page}.' [See VI.456, foot.]
[154] 'For the war with the Scots. It is noted X, like this, when certain. The rest I regard as suspect.'
[155] Edward III reigned from 1327 to 1377.
[156] Richard II reigned from 1377 to 1399.
[157] Henry IV reigned from 1399 to 1413.

Temp. Henry 5.[158] Annis 1^0, 2^0, 3^0, 4^0, 9^0, 9^0
Temp. Henry 6.[159] Annis 1^0, 2^0, 3^0, 4^0, 6^0, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14^0, 15, 18, 20, 27, 28, 31bis
Temp. Ed. 4.[160] Annis 3^0, 4^0, 5^0, 12^0, 14^0, 22 haec omnia in L ##

Potest dominus ipse curiam suam ponere in curiam domini regis.[161]
Among those northern people who invaded the Roman Empire, Baron signifyed a man of strength, as by the laws of the Lambards, & corrupt use of the word in Spane, France & Itali \ in which Latine is / now mixed with the Gothick & northern language, in every of which tongues the word Varron or Barron is instead of the Latin word Vir; with which agreement that piece of the ancient law of countries the dane collicipium quod e summa census diversa diu est suarum Dignitatum, si minoris vironis i.e. Baronis, duæ libræ si majoris quatuor.[162] {Bracton Lib. 2, cap. 8, s4.}[163]
The English Saxons called them Thaynes:
Thani Reges: T.M. qui de Rege.[164]
Thani aliorum: T.M. qui de alijs sub Rege.[165]
Hartfordshire. mar. de Brackinges (*Domesdaie*) Hoc manerium tenuerunt duo Taignir. Danes are yet Liberi Domini.[166]

[VI.457]

Collection è Lib. ## in folio, capt. è Claus 21 Ed. 1, part 1^t, m. 10

Licet Rex recuperasset usus Nicho[lai] de Veteriponte Manerium de Aldeston cum pertinent[ijs] quod qu[od]dem manerium idem Rex p[ror]us p[er] literas suas patentes concesserat habend[um] eidem Nicho[lao] e hered[itatione] de Alexandro Rege Scotorum defuncto, Rex vult quod idem Nicholaus continueret serv[ienti]am suam ei. vj Jan.[167] {Aldeston for Alston More in Cumberland.}

[158] Henry V reigned from 1413 to 1422.
[159] Henry VI reigned from 1422 to 1461.
[160] Edward IV reigned from 1461 to 1483.
[161] 'the lord himself can move his court to the court of the Lord King.' This follows the sentence at VI.455, foot.
[162] '… the Danish collicipium [qualification] which for a long time has had a different level among their rankings as a whole: if of a lesser, 'viro', that is a baron, two pounds; if of a greater [baron], four.'
[163] Henry of Bratton (Henricus de Brattona or Bractona) was an English judge of the court known as Coram Rege (later King's Bench) from 1247-50 and from 1253-57. Bracton's chief claim to fame is his association with the treatise *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae* (*On the Laws and Customs of England*). Commonly known as *Bracton*, the work attempts to describe rationally the whole of English law, While the attribution of the work to Bracton is of considerable antiquity, it now seems that the bulk of the work was written in the 1220s and edited and partially updated in the 1230s, by persons other than Bracton, with various additions up to the 1250s. The last owner of the original manuscript and the author of the later additions was probably Bracton.' Harvard Law School Library amesfoundation.law.harvard.edu/Bracton.
[164] 'Thane rulers: people who hold their power from the king. Thomas Machell.'
[165] 'Thanes of others: people who hold their power from others under the king. Thomas Machell.'
[166] 'From Hertfordshire. Manor of Brackinges (*Domesday Book*). This manor was held by two Taignir (Thanes). Danes are yet free lords.'
[167] 'Although the King had taken back into possession from Nicholaus de Veteriponte the Manor of Aldeston with its appurtenances, because the same king straightway through his letters patent had granted to the same Nicholas to hold a certain manor, from his inheritance from Alexander King of the Scots, deceased, the King wishes that the same Nicholaus should continue his subservience to him. vi Jan.'

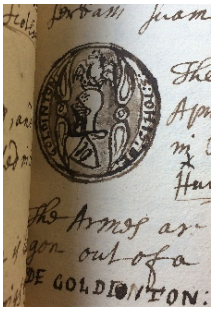


Figure 3.4.11. Seal of John Goldrington. VI.457.

The seale of John Goldrington, ad cartam dat apud Satbridgeworth (vide ubi in Spelmans *Villare*) [1] in Com[itatu] Hereford, 90 Henry 4 [1407-08]. {forsan aliq[uid] faciat ad Goldrington apud Appleby} fuit Dominus de Hunsden* Johannes ille Gold[r]inton.[168]
*Hunsden is in Herefordshire in Bragging Hundred. The Armes are 2 lyons passant, the Crist a demy dragon out of a coronet, the circumscription S. IOHS. DE GOLDINTON[169] i.e. sigillum Johannis de Goldr[i]nton.

{ad cristas}
Crists were used in the 32. Ed. 3. [1358-59]. The same seale with a milstone for the crest. But the page \ foregoing / was lost, in which the seale was dwane[170] so that I know not what it was. But I believe it was of Robert de Insula.

Ax[i]oma. Species legum forest[ae] sunt infinitæ[171]
Betwixt the date of a writ of summons (for a forrest court) and the returne are above 40 dayes; & that is a general in summoning all Royal Courtes of the Crowne {such is the majesty of the said haughty & stately courtes} as of the Court of Parliament; the eires of Quo Warranto

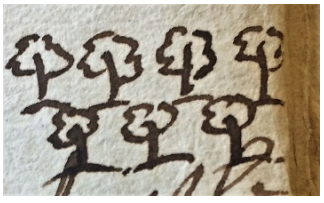


Figure 3.4.12. Forest Court: 'the eire of the forrest'. VI.457.

concerning liberties & franchesses; the eires of the forests & forrest laws; because it is supposed that in the time of 40 dayes after summons, give all persons in the realme who are concerned in those, may have sufficient knowledge of them.[172] Note allso that the forme of warrants: Omnibus, Archiep.,[173]

[168] 'He puts it on the charter at Satbridgeworth (see where in Spelman's Villare) in the County of Herefordshire, 9th year of Henry 4 [1407-8]. {Perhaps he may do something at Goldrington at Appleby} The Lord of Hunsden was that John Gold[r]inton.'
[169] MS: 'GOLDI~~O~~NTON'.
[170] 'drawn.'
[171] 'Proposition. The types of Forest Laws are innumerable.'
[172] The 'Eire' or 'Eyre' was The Court of Justices Itinerant. The 'Eire of the Forest' was the justice seat, which by ancient custom was held every three years by the Justices of the Forest, journeying up and down for that purpose'. See Giles Jacob, *A New Law Dictionary* (1729), EI-EL.
[173] Archiepiscopal: relating to archbishops.

Episcop., Comatis, Baron &c., was changed when the Office of Justice of the Forest, south & north, was given to nobles & now begins thus: R. concessit T.M. officium gardinu[m] et capita[lem] Juristic[tionem] {nostri itinerantis omniu[m] forestarum – chasearum & parcar[um] et war\r/enar[iorum] citra Trent.}[174]

In the laws feudal of the Lombards, collected by their King Rotharis, the word Baron is for a man of strength. And in Lib. 2 *Feudorum* Cap. 10[6] (these Barons according to that law are those capitanei or valvasores majores) for qui a principe vel ab aliqua potestate de plebe aliqua vel plebis \ parte / per feudum est investitus, is capitaneus appellatur, qui proprie valasores majores olim appella\ba/ntur;[175] and of the questions arriseing concerning those Baronie, the monarch of the realme (or those to whome he comitts the same) doth judge, for that those Baronies are said immediate a rege infeudati;[176] as for others, they are Barons ex similitudine,[177] and ergo are those which in the said Laws Feudal are called valvasores & valvasini,[178] for the words are these: Qui vero a capitaneis antiquis Beneficium tenent valvasores sunt.[179]

[VI.458]

Qui autem \ a / valvasoribus feudum quod a capitaneis habebatur similiter acceperint valvasini, i.e. valvasores minores appellantur.[180]

The use of this division in England hath bin no other but this. The Valvasor major is our Baron or Peere of the realm. The second is Valvasor proper, of whom mention is made in the Law (13. Ed. 3. [1339-40] T[….] cha[…..] 15),[181] for the[y] may be impleaded &c.

N.B. Vide Legem. T. The 3 valvasini – as you have it before.[182] This is the authors sense & much of his word. But I am inclinable rather to consider whether these words out of the feudal may not direct us to use of the words thus: That Valvasor Major is a Baron qui de rege tenet, valvasor special: qui de Barone tenet Sc. Dominus Manerij. Valvasinus qui de ipso Domino, Sc. Homo Domini, & speciatim Liber tenens. T.M.[183]

[VI.459]

The names of those which came in with the Conqueror as far as I seem concernd, as to West[morland] & Cumb'land, or elsewhere in my note

These were taken of a MS folio Mr Sheldons marked thus, Sc. χ, where the whole catalogue is to be seen.

[174] 'The King granted T.M. the office of warden and chief jurisdiction {of our circuit of all his forests – chases and parks and warrens, on this side of Trent.}'

[175] '… (these Barons according to that law are those captains or greater barons) for the man who is invested in fee by a king or by some power arising from the people or part of the people, he is called captain – they who properly were once called greater barons.'

[176] '… for that those Baronies are said immediate enfeoffed by the king.'

[177] '… as for others, they are Barons by resemblance.'

[178] '… in the said Laws Feudal are called barons & lesser barons.'

[179] '…for the words are these: indeed, those who hold a fee from the chieftains of old are barons.'

[180] 'Moreover, those who have received from barons a fee which was held in the same way from chieftains, are called 'valvasini' i.e. minor barons.'

[181] These two words are indistinct.

[182] 'See the Law. T. The three Valvasini – as you have it before.'

[183] 'That valvasor major is a baron who holds from the king; a valvasor special is one who holds from a baron, that is, the lord of a manor. A valvasinus is one who holds from that lord; that is, a lord's man, and in particular, a free-holder.'

According to William Taileur of Rhoane, in his *Cronicle of Normandy*: vide How's continuation of Stow's *Cronicle* p.103, 104, 105.[184]

Guillaume de Veitz Pont	Referatur ad Apleby
Le Sire de Port.	Hantshire
Le Sire de Romelle	per Skepton
These archers of the Vale Rieill[185]	& of Bretneil[186] & other places, p.105. 106.
le Sire de Tony	ad Clifford
Le Sire de Oslie	ad Oxon
Hue le Vigot alias Bigot de Maletot	
Le Sire de Harrecourt	\ ad / ad cognom \ ap opedis /
Le Sire de Dancourt	
Le Sire de Scantevil (si Stuttevilee)	
Tostam du Bec	

Those out of the Tables att Battle Abby:

Bohun	(ad Hartley)
Breton	
Beke	
Beauchamp	
Coniers	(ad Machel)
Curson ad Oxon	
Clifford	(! Id mirum non de Clifford. vide etiam ut ducunt originem a [blank] de Ponte, non e suspect[o] reddit[u] vel Catalogi vel Genealogiæ Clifford?).[187]
De la Pole	(ad Wayhil)
Engaynen	(ad Westm'land)
De la Ward	
Fitz William	(ad Musgrave fa.)
Glannvile	
Le Scroope	
Lind-sey	
Le Vaus	
Morvile	(ad Aplby)
Musgrave	(ad Musgrave)
Musgrose	(hi[n]c patet quad sunt destinitæ familiæ)[188]
Mallory	
Morley	
Mantell forsan?	

[184] Edmund Howe, *The Abridgement of the English Chronicles First Collected by M. John Stow, and After Him Augmented with Every Memorable Antiquities, and Continued with* Matter (1611). This volume contains lists of Normans who entered England with William I, from which Machell extracted names local to the north of England. Stow's source was *L'Histoire et Cronique de Normandie*, published at Rouen between 1487 and 1610. Holinshed and Stow called the work, the 'Croniques' or *Chronicles of Normandy*. The author was mistakenly identified by Holinshed, Stow, and John Speed as 'William Taileur', that is, Guillaume le Taileur of Rouen, one of the original publishers of the work in 1487. See R.B. Gottfried, 'Samuel Daniel's Method of Writing History', *Studies in the Renaissance 3* (1956), 157-74, at 158-59. Hence, Machell acknowledges 'William Taileur' as the original source of his lists, while citing his actual source, which was How, *Abridgement of the English Chronicles*, 103-08.

[185] The archers of the vale of Reuill, see Howe, *Abridgement of the English Chronicles*, 104.

[186] The archers of Bretuille, see Howe, *Abridgement of the English Chronicles*, 104.

[187] 'This is amazing. Not of Clifford; see also that they draw their origin from [blank] de Pont, not from the unreliable rendering, either of the Catalogue or the Clifford Genealogy.'

[188] 'From this it is open how far they are of an established family.'

Morton	(inde mirum de oppidis)[189]
Norrice	
Neel	
Oryol	ad [Blank]
Pigot	
Pudsey?	
Rose	(ad Barwises) et Cumberland
Ridle	ad Ridel?
Richmond	(ad Fam. Machel et ad Cumb'land)
Sandford?!	Iterum
Taylbois	(ad?)
Torell	
Tirell	
Ward	(not de la Ward)
Wynell	

Tis something strange that there should be noe (de) prefixed to these sirnames, which are most of that taken from Townes &c. & som of them not French Townes neither.

[VI.460][190]

Cognomina Conquisitorum Angliae cum Domino Guilliam[o] Duce Normaniæ & Conquestore Angliæ ex Rot[ulo] Antiquo penes Tho. Scriven Ar[migerum] Anno 1615.[191]

Achard
Archer
Bastard
Basset
Blundel
Berry
Beauchamp

Botiler
Bigod
Burle
Cursy
Chauser
Darce
Duket ad Grarig
Dericourt
Harecurte
Kosin ad Burton
Lucy
Mansel
Morvil
Moleverer
Morley
Picot
Parley
Puutfrait
Russell
Rydell id mir[um]![192]
Rooz
Richmount
Say
Savage
Tonny ad Cliff
Tyrell
Tayleboys
Vere
Villers
Vesey
Vaus
Ward

I suppose the Table out of which I pick'd these names from among many others are in Hows Continuation of Stow's *Cronicle*, vide. I know not what to thinke of these \ latter / except they have bin taken out of some records & digested in to this alphabeticall \ order / by the Collector, who has left out the (de) for brevity's sake.

[189] 'Hence astonishing about the towns.'
[190] A note at the top of this page reads, 'for. 107'.
[191] 'Surnames of the Conquerors of England with Lord William Duke of Normandy and Conqueror of England, from an ancient document in the possession of Thomas Scriven, Knight, in the year 1615.'
[192] 'Rydall – This is astonishing!'

[VI.461]

Notes concerning Heralds Visitation – with some Coates of Armes

Miscellanea Lib. 10, p.78
25. Rob. Crakenthorpe = Elizabeth, 2[a] fil. Et coheres Johannis Lancaster de Rydall, militis, et habuit in per tem sua maneriu de Mylne-burne.

Entered in Kirkbythore.
Joh[ann]es Crakanthorp de Helgyll in Co. Westm'l. Ed. 4 = filia.
Ambrose Crakenthorpe de Helgill or Holgill sine exit. Antonius Crakewenthorpe obijt 11. H. 8.

[VI.460A]

Ad p.17 in the Booke of Arms
Grocers
Of Whitfield Or, bend Sable, between 2 cotizes ingraled, Sables.
I place it here because a branch of them lived lately at Bolton.

[VI.462A][193]

Coats of Arms belong to Westm'land

{Labourne}
Laburne de Witherslack Hall near Kendall bears Arms 6 lyons passant gardant Or. 32 & 1.
Note this. I have putt downe for Winsors, having information of both from Ar. Duckatt, sed de hoc quere? For he tooke Nevils to be Winsors.
I finde that to the Leyburnes (of what place I know 0) but those who were Barons in Ed. 3 time, the last of which family was Julian, daughter and heiress to Thomas Leyburne, who was given in marriage to Will. Clin\o/ton, E. of Huntington, created by the forsaid King E. 3, anno 1337. And these Leyburns bore for their Arms 6 lyons rampant, 3, 2 & 1. This may peradventure correct the former.
It doth sae {se my pocket book}.

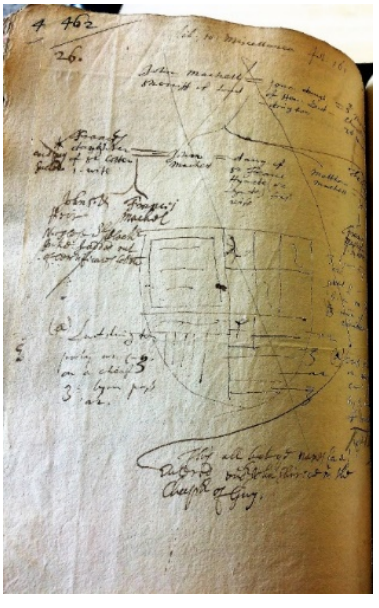


Figure 3.4.13. Labourne Arms. VI.462.

[193] Also numbered p.101.

[VI.463]

(Memorandum *l. the 15* in Colleg. Herald)
{Armes not to be borne by one that maryes of a gentle woman heiress}[194]
A very good booke in the Heralds Office (marked *L. the 15*), wherein is declayred that if an heiress mary one that has no Coate, he cannot bear his wives; neither her children of her, except som of them shall have a Coate granted; then he may quarter his mother Coate. Not otherwise, for to bear it single were an injury to others of the same family in the indirect line. (Sed quere? For I have red the contrary, & methinks it may be born without injurie because the other may be known by their distinction, or hers may be borne with 3 [labels].)[195]
Sed Nihil statuo.[196]
I must serch *Visitation of Lancashire*,[197] for the Gentry about Kendall side, who often transplant thither, & for Gentlemen in other parts: Bishoprick, Yorkshire, Cumberland & Northumberland? Consult Mr Phillipson or Ducket abou[t] Leybourne to joyne the ped[igree].
N.B. Memorandum: I have left a paper att M. in *Yorkshire Visitation*, & Lowther is to be examend.[198]
{? Vide *Visitation Yorkshire* 1585 penes Dr Knight.}

[VI.464]

Mix'd Notes of Families & Places to [be] referd to the proper Chapters

Memorandum: Machells Armes are in Dugdall: greyhound not collared, & that Machell, that match in Apleby Church window, which he called Maliverer; but Armes is indeed Machell & Thornburrow, he has drawn without collers. q. an recte.[199] {?} He has take out the late mon[ument] for the present countiss, nor the figure of the other, but only the inscriptions & Armes.[200] Query whether he has there \ in Apleby Church windows / a chev[ron] between 3 horseheads. What churches & family in Cumberland. Noe.[201]

Memorandum at Mr Knights
A Visitation in the 4^0 of Cumberland wherein are no pedigrees, but the Armes of most familyes in Westm'land & Cumberland; anno et authore nil certo,[202] but about the time of Q. Eliz. As I guess. I should see it.
{Machell}
Machells Armes of Westm'land are there. Sable 3 greyhounds courant in pale, Argent collard Or.
I have consulted at Mr Knights, this:
Visit[ation] of Northumberland per Richard St George, Norroy 1615.
Visit[ation of] Durham, eodem anno.

[194] The rest of this margin comment is obscured by the binding.
[195] MS: image of a 'label'. The label can appear as a cadency mark, denoting the eldest son during the lifetime of his father, but might also be used as a permanent distinction: See Henry Gough, *A Glossary of Terms used in British Heraldry* (Oxford, 1847), 98-99.
[196] 'But I make no judgment.'
[197] Machell is possibly referring to William Dugdale's *Visitation of Lancashire* (1664-65), though there were others: William Flower in 1567 [see F.R. Raines (ed.), *The Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancaster made in the year 1567 by William Flower Esq.*, *Norroy*, *King of Arms* (Chetham Soc., Manchester, 1870)]; Richard St. George in 1613 [see F.R. Raines (ed.), *The Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancaster, made in the year 1613 by Sir Richard Saint-George, College of Arms* (Chetham Soc., Manchester, 1871)]. But see his reference to an undated Visitation on VI.464 and VI.466, below.
[198] Pedigrees of Gressingham, Thornton, Harwood, Ripon, Burton and Cottingham (of Lancashire and Yorkshire) are examined on the rest of this page of the MS: not transcribed in this edition.
[199] 'Whether correctly?'
[200] This passage has been transcribed as seen. For its meaning see Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, I.295.
[201] The answer is written in different ink.
[202] 'Year and author uncertain.'

Visit[ation of] Lancashire {anno et authore incerto} penes Knight.
But a very good *Visitation of Yorkshire* circa 1584, 1585, authore incerto.[203]

At the Heralds Office:
Visit[ation] of Westm'land, Mr Dugdale, Norroy, anno [blank][204]

Herald Painter
Att Mrs Smiths by St Dunstan's, a partiall *Visitation of Westm'land* circa in 5^0 Caroli,[205] & all her books.
Mrs Parkers, all her books. Ther a pedigree of Dakers out of which something extracted.
I want the seale & origine of the Burogh of Kendal. Dugdale, *Westm'land*, p.21.b; Appleby, p.22.
Seale a Appleby Schoole p.22.a. I want Wharton of Kirkbythores pedigree. Ibid.

{Burnished Bellingham}
Burnished. Bears ~~Gules~~ \ Argent? / 3 bend\i/etts ~~arg~~ \ Gules / on a canton of the second a lyon rampant of the 1^{l}: è Bellingham ped[igree].

{Salkeld}
Salkeld bears Vert 4 fretts \ of 4 / Or: è ped. Bellingham (forsan è Dugdalle)

{London}
Memorandum: to se when Richard de Veteripont lived refer to the 2^{nd} descent in Bellingham pedigree & send it to the Heralds: Noe such man.[206]

[VI.472][207]

{August 1675. Letters in order to the antiquities of Westmorland}

These: for Mr Thomas Machell att Queens Colledge in Oxford.[208]
{Sorry I saw you not again. Enquire the next […].[209] Tell Campion negat Liter}[210]

[VI.471]

London August the 30^{th}, 1675
Sir
I have had some extraordinary business that hindr'd me in the serch of those Coates you desired of me, otherwise I had given you an account of them ere this. I can only finde three of them, which I have sent you. Mr Threlkeld tould me you desired me to send you the letter of attorney made me by Mr Lowther and you would take care to recover my money. I have sent him a letter per this post with an order to pay it into your hands, and take your receipts for his discharge, which is as well as if I had sent the letter. I would intreat your kindness in it and you will infinitely oblige me to serve you in my own way or otherwise, which with my humble service is all att present.
From your humble servant
Giles Campion

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[203] See Joseph Foster (ed.), *The Visitation of Yorkshire, made in the years 1584/5 by Robert Glover, 1544-1588* (London, 1875). Glover was Somerset Herald of Arms and father-in-law of William Flower, see N. Ramsay, 'Glover, Robert, herald'. *ODNB*.
[204] See Joseph Foster (ed.), *Pedigrees recorded at the heralds' visitations of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland: made by Richard St. George, Norroy, King of Arms in 1615, and by William Dugdale, Norroy, King of Arms in 1666* (Carlisle and Kendal, 1891).
[205] A numeral in front of the numeral '5' is indistinct.
[206] Added later in different ink.
[207] Reverse of a letter on VI.481. A seal is attached.
[208] Not in Machell's hand.
[209] This word appears to end 'ster'; the first letters might be 'ma' but the word, 'master', is unconvincing here.
[210] The margin comments are in Machell's hand. The Latin might be 'negat litera[m]': literally, 'He says not the letter', which could possibly mean, 'He says, forget the letter' [?] but the sense is not clear

[Machell's Notes: VI.471]
Answered to all but the Mon. Sept. 8 1675, and a farther quere for Sedalls armes?

[VI.471][211]



Figure 3.4.14. 'Drawings of Backhouse, Windsor and Theodall (alt. Theoball) Coates of Arms', in a letter to Machell from Giles Campion. VI.471.

[VI.465]

Visitation \ of / Northumberland, Durham, Northumberland, Cambridge, Suffolk, Essex. Lincoln, Bedfordshire. Penes Dr Knight Dom Regis Chirurgion juxta Nov. Excal.[212]

È *Visitation Northumberland*, se Richard St George, Norroy, 1615.

{Blenkinsop}
1. A pedigree of the Blenkinsops of Bellastar in Northumberland of 8 generations.[213] The armes Argent A bar betwixt 3 gards Sable (p.25).
Itt. Blenkinsop of Blen: a ped. of 5 generations, pag.37.

{Carnaby}
2. Carnaby of Hatton in Northumberland, a ped. of 11 generations.
From William to William etatis 22, 1615, with the coate & crist, p.12b.[214] Crist a Sarazens head Argent band[ed] Argent & Gules.
Carnaby of Horsly, q[uery] Halton, pagina 38. Ibid.

{Fetherston}
3. Fetherston of Fether[ston]haugh: 4 descents to Aubend 1615. p.36.
Swinborn p.8. 20th. 5 descents.

{è *Visitation Episcop*. Eodem anno}

Conyers of \ Sockborn / Laton.[215]
[1.] Azure a manch Or, charg'd in the tip with a mullet Gules.

[211] Letter to T.B. from Giles Campion, with a note in Machell's hand at the foot of the page. Giles Campion was a herald painter, see W.A.D. Englefield, *The History of the Painter-stainers Company of London* (London, 1924), 139.
[212] 'In the possession of the king's surgeon', see Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence: 'Thomas Machell to Thomas Holford, Herald, Trinity Sunday 1676' [V.2C]. The same letter gives Knight's address as, 'lives behind the ~~Old~~ New Exchange Lower.' See also VI.480, below.
[213] Probably Bellister Castle, Northumberland.
[214] Here, 5cm of text is scored through.
[215] Sockborn and Layton (Durham).

2ly. Barry of 6 a canton Gules, charged with a cross-crosslet florry, Argent.
3. Or a \ cross-crosslet / Sable as the first, a ped. of 8 descents from Sir Christopher of Sockborn, who married Marian the daughter of Sir William Euger, who had Issue Sir William who married Ann daughter of Sir Ralph Bygors of Fetherington and had Issue Sir Christopher of Sockb., & 2, Cudbert of Laton who m[arried] the daughter of Thomas Laton of Sox-Hoe,[216] & had Issue John, who marryed Jane, the daughter of Jo. Ogglethropp, who had Issue Sir Ralph, living 1615, who marryed the daughter of Simon Maud of Wrindlesham in Com. Suff. Esq. & had Issue, Cudbert etatis 4, Mary & Ann.
The crest on a wreath, a Wing Gules erect.

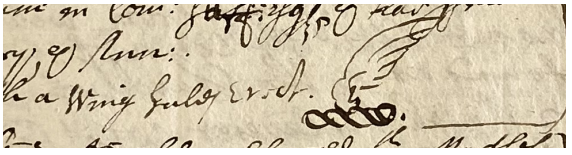


Figure 3.4.15. 'A Wing Gules erect'. VI.465.

{Hotton, Coate}
Hutton of Hutton John: Gules a fess Or, charg'd with a martlet between 3 coushons Argent, tasseled Or, charged with 3 flower de lies of the first. 5 descents. This is Hotton of Stretham in Duram Episcopate,[217] page 19.b.

{Fetherstonhaugh}
Fetherstonhaugh of Stanop in Episcopate Dunelme, 17 descents. The first \ of the name of / Rob. Fetherstonhaugh, 4^0 of Ed. 3rd [1330-1331] \ 3 / about […][218] by the name of Stanop. William de Monte is the 1t name in the pedigree vixit. Henry. Stephen. John \ is / the last marryed, which son of Ralph & Jane Apleyard, 17 of aige, 1613. Vid. p.22 & 23.

{Musgrave}
Azure a /\[219] inter 3 mul[lets]: arranged by the name of Hilliyeard, pro Edenall window.

{Tusdall of Kendal Bar}
Richard Tunstall had Issue Rob. of Kent Cragg in Kendall; marryed the daughter of Asque \ Aske / in Furness & had Anthony of Stockton in Episcopate Dun[elm].

{Comyn ad Machell de Crak.}
Comyn: Azure a cheveron Or, trimmd Sable betwixt 3 garbs Or, p.51. b.
Itter. Gules garbs Or. ~~It.~~ Gules 3 garbs within a duble tresure Or. Informate. Dr Knight.

{Wallis ad Machell}
Wallis in Scotland: ~~Gules~~ a fess ermine. Infor. Dr Knight.

[VI.466]

È Visitation Lancashire, penes Mr W. Knight

{Barlow}
Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, Azure on a /\[220] engraled betwene 3 cross crosslets Sable, a fess Sable.

---

[216] Saxhow.
[217] Here, there are 7½cm of scored-through text.
[218] A three-letter word here is indistinct.
[219] Chevron. The Hilliard (of Durham) coat of arms consists of azure, a chevron with 3 mullets (five-pointed stars), two above and one below the chevron. See John Burke and John Bernard Burke, *Encyclopædia of Heraldry: Or General Armory of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1844), HIL.
[220] Chevron.

Lib. Penes Mr Sheldon, 4^0 Φ.[221]
Barlow of Barlow: Sable an eagle displayed with 2 heads bearing in his claws expanst a trunk ragged, Argent. A peddigree of 8 descents to Sir Alixander: a good family, p.46.

{Dalton}
Dalton \ of Dalton after of Vispan,[222] / 11 descents, 2 descents \ being / before Ed. 3rd {?} p.124.

{Lancaster: of no distinction?}
Lancaster of Raijn-Hill in Com. Lanc.[223] beares 2 bars with a canton Gules, charged with a lyon passant Or; the crest a Lyon \ or Leopard / head eraysed. pag.80.

{Midleton}
Middleton of Besham & of Leyton, descend of 3rd sonn of Jeffrey Middleton of Westmorland by the daughter & Heire of John Crofts of Dalton.

È *Visitation York.* Cap. 1585

{Mountfort}
Mountforts Armes are Argent powdered with cross crosslets Gules {?} A lyon rampant Azure within a bordure Ermin; the Crist a talbots head Coupd Or. p.134. To give in Fra[n]ck Almoine for Liber Eleemo[sia].[224]

{Maliverer!}
{Maliverer in Yorkshire = Sable 3 grey hounds currant Argent studded Gules & herrelded Ore. Φ 4^0 penes Mr Sheldon.}
Maliverer of Allerton: Gules 3 grey hounds courant in pale Argent, coller Or, with 2 more quarterings & a ped. of 17 descents from William, first of that sirname after the Conquest; who had Isue: 1. Richard, founder of the church of Allerton ob. S.P. 3 foulk = 2. Ralphe Maleverer who had Isue = William, to whom Albert de Gresley gave lands in Flaxby[225] = who had Isue Henry Maliverer, to whom his brother Raphe (who outlived him & had a son called Rich. who dyed S.P.) gave 3 carucate terræ[226] in Clareton Anno 1204. He maryed Cicile, daughter of William Dunforth = & had Rich. who maryed Allice & had Henry, Cosin & heir of his great uncle Raphe, which Henry had Isue John &c. \ John had Isue: John, Lord of Quinxley Parva &c. 14. Ed. 3, 1339. / To Sir Richard Maliverer of Allerton, Knight, Anno 1584. The Crest is a grey hound A[rgent] standing upon a wreath & collard Or, as in the charge (p.215).

{Maliverer XI}
Maliverer of Woodersham, Sable 3 grey hounds courant in pale Argent collerd Or, with 2 quartering more; the Crest, a vine stem & leafe; with a ped. of XI descents from William Maliverer of Woodsham, who lived in 1584, having at that time onely 3 daughters, p.216 a. b.

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[221] The symbols refer to the book 'in the possession of Mr Sheldon.'
[222] Bispham, Lancashire: see W.O. Roper, 'The Daltons of Thurnham', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* (New Series 6, 1892), 97-124, 100.
[223] Rain-hill: See F.R. Raines (ed.), *The Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancaster made in the year 1664-5 by Sir William Dugdale, Knight, Norroy, King of Arms, Part 2* (Chetham Soc., Manchester, 1871-72), 172.
[224] 'Frank almoin' (frankalmoign/e) was an English form of land tenure whereby an ecclesiastical body held land free of military service, such as knight service or other secular or religious service, sometimes in return for the religious service of saying prayers and masses for the soul of the grantor. Not only was secular service not due, but in the 12th and 13th centuries jurisdiction over land so held belonged to the ecclesiastical courts, so was immune from royal jurisdiction.' Machell's phrase translates as, 'to give in Frankalmoin as free alms.' See F. Pollock and F.M. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I* (Cambridge, 1895), 218-30.
[225] Here, there are 2cm of scored-through text.
[226] '3 carucates of land'.

[VI.473]

{Machell}
Rogerus Malus Catulus, Vicechamberlain to King Richard 1, drownd going to the Holy Land, with the Kings seale about his neck.[227] Out of a parch[ment] booke of Mr Sheldons.

{Nevil}
John Nevyll, Lord Latimer, Anno Henry 4^t, 8^0 28 October [1406]. Seald with a crosse florry upon a escutcheon pendant in a side helme, & the Crist a cypress tre supported by 2 lyons couchant: writ about, S. Johannes de Nevyl Dr de.[228]

{Engayne}
One Thomas Engayne, Dom. de Blatherwick. Die Domenica in Festo Sancti Dunstani,[229] Anno 33 Ed. 3. [1359-60]. Seald with a /\/\/\[230] between 10 cross crosslets, 4, 3, 2, & 1; 4 of which are about the fess and the rest underneath. Writ about sig[illo] &c. He was son of John Dengayne. Se in what county the Manner of Blatherwick {Non occurit in Adams *Villare*.}[231]
Out of a letter of Pope Boniface[232] to the nobles of England assembled in Parliament at Lincoln, anno 1300, where unto was sett their hands & seales asserting the supremacy of King Edward & his jurisdiction over the Scotts, in the time of the Brit.

{Lancaster}
? To count Lancaster seales with 3 lyons passant garda[n]t & a fild of 3 labells, each of them charged with 3 flore de luces. Henricus de Lancaster Henricus de Lancaster Dominus de Mane[rio][233] ad with 3 lyons &c., & over all a bend or phillett.

{Roos}
Willielmus de Roos Dominus de Hamlake, 3 water budgets.

{Bellocampo}
Count Warwick Sc. Guy ~~Beau~~ de Bellocampo with a man in armour on horseback, having a shield in one hand charged with a fess betwene 6 cross crosslets & traping of the said, and a sword in the other. On the reverse a shield hanging on a tre cheqye a cheveron Ermin supported by 2 lyons pasant up the sides of it. Johannes de Bellocampo, Dominus de Hacche nubile.[234]

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[227] The reference is to Roger Machell, King Richard I's vice-chamberlain and keeper of the great seal of England, who drowned while sailing to the Holy Land, see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.327A. An unclear margin note here probably refers to Roger Hoveden or Howden, author of *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hoveden* ('Chronicles of Master Roger of Howden: the story of England before Henry II's reign continuing until 1201.')
[228] 'Dr…' is followed by two unclear letters.
[229] 'On Sunday, on the Feast of St Dunstan.' St Dunstan (909-988) is the patron saint of bell-ringers. He was successively Abbott of Glastonbury, Bishop of Worcester, Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. His concern with the architectural fabric of the Church allowed him to develop the design and forging of bells which increased the importance of their role. He was canonised and his Feast Day is 19 May. https://ringingforengland.co.uk/all-bells/influencers/
[230] A fess dancetté: See *CFH*, 'Engaine', 102.
[231] 'It does not occur in Adams *Villare*.' John Adams, *Index Villaris, or, an alphabetical table of all cities, market-towns, parishes, villages, private seats in England and Wales* (London, 1680, reprinted with additions, 1690). Blatherwick is in Northants.
[232] Pope Boniface VIII (b. c.1230, d. 11 October 1303).
[233] 'Lord of the Manor.'
[234] 'Johes de Bello Campo, Dominus de Hacche' (John de Beauchamp, Lord of Hatch) = John Beauchamp, 1st Baron Beauchamp of Somerset (1274-1336). He was one of the signatories of 'The Barons' Letter of 1301'. The letter (to which they set their seals) was written by seven English earls and 96 English barons to Pope Boniface VIII in the parliament at Lincoln after the pope had claimed Scotland as a fief of Rome and forbidden Edward I to molest the Scots. See Henry Gee and W.J. Hardy (eds), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*

Robertus de Clifford Castelanus de Apleby[235]

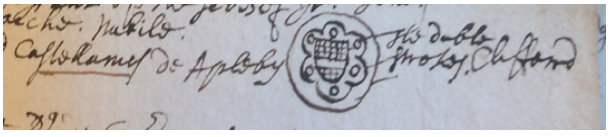


Figure 3.4.16. 'The duble strokes. Clifford'. VI.473.

{Multon}
Thomas de Multon Dominus de Eggremont, 3 barruletts. On horseback but no az[ure] scrip.[236]

{Latimer}
William le Latymer Dominus de Corby

{Eyncourt}
Edmundus de Eyncourt Dominus de Thurgerton

{Nevil}
Ranulphus de Nevyl Dominus de Rayby, a saltier on a shield.

[VI.474]

{Lancaster}
Johannes de Lancaster Dominus de Grisedale: 2 barrs on a canton; a lyon passant gardant.

{Bellocampo}
Walterus de Bellocampo Dominus de Aleceshire: a fess between 6 martletts: 3, 2 & 1.

{Engayne}
Johannes Engayne Dominus de Colum.

{Pecche, Corby}
Gilbertus Pecche Dominus de Corby.

{Hudleston}
Johannes de Hudleston Dominus de Aneys, frette of 8 & no circumscription.

{Leyburne}
Willielmus de Leyborne: 6 lyonsells rampant & writ about* S. WILLIELMI DE LEYBURNE.

{Graystock}
Johannes de Graystock Dominus de Morpath.
Radulphus fil Willielmi: on 8 barulets, 3 chaplett \ 3 ◊ 2 & 1. /
These 2 I believe are changed.

(London, 1896), 89-92. The letter was never sent. It survives in two copies originally held in the Exchequer. See Great Britain Record Commission, *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland … preserved in the Treasury of Her Majesty's Exchequer Vol 1* (London 1837), cxxx-cxxxi. The letters are now held in TNA (E.26). The Latin word 'nubile' (married) might refer to John Beauchamp's marriage to Joan Chenuit before 1301, seen on his shield. See https://www.thepeerage.com/p1982.htm#i19820.

[235] 'Robert de Clifford, governor of the castle of Appleby.'

[236] Scrip: a pilgrim's wallet or pouch, see Gough, *Glossary of Terms used in British Heraldry*, 278.

{Percy}
Henricus de Percy, a lyon rampant with caud inflexed. On horseback armed &c. & the reverse the shield with the same charge.

{St John}
Johannes de Sancto Johane: on horseback &c. On a chief 2 mullets of 6 pointes pierced.

[VI.475]

Q. Taken I thinke out of the *Visitations* penes Dr Knight

{Laton}
Laton of West Laton: 1 a billet[237] Sable between cross crosslets 3 Or, a bend[238] Sable charged with 3 escallops[239] Or. Q. if this be not Laton of Westm'land. [240]

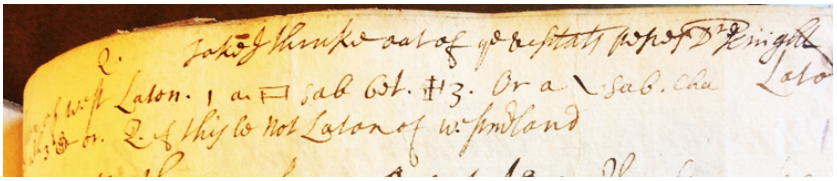


Figure 3.4.17. 'Laton' Arms. Machell's use of heraldry symbols as shorthand. VI.475.

{Persy}
Percy of Northumberland: Or a lyon rampant Azure with a gen. of 8 generations from Henry, 2 earle of Northumberland, Slane 33[d]. Hen. 6. 1455 to [blank]. Algenoone Lord Percy natus 1602. *Visit[ation] York*.

{Stapleton}
Stapleton: Argent a lyon rampant Sable with 3 other quarterings and a ped. of 13 generations from Nichollas to Jane, daughter & heire of Brian Stapleton, maryed to Sir Will. Fairfax. Ex eadem Fam. Stapleton de Wighill.

{Q. C. Chap.}[241]
A mullet[242] 3 in chief, & a [blank] Sable. In a field Argent. The Arms of John Dyneley, Maior of York, see p.127, Mr K[nigh]t.

{Williamson}
Thomas Williamson of Scarborough, one of the Balives of the town, 1584. Bore Argent within a bordure ingrailed Azure. A cheveron ingrailed of the second, charged with 3 crescents Or, between 3 bifoyles slipped Sable. For the Crest: a fallow deer's head erased Azure, lyred Argent, on the neck whereof a sunn Or. He had 2 wives. One was the daughter of Sir Raphe Eure & sister of William Lord Eure or Evers. The other was Ann, daughter of Tristram Tesh of York: p.4 *Yorkshire*. Mr Knight.

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[237] Here, Machell drew a rectangle.
[238] Here, Machell drew a diagonal line.
[239] Here, Machell's drawing (close to the binding) might be a shell (escallop).
[240] See *Figure 3.4.17.* A coat of arms for Layton of West Layton, Yorkshire, is given in *CFH* as Argent a fess between six cross crosslets Sable. A coat for Layton of Dalemain (when High Sheriff in 1628) is given as Sable on a bend Argent three escallops Gules. For other Layton coats see *CFH*, 201.
[241] A John Dyneley took a BA at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1609 and was incorporated at Oxford (MA) in 1614: Oxford Alumni at Ancestry.com. One John Dyneley, draper, was Lord Mayor of York from 1577 to 1578: D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979), 248, 254.
[242] Machell drew a star (representing a mullet).

{Wharton but I take it rather to be Warton}
There are Whartons of Beverly in Yorkshire who bear Or, a cheveron Azure with a martlets between 2 pheons[243] of the first with a ped. of 5 gen. Pag.53: penes Mr Knight.
The Crest on a trunke of a tree erased proper a squirrel proper sitting hold a nutt Or in her forefeete.

{Bainbridge}
Bainbridge Will. in Nottingham a patten of the coate Argent a cheveron Sable charged 5 ermins between 3 halberds Sable. By Will. Flower.[244] The Crest an hound Or, smelling collerd Vert. *Visitation Northampton*. With others. Mr Knight.

{Blenkinsop}
Blenkinsop &c. Argent a bar between 3 garbes Sable with a ped. From Thom[as] temp. Henry 6. to William, of 12 years,[245] 1615. 7 generations. *Visitation Northumberland* by Richard St George, Norroy eadem anno. The same Armes with a ped. of 5 to Tho. Blenkinsop of Blenkinsop, p.37. Rob. B. of Barley the same, p.1.

[VI.476]

Foster of Esterstove in Northumberland, a cheveron between 3 bugles. Coat quartered. A ped. of 6 from Thom. to Thom. aetat 11. 1615: p.18.

Merley, Baron of Morpeth, boar Barry Azure & Gules within a bordure Azure an Orle[246] of martletts Or. He seems to have taken the name of Morpeth from living there, for there is a monument at New Castle in these words: Here lyeth the body of Richard Mortpeth Merchant and Mary his wife, and their children, Christopher, who departed this life the 7. of Apr. 1591[…][247] The Coat is as afore, impaleing a fess between 3 hedgehogs passants.

{Grindall}
Parted per cross Or & Azure. A cross \ counter chang'd / Ermin & Or between 4 hawkes counterchaing'd of the field, collerd Argent. *Visitation* in 4^0 *North. Cumb. & West*. penes Mr Knight, p.9.

{Strickland}
Strickland & his wife Nevil in Com. Cumberland. Thus, parted per pale,
1. Argent a /\/\/\ fess[248] betweene nyne billets[249] Sable.
2. Sable 3 escallops Argent, som for[m][250] of the Dakers &c.; 3 as 2; 4 as 1. The second, Gules a X Argent, on which in fess a mullet Sable, pag.8. *Visitation* in 4^0 *Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland*. Strickland now beares the second coate.[251]

{Swinburne}
In Cumberland. Gules 3 bores head ~~Gules~~ \ ~~Argent~~ / betwene 8 cross crosslets Argent, 3.3 & 2. Second: Or a X ingrailed Sable charged in fess with an annulet Or. 4^0 *Visitation.*

[243] 'Pheon': the head of a dart, barbed, usually facing downward. See Gough, *Glossary of Terms used in British Heraldry*, 245.
[244] William Flower, Herald. Norroy, King of Arms. See J. Day, 'Flower, William (1497/8-1588), herald. *ODNB*.
[245] Aged 12 years.
[246] 'Orle': a narrow bordure following the outline of a shield but not extending to its edge; A number of small charges (usually eight) arranged around the shield so as to form an orle. *OED*.
[247] The word following this one appears to be 'Bob'.
[248] Fess dancetté, see Engayne, above.
[249] Here, Machell drew a rectangle.
[250] The word is obscured by the binding.
[251] As in *CFH*: 'Sable three escallops Argent', see 329.

{York Cit[y]}
Argent on a cross Gules 6 lyons passant Or.[252]

{Riddal}
Query whether Ridall in Westmorland so writ, & whether a place of that name in N\orth/umberland. Argent a fess betwene 3 garbes Azure, with 4 quarter[in]gs. And a ped. of 12 generations from Duke Utirius de Riddell (3 gen. above Ed. the 2.) to [Blank] William Riddel, son & heir of Thomas of Gatside & Newcastle ætat18. 1615. *Visitation of Episc. Dun*. per Henry St George, Norroy, penes Mr Knight.

{Ewbanke of Durham}
Sable 3 cheverons braised[253] in boss Or, on a chief of the 2nd ~~first~~ 3, O of the 1t. The Crist in a crownet Gules a dragon head Or, with a ped. of 4 or 5 gen. 1t James = Lord [of the] man[or]. 2. William = Tibbels 3. Harry \ Prebend / = Sampson. Toby = Grey. Ibid. pg. 27.

[VI.477]

Notes out of (Mr Knights) *Visit[ation] of Yorkshire*, 1585.
By Sir Will. Segar Garter Principal[254] King of Arms[255]

{Burdet}
Robert Baliol alijs Burdet mary'd Margaret the Daughter of Robert Denby ~~alijs Holland~~ by Margaret Daughter and Heir of Robert Holland, son of Adam.
His Arms were Argent 3 pallets Sable. Overall a Bend Gules charged with 3 martlets of the field. A Pedigree of 15 descents.

{Clapham}
Clapham of Clapham in Yorkshire. Quarterly of 6: 1 Argent, on a Bend Azure. 6 Floredeluces Or. 2, 2 &. 2. The second ~~Sab~~ Argent, on a Bend Sable, 3 coverd cupps of the first. By the name of Lound.
The Third Gules on a castle Or, a pigion Argent. By the name of Sutton.
The fourth Gules upon an Esscallop a cock Or. By the name of Otterborne.
The 5 Argent \ Sable/ Three Greyhoundes Courant Sable \ Argent / collared Or. Brisco? \ Mauleverer – I. I. W.[256]/
The 6th Argent. A Crosse between 3 womens heads Sable. See pag. 138. York,[257] where a pedigree of 21 Generations from Adam to Christopher who maryed the daughter of John Lauden of London & had Isu Christopher, ?Shefield,[258] & Mary. The Crist a Lyon Rampant Sable caud Gules? Holding a sword erect Blade Argent hilt Or.

{Dodsworth}
John Dod\ de /sworth of Thoreton-Watlons. Argent a Chev[ron] between 3 Hunters hornes Sable. A pedigree of 5 descents to John the son of John aetat 17, 1585. But Note that Waight of Hantshire & Sutton of Cheshire pretend to the same Coate; query Ideo, by what claim John the father of John ~~claimeth~~ challengeth the same. Allso he said his Ancestors are descended of a Daughter of the Thoresbyes & yet they have divided lands with the Thoresbyes which now are, and by that means

[252] There are 5 lions on the York coat of arms today.
[253] Braced: See Gough, *Glossary of Terms used in British Heraldry*, 64.
[254] MS: 'Principle'.
[255] 'After becoming Garter King of Arms in 1607, William Segar (c.1554-1633) was granted arms in 1612 and knighted in 1616. Segar was not only a herald, but also 'a painter of significance', who specialised in portraits.' A. Adolph, 'Segar, Sir William, herald'. *ODNB*.
[256] The letter 'W' is indistinct.
[257] MS: 'Yerk'.
[258] Machell frequently placed a question mark before the question.

came to be, the possession of Thoreton Watlons as part of their said mothers Inheritance. But as others hold, their right Arms are notwithstanding Argent […][259] Lyons rampant Sable. Ideo Quaere p.54.[260]

{Eglsfield}
William Eglesfield of Mapleton in Holderness 1584 bare Or 3 Eaglets volant Gules. He was son of Tho. Son of John Eglesfield of Sutton on Derwent. Thomas Eglefield of Barton Willows. William Eglesfield of Charmansay.
Eglesfield quartered with Bosvil, is \ Gules / a chevron Argent charged with 3 cross crosslets Sable, between 3 Eaglets &c. Or.

[VI.478]

{Lawson}
Lawson. A Coat Quarterly. 1 Argent, a cheveron between 3 martlets Sable. A pedigree of 6 descents from William of Cramlington in Northumberland. James of Newcastle. Edmond of Newcastle. Raph of Burgh in Richmondshire Esq. 1585. Whose Armes they are. He had Isue.
1. Roger, son & heir aetat 14. Edmund Anthony Marmaduke Allice Margaret Jane.
And Roger had: 1. Ralphe Sp. 2. Henry married to Ann daughter of Rob. Hodgeson of Hobborne, Edmond, Thomas John George Roger. Dorothy Elizabeth. Mary. Mary Catherine Anne. Query whether Sir Wilfride hence.

{Laton}
Laton of West Laton in Yorkshire a pedigree of 14 Generations from Thomas Layton who lived 7^0 Ed. 3 (1333-34) to Allaine son of John who lived 1613. The Coat is Quarterly. 1. Argent a fess between 6 cross crosslets Sable. 2. Or a Bend Sable chargd with 3 escallops of the field &c. which I thinke is born by Laton of Cumberland{?}

{Labourne}
Labourne of Cousewick. Azure 6 Lyons Argent, 3. 2. &c. 2 Argent a Bend Sable charged with 3 Annuletts of the field. In sinister point ~~a Trifoche slipped of the second. With a pedigree of 5 descents. To James who maryed Briget Daughter of Raphe Bulmer~~. Query if Cousewick be not in Westm'land.

{Leigh}
Argent 2 Bars Azure, overall a Bend Counter compone Or & Gules. With a pedigree of 13 descents from John Leigh of Allington & Boothes in Cheshire. Q. If any thing to Leigh of Cumberland.

{Lampleugh}
Quarterly. 1[t.] Or a Cross florry Sable. 2. Parted per fess Gules & Argent. 6 pigions countercharg'd. 3. Argent, 2 Bars & on a chief of Gules a Cinquefoyle Or. 5 generations of the Lampleughs of Cumberland. John with Eglesfield of Lamborough, Sir Thomas with a coheire of Fenwick, Knight. John with Marg.[261] Pennington; 2. Sir John ma. 1. Curwen (2 Foster) John 1584.

{Malvierer of Allerton}
17 Generations from Will., Ralph, Will., Henry of Clareton 1204, Richard, Henry, John, John 14 Ed. 3 1339. Sir Havilath John. Sir John of Allerton 1400.
{N. Anthony 3 son of John (son of Sir Havilath) had 1. George.}
{N. Gilbert 2 son of Sir Thomas son of Sir John had Sir Richard of Allerton 1584. Gules 3 grey[hounds] Argent collard Or.}[262]
{Sir Havilath. John. Sir John. Sir Thomas. Sir Richard. Sir Thomas – to an daughter & sole heir.}

[259] A blot has covered this numeral; it is possibly '3'.
[260] 'Therefore, enquire p.54.'
[261] Or Mary.
[262] As these margin comments were originally crammed into a small space, they are difficult to decipher.

[VI.479]

{Williamson}

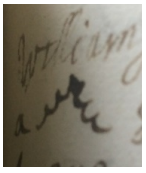


Figure 3.4.18. Shorthand heraldry symbol. VI.479.

Williamson of St Ellen, Aukland, in Episcop. Argent, a [symbol above] Azure charged with 3 crescents Or betwene 3 trifoyles slipp'd Sable & in chiefe a martlet. With a pedigree of 4 descents from Thom. to Will. ætat 10. 1615. *Visitation Episc*. p.29.

{Hutton}
Timothy Hutton \ of Harsk / Gules a fess Or charged with a floredeluce Sable between 3 cushion Ermin. Garlend of lawrel Vert. {Se Hutton of Lancaster & Durham. But the crist is a naked man proper having a branch in his right hand, his left upon his side, and a white scarfe about his loynes, p.37.}

{Preston}
Anthony Preston of Estmorton Argent 2 Barrs Gules; on a canton of the 2nd a cinquefoyle Or, p.58.

{Midleton}

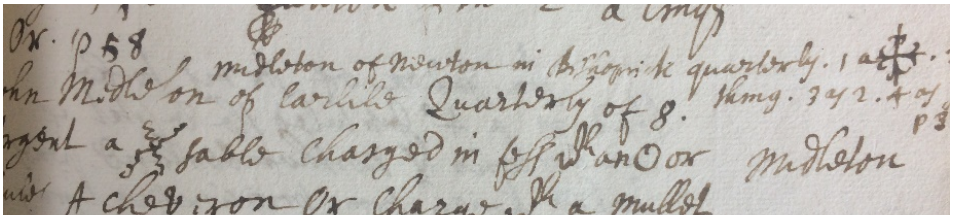


Figure 3.4.19. 'Midleton' Arms: symbols. VI.479.

John Midleton \ of Newton in Bishoprick quarterly 1; 2 nothing; 3 as 2; 4 as 1: p.38. /
John Midleton of Carlisle quarterly of 8.
1. Argent a [see the symbol in figure above] Sable charged in fess with an O Or.

{Headlam}
2. Gules a cheveron Or charged with a mullet upon an O betwen 3 lambs heads Argent. By the name of Headlam.

{Crackenthorpe}
3. Or. A cheveron (chargd with a crescent) betwene 3 mullets Azure. Crackenthorp.

{Lancaster}
4. Argent 2 barrs Gules on a canton of the second a lyon passant Or. Lancaster.

{Martindal}
5. Barry of 6 Argent & Gules. A bend Azure. Martindal.

{Newton}
6. Argent a cheveron Azure, charged with 3 garbes Or. Newton.

{Langrigge Cumb Shire}
7. Argent 6 billets[263] Sable 3. 2 & 1. Langrigge.

{Alanby}
8. Argent within a Bordure Ingrailed a /\ Azure by the name Alanby: p.60.
Crist upon a trunke barwise a monky proper chained Or with an annulet upon his shoulder.

{Pickering}
It seems the family is not quite extinct but rather transplanted into Northamptonshire, for Thomas Pickering of Barrow Hall in Kendal Co. West[morland] Esq. had Romber of Isham in Com. Northampton = Margaret, daughter of John Lustwick, eodem Com.[264] & had Isue Thomas Pickering of Isham, Gent. = Margaret, daughter of Anthony Sharkburgh of Horodon Parva in Com. Northampton: Anthony son & heir; Mary; Alice.
Arms: 1. Ermin a lyon rampant crowned; 2. Sable a X Argent on a chiefe of the 2nd 3 naggs faces Azure: p.44. Nor[thampton].

[VI.480]

{Pickering}
William Pickering of Gretton \ Com. Northampton / bore the same armes in the 1t quarter = Agnes de of: 1. Richard, Thomas 2, Henry 3, Alice: maryed George Quinton of Bed[ford] in Com. Bed., Catherine = Fowke in Com. Bed.
Richard de Gretton Gen. son & heir = Ann, daughter of Thomas Leyton of Leyton in Com. Rutland Esq. & had Isue: 1. John, eldest; William 2; Gilbert 3; Lawrence 4; Awder[265] daughter; Margery daughter: both unmaryed p.58.

Bellingham Thomas in Episcop.[266] Or a bugle Sable, lin'd Gules.

N.B. An Index of the Arms to be had in a 4^0, Intituled, *The Visitation Cumberland & Northumberland*, penes John Knight, Arm[iger] principalem chyrurgion[267] Regis Caroli Secund. in [Blank] near the New Exchange, London.

	Page		
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Aske	2	Blenkow	9
Aglionby	2	Braham	11
Allouson	7	Browham	11
Allanby	20	Bellingham	12
Allanby	20	Blindrakes	12
Arfour pro Orpheur	20	Bellingham	1
		Berhead	12
Busheby	2		
Birkbeck	2	Curwen	1
Bannes	4	Clifford	1
Burden	4	Carleton	2
Barwis	8	Charas	3
Brisco	8	Corodell	4

[263] Here, Machell drew a rectangle.
[264] 'Of the same county.'
[265] 'Another'.
[266] Durham.
[267] Surgeon.

Clyborn	4
Cholmley	8
Crackenthorp	10
Dikes	2
Dalston	3
Ducket	3
Denton	3
Denton	4
Ducket	7
Daker	9
Duckett	12
Ellis	5
Fallowfield	7
Farrington	8
Gornton	7
Grindall	9
Hutton	2
Hoton	11
Harrington	5
Highmor	6
Hudleston	6
Jackson	7
Ireton	12

Kirkby	6
Lawson	1
Layton	6
Lucy	8
Leigh	8
Lancaster	9
Lancaster	9
Lowther	9
Lough	10
Lampleugh	10
Lampleugh	11
Midleton	3
Moresby	5
Machel	6
Musgrave	1
Nevil	8
Osmotherly	7
Peroy	1
Parr	1
Porter	3
Penruddock	
Pennington	5
Preston	6
Patterricson	
Patterrickson	7

[VI.481][268]

Richmond	2
Rigg	3
Ribton	5
Scroope	1
Salkeld	4
Salkeld	5
Sandford	6
Swinborn	8
Strickland	8
Sands	8
Swinborne	10
Senhouse	10
Skelton	11
Swinborn	11
Sandford	12

Sandford	12
Thwaites	7
Tunstall	8
Threlkeld	10
Vaux	9
Vaux	9
Whelpdall	2
Wyborne	2
Wharton	4
Warwick	4
Warcop	11
Warcop	11

[268] The MS pages following this one (VI.483-86) deal with 'Notes in order of the Antiquities of the Countie of Cumb'land': not transcribed.

Notes out of Mr Dugdall *Visitation of Westmorland* [269]

Godsave of Rigmaden in Kendal & Loansdale with Armes not proved with a ped. of 2 descents. Williams of Borwick in Com. Lanc.
Thomas Godsave of Rigmaden etat 42 mar. 20 Anno 1664 = Susanna daughter of Thomas Cartmele of Farleton into Westmorland.

In Apleby church yard:
Or a lyon rampant Azure Piercy; Gules a X Argent, Nevill; Azure powderd flordelice Or a lyon rampant of the 2, Beaumont, France & England; Machel (or Macherer) Readman; Musgrave, Azure, 6 annuletts Or. He wants the new tomb. {Entered.} [270]

Things to be had att any time in Dugdalls visitation, so that I need not trouble my selfe about them.[271]

[1.] Ad Ambleside: Ambleside at Windermere
Faucium præ gradis Lupi in immenso illo lacu Windermere vocitato suscepti figura p.4. Et nunc Sc. 5^0 Aprilis 1665, penes [Blank] Brathwayte de Ambleside Armigerum.[272]
[2.] A Prospect of Kendall & Castle, Prospect of Appleby & Castle, Prospect of Browham Castle.
[3.] Memorandum that it was agreed upon amongst the King of Armes &c. 30^{li} for granting a coate. 27^{s} is the fee for entering a ped: vid in Lord Marshalls booke. Ibid.
4. All in Apleby Castle & hospital armes
5. All arms at Grarig Hall. I have too in MS oblong.
6. Kirbythore Church and Hall, all the arms & antiquities there: I have them too.[273]
On the Alter these

FORTA
BALLI
N. M. S. S.
C. G. ALEZI
VS. FOR
NTINVS
N. O V…

Forta Valli i.e. Wallataum sive Gallatum. T.M.
Forsan forta balli (pro valli) numinibus sacrasancta C. Calezius Frontinus per tra[n]spos[itionem] Litera. T.M.[274]

7. Arms in Newbiggin Hall
8. Browham Castle Arms & Inscription on \ 3 / alters.

[269] Many of the notes on this page have been scored through, suggesting that Machell no longer needed them.
[270] This paragraph has been placed within a box and scored through lightly with a cross. 'Entered' is in different ink, suggesting that Machell added the information missing from Dugdale's *Visitatio*n.
[271] A heading in bold script.
[272] 'The shape of the jaws of a wolf, picked up from underfoot in that great lake they are wont to call Windermere. p.4. And now, that is 5th April 1665, in the possession of [Blank] Brathwayte of Ambleside, Knight. The length of the existing teeth without the jaws [is] the thickness of three thumbs.'
[273] The following inscription is lightly scored through with a cross.
[274] 'Forta Valli i.e. Wallataum or Gallatum. T.M. Perhaps Forta balli (instead of valli). Sacred to the spirits. Gaius Calezius Frontinus by transposition of a letter.' See part 3. Ch.3. Roman Antiquities, VI.186C, VI.229, VI.231. The name 'Calezius' is a solitary example of the use of Vulgar Latin in Roman Britain: the name is actually 'Calidius' (RIB 764, Kirkby Thore). See C.C. Smith, 'Vulgar Latin in Roman Britain: Epigraphic and other evidence', in Wolfgang Haase (ed.), *Sprache und Literatur (Sprachen und Schriften [Forts])* (Berlin and New York, 1983), 893-948, at 925.

The camp the [shape] oblong: broad about 150 yards. The Roman Way passeth through it there, being \ a square of / 150 yards on each side, as may yet be seen by that part thereof where the great trenches on its outside are to be seen on the South East side of the said castle: è Mr Dugd. *Visitation* 23 March 1664.
9. Lowther Church & Hall.
10. Kendall Church. Kendal Mount he takes to be a castle (ut opinor)
11. Gresmere Church
12. Rydall Hall
13. Willson of Underlays Arms prov'd; Branthwayt of Cartingill; Fisher.
Scaifes, Steales: pedigrees of 3 or 4 gen. with Armes not proved.
14. Wiber of Cliftons ped. & armes. There are 5 descents and a note entered of Will. Wiberge of Clifton, temp. Ed. 3. Had to wife Eleanor, daughter & h. of Gilber Engayne of Clifton in com Westmorland: vide Dugdall in *Cumberland*.
15. The Round Table & Mabrough Castle, which I have allso.

[VI.490]

<u>These I want</u>:[275]
Birbeck
Browham of Scalemldb
Curwen
Dalston of Acomb
Fisher Parvi est[276]
Halton of Barton
Lowther of Colby Leathes
Sandford of Askham
Saufe of Winton parvi
Steal of Kendall parvi
Wha[r]ton of Kirlbythore
Whelpedall collord Or.
Birbeck Bores head in Fess with sable 3 barulets Or, & in Chiefe mullets of the second quartering […][277] a fess /\/\/\[278] between 6 cross crosslets Or.
Ducket of Grarig […][279]

<u>È *Visitation Cumberland & Northumberland* (no Westm'land) penes Dr Knight \ made about the Time of H. 8 or Edw. 6. / A Booke of Armes onely.</u>

<u>Ad Kendall church; vid Bellingham pedigree notes</u>
Sir Robert Bellingham of Kendall who builded the Lady Quire in the same church & lyeth buryed there, dyed the 17 of July 1533. & had 2 wives. 1^{t} The Daughter of Sir Robert Aske. 2. Elizabeth Daughter of John Lord Clifford, after Lord (pro Earle} of […][280]
He beare parted per pale
1. Quarterly of 4.
1. Argent a Bugel Sable lin'd Gules.
2. Argent 3 Bendletts Gules. On a canton a Lyon rampant of the field
3. As the second
4. as the 1^{t}.

[275] The following names (apart from Fisher and Steal) are marked with an X.
[276] 'Of little importance.' 'Saufe' and 'Steal' have also been labelled in this way.
[277] Illegible word here.
[278] Fess dancetté.
[279] The rest of this passage is obscured by the binding apart from, 'Gules a Saltier Argent between 12 cross crosslets Or'.
[280] The word following 'of' is obscured by the binding.

2. Parted per pale.
1. Quarterly in this manner
    1. Azure ~~a fess of 4~~ \ fusils in fess / Argent. By the name of Aske quartering
    2. Azure. 4 baruletts Argent. By the name of [Blank]
    3. As the second.
    4. as the 1[t].

Query whether these be not the Armes of Aske? They are of Sir Robert Aske in the County of Cumberland.

2. Chequie Or & Azure a fess Gules. By the name of Clifford.

Entered in the relation of Bellingham pedigree.
{Richmont per fess Or & Gules 2 cout[281] crescent[282]}
{Sir William Lawson of Isell in Cumberland … Argent & Sable a /\ cout?}[283]
Sir Thomas Parr Knight, Master of the Wards & Controwler to King Henry 8, dyed 8[th] of November Anno [Blank] & is Buryed in the Black fryers. He bare Quarterly Impaleing Quarterly:
1. Argent within a Bordure, 2 Barrs Azure & a ✡ in chiefe for distinction
2. Azure, a chiefe & 3 cheveronells in Bass brased Or.
3. Varre[284] Argent & Azure, a fess Gules.
4. As the 1[t] impaleing quarterly 1. Azure, 3 Bucks trippant Or. 2. Gules a chevron; between 3 cross crosslets Or; in chief a Lyon passant of the second […][285]

[VI.490A]

The Crest on a wreat[h] Argent & Sable, a Camells head coupd Gules with a Coronett Coller Or.[286]

Item
Quarterly, the 1[t] as before, the 2[nd] 6 pales Argent & Gules; on a chief a Lyon passant.
3. Argent 2 Barrs Gules on a canton Gules a cross-crosslet[287] Or.
4. Quarterly of 6 Azure & Or 3 Lyon Rampand in the first of the 2[nd] with a cressant in fess po[in]t.

The Crest
A ~~greyhounds~~ \ Camells / head errased Or, crown coller Argent, under which a cressant Sable.

John: He bare allso parted per pale, Argent & Sable, 3 grey[hounds] counter charged a camells head Or
{courant Argent. Alias parted per pail Argent & Sable, 3 grey [hounds] in a Border counterchargd.
The Creast, a greyhound (forsan a chamels head) couped with a coronet […][288] about his hed.
È shoppe apud Charing Cross London.}

[281] 'Countercharged'.
[282] Here, Machell drew a crescent.
[283] 'A chevron countercharged?'
[284] Vair: Parti-coloured fur, see Gough, *Glossary of Terms used in British Heraldry*, 316.
[285] One more margin comment here has been scored through thoroughly and few words can be deciphered. It begins: MS: 'This was in the Time of Sir. S. Musgrave; & when Ducket maryed Labourn. 6 Lyons', followed by illegible words and a symbol.
[286] MS: Here, there is a tiny sketch of a coronet.
[287] MS: Here, there is a sketch of a cross-crosslet.
[288] There follows one blotted, illegible word.

[VI.490B]

35. {a Dugdalli *Visitation* Temp. Car. 2: ni fallor memor.}[289]
Memoranda de pedigree of the Haltons de Burton a Temp. Ed. I. [1272-1307] sed anfract[us][290] to Ciprian 1665 (10 generations).
Dalston of Acorn Bank. 5 generations 1611 – Thomas son of Xtopher.
Ducket. 5 generations.
Hilton, 6. Henry 4., of Murton – tis there sett down that he marryed the daughter of Andre de Hetherton.
Nevinson, Ed. \ Esq. / son of Richard, son of Stephen. Argent a chevron charged with a ✡ between 3 Eaglets disp[layed] Azure with [blank][291]

[VI.491]

36. Brathwate: 7 generations but noe date save in the 3[d]: 34. Elizabeth [1591-92].
37. Midle \ton / of mid. a crescent for destinction. 7 generations from sir geofrey major general to king henry 8 in his expedition to Bulloine, to Edward: 1664.
38. Sandford de ask. 12 generations from Edmund, husband to Idon[ea], English Lord of Little Asseby, to William: 1664.
39. Fisher, 5 generations but not proved, from Henry to Ed. Henry was alderman of Kendal.
40. Willson not proved. 4 generations from Thomas of Staveley: 1624, to Edward: 1664.
41. Leyborne bears Azure 6 lyonns rampant Argent.
42. Phillipson, Gules a chev. Between 3 bores head couped Ermin. 7 Generations from Rowland to Rob.
43. Curwin of Helsington, a 2[nd] house.
44. Hilton of Burton. Johannes 17. Edward I. [1288-89] et agneti uxor[i] ejus Robertus Bacon & Magg[er]eta uxor ejus concesserunt totum terram de dom[inico] eorum in territor[io] de Hel[t]un sans dat. (Temp. Ed. 1.)[292]
45. Sir Richard Fleming, son of Sir John, 35. Henry 3. [1250-51] 2 generations above goes in the name of Furness; a ped[igree] of 21 descents.
46. Bird, 18 descents. 8 of the place. Henry Bird of Browham 16. Henry 6. [1437-38].
47.

- Apleby Church
- Apleby Castle } q. whether the mon[uments] be drawne: I thinke not
- Hospitall } Arms & inscriptions in Mr Dugd.
- Kirkbythore

[VI.492]

- Brougham Castle }
- Lowther Hall }
- Kendall Church } All *Visitation* Dugdall
- Gresmere Church } *Visitation* anno supradicta
- Rydall Hall }
- A wolfe's \ pike's / jaw at Windermer
- A prospect of Kendal
- A map of Apleby
- A prospect of Brougham Castle for Ogleby[293]

[289] 'Unless my memory is mistaken.'
[290] 'Anfractus': a winding or sinuous course. *OED*.
[291] Nevinson Crest: a Talbot proper collared and with chain reflexed over the back Or. See *CFH*, 242.
[292] 'To him and to Agnes his wife, Robert Bacon and his wife Magg[er]eta granted the whole extent of their domain in the territory of Hel[t]un.'
[293] John Ogilby (1600-1676), cartographer, known for publishing the first road-atlas of Britain. Ogilby secured the title of 'His Majesty's Cosmographer' in 1671. He drew upon the support of the king and other patrons in the production and publication of *Britannia … an illustration of the kingdom of England and dominion of*

48. The Machells of Crakenthorp.
It is generally owned for the ancientest Esquires in the north of England, for soe they have bin writt ever since, that title became a terme of honour without the intermixture of \ any / one knight. Howbeit, through their meritts & imployment in the wars tem[p] Henry 8[t], there were 3 att once of this family: viz. Richard, Guy & Hugh. The family has continued here ever since the Conquest, as appears by their evidences in which they are called Machaels or Mali Catuli ab asperitate naturae et ferocitate animi.[294] Their ancient Arms was a tyger \ or wolfe Leapeing on its pray / rampant & crowned. Howbeit in after times they bore the Ensigne above specified upon some considerable occasion or other: viz. Sable 3 greyhounds courant Argent collererd Or; given, as is thought, in Holy War. {Something like this ♔ which resembles a crowne is upon the head of the tyger.}

[III.67]

I could have as easily have inserted into this pedegre a number of Knights as som others have don, the better to establish our title clame to the Title of an Esquire; but I would not doe it: It is sufficient that the Chiefe of our family have bin writ & called & accounted Esquires since (Richard [blank]) it first became a Title of Dignity; & hav bin so far removed \ draned / & sifted from the dreggs of the vulgar & common sortes to have continued Lords of a Manner & Magistrates & amongst the chiefe Gentry of this County six hundred \ years: / which if the title be due on that score is Em[i]nence enough to raise them above the ordinary pitch & level of Gentry.{& the title of Esquire now grown so common that is not worth clame; all the whol nation if they were good clothes, are Squires & Madams.}

[VI.492]

49. {Bird of Browham}
In Browham are 2 ancient demasnes at the castle and one at the Hall. Noe more occur in ancient Rolls & cat[alogues]. Howbeit later \ time have bin / ~~are~~ large inclosents made by Mr James Bird, descended of \ an / ancient yeomanry; for to pass by with it inauthentical.[295] I mean an[296] old pedegree of the Birds, mentioning neither time nor ~~towne~~ \ com[297] / no, nor the wherein they lived (an easy method for any family to descend himselfe directly & linealy from Adam). The first was Henry, mention'd in evidences 17. Henry 6. [1438-39]. From this pedigree may be allowed of, Henry Bird = maryed 17. Henry 6. & had isue.[298]

[VI.493][299]

An Account out of Mr Dugdall's *Visitation of Westmorland* such as were disclamed att Apleby Sommersise, 1666.[300]

?! Robert Barton of Ormhed.
Thom. Birbeck of Coatflat & T.B. of Oreton.
?! Christopher Crakenthorp of Little Strickland \ good family. /
Christopher Dobson of Brampton.
Will. Dobson of Kirkby Stephan \ Kirkby thore. /
John Routledge of Morrland.
?! Thomas Sandford of Askham \ good family. /
Christopher Teasdall of Br\a/mpton & Thornthwayt.
Robert Teasdale of Kirkbythure.
James Webster of Thrymby.

Wales: by a geographical and historical description of the principal roads thereof (1675), the work for which he became best known. C. Withers, 'Ogilby, John, publisher and geographer'. *ODNB*.
[294] 'From their roughness of character and the ferocity of their spirit.'
[295] Seven words have been crossed through here.
[296] MS: 'and'.
[297] 'County'.
[298] For more criticism of Bird see Part 1. Ch.7, Brougham.
[299] Many words on this page are obscured by the binding; some have been scored through. They have been omitted from this edition.
[300] MS: 'An Account ~~of what is to be~~ out of Mr Dugdall's *Visitation of Westmorland* ~~in order to the Antiquities of~~ such as were disclamed att Apleby Sommersise, 1666.'

Those which are marked thus (!) are gentlemen of good familyes & ought not to have bin disclam'd except they would have disclam'd themselves. See my notes before. Kirkbythore? The rest except Birbeck, who perhaps may have som clame by allyance to Hornby, are no gentlemen.

{Kendal Lonsdal Wards}

?! Leonard Airay of Kentmere
John Archer of Oxholme.
William Birket of Troutbeck.
Roger Bradley. } of Underbarrow & Bradley Field
Randall Bateman. }
Oliver Crosfield of Holme.
Christopher Dawson of Langdale.
George Foxcroft of Holmehouse & G Lamprick vide.
Gerrard Fetherston of Crosthwayte & Lyth.
William Garnett.
William Garnett of Barbon & Mansergh.
?! William Gilpin of Kentmere.
Robert Heblethwayte of Killington.
George Lamprick of Holmehouse & G. Foxcroft vid.
?! George Laburn of Skelsmere.
Miles Man of Kirkby Loansdall.
?! Nathaniel Nicholson of Kentmere.

[VI.494]

George Overend of Kirkby.
William Southerway of Langdale vid. Christopher Dawson.
?! Francis Thorburrow of Whitwell.
Allane Willson of Handholme.
N.B. Tis very strange he should disclame som of these which I have marked thus (?!) which notes of interogation & admiration; for they are of the ancient gentrye of the north; but the rest are such as never did or could pretend to it. The reason I suppose of disclameing them was their non-appearance to paying their foes. Quære: an causa sufficiens? puto quod non.[301]

The faults that are in his Visitation

1. Locall. He has \ miscalled many places in his pedegrees & / placed a knowne part of Westm'land, Sc. that place where the Round Table is, in Cumberland. Item: in his disclameing of Dobson: Kirkby Stephan for Kirkbythore.

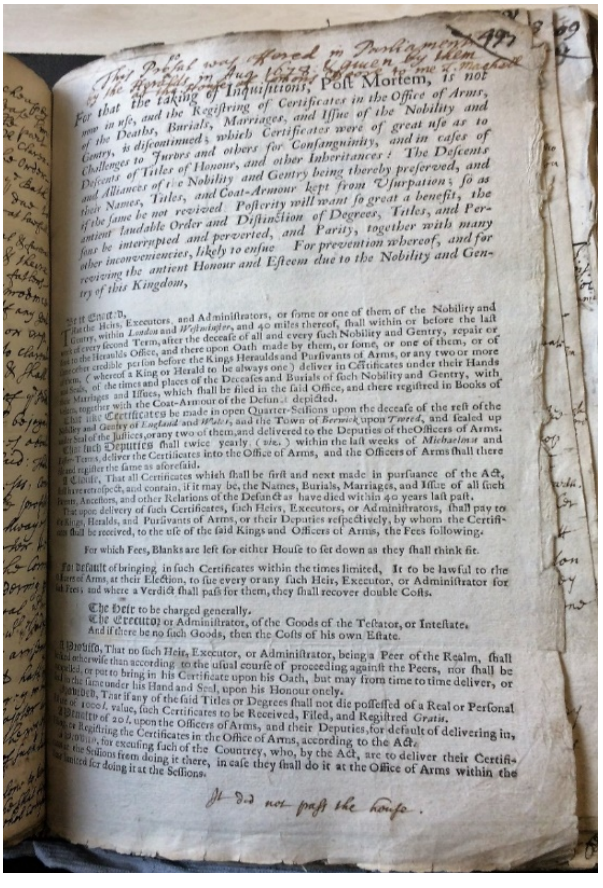
2. Personall. He has entered some for severall generations Squires who were never gentlemen (as the Nevinsons), & entered others Gentlemen only who were most ancient Squires – as the Machells of Crakenthorpe. He has allso disclamed severall ancient families, as above, & allowd of some upstarts entering their pedegrees amongst the Gentery, wherras they had noe Armes. And Birds pedigree is to be enquired into.

3. Armoriall. The Birbecks, whose fess is counter compone Azure & Or, he has made chequie Sable & Or. The match of Machell & Thornburrow in Apleby Church and that drawne the greyhounds there & in his pedigree both alike: Sc. without collers. {There are 2 strokes of orange colour about the neck of each dog for collers.} Item: Lowthers charge: \ Gules for / Sable.
{4. Nominal, which may be seen in my pedegrees (marked) thus: ?!}
In his Visitation of Kendal Church, he has writt \ Sir / Roger insteed of Sir Robert who builded the chaple (se *Visitation* M4^{0} penes Mr Knight; & \ se / the pedigree of the Bellinghames for Sir Roger,

[301] 'Check: whether sufficient reason? I think not.'

penes Mr Holford; et alteram penes Vidua' Smyth).[302] Item: in the ticking of Armes, 4rd in Allanes Coate, there he has marked Sandfords bores heads & lyons rampant Or insteed of Argent, which is a common mistake with him or his scribe.[303]

[VI.499]



That Poſtal was offered in Parliament by them
For that the taking of Inquiſitions, Poſt Mortem, is not
now in uſe, and the Regiſtring of Certificates in the Office of Armes,
of the Deaths, Burials, Marriages, and Iſſue of the Nobility and
Gentry, is diſcontinued; which Certificates were of great uſe as to
Challenges to Jurors and others for Conſanguinity, and in caſes of
Deſcents of Titles of Honour, and other Inheritances: The Deſcents
and Alliances of the Nobility and Gentry being thereby preſerved, and
their Names, Titles, and Coat-Armour kept from Uſurpation; ſo as
if the ſame be not revived Poſterity will want ſo great a benefit, the
antient laudable Order and Diſtinction of Degrees, Titles, and Per-
ſons be interrupted and perverted, and Parity, together with many
other inconveniencies, likely to enſue For prevention whereof, and for
reviving the antient Honour and Eſteem due to the Nobility and Gen-
try of this Kingdom,

It is Enacted,
That the Heirs, Executors, and Adminiſtrators, or ſome or one of them of the Nobility and
Gentry, within *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and 40 miles thereof, ſhall within or before the laſt
day of every ſecond Term, after the deceaſe of all and every ſuch Nobility and Gentry, repair or
ſend to the Heraulds Office, and there upon Oath made by them, or ſome, or one of them, or of
ſome other credible perſon before the Kings Heraulds and Purſivants of Arms, or any two or more
of them, (whereof a King or Herald to be always one) deliver in Certificates under their Hands
and Seals, of the times and places of the Deceaſes and Burials of ſuch Nobility and Gentry, with
the Marriages and Iſſues, which ſhall be filed in the ſaid Office, and there regiſtred in Books of
Velom, together with the Coat-Armour of the Defunct depicted.
And that Certificates be made in open Quarter-Seſſions upon the deceaſe of the reſt of the
Nobility and Gentry of *England* and *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, and ſealed up
with the Seal of the Juſtices, or any two of them, and delivered to the Deputies of the Officers of Arms.
And that ſuch Deputies ſhall twice yearly (*viz.*) within the laſt weeks of *Michaelmas* and
Hilary Terms, deliver the Certificates into the Office of Arms, and the Officers of Arms ſhall there
receive and regiſter the ſame as aforeſaid.
II Clauſe, That all Certificates which ſhall be firſt and next made in purſuance of the Act,
ſhall have reſpect, and contain, if it may be, the Names, Burials, Marriages, and Iſſue of all ſuch
Perſons Anceſtors, and other Relations of the Defunct as have died within 40 years laſt paſt.
That upon delivery of ſuch Certificates, ſuch Heirs, Executors, or Adminiſtrators, ſhall pay to
the Kings, Heralds, and Purſivants of Arms, or their Deputies reſpectively, by whom the Certifi-
cate ſhall be received, to the uſe of the ſaid Kings and Officers of Arms, the Fees following.

For which Fees, Blanks are left for either Houſe to ſet down as they ſhall think fit.

For Default of bringing in ſuch Certificates within the times limited, It to be lawful to the
Officers of Arms, at their Election, to ſue every or any ſuch Heir, Executor, or Adminiſtrator for
the Fees; and where a Verdict ſhall paſs for them, they ſhall recover double Coſts.

The Heir to be charged generally.
The Executor or Adminiſtrator, of the Goods of the Teſtator, or Inteſtate.
And if there be no ſuch Goods, then the Coſts of his own Eſtate.

Proviſo, That no ſuch Heir, Executor, or Adminiſtrator, being a Peer of the Realm, ſhall
be otherwiſe then according to the uſual courſe of proceeding againſt the Peers, nor ſhall be
compelled or put to bring in his Certificate upon his Oath, but may from time to time deliver, or
cauſe the ſame under his Hand and Seal, upon his Honour onely.
Provided, That if any of the ſaid Titles or Degrees ſhall not die poſſeſſed of a Real or Perſonal
Eſtate of 1000 *l.* value, ſuch Certificates to be Received, Filed, and Regiſtred *Gratis*.
And the Penalty of 20 *l.* upon the Officers of Arms, and their Deputies, for default of delivering in,
or Regiſtring the Certificates in the Office of Arms, according to the Act.
And a Penalty, for excuſing ſuch of the Countrey, who, by the Act, are to deliver their Certifi-
cates, the Seſſions from doing it there, in caſe they ſhall do it at the Office of Arms within the
time limited for doing it at the Seſſions.

It did not paſs the houſe.

Figure 3.4.20. Published document beginning, 'For that the Taking of Inquisitions Post Mortem is not now in use…', pasted into VI.499 and annotated by Machell.

'For that the Taking of Inquisitions Post Mortem is not now in use […]'[304] This Pr\op/osal was offered in Parliament by the Heralds in 1678 and given by them at the House of Commons Doore to me. T. Machell. It did not pass the house.

[302] 'And another in the keeping of Widow Smyth.'
[303] MS.VI.495 and VI.496 consist of 'Notes on visitations, granting and proveing of Arms', taken from the Lord Marshall's papers (I.25) at the Heralds Office.' MS.VI.497 and VI.498 consist of notes on the powers of the Kings of Arms, Heralds and Knights of the Garter. They were entitled by Machell, 'È Lib MS Sic notat Φ penes Mr Sheldon.' These four pages have not been transcribed.
[304] See *Figure 3.4.20.* Richard Ferguson explained this passage in terms of the failings of the College of Arms. 'In 1678 Mr Machell visited the House of Commons; at the door he found the Heralds distributing the prints of a Bill they wished passed to arrest the decay into which the College of Arms was falling.' R.S. Ferguson, 'Notes on the Heraldic Visitations of Cumberland and Westmorland', *CWI*, 2 (1876), 20-27, at 25-27.

[VI.501]

Out of Mrs Smyths *Visitation of Lancashire*
Ut opinor.[305] She lives over against St Dunstans in Fleet Street[306]

{1. Morton, Crosby}
Morton & Crosby came to the Musgraves by the marriage of Allice daughter of Richard Earl of Cambridge by Maud the daughter of Thomas Lord Clifford \ p.3 col. 2 / idem occa. pag.14. \ Falce: they had it in Rosses time. / Cambridge had noe daughter, se[e] Cliffords matches.

{2. Musgrave}
Richard Musgrave tooke to wife Jane daughter and coheir of Sir William Stapleton of Westm'land (puto of Cumb'land) pag. 3. Westm'land. Musgr. 5 Gen.[307] Sir Edward Musgrave of Hartland, sive Hartley, in Westm'land.

{3.} Catterleyn once belongd to the Musgraves or some of there land there. P.6. \ That has bin T. Musgrave who tooke for his 1^{t} wife Mary the daughter of John Vaus, widow of Thomas Holland Earl of Huntington {see my pedigree. King. R.2.}

{4. Warcop}
The Warcops of Smardale were extinct in 2 coheires. The one married to Dalston of Dalston in Cumb'land; the other to Talbott Bowes, p.6. ubi (General: 5 generations).

{5. Layburne}
Layburne of Cunswick in Westm'land p.7. Col. 2.

{6.} Crooke in Westm'land belongd to Nicolsons. 6. Fig. 3.

{7. Thornburrow}
Thornburrow of Hampsfield pag. 8.

{8. Bilose}
Brilose of Hailston (general. 5 or 6 generations) pag. 1. Col. 1.

{9. Brathwate}
Brathwate of Ambleside (general of 7) pag. 1. Col. 2.
Hence Brathwate. 1. Of Burnished; 2. Of Warcop. Ibid.

{10. Dalston}
Dalston of Dalston (2 Generations) p.3. Col. 1.

{11. Musgrave}
Musgrave. General of 13 or 14) p.5, 6, 7. Hence Harcley & Ednall.

{12. Warcop}
Warcop of Smardale (5 Generations) p.7. Extinct in Heiresses.

{13. Carus}
Carus of Asthwate, & of Kendall, 8 generations p.7.
{Asthwat of Asthwate extinct in Ed. 3^{d} time. The place is now calld Dalgarth. Vid. P.7 Col. 2.

[305] 'As I think.'
[306] Widow of a Herald Painter, see VI.494.
[307] It is possible that there is a numeral (5.) before 'Gen.', but it is tiny and close to the binding.

{14. Lowther}
Lowther. Generations of 13 or 14, p.9.

{15. Duckett}
Generation of 5, p.11. Here is mention of Harrington of Wrexam.

{16. Midleton}
Midleton of Midleton 6 or 7 Generations, p.12.

{17. Bradley}
Bradley of Betham in the county of Westm'land, p.18 in the pedigree of [Leyburne.]

{18. Leyburne}
Leyburne of Cunswick in Westm'land bears Azure 6 Lyons rampant Argent. 3.2.1 (A pedigree of 6 descents) p.18. Their Crest is a falcon regardant Azure with wings Expansed, Beack'd & bell'd Or.

{19. Stanley}
Stanleys were a family att Culgaith in Cumb'land p.19. Forsan 9b.

{20. Briggs}
Briggs of Calmyre but 2 Generations taken notice of before extinct in 2 coheires; 1. to Sir Richard Hutton, 2. To Edward Stanley of ~~Cullgaith~~ \ Dalegarth[308] / in Cumb'land, p.19.

[VI.502]

{21. Benson}
Benson (2 descents) of Hugil. Extinct in 2 Daughters. 1. Mabel married to John Preston of Halcar in Lamlash. [2.] to John Rodes, one of the Justices of Common Pleas qui obijt […][309] Roodes[310] forsan de Chipping (forsan in Yorkshire).

{22. Bradley}
Bradley of Bethom descended by 2 descents from Bradley of Bradley in Lancashire. He was Lord of Both. Extinct (forsan) in 3 daughters, p.20 (Generation of 4).

{23. Levins}
Levins had Crooke once, which is in Paroch. Kandalia.[311] He had it by mar[riage] from Corkley. Vid. Fig. 6.

{24.} Todd of Sledall in Westm'land.

{25.} The Leven's of Westm'land are now in Northamptonshire, seated at Evenley[312] anno 1618 (great Generations) p.20.

{26. Phillipson}
Rowland Phillipson of Shelwall of Calgarth. Port Gules a chevron Ermin, between 3 Bores heads couped of the 2[d]. The Crest a plume of fethers Argent reflex'd Gules \ out of / Crown murall Or. Phillipson of Thwaderden hall Bears the same within a Border invecked & a Crescent Or for destinction.

[308] The alteration here is in a different hand.
[309] A word here is obscured by the binding.
[310] 'Who died at Roodes.'
[311] 'The parish of Kendal.'
[312] MS: 'Evemley'.

{27. Fothergill}
Fothergill of Ravendale bears Vert a Staggs head couped Or, within a Border inveck'd of the 2[d]. Sir William Fothergill of this place was Standard Bearer to King Henry 8 at the Battle of Sollon Mos[s] day.[313]

{28. Bellingham}
Bellingham of Burnesheved was Extinct in coheires whereof one was married to Thorneburrough, p.25.

{29. Thornburrow}
William Thorneburrow of Selshead in Westm'land descended from John Thornburrow of Hampsfell in the county of Lancashire. He from William Thornb. of Thornb. in the county of Yorke, the son of forsaid Will. Was Thornb. Of ~~Selshead~~ Hampsfell (a Gen. of 11 descents), p.25. They had a match with the Maleverers and beare a crescent for destinction. Se the coat & crest ibid.

{30. Burneshed}
Burneshed armes ibid in the last 14[t].

{31. Beck}
Beck of Holbreak by […][314] 29. Col. 2.

{32. Bellingham}
Bellingham of Hellsington in Westm'land, 29. Col.

{? Salkeld}
(Salkeld of Corby Castle Cumb'land Ibid). The ped. is from H. 2. – R. I. & well timed;[315] p.29 et supra. ob 25.2 pro Salkeld of Gowbarrow.

{33. Richmont}
De Highet. Gen. of 3.

{34. Stockdale}
Stockdal of Kirkby Loansdall (6 descents to Stockdale of Barbonne in Westm'land) p.31.

{35. Midleton}
Midleton of Kirkby Loansdall (1 descent) 32.

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[313] Sollom Moss = Solway Moss. In 1542, following Henry VIII's attempt to persuade James V to abandon his pro-French and pro-Catholic policies, war broke out between England and Scotland. In October, the Duke of Norfolk led 20,000 men into Scotland, burning Roxburgh and Kelso. The next month King James retaliated by sending 17,000 troops into England to burn the countryside north of Carlisle. The local English commander, Lord Wharton, mustered 3,000 men to oppose them. The Scots saw the flags of the small English force on a hilltop above them. Fearing that what they saw represented a much larger army, they turned and retreated, the English cavalry attacking their rear. The Scots made a stand at a ford across the Esk, but many were taken prisoner. Some of those who escaped into the vast marsh known as Solway Moss might have drowned. See Historic England, 'Battle of Solway Moss 1542,'https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000034?section=official-list-entry.

[314] The following two words in the MS are indistinct; the first appears to begin with '~~Cl~~'. The name 'Beck', does not appear in either Index 1. or 2. of F.R. Raines (ed.), *The Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancashire 1613 by Richard St George, Norroy, King of Arms*. However, it does appear as part of the Machell pedigree: 'Hugh Machell of Crackenthorpe (died 1642) married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Beck of Penrith.' See Foster, *Pedigrees … 1615 and … 1666*, 87.

[315] 'Timed' is unclear.

[VI.503][316]

{36. Sheriff of Westmerland}
I tooke Westm'land to have been a country to which I nhad bin pecu[liar] of old to have the High Sheriffdoome intailed upon One family, to wit on the Viponts, notwithstanding if finde (in Bellingham Gen.) that Edward Bellingham was high sheriff of Westm'land {?} 8 & 9 Richard I (pag. 29) And that Sir William Lancaster was the like, pag. 32 col. 2. Armes of Lancaster, Or. 2 Barrs Gules with a mullet dexter. This is Lancaster of Sockbridge

{37. Harrington}
Harrington of Sleddall & Ubery hall in Cumb.[317]

{38. Wolston alias Willson}
Wolston alias Willson de Overstaveley in Kendall Westm'land (3 generations) p.34.

{39. Briggs}
Briggs of Helfell hall in Westm'land p.34.

{40. Phillipson}
Phillipson pedigree from (1516). This family married the sole heiress of Carus de Kendall.
Miles Phillipson of Thwatterden hall.

{41. Ralffe}
Lates of Bark hall.

{42. Carus}
Carus the last family in the *Visitation*.[318]

[VI.507]

12 feofes of the hospital success[ors] from the parentes }
Memorandum Hugh Machell Joynt Com. With Wharton } Dugdale *Visitation*.
Sedgewick bears Argent a Cross Gules charg'd with 3 Bells of the field. È Mr. Marshalls Visitation Booke.
See Atkinsons Arms ibid.
Mille bears Or 3 s[319] Sable.

There is little hopes for gaineing any knowledge out of the Records in [the] Tower in order to the discovery of families in Westm'land; because they are onely for fairs & other priviledges by charter. There is less to be hoped for è lib. Rubro in Scac[cario].[320] {See the Red booke in the Heralds office} that being onely an accompt of great mens possesions. But least of all out of *Doomsday booke*: Because the northern countyes, particularly W. C. & Northumb. were so much preyd upon and exhausted by continuall wars; that the Conqueror did not thinke fit to tax it. \ & beside he might far their[321] aynemy with the Scotts. /

It was usuall of Old to have the figure of some single thing in a Roundell upon Signetts and not in Esc[allops] as appear from several instances. {Says Dugdall.}

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[316] Also numbered p.14.
[317] Yewbarrow/Ubarrow Hall (once named Ubery Hall) is in Longsleddale, Westmorland, see *N&B1*, 133.
[318] In the MS., '*The Visitation of Cumberland*' follows: see MS. VI.503-06 (not transcribed).
[319] A blot appears here.
[320] 'In the red book in the treasury.'
[321] As the letter 'f' has been superimposed over the letter 'b', this word is difficult to decipher. It might be that Machell meant 'fartheir' [farther]. Similarly, the next word has the letters, 'aynemy', transcribed here as 'enemy'.

Ecclesia	Anno Val.	Decima inde	Patronus
Shap Vicaria	008 15:7:0	0:17:6 ob qua	
Warcop Vicaria	009 5:1: ob	O:18:6 qua	

Besides these, there are other in Westm'land which belong to the Diocess of Chester.[322]

[322] The pages from VI.509 to VI.516 are in Machell's hand and are devoted to 'Families and Arms'; for example, the Nevill, Roos and Vaux families. As the pages have been bound very closely, much substantial content is hidden. These pages have not been transcribed.

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Doggett, N., ‘Gale, Thomas (1635/6-1702)’.
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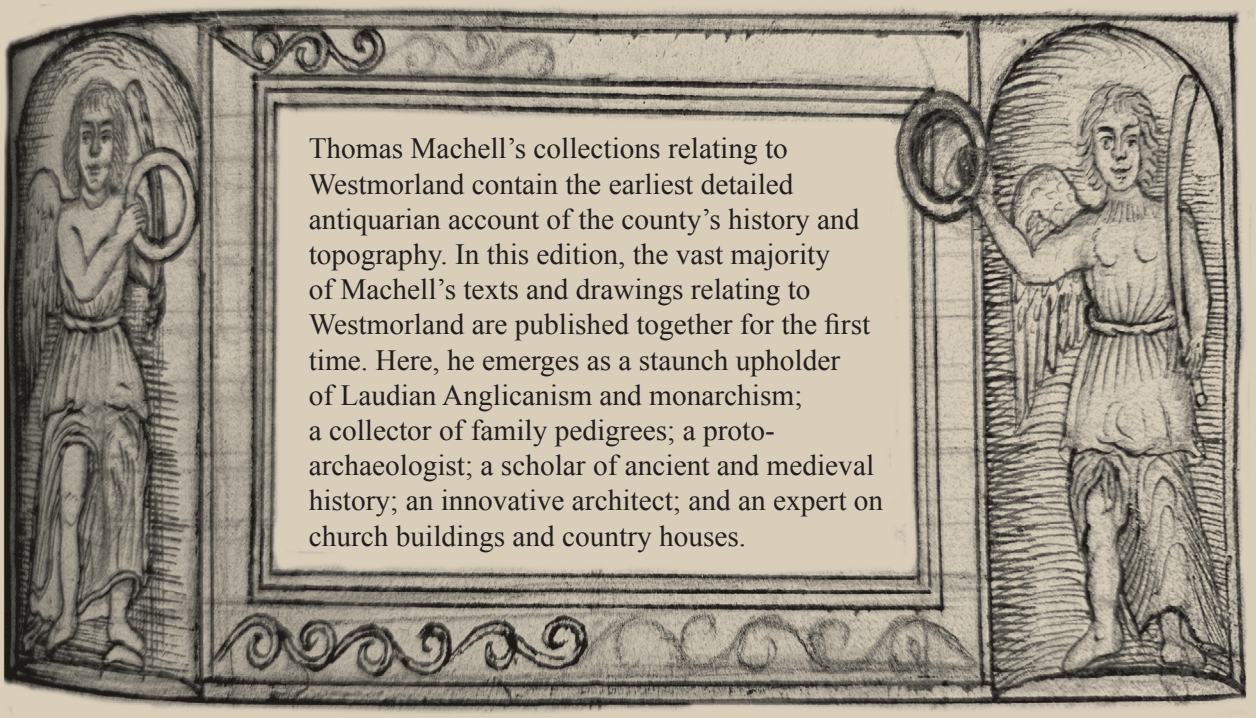
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More significantly, perhaps, this edition invites readers to explore Machell's other interests. His descriptions of the local, the commonplace and the every-day in Westmorland are vital to the collection. His deep interest in place-names and dialect; games and traditions; folklore and humour; local politics and local characters; his comedic or tragic anecdotes; and his ventures into tales of the occult offer an alternative dynamic which reveals even more of the period and place in which he lived. The importance of Machell's research is that it stands at an intersection between late-seventeenth-century antiquarianism, erudition, religion, lore and tradition.

Machell's History is made particularly valuable by the fact that his early death prevented the publication of a completed work. Had it been published, many of the unique delights of this edition: Machell's correspondence; his trenchant opinions; his unguarded comments; his frequent criticism of his peers, would almost certainly have been edited and lost. The unfinished nature of Machell's History also reveals important aspects of seventeenth-century antiquarian scholarship, including the development of research methods; the building of evidence to provide argument; the careful citation of sources; and the experimental composition of early drafts, which involved copious textual alteration. This transcription of Machell's work-in-progress will be appreciated, not only by those who are already conversant with him as a northern gentleman-antiquary, but also by a greater constituency of scholars and a wider public, to whom some of the hitherto impenetrable content will be revelatory.