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

Book 1



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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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

Introduction

Background to this Volume

The antiquarian collections of Thomas Machell, rector of Kirkby Thore, are the property of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle; they have been preserved among the Dean & Chapter of Carlisle muniments (DCHA/11/4) in Cumbria Archive Centre, Carlisle. Characterised as a manuscript research archive towards a history of Westmorland, and, to a lesser degree, Cumberland, they have been bound into six volumes, each containing over 500 numbered pages. The papers include Thomas Machell's illustrated notes, bound and interleaved with transcripts of charters, pedigrees, correspondence and other records, not necessarily in Machell's own hand.

Machell's objective was to reveal the history, topography and natural history of Cumberland and Westmorland, their parishes and towns. Before his death in 1698 he had amassed a huge number of notes and draft narratives, and a collection of revealing correspondence. While the notes cover aspects of both counties, Machell's deep affection for his own locality guaranteed that the greater proportion of his research would be devoted to the county of Westmorland, particularly the Appleby area where he had been born and brought up, the history and topography of which became his major preoccupation. Machell's material on Cumberland (mainly confined to Volume VI) forms a minor part of the whole, most of it consisting of volumes written by others and since published as follows:
1. Edmund Sandford's, *Cursory Relation of All the Antiquities and Familyes in Cumberland.*[1]
2. John Denton's *History of Cumberland*.[2]

Machell's work on Cumberland has been largely omitted from this edition.

Transcribing the Text: Machell's Six Volumes

Machell's research has been admired locally for many years, as shown in Samuel Jefferson's listing of the contents of the Machell volumes, in his *History and Antiquities of Carlisle* (Carlisle and London, 1838).

Vol. I
- Collections respecting the Ancient Britons and Romans.
- An attempt towards a general description of Westmorland etc.

Vol. II
- *Villare alphabeticum* for the barony of Kendal.
- Descriptions of the parishes of the said barony.
- Churches, coats of arms etc.
- Journal of the author's travels in the said barony.

Vol. III
- *Villare* of Westmorland and Cumberland.
- Collections about King Arthur, Marius and Uter Pendragon.

Vol. IV
- A view of the first fruits and tenths within the diocese of Carlisle.
- Collections relating to the families of Vipont and Clifford.
- Abbreviations of words and law terms occurring in old records explained.
- Extracts from charters, rolls and escheats in the Tower, relating to lands in Westmorland and Cumberland.
- Collections out of the registers of Wetheral and Holm Cultram Abbeys, from the library of the Dean and Chapter.

[1] Edmund Sandford, *A Cursory Relation of All the Antiquities and Familyes in Cumberland*, CWAAS Tract Series 4 (Kendal, 1890), a copy of which exists in Machell's MS: VI.540-69.
[2] Angus Winchester (ed.), *John Denton's History of Cumberland*, CWAAS Record Series 20, Surtees Society Volume CCXIII (Durham, 2010). See Machell VI.1-146, 176 and 527-35.

Vol. V
- Charter of the Borough of Appleby.
- Pedigrees and conveyances of the families of Crackenthorpe, Machell etc.

Vol. VI
- A copy of John Denton's MS History of Cumberland.
- A collection of Roman Inscriptions.
- Excerpts from Dugdale's *Monasticon*.
- Arms of the chief families of Cumberland and Westmorland.
- A discourse on titles of honour in general.
- An anonymous description of Cumberland, written c. 1675.[3]
- Inquisitions concerning lands at Penrith taken upon the death of Alexander III, king of Scotland.
- A list of sheriffs of both counties from the reign of Henry II.
- R. Singleton's full account of the parish of Melmerby.

This edition comprises transcriptions of Thomas Machell's Volumes, I, II, III and VI (excluding most of the text on Cumberland), and short extracts from Volumes IV and V. As noted by Jefferson, Volumes IV and V predominantly contain the research documents (charters, deeds and pedigrees) from which Machell formed his narrative on history, people and places in Westmorland. Only a small amount of relevant narrative material has been transcribed from these two volumes.
All regnal years have been derived from Sweet and Maxwell's *Guide to Law Reports and Statutes*, fourth edition (London, 1962), Chapter Five.

Order of the material
1. Editor's Introduction.
2. Machell's Preface.
3. Part I. Barony of Westmorland.
4. Part 2. Barony of Kendal.
5. Part 3. Chapter 1. 'Directions for those who shall undertake to finish the Antiquities of Westmorland'.
   Chapter 2. Machell's Correspondence.
   Chapter 3. Roman Antiquities.
   Chapter 4. 'Collections Concerning Heraldry & of the Arms & Pedegrees of Westmorland'.

Machell's Preface is principally, although not wholly, taken from his preliminary research, which is largely housed in Volumes I and II.

Part I. Barony of Westmorland, consists of chapters on each parish and its chapelries in the barony, beginning with the main town, Appleby, and continuing in alphabetical order.

Part II. Barony of Kendal, comprises chapters on each parish and its chapelries in the barony, beginning with Kendal, the main town and largest parish, and continuing in alphabetical order.

Within Volume II, Machell described a fact-finding journey through the Barony of Kendal during the summer of 1692, which he named his 'Itinerary'. In *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* (Jane Ewbank's scholarly edition of Volume II of Machell's collections),[4] the text of the Itinerary was subsumed into Machell's notes on the Kendal parishes to create a seamless whole. In this edition, however, the Itinerary has been retained as a separate entity, partly because it offers

[3] Written by Edmund Sandford, see above.
[4] 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).

the reader a complete example of Machell's narrative style, and partly because we encounter Machell in carefree mode: meeting and travelling with old friends; consuming generous amounts of fine food and alcohol: 'not for drinkeing but for companyes sake';[5] and generally enjoying his 'holiday'. It is illuminating to contrast his demeanour here with his distressed letters to Lord Thanet and others, setting out his parochial difficulties, written just a few years later.[6]

The First Chapter of Part 3 consists of Machell's 'Directions for those who shall undertake to finish the Antiquities of the County of Westmorland', and his suggestions for further reading. This is augmented by textual additions made by Charles Lyttelton (antiquary and bishop of Carlisle from 1762 to 1768) in the form of his own (eighteenth-century) reading preferences.
The Second, Third and Fourth Chapters comprise material from all six volumes. Chapter Two contains most of Machell's correspondence (unless relevant to the narrative elsewhere); Chapter Three collates Machell's research, writing and publication on Roman antiquities; Chapter Four presents one of Machell's major preoccupations: the 'Heraldry & the Arms & Pedigrees of Westmorland'.

Transcription method
A critical principle of transcription is to avoid inflicting undue violence to the author's text. Word-for-word transcription is the rule in this edition unless the text has been obscured, has perished, was scored through, or (very rarely) written so illegibly that a précis had to be substituted. Where Machell repeated single words and short phrases in error, they have been silently corrected. Exceptions also include substitution of the thorn letter 'y' (in 'ye') with the modern 'th', and 'ff' with 'F'. These occur in text written by hands other than Machell's.

Spelling
Original spelling has been largely retained; for example, in such words as 'bin' for 'been' and 'Isue' for 'Issue'. Some shortened words have been silently extended (for example, 'go' is a shortened form of 'ergo'),[7] and also where Machell has placed a line above a letter, suggesting a double letter. When meaning is not absolutely clear, abbreviated words have been extended using square brackets. Machell's habit of spelling the same word in several different ways has been retained. For instance, when writing the word 'manor', he wrote it as 'manor', 'manner', 'maner' and 'mannor', but frequently wrote only 'm.' or 'man'. When the word has been shortened, this edition adopts Machell's most frequently used form: 'manner'.

Another difficulty arises in Machell's spelling of 'Westmorland'. Machell wrote at some length on the meaning of the name. Was the county named after moorland, as Camden had suggested, and therefore, 'Westmoreland'; was it named after King Westmer, and therefore, 'Westmerland'; or was it 'Westmereland', named after its lakes? Machell employed all of these versions, although, even in passages suggesting that the county was named after King Westmer, he would occasionally write, 'Westmoreland'. Howbeit, as Machell frequently adopted a shortened version 'Westm'land,' or even 'W', the slightly abbreviated word, 'Westm'land', has been used throughout this edition, unless Machell's deliberate choice of an alternative version is clear.

Machell's formation of the vowels 'a', 'o' and 'u' have provided another transcription difficulty. In Machell's hand these vowels frequently look exactly the same, and this makes his attempts to explain the derivation of the words, 'barrow', borrow' and 'burrow' in the same paragraph, risibly difficult to disentangle. Similarly, the letters 'W' and 'M' are sometimes used interchangeably, as in 'Wakeber Well', 'Makeber Well'. They have been transcribed as seen. While Machell used several variants of the word 'Esquire', 'Esq.' has been employed throughout.

[5] See Part 2, Chapter 10. Itinerary, II.424.
[6] Part 1, Ch. 14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, 'A Narrative about a Chapel at Sowerby June 5 1697', beginning at III.229.
[7] 'Therefore'.

Capitalisation
Machell's capitalisation can appear indiscriminate; proper nouns often begin with lower-case letters, while common nouns are often capitalised. In this edition proper nouns are usually capitalised. Machell often expressed compound place-names as one (as in 'Troutbeck', 'Kirkbythore' and 'Longmarton') but when he wrote them as two, only the first was capitalised, as in 'Kirkby thore'. These forms have been retained. Capitalisation of common nouns has been less easy to edit. It was decided that words beginning with letters that can be either capital or lower case in their formation (such as 'o' and 's'), would be treated conventionally. Machell, in common with others of his time, capitalised words which seemed important to him, such as 'Town' and 'Country'. Here, a fairly impressionist approach has been adopted. A judgment was made that ease of reading should predominate, but that, in some cases, Machell's preferences for capitalisation of common nouns should stand. Overall, the general rule has been to make the text intelligible while demonstrating Machell's style. An exception has been made in the treatment of the names of heraldic colours. To distinguish them from identical words with different meanings (such as, 'or'), they have been capitalised.

Other punctuation
Most of the colons denoting the end of Machell's sentences have been changed to the modern full stop. Machell's use of the comma has been retained, and commas have been added where appropriate, to aid understanding. Machell clearly wrote many of his notes hurriedly, making copious use of the dash, which can make scanning for meaning difficult. Some dashes have been retained, though many have been changed where appropriate.

Other editorial decisions
Ampersands have been retained.
Underscoring has been retained.
Abbreviations such as 20. Ed. 1. have been retained.
Machell's use of shortcuts, such as '2ce' for 'twice' is retained and footnoted.
Abbreviations denoting money or weight have been retained.
Superscript words and numbers have been retained.
Original pagination is reproduced in square brackets; for example [II.323] i.e. Volume II, page 323.
All brackets in the original text are retained as round brackets. Unclosed brackets have been closed silently.
Quotation and exclamation marks have been retained.
Deleted words have been struck through in the manner of the originals.
Names of published volumes quoted by Machell have been italicised for easy recognition.
Marginalia have been reproduced within braces { }. Where margin comments form a section-heading, they have been placed in the body text and underlined. If a margin comment acts as a note, it has been placed at the foot of the page on which it was written (see Asterisks).
Asterisks have been retained. Machell employed them to reference notes placed elsewhere in the text, as a form of footnoting. Accordingly, this edition has employed Machell's technique by utilising a form of footnoting suggested by the pages of Nicolson and Burn's *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, and other contemporaneous volumes, as follows:

*	first
†	second
‡	third
⸸	fourth
‖	fifth
¶	sixth

These footnotes have been placed at the foot of the relevant pages of Machell's text, and denoted with the heading, '[Machell's Notes]', and the page number.
Angle brackets \ / denote interlineations.
It has been tempting to create a symbol noting the many changes of ink and other variations suggesting text written at different times on the same page but as there are often a great many such

changes a decision was taken not to clutter the text but to note the most significant changes in footnotes.

Transcription of Latin text
Because Latin was an integral part of the antiquary's tool kit during the seventeenth century (essential for researching deeds, charters etc.) it was decided that the appearance of Machell's Latin passages should not differ in any way from his English text. Translations have been placed in footnotes. Regularly repeated Latin words and phrases have been placed together in a Glossary.

Editorial changes
'Mr' and 'Dr' do not receive the full-stop given to them by Machell.
Question marks in the text were sometimes written backwards and before the question itself. These have been replaced with question marks pointing in the conventional direction but remaining in their designated place.
Where marginalia echo the body text, they have been deleted and, if relevant, mentioned in footnotes. Most running headings have been removed.
Editorial insertions have been placed within square brackets, thus [ ].
Where expected headings do not exist, they are inserted in square brackets.
Chapter and main-section headings have been changed to bold type, while secondary headings have been underscored.
Broken (pecked) underscoring was Machell's method of demonstrating his unhappiness with his choice of word or phrase; he usually placed an alternative close by. This method has been retained.
In a few paragraphs where scoring-through, interlineation, pecked lines and underscored text threaten to obscure both the text and its meaning, the original has been transferred, exactly as seen, to a footnote; the 'correct' version (that is, the text edited as Machell intended) is given in the body text.
Repeated passages are usually deleted and indicated in footnotes but when repeats are necessary to the narrative, and to the observance of Machell's research and writing method, they have been allowed to remain.
When Machell wished to remind himself of an important fact, he often drew a hand with the first finger pointing in the direction of the text. This edition replaces the pointing hand with the more easily reproduced 'N.B.'.
Machell's text includes much deliberate scoring through (with one line or with a cross) of narrative passages. It seems that when a draft narrative had been rewritten elsewhere, Machell crossed through his older draft. Such crossing-through of drafts has not been shown in this edition, in favour of other means of demonstrating Machell's narrative changes.

Ordering the text
Machell's aim was to present the history, topography and natural history of each Westmorland parish in alphabetical order according to, first, the Barony of Westmorland and, second, the Barony of Kendal. The main town of each barony was to be presented first in each of the two sections. By so ordering his work Machell was replicating the approach of well-known contemporaries such as William Dugdale. Like Dugdale, he aimed to use a specific system – he called it his 'method' – to organise the material, first, within each barony, and second, within each parish (see below). Machell's notes do not necessarily follow his plan, and, to complicate matters further, William Nicolson's organisation of the six volumes did not place Machell's parish notes together in one place. Consequently, after an exact transcription of the text of Volumes I, II, III and VI had been drafted, information on places was brought together to form a coherent narrative. Thus, while page and volume numbers have been retained, they do not necessarily appear chronologically, allowing notes which appear randomly in one or other of the original volumes to become comprehensible when placed with text on similar themes.

Repetition
Machell was the first antiquary to chronicle the history of the two counties of Cumberland and Westmorland systematically. In doing so he had to start from scratch. 'It is indeed a thing to be lamented' he wrote

> and the greatest occasion which discourages me from writeing concerneing this County is that Historyes are so silent: and that I should be deprived of the assistance which other men have so easily bin happy in from *Doomsday Booke*. And therefore, not knowing where to begine I must content my selfe with takeing some rude notes of those monuments of antiquity which yett remaine, they being the onely evidences I know of the famous exploits which have bin performed here in former aiges.[8]

After consulting the works of early chroniclers and historians, such as Camden, but frequently finding them inaccurate or 'silent' on the history of Westmorland, Machell and his assistants at Oxford University visited the Oxford libraries and the Tower of London, searching out old documents which would illuminate the county's history. Where evidence could not be found, Machell turned to ancient sites and the finds made there. This pioneering spirit lies at the heart of the Machell legacy, for his manuscripts are nothing if not a work in progress. He puzzled out his methods and narrative drafts over and over again. His accounts of each parish are laboured; pages of brief notes intersperse narrative passages, and such passages are often reworked several times, making it difficult for the reader to recognise anything resembling a 'fair copy'. Repetition is particularly marked in treatments of the town and parishes of Appleby, the parish of Kirkby Thore and the parish of Barton, three places Machell knew extremely well. In this edition, some repetition has been allowed to remain. Such passages have been separated and ordered, as far as possible, to demonstrate Machell's methods, techniques and preoccupations. Readers will find that each repetition contains something new, as Machell reconsidered his subject.

Biographical note

Thomas Machell's life has already been documented. For example, Angus Winchester's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* in 2004, and a highly appreciative article in CWAAS *Transactions*, by John Rogan and Eric Birley, 'Thomas Machell the Antiquary', published as long ago as 1955, both provide excellent overviews of his life and work.[9] In brief, their information comprises the following:

The second son of Lancelot Machell, Thomas Machell was born at Crackenthorpe Hall near Appleby, Westmorland, into a well-known gentry family; he was baptised in 1647. As a boy he was probably a pupil at Appleby Grammar School, from which, at the age of 16, he went to The Queen's College, Oxford, as a Taberdar.[10] He proceeded BA, proceeded MA, and in December 1672 became a fellow of the college.

At Oxford, Machell met some of the most celebrated antiquaries of the day, several of whom were involved in writing county histories. Influenced by William Dugdale and Anthony à Wood among others,[11] Machell determined to write a history and topography of Cumberland and Westmorland. Robert Plot, Oxford professor of chemistry, curator of the Ashmolean Museum and author of the *Natural History of Oxfordshire*,[12] encouraged Machell to extend his sphere of activity to include natural history.[13] From the early 1670s, still based in Oxford, Machell began to amass historical data from Oxford, London and Westmorland.

Machell returned permanently to Westmorland toward the end of the 1670s. As the Machells had for generations allied themselves with the powerful Clifford family, the Earl of Thanet (heir to Lady Anne Clifford's estates) presented Machell to the rectory of Kirkby Thore in 1677. In Machell's list of the values of 24 parishes in the barony of Westmorland, Kirkby Thore was the second most valuable, at

[8] Machell's Preface, I.59.
[9] John Rogan and Eric Birley, 'Thomas Machell the Antiquary', *CW2*, 55 (1955), 123-53.
[10] Taberdar: see English Glossary.
[11] This rather grand name was used by few of Wood's correspondents. Machell referred to him as 'Mr Wood' {Part 3, Ch. 2, VI.253). 'Anthony Wood' is commonly used in this edition.
[12] Robert Plot, *The Natural History of Oxfordshire, being an Essay toward the Natural History of England* (Oxford, 1676).
[13] For Robert Plot, see A. Turner, 'Plot, Robert (bap. 1640, d. 1696), naturalist and antiquary'. *ODNB*.

£37 17s 8½d, with annual tithes of £3 15s 9½d.[14] On the 27 June, 1679 Machell was appointed a chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles II,[15] but other preferment did not come his way; he remained at Kirkby Thore for the rest of his life, marrying, fathering a family and caring for his parish, all the while endeavouring to complete his History. He died in 1698, aged 51.[16]

Significance of this publication

Thomas Machell's collections relating to Westmorland contain the earliest detailed antiquarian account of the county's history and topography, encompassing a wider range of material than some later histories.[17] In this edition, the vast majority of Machell's texts and drawings relating to Westmorland are published together for the first time. Parts of his text have been published already, amid general agreement among local scholars that Machell is an important figure. For example, from 1874 to the present time, his family, marriage, children, allegiances, parish difficulties, politics and much more have been explored by a significant number of contributors to CWAAS *Transactions*.[18] Here, he rightly emerges as a staunch upholder of Laudian Anglicanism and monarchism; a collector of family pedigrees; a proto-archaeologist; a scholar of ancient and medieval history; an innovative architect; and an expert on church buildings and country houses. This edition of Machell's History will allow scholars to study such themes more fully than in the past.

Perhaps even more importantly, this edition invites readers to explore another aspect of Machell's text, which, though integral to known themes, encourages the investigation of a completely different realm. Machell's many descriptions of the local, the commonplace and the every-day in Westmorland form a vital part of the whole collection. His deep interest in Westmorland's 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.[19]

Machell's History is made even more valuable by the fact that his early death prevented the publication of a completed work. Had it been published, many of the delights of his six volumes – his correspondence; his trenchant opinions; his unguarded comments; his frequent criticism of his peers – would almost certainly have been edited and lost, leaving the reader with a rather bland volume and a much less fruitful reading experience. A short history and topography of Westmorland authored by Machell was published during his lifetime. Written as a supplementary chapter to Edmund Gibson's 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, it briefly sketches out the content of his planned volume.[20] But, though carefully composed Machell's chapter hides more than it reveals when compared with his notes.

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[14] Kirkby Stephen was the richest, at £48 19s 2d, with annual tithes of £4 17s 11d. See Machell's Preface, I.148.

[15] His appointment was continued under James II; but 'I have lost so good a master', wrote Machell, 'I never regarded it afterwards.' See Edward Bellasis, 'Machell of Crackenthorpe', *CW1*, 8 (1886), 416-66.

[16] See Angus Winchester, 'Machell, Thomas (bap. 1647, d. 1698), antiquary'. *ODNB*. See also Rogan and Birley, 'Thomas Machell the Antiquary', 132-53.

[17] For instance, Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 vols (London, 1777) (cited as *N&B1* and *N&B2* henceforward) which presents a tightly controlled and somewhat restrictive view of the past in the two counties.

[18] For example, Bellasis, 'Machell of Crackenthorpe', 416-66; Michael Waistell Taylor, 'Manorial Halls in Westmorland' *CW1*, 12 (1893), 15-41; Lionel Cresswell, 'Crackenthorpe: Its Manor Hall and the Machell Family', *CW2*, 33 (1933), 113-32; C. Roy Hudlestone, Thomas Machell, his Wife and Children and his Whelpdale Stepchildren', *CW2*, 70 (1970), 110-45; Paul Barker, 'The Reverend Thomas Machell's complaint: July 2d. 1690' *CW2*, 89 (1989), Notes 4, 179-81.

[19] I should like to thank Professor William Gibson for this suggestion.

[20] William Camden and Edmund Gibson (1669-1748), *Camden's Britannia newly translated into English, with large additions and improvements; publish'd by Edmund Gibson* (London, 1695), 'Additions to Westmoreland', 810-18.

The unfinished nature of Machell's History also reveals important aspects of seventeenth-century antiquarian scholarship. The reader will note aspects such as the development of various research methods, including those of early archaeologists; 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.

Machell's citation of written sources

Machell diligently cited his published written sources. They have been listed in a bibliography. Machell's letters and list of printed volumes demonstrate him to have read widely.[21] The printed-volume list contains many of the major scholarly works of his era, comparing favourably (though the list is shorter) with the books owned by Sir Daniel Fleming at Rydal Hall.[22] Always attracted to ingenious devices, he

> … contriv'd an octagonall deske with a small writeing table running beneath it, by means whereof he can consult many authors at once without moving his foot, & compare them together with a turne of his hand.[23] … Turneing it round wil bring 8 folios or 16 folios to hand to examine at and quot of, to aprise ascending.[24]

Many of the volumes appear to have been Machell's own, but he also borrowed from other antiquarian libraries, such as the bishop's at Rose Castle, and from Sir Daniel Fleming at Rydal Hall, one of whose letters to Machell reminded him to return a particularly important publication.

> 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.[25]

Machell's correspondence

This edition includes all the correspondence found in Machell's Volumes I to VI. Not only do the letters illuminate Machell's family and clerical concerns, they also reveal some of the research preoccupations and processes of late-seventeenth-century antiquaries. Machell's correspondence with the principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, Dr John Mill (also born in Westmorland), with William Dugdale, William Nicolson, Sir Daniel Fleming, the cartographer John Adams, and others – together with his unguarded pen-portraits of contemporaries whom he disliked – illuminates relationships between antiquaries, scholars and landed gentlemen in a manner reminiscent of another unpublished antiquary, John Aubrey. In one sense, it is to be celebrated that Machell's raw, frank, multi-layered History and Topography of Westmorland was never completed, thus permitting us to arrive at an understanding of a life, a place, a county and an era which is lost to us in the mild texts of some published contemporaries.

Machell's unfinished manuscripts

Machell was not unique in failing to complete his county history. At the end of the seventeenth century the antiquary and bishop, White Kennett (1660-1728), remarked on the large number of unfinished or unpublished antiquarian works which remained in manuscript.[26] According to the historian Graham Parry, the reason for this is that writing a county history requires not merely 'industry and skill' but also 'organisational power'. Parry cites John Leland, who was overwhelmed

[21] See Part 3, Ch. 2. Correspondence.
[22] Compare Machell's book list with the list of volumes in Sir Daniel Fleming's study at Rydal in 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), Appendix 1, 335-41.
[23] Part 1, Ch. 14. Kirkby Thore, I.537.
[24] Part 1, Ch. 14. Kirkby Thore, I.562.
[25] Part 3, Ch. 2. II.145.
[26] In Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1995), 16.

by the volume of his notes; John Aubrey, who could never complete a work or methodise his papers; Roger Dodsworth, who left 60 volumes in manuscript; Thomas Allen, Brian Twyne and William Fulman, 'all of whom had the same ambition to collect, but the same misfortune never to methodise or publish'.[27] Machell was highly aware of his failings, but blamed them on the interruptions of a busy life.

> See Dugdall of Warwickshire, Burton of Leicestershire, to help method & order.
> If I could spare time to Methodise these Rude Notes which are conteined in my severall books of Collections … I would …[28]

Early Reception of Machell's Manuscripts

Encouraged by his peers, Machell published a small amount of his research. His work on Roman antiquities found at Kirkby Thore was eagerly awaited, the correspondence pages of this edition demonstrating the importance attached to his findings. His letter to Sir William Dugdale, describing finds made in a well at Kirkby Thore: 'discovered here about a week since, by the foot of an Horse which stumbled upon it and therefore may be called the Fountain Hypocrene', was printed in *Philosophical Transactions* in 1684; Machell's carefully detailed report of the finds resulted in his election to the Oxford Philosophical Society.[29] Of this he was proud enough to style himself:

> … one Thomas Machell (late-fellow of Queen's College in Oxford, & Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles the second, now {this 1t October 1686} fellow of the Philosophical Society in the said university.[30]

Machell's collection of Roman inscriptions, 'with a discourse on them', which was sent to John Mill in 1692, did not earn the same respect. As described in Part 3, Chapter 2, Machell and Mill argued over the project for some time. Although they were both Westmorland men and Queen's College alumni, Machell was of gentry stock, while Mill, two years younger than Machell, was a weaver's son from Hardendale near Shap.[31] The two had an uneasy relationship, both personally and professionally, as shown in their correspondence. In one of Machell's last letters to Mill he expressed both intimacy and frustration:

> 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. 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…[32]

As noted above, Machell also contributed to Edmund Gibson's extended edition of Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1695. In his 'Preface to the Reader', Gibson introduced those in each county who had added to Camden's research.

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[27] Parry, *Trophies of* Time, 16.
[28] Machell's Preface, I.153.
[29] *Philosophical Transactions 14*, 158 (1684), 555-58. See Part 3, Ch.3, Roman Antiquities, VI.200 ff. See also, Rogan and Birley, 'Thomas Machell, the Antiquary', 145.
[30] See I.550.
[31] For Mill, see S. Handley, 'Mill, John (1644/5-1707), Church of England clergyman and college head'. *ODNB*.
[32] See Part 3, Ch.3, Roman Antiquities, VI.299.

> Westmorland is engag'd to Mr. Thomas Machel for so many use-ful discoveries; as its neighbour Cumberland is to Dr. Hugh Todd Prebendary of the Church of Carlisle: and lastly, Northumberland to Mr. William Nicolson, Arch-deacon of the same Church, eminent for his knowledge in the Languages and Antiquities of the Northern Nations.[33]

Interestingly, few outside this circle acknowledged Machell's contribution, and local gossip asserted that a map made by Machell had been rejected because of his insistence on dedicating it to the earl of Carlisle.[34] Nevertheless, Machell's research was recognised by Anthony Wood in his *Athenae Oxonienses : an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford*.[35]

> THOMAS MACHEL (malus catulus) son of Lanc. Mach. of Crakenthorp in Westmoreland. matric. Feb. 5. 1663-4. afterward became a poor serving child, tabarder and fellow of Queen's coll. Afterwards he was minister of Kirby-Thore in Westmoreland. He hath written:
> "A Letter to Sir Will. Dugdale", dat. 23 Mar. 1684. concerning some Antiquities found at Kirkby Thore. This letter is in the "Philos. Transact." nu.158 — Apr. 20. an. 1684.
> "Survey, or Antiquities of Westmoreland" MS.

After Machell's death: in November 1698, the unfinished pages and rough notes of his collections were deposited in the library at Carlisle Cathedral. As William Nicolson, then archdeacon and future bishop of Carlisle, explained in a letter to the antiquary Ralph Thoresby just before Christmas of that year,

> Mr Machell is lately dead: he has left the inspection of his papers to me, with a request that if I find any thing that will abide the public view, the press may be set to work for the benefit of his children. I do not yet see that any great fortunes are to be raised out of them, there being nothing that looks towards a formal work.[36]

Nicolson briefly recorded his involvement with Machell's research in his *English Historical Library*. When the first edition was published in 1696, Machell was still living.

> *Westmorland.* Mr. *Tho Machel,* Rector of *Kirkbythore* in this County, has (with a great deal of Pains and good Judgment) collected its Antiquities: which, we hope, will ere long meet with so suitable an Encouragement as will oblige the Author to publish 'em.[37]

When a second, expanded, edition of the *English Historical Library* was published in 1714, Nicolson amended the text to cover the fact that Machell had been unable to complete his research.

> Westmorland. Mr Thomas Machel late rector of Kirkbythore in this county had with a great deal of pains collected its antiquities but never met with encouragement enough to oblige him to publish them. His papers were left (in confusion) to me and I have taken the best care I can to preserve them (bound in six volumes in folio) for the use of posterity. That part of its story which more nearly concerns the nobility and gentry has been well preserved by Sir Dan. Fleming of Rydale Knt who has thereby done his own ancient family a great deal of right and has also approved himself an eminent benefactor to those of his neighbours.[38]

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[33] *Camden's Britannia, Newly Translated into English: with large additions and improvements. Publish'd by Edmund Gibson, of Queens-College in Oxford* (London, 1695), Preface.
[34] See Rogan and Birley, 'Thomas Machell the Antiquary', 133.
[35] Anthony Wood, *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* (Oxford, 1632-1695), in Philip Bliss (ed.) (London, 1813-20), Vol. IV, 532.
[36] Letter from W. Nicolson to Ralph Thoresby, 22 Dec. 1698, in Joseph Hunter (ed.), *Letters of eminent men, addressed to Ralph Thoresby FRS*, Vol. 1 (London, 1832), 349.
[37] William Nicolson, *The English Historical Library, or, A short view and character of most of the writers now extant, either in print or manuscript which may be serviceable to the undertakers of a general history of this kingdom* (London, 1696), 64-65.
[38] William Nicolson, *The English historical library, in Three Parts, giving a Short View and Character of most of our Historians either in Print or Manuscript : With an Account of our Records, Law-Books, Coins, and other*

History of the Binding

At some point after 1699 Nicolson obeyed Machell's wish by collating his papers. He had them bound into a set of six handsome calf-over-board volumes, each 33.3cm long and 22.6cm wide; and, while the thickness of each volume differs, each contains over 500 numbered pages. A contents page, an index and various annotations were added to each volume by Nicolson himself, thus impressing on future readers that (as he had communicated to Ralph Thoresby) he had carried out more than one very difficult undertaking for Machell, at great cost to himself.[39]

[William Nicolson's Introduction, Volume I, vii-viii]

> This and the five following Volumes (marked on the back, T.M. Vol. II. Etc.) are made up of loose papers left to me by their Author Mr Thomas Machell, late Rector of Kirkbythore; with his Request that (if it might be readily done) they[40] should be put into Form, and offer'd to some Bookseller for the Benefit of his Widow and Children. Upon perusal of 'em, I found the Collection so imperfect, Raw and indigested, that 'twas impossible to bring them (of 'emselves) to any such Account as the good man hoped for: since it appear'd that he had bestow'd more pains on the Family of Machel, than on the Pedigrees of all the rest of the Gentry in the two Counties; and that the single parish of Kirkbythore was more labour'd than all besides in the bottome of Westmerland. In the Transcripts of Records, &c, he has made use of other mens hands: As (particularly) in those out of the Tower, in the 4th Volume, I find a good many of my own writing. This Drudgery (I remember) I was unwillingly put upon in 1678. when Mr M. was Fellow, and I Taberdar of Qu. Coll. and (being then in Attendance on Mr Secretary Williamson) in dayly expectance of being sent beyond sea. Others are copy'd by W. Atkinson (afterwards Fellow of the same College) who was not well acquainted with old Records.
> Mr Machel's own chief Excellency was in drawing Coats of Arms, prospects of Churches and Houses, &c. And whoever shall hereafter perfect his Design, in furnishing the Curious with such an History of Cumberland and Westmerland as Sr W. Dugdale has given us of Warwickshire, may hence have a good share of the Ornamental part of his Work.[41]

Nicolson listed the pages where images of coats of arms; seals; Roman monuments; prospects of churches and chapels; stained glass and funerary monuments; and the seats of the nobility and gentry could be found. Clearly this took some time, as Nicolson's annotations are to be found throughout the six volumes. His Introduction, placed at the beginning of Volume I, is dated 'Aug. 10. 1711'.[42] His diary entry on the 19 of October 1709, written while he was resident in Carlisle diocese, is instructive: '19. Wednesday. D[ined] Mr Hall of Qu. Coll. to whom I shew'd my Medals, T.M's MSS. &c.,'[43] suggesting that he was then working on the material.[44]

Beginning in 1764, the churchman and antiquary, Charles Lyttelton (born 1714), bishop of Carlisle from 1762 to 1768,[45] studied the volumes, annotating some of the text and adding several sheets of

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matters serviceable to the Undertakers of a General History of England, The Second Edition Corrected and Augmented (London, 1714), 26.

[39] See William Nicolson's Preface, Machell MS.I, vii-viii.

[40] A scored-through word here is illegible.

[41] William Nicolson's Preface, Machell MS.I, vii-viii. On this subject, note Rogan and Birley's opinion: 'It will be seen that Nicolson has tacitly assumed that Machell's papers had been left to him, and not merely placed in his hands for perusal and putting into order; the event may cause us to be thankful, even though the antiquary's will makes it clear that he never contemplated giving the papers to his former pupil. Nicolson's own estimate of their value is remarkable, as much for its criticisms … as for the shrewd assessment of the antiquary's strong points.' Rogan and Birley, 'Thomas Machell, the Antiquary', 136-37.

[42] DCHA/11/4/1, viii.

[43] R.G. Collingwood (ed.), 'Bishop Nicolson's Diaries: Part VI.' *CW2*, 35 (1935), 112.

[44] Nevertheless, the idea of Machell's huge unbound collection of papers being produced during dinner is almost unimaginable.

[45] He was born in 1714; see David W.V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), 142.

notes, the content of which corrected and supplemented Machell's narrative.[46] These sheets were firmly attached to the spine during a rebinding exercise which might have occurred much later, when the volumes were restored by Maltby of Oxford (founded in 1834). Regrettably, the record of this restoration has disappeared from the company's archive.[47]

It is clear that during the binding's careful restoration an effort was made to use as much of the original binding-material as possible. Nevertheless, binding involves a potential loss of text, and over-sewing has comprehensively hidden words and phrases written close to the gutter of each volume. Machell's choice of loose-leaf single sheets of different sizes, together with home-made booklets (he often directed the reader to 'my little booke'),[48] clearly offered a challenge to binders at different times. During a restoration, the original leather appears to have been stretched over boards beneath, suggesting that the boards had been renewed. During the late 20th century (from circa 1988, when the volumes entered Cumbria County Archives, Carlisle) various loose scraps of paper belonging to the collection were pasted onto some of the volumes' empty pages by archivist, Jeremy Godwin.[49]

Pagination

The volumes were paginated at different periods. Machell's original pagination occurs sporadically throughout the volumes and was apparently inserted by him when constructing his 'little books'. See, for example, II.470, which was first paginated as page 23. The main pagination seems to have occurred when the volumes were first bound; it was carried out in thick black ink, often superimposing Machell's earlier page numbers and even some of his text; during the process, a few pages were paginated incorrectly. Subsequent pagination was added by archivists in the late twentieth century, when various loose sheets were pasted into the volumes.[50] Written in pencil, such pagination usually adds a letter of the alphabet (A-F) to an existing page number. There are groups of blank paginated pages throughout the volumes.

Discussion of the binding and pagination of the volumes leads inevitably to a transcription difficulty caused by apparently missing pages – a phenomenon which could have occurred after Machell's volumes were borrowed from Carlisle Cathedral Library by Rev. Dr Richard Burn.[51] Although they occasionally cited 'Mr Machel' as their source, Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn nevertheless co-opted substantial parts of Machell's manuscript into their own in their *History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland,* published in 1777. As Burn had undertaken to author the Westmorland section, it is to be expected that he would seek to borrow Machell's volumes from the cathedral library, which he did in 1765, the year in which he became chancellor of the diocese. The matter is recorded in a Dean and Chapter Minute Book, in which it appears that Burn kept the volumes for ten years; they were not listed as returned until 1775, two years before the publication of Nicolson and Burn's 'History'.[52] Conceivably, Burn's extensive use of Machell's work made rebinding a necessary next step in the history of these volumes.

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[46] See Part 3, Ch.1, Bishop Charles Lyttelton's suggestions for further reading, VI.432A-D. Lyttelton borrowed Machell's volumes from Carlisle Cathedral library; viz. '31 July. 3rd vol. Machel's MSS for the Bp; August 7. 4 vol. of Machel's MSS. for the Bishop; Sept.15. 6. vol. of Machel's MSS for the Bp.' See CAC(C), DCHA/5/6/1/15. Library Register 1703-1873.

[47] Email correspondence between this editor and the firm: http://www.maltbysbookbinders.com. The firm's logo is attached to the volumes' binding.

[48] See Machell's Preface, II.474: 'Se my little b[ook] on Alters dig'd up; se my misselanyes.'

[49] See Jeremy Godwin's comments on the flyleaf of Volume I.

[50] Information gained during discussions with Jeremy Godwin and former archivists at CAC(C).

[51] Richard Burn (1709–1785) was born in Winton, Kirkby Stephen. He matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1729 (BA 1734), and in 1736 was instituted to the vicarage of Orton, Westmorland. He became a justice of the peace for Westmorland and Cumberland. In 1762 he was made a DCL by Oxford, and in 1765 Bishop Lyttelton appointed him chancellor of Carlisle diocese. He died at Orton in 1785. See N. Landau, 'Burn Richard, legal writer and Church of England clergyman'. *ODNB*.

[52] Carlisle Cathedral Dean and Chapter Minute Book (1752-1792), CAC(C). DCHA/1/1/11, 129.

This suggests a possible answer to a serious editing problem. Volume I of Nicolson and Burn's *History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* contains a long, passionate passage describing, first, Oliver Cromwell's imposition of a charter on Appleby and, second, the town's joy at the restoration of the monarchy.[53] The passage, which contains strong terms such as 'bloody regicides', begins, 'The Reverend Thomas Machel, speaking of the plundering and devastations which Appleby had sustained in former ages, adds…'. Two pages are then taken up by a transcription (written between quotation marks) of Machell's text;[54] yet, to the present knowledge of this editor, the passage does not appear in Machell's six volumes. In this edition, therefore, the 'missing' text has been transcribed from Nicolson and Burn into passages criticising Cromwell's Commonwealth in Machell's chapter on Appleby Town and Parishes.[55] The transcribed passage is wholly authentic, but, unless the pages were misfiled into another Machell document collection, their present location is unknown to this editor.[56]

Modern reception of Machell's volumes, Part 1.

After the publication of Nicolson and Burn's *History and Antiquities of Westmorland and Cumberland*, in 1777, Thomas Machell appears to have been completely overlooked by scholars. In 1827, for example, while entering a footnote into his edition of *The Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, William Hamper remarked of Machell:

> In the *Philosophical Transactions* Vol. xiv., p.555, is a letter from Mr Thomas Machel of Kirbythore in Westmoreland … concerning some Antiquities found there; but not of sufficient interest to deserve reprinting.[57]

Although he later revised his opinion, even Richard Saul Ferguson, distinguished chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle and a president of CWAAS, initially described Machell as 'our great local drya[s]dust'.[58] Machell's diminished status can be attributed partly to William Nicolson, whose patronising preface to Volume I of Machell's 'History', transcribed above, reveals this famous antiquary's attitude toward his colleague and former mentor. Similarly, a perusal of Nicolson and Burn's volumes might have convinced some scholars that Machell had no more to add to history than proto-Toryism, pedigrees, pots and property. And, as has been noted above, while the fact that Machell failed to publish his complete 'History' is tremendously helpful to today's scholars, it was obviously a critical factor in the burying of his reputation.

CWAAS *Transactions* 1874-1918[59]

From its inception in 1874, CWAAS *Transactions* recognised the importance of one of its very own scholars. Nevertheless, Charles J. Ferguson, who quoted more than a dozen times from Machell's text on architecture within his article, 'The development of domestic architecture: Rose Castle and Dalston Hall' (1876), was one of the few contributors who appear to have actually studied the volumes.[60] Others quoted Machell in circuitous ways. In 1874, for example, Rev. James Simpson, vicar of Kirkby Stephen, consulted Machell's text within the Hill manuscripts, which had been compiled

[53] See Michael Mullett, *Patronage, Power and Politics in Appleby in the era of Lady Anne Clifford, 1649-1689*, CWAAS Tract Series 25 (Kendal, 2015), 24-26.
[54] See *N&BI,* 315-16.
[55] Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby Town and Parishes, from I.507.
[56] For instance, CCA(C), DCHA/11/3, Machell family of Crackenthorpe: Chronological Series of records filed and bound into eight volumes with separate card indexes.
[57] Anthony Wood to William Dugdale (19 July 1684), in William Hamper, *The Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (London, 1827), 434.
[58] Taken from Rogan and Birley, 'Thomas Machell the Antiquary', 138.
[59] Analysis of *Transactions* articles mentioning Thomas Machell was carried out by searching all the articles in CWAAS *Transactions* 1874-2020, accessed from 'Cumbria Past', Online.
[60] C.J. Ferguson, 'The Development of Domestic Architecture: Rose Castle and Dalston Hall', *CWI*, 2 (1876), 152-71.

during the nineteenth century.[61] Between 1874 and 1918, 35 articles cited Machell's name, but 10 of them mentioned his research without giving volume or page number, and 20 (57 per cent) quoted him through other sources, such as Nicolson and Burn's *History*, parish registers and, increasingly, articles published in previous volumes of *Transactions*.

As chancellor of the diocese, Charles Ferguson's brother, R.S. Ferguson, was in a better position than others to view the Machell volumes in situ. The Carlisle Cathedral 'Dean and Chapter Order Book' (1874-1901) reports his having done so on 16 April 1874.[62] He studied the Machell volumes in the cathedral library on other occasions, as revealed in his letter to the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne:

Carlisle December 17th 1885

> Dear Mr Blair
> I recently searched the Machell Manuscripts in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, for the purpose of ascertaining if they contain any Romano-British inscriptions not yet published. The volumes are six in number, and refer mainly to the county of Westmoreland. In the 6th volume is the following letter from Dr J. Mills, Principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford…'

Ferguson then added a transcription of the letter he had found, described other communications between Machell and John Mill, and voiced his disappointment on finding that Machell's drawings were 'few' and 'rough'.[63]

In 1894, Ferguson's monograph, *A History of Westmorland*, quoted Machell's research on six occasions, predominantly by citing *Transactions* articles and Nicolson and Burn's *History*. When referring to illustrations of the seals of Robert and Idonea de Veteriponte, however, he guided the reader to 'the first volume of the Machell manuscripts in the library of the Dean and Chapter at Carlisle, p.187,' and 'the first volume of Machell's MSS., pp. 238, 26.'[64] Ferguson had not found admittance to the cathedral library an easy matter. As researchers know, obtaining access to certain archives is not always uncomplicated. Ferguson vented his exasperation within an article on the stained glass at Windermere parish church, published in CWAAS *Transactions* in 1880.

> The earliest account of this glass is to be found in the second volume of Machell's MS. Collections, in the Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle. I have some rough memoranda I made long ago of his notes as to the coats of arms. I regret that I have been unable to verify them, or obtain a glimpse, even for a few moments, of the originals: this is due to the obstructive regulations placed by the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, in the way of access to manuscripts of which they are the trustees for the public.[65]

Perhaps the obstruction occurred because R.S. Ferguson, though chancellor of the diocese, was the first layman ever to be appointed to that role;[66] but whatever the reason, his experience of admittance differed markedly from the free access experienced by that earlier chancellor, Rev. Richard Burn.

CWAAS *Transactions* 1919-1958

During the first half of the 20th century, Thomas Machell's name appeared in *Transactions* less often than before, and local authors who cited his work did so only in passing, in support of their own specific historical concerns. During the years 1919-1958, Machell was mentioned in 22 articles (as distinct from 35 during the period 1870-1918), only four of which cited volume and page numbers,

[61] Hill MSS, CAC(C,) DCHA/11/11/1-9: 9 volumes of collections for 'The History and Antiquities of the County of Westmorland' by John Hill of Castle Bank, Appleby (died 1861). See Rev. J. Simpson, 'Appleby Castle', *CW1*, I (1874), 242-54, at 247.
[62] Chapter Order Book (1874-1901), CAC(C), DCHA 1/1/15, 4.
[63] Letter from R.S. Ferguson (then editor of CWAAS *Transactions*) written in Carlisle on 17 December 1885 and read to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne. See *Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne Vol. II* (South Shields, 1887), 142-43.
[64] R.S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (London, 1894), 99, 101.
[65] R.S. Ferguson, 'Windermere (Bowness) Parish Church, and its Old Glass', *CW1*, 4 (1880), 47.
[66] See E. Carlyle & A. Winchester, 'Ferguson, Richard Saul (1837-1900), antiquary'. *ODNB*.

while others merely referred to his name, cited previous *Transactions* articles, or had gained their information from Nicolson and Burn's *History*. R.S. Ferguson had demonstrated the difficulties involved in gaining access to the original volumes, even for local scholars, however distinguished; how much harder, then, would it have been for those who lived many miles from the far north of England?

CWAAS *Transactions* 1963-1998

During the 1960s, a sea-change in local interest in Machell's volumes occurred when Jane M. Ewbank, daughter of Walter Ewbank (then domestic chaplain to Bishop Thomas Bloomer and Vicar of Raughton Head, Cumberland),[67] was given access to the Machell documents, in particular Volume II. Consequently, in 1963, Jane Ewbank published a scholarly edition of Machell's notes on the Barony of Kendal, *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*.[68] The publication was highly appreciated by local scholars, as shown by the rising number of articles concerning Machell in *Transactions* during the period 1964 to 1998. Over three quarters of the 31 articles mentioning him cited only secondary sources, and, of these, 71 per cent cited Ewbank's book. Nicolson and Burn's *History* ceased to be cited as a source for Machell's research during this period.

CWAAS *Transactions* 2000-2020

Of the 22 *Transactions* articles utilising Machell's research during the years 2000-2020, 64 per cent cited Ewbank's *Antiquary on Horseback*, while just 14 per cent cited Machell's volume and page numbers. This is thought-provoking for several reasons. First, circa 1988-90 the whole of Machell's collection was moved from Carlisle Cathedral Library to the Cumbria Record Office at Carlisle, where it has resided ever since; yet, despite this, scholars have still preferred to use secondary sources. The irony of this situation was made clear in 2014, when an author who had used Rogan and Birley's *Transactions* article, 'Thomas Machell, the Antiquary', as his main source[69] thanked Carlisle archivist, Tom Robson, for finding and sending to him the extra information he needed from Machell's volumes; an admission, perhaps, that Carlisle was still too far away for some scholars to venture.[70] The second obvious result of the publication of *Antiquary on Horseback* is that from 1964 to the present, *Transactions* articles which quote Machell have shown a pronounced leaning towards seeking evidence only from the Barony of Kendal: this, of course, can be found much more easily in Ewbank's book than in Machell's muddled MS. Machell's research notes on Kendal Barony fill little more than one of his six volumes, but only a few scholars during this period appear to have utilised the other five.[71]

Difficulties of Transcription

Notwithstanding difficulties of access, there is another, graver, difficulty; one which all scholars who have actually consulted Machell's volumes acknowledge. It is the notoriously illegible text. Contemporaries such as Nicolson, and later scholars such as Rogan and Birley, described the chaotic nature of the volumes' pages, many of which had been altered, added to, overwritten and scored through to a bewildering extent.[72] When Machell's handwriting is also considered, it is not surprising that few scholars ever attempted to unravel the mess. As noted above, in his letter to William Nicolson, Machell himself had confessed:

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[67] Obituary. 'The Ven. Walter Frederick Ewbank 1918-2014', *Church Times*, 9 May 2014.
[68] Ewbank (ed.), *Antiquary on Horseback*, see fn. 4.
[69] Rogan and Birley, 'Thomas Machell, the Antiquary', 132-53.
[70] See Peter Lucas, 'A South Westmorland Medieval Holy Well? The Case of St. Gregory's Well, Preston Patrick', *CW3,* 14 (2014), 125-28, at 125 n.6. Another such example is C.S. Colman, 'The Paralysis of the Cumberland and Westmorland Army in the First Civil War c.1642-45', *CW3*, 1 (2001). Having quoted Machell's Vol. II, 342, Colman remarked 'I am grateful to Richard Hall at the Cumbria Record Office, Kendal, for this reference.' [see 126, endnote 13].'
[71] For example, Angus Winchester, 'Personal Names and Local Identities in Early Modern Cumbria', *CW3*, 11 (2011), 29-50 [Angus Winchester is the author of Machell's biography in *ODNB*]; Mark Blackett-Ord, 'Growth of a Manor House: the early history of Warcop Hall, 1580-1745', *CW3,* 20 (2020), 137-50.
[72] Rogan and Birley, 'Thomas Machell, the Antiquary', *CW2* (1955), 142.

> …the notes … are so ill writt (for want of Convenient time & place) and so full of Blotts & Interlineations … no body besides my selfe can Compose & Bring them in Order.

This is not to claim that all of Machell's manuscripts are difficult to read; he had several handwriting styles, depending on whether he was writing a note, a draft, a fair copy, a letter, or a finished piece for publication. Considered in that order, the handwriting grows more legible and, indeed, more beautiful, as the texts approach publication standard. Unfortunately, most of the manuscripts are in note or draft form, and, as Eric Birley commented in 1951:

> [Machell's] MSS. collections, in the Dean and Chapter library in Carlisle, have been the delight and the despair of a long succession of scholars, from Bishop Nicolson to Chancellor Ferguson (to say nothing of people still living).[73]

In his article written with John Rogan in 1955, Birley expanded on this theme.

> An analytical study of the rough drafts would undoubtedly yield interesting information about Machell's mind, but it is one of the tasks which we can only indicate now, in the hope that someone may be prepared to undertake it. [74]

As noted above, in 1963 Jane Ewbank undertook part of that task by transcribing Machell's 'Barony of Kendal'. Sixty years on, this edition provides a transcription of Machell's research on the whole of Westmorland. Nevertheless, the problems of transcription remain the same. Jane Ewbank's edition, like that of Nicolson and Burn, omits some of Machell's margin comment, interlineation and 'difficult' text, while Machell's notoriously opaque handwriting has led to transcription errors. Hence, it would be miraculous if this edition of *Thomas Machell's Collections towards a History and Topography of Westmorland* were to escape the same fate, despite its editor's determination to strive for accuracy. To echo Machell himself,

> Nor will I promisse to be so accurate my selfe as to scape all oversights; som can not be avoided. But I will doe my \ best / endeavour, and be very much beholden to those who shall take the paines to correct these papers where they are amiss…[75]

Modern reception of Machell's volumes. Part 2. Wider publishing

There has been no published volume devoted solely to Machell's research since the appearance of Jane Ewbank's *Antiquary on Horseback* in 1963, notwithstanding late-20th-century and 21st-century interest in the history of antiquarianism, which has led to the publication of a significant number of volumes on the subject.[76] It is unsurprising, then, that whenever Machell's name is found in such books, it appears as an aside.[77] Ignored or overlooked for centuries, Machell's dubious status among today's scholars appears to remain just as it was in his lifetime. A well-received recent edition of Sir Daniel Fleming's memoirs from 1633 to 1688 exemplifies this. Fleming mentions Machell, but only briefly; he appears to have had a closer acquaintance (though mainly in an official capacity) with

[73] Eric Birley, 'Notes: Thomas Machell and Hadrian's Wall', *CW2*, 51 (1951), 180-82, at 180.
[74] Rogan and Birley,' Thomas Machell, the Antiquary', *CW2* (1955), 142.
[75] See Part 3, Ch.4, Heraldry, 'Of Familyes', VI.373.
[76] See examples of a wide range from 1951 to 2015: David Douglas, *English Scholars 1660-1730* (London, revised edition 1951); Stan A.E. Mendyk, *Speculum Britanniae: Regional Study, Antiquarianism and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1989); C. R. J. Currie and C. P. Lewis (eds), *English County Histories: A Guide* (Stroud, 1994); Jan Broadway, *William Dugdale and the Significance of County History in the Early Stuart England,* Volume 39 of Dugdale Society Occasional Papers (Chicago, 1999); Graham Parry, *Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the seventeenth century* (Oxford, 1995 and 2007); Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in 18th-century Britain* (London and New York, 2004); Ruth Scurr, *John Aubrey: My Own Life* (London, 2015).
[77] See, for instance, Mendyk, *Speculum Britanniae*, 318; Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 208.

Machell's elder brother, Hugh, lord of Crackenthorpe.[78] Younger brother, Thomas, appears in an incident in October 1684, when Fleming visited the Earl of Thanet at Appleby Castle to arbitrate in a dispute between Hugh Machell, his mother and his sister, 'by reason of a flaw Parson Machel discovered in the Bond of Reference entered into at the instance of the Earl of Thanet, which did offend his Lordship very much.'[79] Note that the antiquary is here merely 'Parson Machel', although he and Daniel Fleming had corresponded on Machell's proposed History from at least 1677.[80]

Machell's Renaissance

As already noted, some of those commenting on Machell's research papers did so with a certain condescension. In 1899, Lancaster Herald, Edward Bellasis, thought them inadequate, perceiving Machell's approach to family pedigrees as 'quaint' and 'confused'.[81] Redressing the balance, recent British historical journals have revived interest in Machell's volumes, thanks to Professor Adam Fox, whose articles in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, *Cultural and Social History*, and in the *Historical Journal* have illuminated content that had been previously discounted. Fox's scholarly interests have been crucial to Machell's renaissance. His study of antiquarian method led him to examine the first antiquarian questionnaires, in the planning of which Machell played a crucial part. Fox has also researched oral tradition in early modern England; a theme embedded in Machell's writing.[82] Fox's ground-breaking article, based solely on original observations gleaned from Machell's volumes, 'Vernacular Culture and Popular Customs in Early Modern England: Evidence from Thomas Machell's Westmorland', has raised Machell's profile to a more significant level.[83] As Fox has observed:

> Naturally enough, the focus of [the local historical societies] is on the history of the north of England as a region … Machell's fascination with popular practices and beliefs is inextricably bound up with locality. The two obviously intersect but they represent rather different emphases nevertheless.[84]

Fox accentuates the importance of vernacular culture in British history, applauding Machell as 'an original and sympathetic recorder of the beliefs and prejudices, customs and practices of his neighbours'. He believes him to be an antiquary who shared a common interest with John Aubrey 'as an important, and sometimes unique, commentator on vernacular traditions, children's games and calendar rituals'.[85] Using his cherished county of Westmorland as a source, Machell was able to draw on what he judged to be its people's distinctive character. 'He was the painstaking and sympathetic observer of a culture with which he was intimately familiar.'[86]

Fox has expressed regret that Machell still remains 'a relatively obscure and neglected figure', noting that he is remembered for his site excavations, his recording of gentry families, and 'his role in the introduction of classical architecture to Cumberland and Westmorland'; 'but', he argues, in addition to these achievements, Machell was

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[78] In 1685 Hugh Machell was one of four members of the grand jury at Appleby who wrote a congratulatory address to James II. 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), 239.
[79] See Sowerby and McCormack (eds), *Memoirs of Sir Daniel Fleming*, 214-15. For more on this dispute, see C. Roy Hudlestone, 'Thomas Machell, his Wife and Children…' *CW2* (1970), 137-44.
[80] See J.A. Bennett and Richard Ward (eds), *The Manuscripts of S.H. le Fleming Esq. of Rydal Hall* (London, 1890), 135-39.
[81] Edward Bellasis, 'Strickland of Sizergh', *CW1*, 10 (1889), 75-94, at 90.
[82] See Adam Fox, 'Remembering the Past in Early Modern England: Oral and Written Tradition', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1999), 233-56; *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000); 'Printed Questionnaires, Research Networks, and the Discovery of the British Isles, 1650-1800', *Historical Journal*, 53 (2010), 593-621.
[83] Adam Fox, 'Vernacular Culture and Popular Customs in Early Modern England: Evidence from Thomas Machell's Westmorland', *Cultural and Social History* 3 (2012), 329-47.
[84] Quotation from email correspondence between Adam Fox and the editor, March 2017.
[85] Fox, 'Vernacular Culture, Westmorland', 329.
[86] Fox, 'Vernacular Culture, Westmorland', 330.

> an important and original commentator on vernacular traditions and local customs. His manuscript writings add not only to our knowledge of landscape and society in the north-west of England during the late seventeenth century, but also to our understanding of early modern popular culture more broadly. They provide earlier references to a number of usages and recreations than otherwise known and represent a valuable witness from the north of the country to set alongside similar sources that derive predominantly from the south.[87]

That Machell did not confine his queries and conversations to the county elites is crucial to the argument for a renewed scholarly interest in his work. As Fox remarks, Machell's 'inquisitive' approach and willingness to converse with 'the vulgar', even if their tales stretched his credulity, are relevant and fascinating in their own right. Inevitably this approach did not impress his peers, particularly William Nicolson, 'in whose hands his posthumous reputation lay. "A very foolish tale", wrote Nicolson beside the story told to Machell by the villagers of [Ravenstonedale] about how a former lord of the manor had been providentially struck blind after enclosing their common field.'[88] Here, Fox neatly exposes two very different emphases concerning the history of locality, a dichotomy personified in the difficult relationship between these two intertwined antiquaries.

Machell's Methods. 1. Questionnaires

When writing their county histories, antiquaries made greater discoveries when they began to send out printed questionnaires containing numbered 'heads' or 'articles of enquiry' to would-be assistants in every corner of their chosen county.[89] This was not a new phenomenon; the practice came into being through Francis Bacon (1561-1626), whose ideas relating to natural philosophy led to his development of an empirical approach to scientific enquiry by means of observation and induction.[90] Moreover, after the Restoration, diocesan clergy of the Church of England were often required by their bishop to respond to a series of questions on their parochial provision in advance of visitation.[91]

Given the lofty beginnings of the antiquarian questionnaire, some might find it surprising that Thomas Machell's questionnaires, 'were the first to specify the study of antiquities, history and geography at the parish level and … were more elaborate than their predecessors'.[92] This came about through antiquarian collaboration at the University of Oxford from the 1640s, during the era of the evolution of scientific method, in which Francis Bacon's ideas were seminal. Bacon had compiled a series of 'directions of invention and enquiry' in the early 1620s, setting the scene for research into 'natural knowledge', which deliberately mixed antiquities and natural history while also encouraging collaborative methods. In 1673 the scientist Robert Hooke, who used such approaches in his own research, joined the publisher and cartographer John Ogilby, the surveyor Gregory King, the lawyer John Hoskins, the architect Christopher Wren, and the antiquary John Aubrey, to create some 'Queries in order to the description of Britannia'; a scheme invented by Ogilby in his capacity as the new Cosmographer Royal.[93] The first fact-finding documents to be directed at individuals in the British regions, these queries were used by John Aubrey in his survey of Surrey later that year, and by the natural historian, Robert Plot, when researching the *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, published in 1677, and the *Natural History of Staffordshire*, published in 1686.[94]

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[87] Fox, 'Vernacular Culture, Westmorland', 330.
[88] Fox, 'Vernacular Culture, Westmorland', 343. See also Part 1, Ch.21, Ravenstonedale, II.307.
[89] Adam Fox, 'Printed Questionnaires, Research Networks, and the Discovery of the British Isles', 593-621.
[90] See M. Peltonen, 'Bacon, Francis, Viscount St Alban (1561-1626), lord chancellor, politician, and philosopher'. *ODNB*.
[91] W.J. Sheils, 'Bishops and their dioceses: reform of visitation in the Anglican church c.1680-c.1760'. CCED Online Journal 1, 2007.http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/cce_a1/
[92] Mendyk, *Speculum Britanniae*, 318.
[93] See Machell's Preface, I.42A.
[94] This paragraph has been calendared from Fox, 'Printed Questionnaires, Research Networks, and the Discovery of the British Isles, 1650-1800; 595-99; see also, Fox, 'Vernacular Culture, Westmorland', 330.

While a fellow at The Queen's College (he was elected in 1673), Thomas Machell mixed with many leading Oxford antiquaries; for example, a letter to Anthony Wood (a copy of which is retained in his papers) addressed Wood as 'my old friend'.[95] In a letter to Daniel Fleming, dated March 1677, Machell explained that he had extended Ogilby's 'Queries in order to the description of Britannia' to help his own research,

> … that I maybe both able to satisfy them and myne owne curiosity. The end of which is To have in readiness a Local Account how things stand at this day in each Parish & Lordship; to which I may refer (as a Common-Place) all those Collections I have in readiness; and what ever else shall hereafter occur, either in Historyes or ancient Records.[96]

It is possible that Machell had received the queries from either Wood or Robert Plot; he had already conversed with the latter on introducing natural history into his northern research. He touched on this connection much later, in a letter written in January 1686 to the cartographer John Adams.

> … 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) …[97]

The information given to Adams reveals that Machell's own questionnaire had been partly designed to assist Robert Plot's research; it also underlines comments he had made years earlier, in a letter to Daniel Fleming, that his written queries had not been well received by local gentry and clergymen: 'Many are cold. If this continues I shall retire from the enterprise.'[98]

As he began his History in Oxford, Machell was obliged to rely on others for information-gathering in Westmorland. That some local worthies were unwilling to complete his queries did not bode well for their financial aid towards publication, nor for Machell's hopes of completing his study. But Machell was to highlight another approach. 'As to the Queries', he wrote on 26 March 1677 in another letter to Fleming,

> Tis true you will find them very long and tediouse, many Tautologyes conteined in them, & somthings allso which may be litigiouse & not fit to be Answer'd : But tho you (the Gentlemen & Ministers of the Countrey from whom I hope the Greatest Assistance) are men of Ingenuity, so that a word might seeme to suffice; yet They are Contriv'd for Ordnary Capacityes, That the Vulgar (possibly of slow apprehensions) who must be consulted in this undertakeing By giveing their Answers to severall Queries in Different Terms tho to the same purpose, may luckily hit of som little Circumstance fully discovering all that is sought for in 2 or 3 Questions: And as for those which are very dubiouse, and therefore may seem unfit to be Answer'd, The Respondent in this Case may use his Discretion.[99]

The interesting point here is that Machell wished to extend his queries to the 'vulgar' and those of

[95] Machell to Anthony Wood, enclosed within a letter to John Mill, 7 October 1692; see Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence, VI.253. Please note, however, that Machell's letter to Mill is critical of Wood's lack of generosity towards him, hurt feelings being a common feature of Machell's correspondence with Oxford colleagues.

[96] Machell to Daniel Fleming, 26 March 1677, in J.R. Magrath (ed.),*The Flemings in Oxford I* (Oxford, 1904), 214-17; see Machell's version of the 'Queries in order to the description of Britannia' in his Preface, 'Part I of Collecting in order to a Preface', I.748, I.42A.

[97] Machell to John Adams, written at Kirkby Thore, 26 January 1686; see Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence, I.516-17.

[98] Machell to Daniel Fleming 1 August 1677, in which Machell wished that all were as ready to assist him as DF. See Bennett and Ward (eds), *The Manuscripts of S.H. le Fleming Esq. of Rydal Hall*, 139. See also, Machell to Daniel Fleming, *The Flemings in Oxford I*, 26 March 1677, 214-17.

[99] Adam Fox, 'Vernacular Culture and Popular Customs in Early Modern England', 331.

'ordnary capacityes', and there is ample evidence in the volumes to prove that he did so. His printed questionnaire follows below. The Rev. Richard Singleton of Melmerby in Cumberland sent the only complete reply to be found in the Machell volumes, though there are examples of partial responses throughout.[100] Although Machell initially criticised their response, some local clergymen were prepared to help. Singleton was particularly keen, returning his 17-page reply in June 1677. Machell immediately bombarded him with another ten questions. Nor did he stop there. Singleton, as requested, had tried his best to provide drawings of various objects inside his church. Machell replied encouragingly, 'The uppermost course in the 3d light at the west end of the church & the 3rd which is imperfect, by all means draw me them. You do excellent well.' But these images were poor compared to those completed in Machell's draughtsman-like hand, so it is unsurprising that, in 1688, a few years after Singleton's death, Machell went to Melmerby church to see its interior for himself.[101]

Thomas Machell's Official Questionnaire

[1]
That the Northern Counties which abound in Antiquities and Ancient Gentry
may no longer be bury'd in Silence[102]

Information is desir'd concerning the following Queries as they lye in order, viz. either. By

1. Report and Tradition.	} noting	{	1. T.	}
2. Evidence or Record.	} them	{	2. R.	} before the Answer.
3. Experience of know-ledge of the present Age.	} with	{	3. E.	}

And it being design'd for the Honor of your Parish among others, your outmost Endeavours are desir'd in order to a true Information. Which may easily be procur'd by calling some of your Ancient men (who have gon Procession or know the Boundaries of your Parish) And the Lord or Balive, with some of the Tenents (of good Repute, Knowledge and Honesty) in particular Lordships: from whose mouths you may please to write your Answer on a sheet of paper, folded (as this) with margins on both sides. And to give the more Authority to the work, the Names of those from whom you receiv'd your informations may be return'd at the Conclusion of the Accounts of their Respective Parishes, Lordships, Villages &c. And it is to be wished that the Minister, and Church-wardens or some of the Parish would subscribe their names to the General Account of the Parish: And the Lord (or his Balive, Steward &c.) with some of the Tenents the Accounts concerning their Respective Lordships.

Chap. 1. Queries concerning the Parish in General.

1. The name of the Parish, & why so call'd? how written in ancient Records? In what Diocese, Barony, Hundred or Ward it is said to lye? How is it bounded & divided from other Parishes on the E. W. N. & South &c? by what Rivers, Hedges, Walls, Cause-ways, or common and well known Land-markes, Meets and Boundaries &c. or are they (or any of them) Litigious or Doubtfull?

2. What form and figure does it most resemble. as Square, Oblong, Oval, Triangular, &c. with the Length and Breadth in the largest parts of it, nameing the places where you begin and end your computation, as also where they lye, E. W. N. or South, and the circumference (by moderate Computation) if you can guess at it;

3. What the Quality of the Soyl in general; as clay, mold, sand, gravel? and of what sort. Red, yellow, blew, black, white, &c. And if it be stony, of what kind, as Lime-stone, &c. Also whether is it for the most part Arable pasture, meadow or wood-land? is it very fertile, barren or indifferent? Also what sort of mines, quarries. fuell. &c. doth your parish afford? At what distance do you fetch your fireing? what plenty of it? what general Customs, as Rush-bearing, Hollyes, Bonfires &c? what games, sports &c. and when celebrated?

[100] Machell MS.VI, 699-722, at CAC(C).
[101] 'Melmerby Church, Aug. 13 1688 {Ad Cumberland}', MS.VI.701 at CAC(C).
[102] 'That the Northern Counties which abound in Antiquities and Ancient Gentry may no longer be bury'd in Silence' (1677), CAC(K), WD/Ry/1904. This document can be viewed online at Text Creation Partnership, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=eebo2;idno=B26409.0001.001.

4. The name of the Church. Why so call'd, to what Saint dedicated? near what Saints day do you keep your Feast or Wake? what manner of building is it, great or smal; Elegant or mean? how many Rows of Pillars? hath it a Spire, Square-steeple, or neither? how many Bells? when and by whom founded, endowd, rebuilt, or extraordinarily repair'd? what Chanteries or Oratories in it, with their Foundation, Dedication, Endowment and Dissolution? Item, what monuments & monumental Inscriptions with coats of Arms &c. of Nobility and Gentry? what witty strange and uncouth Epitaphs either in the Church (1. Body. 2. Chancell) or without it, whether on the walls, or in the Church-yard? Be pleas'd to draw them out or describe them according to their Figure & Colors, as well as you can. What number and names of Chappels belonging to the Church or Parish?

5. Whether your Parish be a Vicaridge, Parsonage, or both? An Impropriation, or not? if it be, who is Impropriator? and what Allowance to the Vicar or Curate? whether hath it Tythes in kind or not? what value is it of by common Estimation? what succession of Patronage? and how transferr'd from one family to another? with the name and Habitation of the present Patron.

6. The Parsonage, or Vicaridge-house in or near to what Town or Village? at what end or side of the same E. W. N. or South? or how far distant otherwise from it? by what name & whence so call'd? how writ in antient Records? of what sort the building fair, mean or indifferent; wood, clay, brick or stone? slated or not? and in what repair? how situated? High or Low; on the top, side, or at the bottom of an hill? By what Springs, or Ponds, Rivers, (Navigable, or otherwise) with what Commodities as mills, fish, fowl, and the sorts they afford? also near or upon what great Road? & how far distant from any of them, E.W.N or South? how far from the nearest Chappel, Church, Parish-church, Market? what Gardens, Orchards, Dove-coats, Warrens, Parks, Forests, Woods, (Standing or lately cut down) with other Perquisits belonging unto it or are there any such near at hand (tho belonging unto

[2]

others) which render the place more Commodious or pleasant? what kind, and plenty of fuel? and from whence brought? Item when and by whom was it built, mended, rebuilt, or extraordinarily repair'd and upon what occasions? (And if it be a Mannor House? what Rent doth it pay, and what Courts are there kept?)
What Remarkable about it either within or without?
* Within, as ancient Inscriptions, Coats of Armes in Glass, Wood or Stone.
* Without, as Fortifications, Bulwarks and Trenches round or square; places where battles have been fought, or other Accidents have happen'd, Heaps of Stone or Earth trench'd about in manner of a Ring or otherwise; Mounts of War, ancient Ruines; Beacons; Coyns digg'd up; with other Rarities of what kind soever; as springs cold, hot, Medicinal, Bituminous, Petrifying &c.

7. How much Glebe belonging unto it; with the Quantity of an Acre by the account of your Parish? the Quality of the Soyl, viz. of what sort for the most part, Arable, &c. asking and answering the same Questions as in Query the 3d. What Woods, Forrests &c? asking and answering the same Questions as in Qu: 4th of the 3d. Chapt.
And what Priviledge extraordinary your Ministers hath? What notable Remarque of Antiquity upon the Glebe, as Fortifications, &c. see above in Query 6th at the word without, and be pleased to answer those Questions. &c.

8. How many Lordships or Mannors in the Parish which you are desir'd onely to enumerate and write down their Names; alwaies observing to put the first where the Parish-Church stands, if it happen to be one.

9. Informers Names; and their Information confirm'd by the Subscription of the Minister and Church-Wardens, if it may be had.

Chap. II. Concerning every particular Lordship enquire of the Lord, Steward, Balive, or experienced Tenents

1. The name of the Mannor or Lordship; how written in ancient Records? how at present? and whence deriv'd? In what Barony, Ward, or Hundred? How bounded with other Lordships?

2. What Form and Figure &c. asking and answering the same Questions as above Query 2d.

3. What the Quality of the soyl &c. asking and answering as above in Queries 3d. to which adde the measure of an Acre with the yearly value of the best, worst, and middle sort of Arable. Pasture. Meadow; excluding the Commons, Moors and Fells.

4. What general and Remarkable Customes of the Lordships? and how many free-holds?

5. How, and of whom doth the Lord hold the Mannor? and by what service of the King in Capite, or some Castle or Barony? And if so, of what Castle, or Barony? by Escuage, Knights-Service, or Cornage? and what Rents or Acknowledgments doth he pay? when, and to whom?

7. What priviledges hath he, as waifes Strayes, boons, &c. and what sort of Finable Rents, fines certaine or uncertaine? Green-hew, &c (or are they bought off or belonging to others) what Courts doth or may he keep? as Baron, Leet, &c. and where? Concerning the Lords privileges when you have got his Information, be pleas'd to enquire also of some of the Tenents for Confirmation, lest he pretend to more than is his right.

6. The mannor house, what Rent pays it, and what Court may be holden at it? In or near to what town or village is it and so on, asking the same Questions which occur in Qu. 6th. Concerning Parsonage or Vicaridge-houses In cap. 1. vide.

7. How many Demaines belong to it with the Quality of the Land &c. Answering the Questions in Query the 3d of cap. 1. Its peculiar priviledges; and what is remarkable therein; as Fortifications? &c. answering the same Questions as in Query 6th Chap. 1. at the word without.

8. Who the ancient, modern, and present Proprietors, and when and how they came unto it? And for the present Proprietors especially. What coats of Arms do they bear? What number of Evidences have they belonging to the family? with the date of the ancientest. What Quality are they of; as Earls, Lords, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen? And when the first of any of Those were known in their Family? What matches out of it (either by sons or daughters) into other families, with the time when, and place where they liv'd? Item, what Pedigree do they shew, with a Copy of it; at least an account of the first and last Generation in it, according to Date; or where it may be seen? and if they have none, an account may suffice for three or fower Generations (down to themselves, their Wives and Children;) of their Matches and Issue, with the Age, birth and buriall of every one of them, as near as may be. N[ote]. but if they have enter'd their Pedigrees in Mr Dugdales Visitation 1664. (which Book I can have the use of at any time) they need not give any further account concerning their families than what hath been since.

9. How many Towns, Villages, Constable-wicks, Hamlets, &c. are contain'd in the Lordship (which onely enumerate), putting that first where the Mannor house stands. And then in particular

Chap. 3. Concerning Every City, Town, Village, Hamlet, &c.

1. The name of the Place, modern, and ancient out of Records; also whence deriv'd? the distance from the
[3]
nearest Chappell, Church, Parish-Church, Market? how situate for traffique? how for pleasure? viz. high [⋯] low, &c. answering the same Questions, as in Query 6th. of Chap. 1.

2. When and by whom built, and repaired? with the notable accidents and Calamities which have happen'd thereto by fire, water, sword, famine, Pestilence? & when? And if It be a City; or Market Town; what streets have been formerly, or are now in it? with their names and Etymologyes, as much as may be. Whether a Borough, Corporation, or neither? When the first Charter granted? with an Extract of what great Priviledges it formerly hath, or at present does enjoy; as waifes, Strayes, felons, goods, Markets, Faires? How many Burgesses they send to Parliament? (their names in succession if it may be had; or at least the Names of the present Burgesses) how is it govern'd, as by Mayor, Balives, &c. and what other officers and Attendants, with the Ensign of Magistracie carry'd before Him? What is the Town-Seal, and Arms? with the succession of your Mayors and Bailives, as far as Record and Knowledge can supply.
But whether soever it be, viz. Market Town or Village &c. you are desir'd further to enquire as followeth; &c.

3. What places remarkable in or about it, as Churches, Chappels, Monasteries, Hospitals, Colledges, Scholes, Mout-hals, Correction-Houses, Prisons, Crosses, Bridges, (whether standing or demolish'd) with the places or streets where? of Every of which in particular and according to order, Foundation, Dedication, Endowment, Dissolution; with Armes &c. asking and answering the same Questions, as Concerning Churches Ch. 1. Qu: 4. Of every particular Church, Chappel &c. And remember to annex the stipend or Allowance to Chaplains or Readers from the Parish &c. as also the names and succession of such, (so far as is possible) as have bin Masters and Governors of any of the other places which are of Note, and require Government
– Item what Castles, Towres, Halls, and other houses of Gentlemen of Quality? Whether standing or Ruinous? of which in particular asking &c. The same Questions, as in Query 6th of Ch. 1. concerning the Parsonage-

house scilicet. What its name &c. But if the Manor or Parsonage-house chance to be one of those houses of Note, it may suffice only to Name it, as having spoken of it more at large in its proper place. It[em] what men of great Eminence for Arts, Arms, or blood? as Doctors, Bishops, Authors of Books, famous Lawyers, Judges, Serjeants at Law, Noble Warriors, Generals; &c. Kings, Earles, Princes, Lords, &c. Have any such bin born, bred or Buried in your Town? with the place where. It[em] What famous Acts done by Archers? what by witches, Spirits and Conjurers, which are own'd to be true, and are very remarkable? otherwise none of them.
– It[em]. what Fortifications, &c. Answering the same Questions, as in Qu: 6. Ch: 1. of the word Without, or as in the next following Query at the place marked Thus *

4. What Fells, Moors, and Commons (with stint, or without) belonging to the Village or Town &c, and how far distant? What profits and Commodities (beside pasture) do they afford? as Fern or Brackens, heath or Ling, furrs or whins, turf or Peat? * What Woods, Forrests, Chaces, Parkes, Warrens, Groves, now in being or lately destroy'd? But if any be spoken of with the mannor house, only mention them here.
– It[em]. what Springs Cold, or hott, Medicinal, Petrifying, or Bituminous? What Ponds, Tarns, Lakes, Rivers? with the sorts of Fish and Fowl they afford. And who reaps the benefit?
– It[em]. What Quarries, Mines, Pitts. &c. of Marble, Black, white, or Gray? Jeat, Precious Stone; Limestone, hewing-stone; Milstone; slate, (white red, or blew;) Coal; Gravel; Lead; Tin; Iron, Brasse, Copper, Silver, Gold, &c.
– It[em]. What Fair thereupon? when kept? Who has the profits?
– It[em]. What Horse-Races? where? for what prize? by whom first appointed, and how long ago?
– It[em]. What memorable places where Battles have been fought? Round heaps of Stone, or Earth cast up in Hills, trench'd round about, or otherwise? What Fortifications, Camps? &c. Answering the same Questions, as in Chap. 1 Qu: 6. at the word Without
– It[em]. What accidents and strange Occurrences have happen'd thereabout? With other Notable Remarks of what kind soever. And what you can say of any of them by your own knowledge, Report, or otherwise. Referring each thing to its proper head as near as you can.

5. How many Freeholders belonging to it (or if a Borough, how many Burgers, or what fee-farm Rent doth it pay, and to whom?) What other sorts of Tenants in it? at whose Courts do they [do] suit and service? By what Tenure do they hold? as soccage, Border-service, &c. or how? in what manner are they admitted unto their Estates? and how do they passe or Convey them away? as by surrender and admittance in Court, Copy of Court-Roll, will, or Deed? What Rents do they pay to the Lord of the mannor, or unto others? And what sort of Fines (Certain or uncertain) with other sort of Duties; as Oxgeld, green-hew, Reliefs, Heriots, &c? What services do they, not mention'd before amongst the Lordships Priviledges Chap. 2d. Qu:5th?
− Do they pay any things to any other Lord than the Lord of the mannor? or have any of them purchas'd their Fines and Services? if so, when, and of whom? and what their tenure is now call'd?
− Have they any extraordinary Priviledge or Custom in the place, (not mention'd before amongst those of the mannor in general) whereby any benefit doth accrue to themselves, their Widdows or Children?
When You have got the Information of Tenants concerning Priviledges: be pleas'd to inquire of the Lord, or his Steward for Confirmation, lest they pretend to what is not their right.

6. Informers Names.

7. Confirmation of Lord and Tenents by Subscription.

8. What Notable Proverbs, or peculiar expressions are us'd in the Parish, Lordship or Village?

9. The Names and Course of Every River or Beck in the Parish, with all its heads whence it springs? What way it runns E. W. North. or South? and the Parishes or Lordships it runns by or through? also the Towns, Halls, or Gentlemens Houses it visits by the Way, and how far it leaves them (or any of them) on the E. W. N. or South? The number of Mills and Bridges upon it? The sorts of Fish in it? Lastly where it takes the Sea, or loses it self in some other River or Lake?

[4]

10. The high or great-Roads which go through your Parish; Whence they come? To what place they go, and where they end? With the Parishes, Lordships &c. they passe by or through? Also Gentlemens houses or Notable Antiquities which occure in, or near unto them. Of all these (or as many as you can) Information is desir'd. And you may please to return your Answer, together with the Paper of Queries, as soon as possibly you can to Thomas Machell of Cracanthorpe in Westmerland. A.M. and Fellow of Queens Coll. in Oxon. 1. Jan. 1676-7.

Questionnaires: comment

Having read all four pages of Machell's questionnaire, the reader might well agree with Adam Fox that its length could have been very off-putting, or that the recipients could see no value in it, or that they were suspicious of giving away too much of a confidential nature.[103] Nevertheless, there is overwhelming evidence within the six volumes that Machell made extensive use of these queries, not only by sending them out to recipients, but also by using them as a means of organising his work methodically, in conjunction with the published county histories of others. A mere glance at his Preface will demonstrate that Machell reworked his method many times over different periods.[104] He also repeated key parts of it when collating information on particular parishes, as in Appleby, where he covered four pages with queries,[105] and in Kirkby Thore, where there are three.[106]

Machell's use of Informants

Informants were the key to Machell's whole enterprise. As already noted, county landowners were not always helpful; neither were some town councillors, as his uncle, John Thwaites, a mayor of Appleby, ruefully informed him in a letter written in September 1673.

> My kind respects salute you. I have endeavourd to satisfie your desires to give you an account of … Kendall & their Immunityes, but cannot prevaile therein.
> Your affectionate uncle
> Jo: Thwaites.

Such difficulties caused Machell to rely on the goodwill of local parish clergy, schoolteachers, friends, and members of his family, to help him gain the data he sought. His family's status enabled him to consult clergy of high diocesan office, as seen in this report of his correspondence with a future dean of Carlisle.

> I was of opinion that Nine Church took its name of St Ninian, and to that effect sent a letter to Archdeacon Musgrave, afterwards Dean of Carlile,[107] desireing him to enquire of his friend, one Mr Savage,[108] sometime parson there, what he could say of it. And received an answer dated from Edenall December 15, 1673, in these words.
> … Your apprehension of Nine Church is right, for not onely his name, Sc. De Ninianus, but his picture also, was seen by Mr Savage on the partition betwixt the chancel & body of the Church, who refers you to the *Aurea Legenda*, for an account concerneing that same.[109]

Sir Daniel Fleming allowed Machell to consult the books and papers in his library at Rydal Hall, and was himself a source of local information for many years, despite his cool demeanour.

> 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*; 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

[103] Fox, 'Printed Questionnaires, Research Networks … 1650-1800', 616-18.
[104] Machell's Preface. Pages on method: I.1; VI. xii; I.748-49; I.42A; I.3-4; I.750; I.767C; I.767D; I.153-54; IV.60B; I.197-98; I.229; I.148-49; I.41-43; I.127-28; I.46.
[105] Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, I.57; I.171; I.172; I.172A; I.172B.
[106] Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.508; I.548; I.744.
[107] Thomas Musgrave, Archdeacon of Carlisle, 1669; Dean of Carlisle, 1684; died, 1686. CCED.
[108] Arthur Savage, ordained Deacon at Rose Castle, 1637; Rector of Brougham, 21 August 1643 to 8 October 1662; Second Prebendary at Carlisle Cathedral and Rector of Caldbeck, 1665 until his death in 1701. CCED.
[109] See Part 1, Ch.7, Brougham, I.479-80. For information on the *Legenda Aurea* (the Golden Legend) consult those pages.

> cross our mountains, your company being very acceptable unto
> Sir
> Your most faithful servant
> Dan: Fleming.[110]

Machell also consulted women, those keepers of the oral tradition relating to family pedigrees. In 1689, for example, when researching the Wharton family's ancestors, he turned to 'old Isbell Wharton of Wharton Dikes – aged 93'. He was interested in longevity in general, recording 'old Thomas Walker 112, his wife 109' at Crackenthorpe, among a host of older people named throughout his notes.[111] The provision of such a vast number of local names is worthy of further study. The inclusion of a poll book related to an election at Appleby offers the researcher names and addresses of voters, as well as their voting preferences. Such information on local people is ripe for wider investigation alongside parish registers (those at Kirkby Thore commenced in 1593),[112] to promote further scholarship.[113]

Informants came from many backgrounds. In two pages of text on Windermere, for instance, Machell retold a story heard at Holker; then gave the names of two Troutbeck informants – a clergyman and a yeoman farmer – and, lastly, copied a line written by local poet, Richard Braithwate.[114]

> Memorandum. To Enquire of a store about a Hagworme 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, I thinke per Mr Marsden.
> [Informants] de Troutbeck: Mr Walker curate – George Brown yeoman.
> Ad Kendal et Kentmere. Poet Brat:
> 'Kendal from Kent derives Its name, & Kent from Kentmeres springing fountaine came.'[115]

Having examined the hag-worm narrative, the reader will perhaps judge with William Nicolson that Machell was somewhat credulous, and, indeed, his volumes contain dozens of similar tales which support Nicolson's opinion. Stories of ghostly appearances, punishment inflicted from the grave, premonitions, witchcraft and much more were relayed to Machell by gentry, yeomen, tenants, miners shepherds and others, some known to him and others whom he had met for the first time.

Machell: pride, place and prejudice

For Tory Anglicans like Machell, exploration of the past formed one way of making sense of the turbulent events of the later seventeenth century. 'Place' for him was both a physical and an intellectual engagement. The failures in heraldic visitation, the rise of a mercantile class, the regicide and the fall of James II were to him, signs of the collapse of precious pedigrees and traditions, soon to be forgotten. Like John Aubrey, William Dugdale and others, Machell worked to preserve the past as he understood it, at the end of a century of great change.

As already noted, because Machell did not live to complete his project, his volumes contain many personal revelations that, had he lived to publish, would have almost certainly been omitted. His correspondence gives a measure of this, but, hidden among the pages of all six volumes, there are also nuggets of fascinating detail relating to Machell's daily activities and opinions. Life revolved around the rectory. Machell demonstrated a fondness for it, describing some of the changes he had introduced to make it more congenial. Fond of inventing devices, he explained (writing in the third person) that

[110] II.145. Note that Fleming desires Machell to return his book, a situation well-known to scholars everywhere.
[111] See Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.548.
[112] See R. Bower, 'Notes on the Kirkby Thore Registers', *CW1*, 4 (1880), 305-11, 372-86, at 372.
[113] For an example of such research see Pauline Wharton, *The Disappearing Yeoman: Windermere 1640-1841* (self-published, Amazon, 2017), Appendices.
[114] Richard Braithwaite of Burneside Hall: see Mary L. Armitt, 'Ambleside town and chapel: some contributions towards their history', *CW2*, 6 (1906), 1-96, at 28; see also H. S. Cowper, 'Notes on Richard Braithwaite of Burneside, the Poet and Writer, and his Portraits', *CW2*, 22 (1922), p.78.
[115] Part 2, Ch.9, Windermere, II.317-19.

he had 'made a contrivance in his dining-room chimney that they waste not one cinder, nor never carry any ashes out of it':

> It is done by a funnel under the grate, which goes downe behind the corner of the hall-chimney; having […] small iron-barrs at the top of it to divide the cinders from the ashes, and a door of stone at the bottom to take them out at once in a yeare, which in the meane time is close daubed up & stopp'd, to prevent inconvenience.[116]

Like other Oxford scholars of his era, Machell was fascinated by machines and inventions.[117] He designed a font cover for his church at Kirkby Thore:

> A dillicate Font where \ at the Rectors charge which he [had] / made of huen stone, the designe of which to have a fountaine p\l/aying up in the bason and a dove appendant to the cover \ of it, / which (when it ascend by the help of a pully whose counterpoyse is hid in the steepel tower), will seem to stand hovering over the water …{The counterpoise goes up in the steeple where it is not seen: a proper emblem of the Holy Ghosts descending upon & sanctifying of the baptismal water to the mystical washing away of sin.}[118]

In a list of the prominent males in his family, he dubbed himself 'Thomas, the Contriver'.

> Guy & Hugh, the warriers.
> Henry, Doctor of Laws – Phil[osopher]
> Lancelot & John his brother, the soljer.
> Hugh, the builder.
> & the last & the least … Thomas, the Contriver; rector of Kirkbythore.[119]

Wherever he went, he was happy to engage with men as 'ingeniouse' as himself, such as Thomas Blenkinsop of Brough, 'an ingeniouse Gentleman for any sort of mechaniks.'; George Browne of Troutbeck, 'an Ingeniouse Countryman'; and James Dawsons [of Bridgend near Hutton]:

> an ingeniouse contry man who has made a milne which grindes Corne, Tempses[120] & 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.'

Machell's volumes also reveal a great interest in gardens, fields, mountains and woods, and the particular plants that grew there. He described the deforestation he encountered,[121] and considered what improvements could be made to the gardens of large country houses.

> Sockbridge Hall is the manor house; which standeth North from the River Emot about a Bowshot … It is scituate upon a descent, in so much that you goe downe 3 descents in the very Court ere you enter the Hall…{Trees growing without the Court Wall which renders it somwhat more gracefull} – But if ever this be made a Stately house indede – they must build front to the river of Emote; carry

[116] Part 1, Ch.4, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.537.
[117] For example, Robert Hooke (1635-1703). Named 'England's Leonardo' by Oxford's Allan Chapman, he was a gifted creator of mechanical devices, creating a clockwork machine to record astronomical observations, measuring the weight of air and inventing a spring-regulated watch. He became curator of experiments at, and secretary of, the Royal Society, performing scientific investigations; he coined the biological term 'cell'. His *Micrographia* – on the natural world seen through a microscope – founded a new scientific discipline. Extracted from Pete Wilton, 'Oxford and the Royal Society's Origins', https://www.ox.ac.uk/news/science-blog/oxford-and-royal-society%E2%80%99s-origins (2010).
[118] Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.561.
[119] Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, III.82.
[120] 'Tempse': a sieve, esp. one used for bolting meal; a strainer. In modern local use, especially a sieve used in brewing. *OED*.
[121] See Machell's Preface, II.456; IV.28-29.

> the way in a streight line by the end of the house; and turne the Courtes and as far as the outer gate into Gardines & Orchards.[122]

Nevertheless, Machell appeared to like his own garden best. His study overlooked it and he was extremely proud of the plants he grew there, extolling the climate and soil which had produced them.

> And in his gardine which his study looks into, which being a piece of ground ornamented (forced),[123] doth show the benignity of the air & soyle to be extraordinary.[124]
> Nature alsoe hath sported herselfe, having gratified him with two rare productions: a dasie, four-inch and an half in circumference … & severall gilly flowers full blowne at Shrovetide, … without any help of […] dunging, or other improvement; which shows the benignity of the aire & soile to be more in this county than has been reported by other authors.[125]

Here, in his study, Machell was able to sit down to work. Always 'ingeniouse', he designed a revolving bookcase cum writing-desk which he sketched and described twice.

> He hath alsoe contriv'd an octagonall deske with a small writeing table running beneath it by means whereof he can consult many authors at once without moving his foot, & compare them together with a turne of his hand.[126]

Embedded in Machell's commentary is an enormous sense of local patriotism and pride. To Machell, there was no county as fine as Westmorland; no social class as fine as the Westmorland gentry; and no gentry more deserving of praise than the Machells of Crackenthorpe Hall and their relatives. As he avowed:

> It will not becom to boast of this family, but I dare aver that there is not a gentleman in either county of any antiquity that is not related to the Machells of Crakenthorp. He is not a gentleman that is not of kin to the Machells of Crakenthorp.[127]

He traced his ancestry back to the Roman presence in the north of England, suggesting that his family was descended from Roman stock.

> … the proprietor of [Whelp] Castle (with the lands round about it, whom the Saxons call'd Whelp \ in Latin, Catulus / might be a Branch of the old Romane Catuli, left here in trust with their British bands where when the Romans made their recess into Gaul, Anno Christ 443 \ in about the year 440, then destitute of aid, / there being but the space of \ about / 600 years \ (and many familyes have continued so long) / from betwixt their departure and the Norman Conquest \ Sc. 627 years.[128]

This sounds like special pleading. To quote Edward Bellasis:

> The Antiquary contends for a descent from the Roman Catuli. His argument is briefly:—Whelp Castle is hard by Crackenthorpe, Ulf and Whelp (Catulus) are synonymous, the Machell and Whelpdale arms are similar, Malus Catulus and Mauchael appear indiscriminately in the deeds, and Kirkby Thore was a Roman station.[129]

As Bellasis then remarked, 'the evidence seems inconclusive'. Nonetheless, Machell's strong sense of family exceptionalism coloured his attitude. It can be seen most particularly in his admiration of his male relatives. Besides praising his father's political loyalty, he frequently recorded his fearless

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[122] Part 1, Ch.5, Barton, I.732.
[123] 'Forced': of plants, a crop, etc; made to bear, or produced, out of the proper season. Alternatively, fortified, made strong against attack. *OED*.
[124] See Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.563.
[125] See Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore … I.537.
[126] See Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore … I.563.
[127] See Part 1, Ch.13, Kirkby Stephen, III.210.
[128] See Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore … I.560.
[129] Edward Bellasis, 'Machell of Crackenthorp', 417 fn.

exploits, not only when horse-racing and deer-hunting, but also in sports which are now less well-known, as seen in this passage on otter hunting.

> In this … river are many otters which afford the gentlemen som fine recreation. They hunt em to great hounds & spears, or with water spaniels traned up for the purpose. My Dear Father, Sq' Machell of Crakenthorpe, being a great hunter of this and all other game and that delighted in all sorts of activity, kild an otter once, 2 yards long. The skin was menald or spotted like to a leopard, and was so much esteemed of for the rarity \ of it / that he might have sold \ the same / for 10li. [130]

Machell's admiration of his family was matched by his waspish condemnation of those he considered social upstarts, his intense loyalty to the crown (a trait exhibited by all his family), and his enormous dislike of parliamentarians and others who had benefited from Cromwell's rule.[131] Such prejudices are described in the following paragraphs.

Social Climbers

Machell resented the rising tide of lawyers, merchants and successful artisans who desired to possess the armorial bearings of gentlemen. Their wealth could buy land and large residences but, if they wished to impress the College of Arms with their ancient lineage, these men sometimes resorted to subterfuge.[132] The College of Arms is an ancient body which has the oversight of all aspects of heraldry, but during Machell's lifetime it became known that individual heralds could be hoodwinked into accepting bogus family trees. As Machell wrote in one of his letters to the cartographer, John Adams:

> … you must expect to meet with many [pedigrees] that are false & spuriouse, for I have read somewhere …that there was a mendicant, illiterate fellow went about in these parts making false pedigrees; & I have found it true by experience, having had occasion to correct some of them for the Heralds themselves.[133]

Machell was contemptuous of those who made false pedigrees. One recipient of his scorn was James Bird of Brougham. We learn that James Bird was a Penrith lawyer who bought dwellings in Brougham and, in demolishing them, demolished a community; that his pedigree had been accepted by William Dugdale (Norroy, King of Arms) but that Machell had been unable to authenticate it; that he had married the daughter of a tanner; and that local information said that he had begun life with three hen chicks (this probably referring to the advantageous marriages of his three daughters). When Bird presented his grant of arms, Machell's contempt knew no bounds:

> And this being the original of … James Bird. Query: whether three hen chickens had not bin a more proper coate for him, than 3 demi lyons. But that he is a Bird of prey. He had the confidence to boast of the antiquity of his family to old Sir John Lowther, a wise & sober gentleman … affirmeing to him that there were Birds at Browham ever since the Conquest; to which Sir John gravely replyd, 'Yes, I believe there have bin Birds there … an longer too, yea, ever since Adam': meaning of featherd fowl. 1691? Sept. circa 20. James, the eldest son & heire of James, hangd for cutting his wife's throat in Kinsington Fildes near London.[134]

Note the last sentence, which leaves us in no doubt as to Machell's opinion of one who had the temerity to aspire to gentry status.

Parliamentarians

To Machell, the gentlemen who had sided with Cromwell in the Civil War were far more despicable than social climbers; to staunch royalists, such men were traitors. We see this in the scorn poured out

[130] See Machell's Preface, II.463.
[131] I thank Timothy Sykes for suggesting the highly apposite term, 'waspish', in relation to some of Machell's critical comments.
[132] The College of Heralds.
[133] See Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence: Machell to John Adams, 26 January 1686, I.518.
[134] Part 1, Ch.7, Brougham, I.618.

on Major Arthur Scaife of Hellbeck, who claimed a grant of arms for a pedigree (authenticated by Dugdale) demonstrating that the Scaifes had been gentlemen for four or five hundred years. 'On the contrary', wrote Machell, Dugdale had said he had 'never heard of any gentleman named Scaife.' Moreover, Machell dismissed the major's title, '… he had that command under Oliver Cromwell in that Horrid rebellion & Civil War.'[135] Interestingly, Machell was not unduly critical of Philip, fourth Baron Wharton; a prominent parliamentarian, puritan and favourite of Oliver Cromwell. The aristocratic lineage and large landholdings of the Whartons were probably enough to encourage a diplomatic silence most of the time, despite Lord Wharton's dissenter status; but Machell could not resist adding the following disparaging passage, when compiling material on Ravenstonedale:

> In Russendale Town, S. ab Ecclesia ½ a quarter of a mile, near the midle of it is the East Row stands a meeting-house, being an house lately purchased & put in repare by Philip, Lord Wharton & his discenting tenants in 1691 \ for a meeting house which is / vastly distant from the church but not far from the alehouse. A man was slane \ at the repareing of it / by a piece of timber, so that its foundation, like that of old Roome,[136] was not without blood. Thus, the Lord Wharton continue in blindness – in hunc usque [right up to this moment].[137]

Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln

Machell also disapproved of Thomas Barlow, the Oxford academic and bishop of Lincoln. Barlow was born in 1608, of what Machell termed 'mean' parentage, in the parish of Orton, Westmorland. Like Machell, he attended Appleby Grammar School and progressed to The Queen's College, Oxford. A man of huge intellect, he was already well-known as a scholar (he was provost of Queen's) before becoming bishop of Lincoln in 1675. This, Machell faithfully recorded in his chapter on Orton. Then we hear what Machell really thought of Barlow.

> He had many good qualityes, but courted fame so much that he would doe anything almost, to cheat the world into a good opinion of him, being … one that could rub o[f] any shame with a few fawneing words and fair pretences full of promises, but very barren & empty in performance {A man whose deed consists all together in the words & liberality in promises, for when he hath said, he hath don, & ye get no more.} He was in crafty witt subtill enough, in speach pleasing, in entertainment liberal, & beloved of all but those that knew him; to his friends treacherous, to his foes irreconcileable. Thus he was before consecration. God make him better for the time to come.[138]

Barlow had created enemies because he was seen as a 'trimmer': a man who trimmed his sails to the prevailing winds of religion and politics to survive and prosper, just like the Vicar of Bray.[139] Despite his strong Calvinism, he courted royalist and parliamentarian alike, which clearly appalled Machell. But would Machell have published his negative views of the man? He knew very well that authors were dependent on wealthy supporters to subsidise their publication costs. As he wrote to John Adams:

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[135] Part 1, Ch.6, Brough, I.395.
[136] Rome.
[137] Part 1, Ch.21, Ravenstonedale, III.308.
[138] This passage is so well composed and ironically written that we could be excused for wondering whether Machell had 'borrowed' it. Nonetheless, it is there for a reason, i.e. Machell's hearty dislike of a cleric who aimed to dodge any expression of bias. See Part 1, Ch.20, Orton, I.619.
[139] 'The Vicar of Bray': a 17th-century country melody to which satirical verses were later added. The first two verses are as follows: 1. 'In good King Charles's golden days, When Loyalty no harm meant; A Zealous High-Church man I was, And so I gain'd Preferment. Unto my Flock I daily Preach'd, Kings are by God appointed, And Damn'd are those who dare resist, or touch the Lord's Anointed. [Chorus] And this is law, I will maintain unto my Dying Day, Sir. That whatsoever King may reign, I will be the Vicar of Bray, Sir!'
2. 'When Royal James possest the crown, and popery grew in fashion; The Penal Law I shouted down, and read the Declaration: The Church of Rome I found would fit, full well my Constitution, And I had been a Jesuit, But for the Revolution.' [Chorus] Four more verses follow the triumphant progress of the Vicar of Bray through the reigns of William III, Queen Anne and George I.

> 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.[140]

Local stresses and strains

Clearly, Machell exhibited both local and national prejudice, yet he too should 'be gently dealt with', for his professional life was by no means devoid of anxiety. Although he appears to have been a diligent clergyman, toward the end of his life he entered into deep disagreement with one of his wealthy parishioners, his churchwardens, and his patron, the Earl of Thanet, in matters concerning income and responsibilities related to the parochial chapel at Temple Sowerby. This affected him deeply and interfered with his research. As he confessed in a letter to John Mill, written on 1 July 1692:

> 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.

An impassioned letter to Lord Thanet, dated 5 June 1697 (only one year before his death), set out Machell's parochial and financial concerns in great depth; that he was fobbed off is made obvious in the reply he received from Thanet's chaplain. This correspondence, plus all the evidence that Machell had gathered in his defence, is set out in detail at the conclusion of his research on Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin parishes.[141]

Conclusion

Machell's volumes offer all the insights noted here, and many more. Readers will thoroughly enjoy the humour of the antiquary's frequent dry and testy asides, of which this last should give them a taste for more. He seriously questioned the history of Rey Cross on Stainmore: was it here that 'King Westmer slow the king Rothingar', or did it serve 'as a meare [boundary] stone?' He added in the margin,

> When after aiges begin to consider how our young prodigal Gentlemen by coming up to London & playing the foole there destroy their estate: they will rather thinke that the ancestors erected this as a ne plus ultra to eldest sons, who except they be sober ou[gh]t never to travil beyond this.[142]

Machell's notes offer a cornucopia of such insights. He writes as a man thoroughly at home in his own place and glad to share his deep understanding and knowledge of it. That his notes are unfinished should be celebrated. They offer a rare gift to posterity, allowing the reader access to both unpolished and well-crafted prose; repetitions and errors; ancient monuments; architecture; manors and towns; religion; the state of the Church and of national politics; ideas of great importance and passages of throwaway humour; ancestral and questionable pedigrees; wealthy and poor families; forests and gardens; animals and birds; soil, rocks and their products; unbridled gossip and bawdy behaviour; folklore and vernacular speech; ghosts and witches; oral testimony and medieval documents; regional patriotism and civil war; and above all, intense pride in place. There is much more to explore than this brief Introduction will allow, and there are more conclusions to be drawn. Until now, scholars have known Machell's name, his life-story and his research on the barony of Kendal, but few have read all of his original notes, the handwriting of which would frustrate almost anyone. The situation has now been somewhat rectified through the publication of this edition. It has been a privilege to have revealed *Thomas Machell's Collections towards a History and Topography of Westmorland* to a wider readership.

[140] Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence: Machell to Adams, I.517.
[141] Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, Part IV.
[142] Part 1, Ch.6, Brough, I.401.

Preface

[I.746][1]

Sydus Boriale[2]
The Ancient & Modern Estate
of
WESTMER-LAND[3]
By
T.M. Rector of K.,
sometimes Fellow of Q. C. in Oxford
one of the Philosophie Society of the said University
& Chaplain Ordinary to King Charles the 2nd

[I.1]

T.M. Vol. I.
[A.] Part I of Collecting in Order to a Preface.
For the Intended Method,[4] See Part the 3d pag.1t

Because peradventure I may take occasion when I live in the Country,[5] to methodise those Notes concerning Westm'land, which I hastily gathered now and then when I was in that Country I thought fit allso to collect these historical observations concerning
1. The Britans & particularly of Brigants
2. The Romans with a Catalogue of Emperors & Lieutenants
3. The Saxon[s] with a Catalogue of their Kings
4. The Daines with a catalogue for the Knights; & so of
5. The Normans from whose Arrival my particular Account must att the highest take this Original.

This peradventure it may doe by way of place if I should take an hum[our] to transcribe my Notes: & because tis like I may want Bookes conten it in the Country (for then or never I thinke I shall doe it). I have scribbled these after a Rude Manner.
! Method! – a chapter of parishes \ & churches / out of Dugdal p.10 col[umn] 2 & 11. col. 1.[6]

[Machell's Notes: I.2]
N.B. There are no Queries to be solved in this part, but what Verstegan, Speed & Camden will Answer.[7]

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[1] This title page typifies much of Machell's writing in that, beneath the title, the page has been completed in faded pencil, most of it illegible. This faded text appears to comprise a series of notes relating to the material on I.768, below.
[2] MS: 'Sydus Boriale ~~Antiquitates Boriales or~~ The Ancient & Modern Estate of the 2 sister Countyes…': 'Northern Star, ~~Antiqyuities of the North~~'. After this title sequence, the body text is written in red crayon and faded pencil and is legible only in parts. The content forms rough notes for the information which follows on I.748.
[3] MS: 'Sydus Boriale. The Ancient & Modern Estate of the 2 sister Countyes of WESTMER-LAND & CUMBER-LAND.' Because this edition concerns Westmorland, Machell's title has been edited to suit, but his remarks in the Preface on Cumberland have been allowed to remain as seen.
[4] Extended references to method begin on I.748.
[5] Machell was instituted to the rectory of Kirkby Thore in 1677. Notes and correspondence demonstrate that document research, site visits and early drafting of his county history began well before that date, during short visits home to Westmorland, and in Oxford, during his fellowship at The Queen's College. N.B. In this edition, the college name is almost always given in a shortened form – 'Queen's College, Oxford'.
[6] Dugdale, *Warwickshire* was Machell's favoured source for method when writing his own county history.
[7] Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the most noble and renowned English Nation* (1605); John Speed, *Historie of Great Britaine* (1611, augmented 1623*)*;William Camden, *Britannia* (originally published in Latin in 1586 with later additions in English, such as the edition translated by Philemon Holland (London, 1610 and later editions). The Holland edition of 1637 was purchased in 1656 for £1.10s. by Thomas Smith, bishop of Carlisle; it remains on the shelves of Carlisle Cathedral Library

Nom. Autheru[m]: A. Mundy's *Cronicle of the Success of Times* printed at London ~~8°~~ ~~Reg~~ 1611.[8] He promised also a Cronicle of London exceeding Stowes, p.572.[9]

[VI.xii]

[Cumberland]

I purpose to treat:
1. Of the county in general; its division into Baronyes, following the course of the River Eden which 1ˢᵗ entering the county, heads on the west side the Sig[nory] of Penreth;[10] on the East, at Anstable.[11]
The Barony of Englewood W.
of Gilsland NW.
At Warwick Brig the Barony of Linstock . }
At Carlile Brig the Barony of Liddal. } North
On the south the Barony of Dalston by Cauda F[lu].[12]
On the west the Barony of Burgh Bound.
From Allardale Barony by the river Wampul.
Then:
Of Allerdale by the sea twixt
Copland by the sea twix
Grastock by Pettterell.

Of these in order and in every one:
1. The ancient demesnes, but afterwards chang'd, as in the proper places.
2. How many lordships held of it, all which are conteined in parishes.
In the parish of {?} Or I may follow the Lordships as Dugdale doth, without medling with parish in general.

[I.748]

Notes for The Preface to Westm'land and Cumberland!

{Method: relate to both Westm'land & Cumberland}
The relation I have to these 2 sister Countyes (being of Westmorland, by the father's side, & of Cumberland, by the mother's and grandmother's) ~~and obliged to both for a~~ \ and the paternal estate of my ancestors / ~~liberall Maintenance out of the ancient estates~~ \ being in both Countyes, obliegeth me / ~~Counytes of my ancestors which lyes in Both Countyes~~) \ to have an equal concerne for them both. / ~~of them has made me have an equal Concerne for the Honour of them~~, and the Importunity of Sir William Dugdal, and som other friends, who thought me more fit for this undertakeing than I did my selfe, has prevaled with me to make some Collections in order to the discovery of them. ~~And being related to most of the familyes in either County, they need not be a feard but to have justice don them so far as I can infor[m] my selfe~~ in which I purpose to follow this method.

To speake of them both in General and therein shew,
1. Their site and bounds.
2. The comodityes they [blank]
3. Their inhabitants from the Brittaines till of late dayes: \ Romanes, Saxons, Scots ut agunt saltem Norman[13] / of the Brittaines and their works, The Romans and theirs, the Saxons and theirs, with the Normans & theirs. Their rest. Kings. Success[ion] & armes of Kings}

(CCL, 6A. 9.7) and was consulted during this transcription of Machell's collections. I thank the Dean and Chapter for permitting me to use this volume (Ed.).
[8] Anthony Munday, *A Briefe Chronicle of the Successe of the Times from the Creation of the Worlde to this Instant* (1611).
[9] John Stow (c.1525-1605), *The chronicles of England from Brute unto this present yeare of Christ. 1580. Collected by Iohn Stow citizen of London* (London, 1580).
[10] The Lordship of Penrith.
[11] Although Anstable (Ainstable) is to the east of the Eden, the settlement is nowhere near the river itself; the settlements of Kirkoswald and Armathwaite lie closer to the River Eden, in the same vicinity.
[12] The river Caldew.
[13] 'As at any rate the Normans [have it].'

(They had 4 collonyes[14] in the bottom of Westm'land: Sc. Brough Apleby Kirkbythore Browham but 2 in Kendall: A[m]b[le]side & Watercrooke, lately discovered.)
{Both are said to have had their Kings or rather one King to have had them both} {for Ralf Meschens had them both.}[15]
The Public Buildings &c. – as the Roman way which goes through both Countyes. The Maiden way which does the like. And the Picts Wall which joins[16] them together.

Of Eden, which waters both but springs in th'one and ends in the other. This, and Cumberland where the river runs may be calld the Garden of Eden,[17] notwithstanding Mr Fuller's joake, who never sees the place he w[r]itt of and following the account which Speed and Camden gave of the place pleasantly said it had much of Eden, but little of Paradise.}[18]

Tis England in Epit[ome]} haveing all those things that she so much boasts of in great abundance. Anglia Ma[i]us [19]– penes fon[te]s[20] – (See Math. Paris. 1. Henry Hano Gemeticensis,[21] Hector Boethius[22] Ib. 12. Cap. 10). Abund[ant] peat coale, lead, blew stone or black pearle.

Westm'land was Westm'land then.[23]

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[14] Sites of Roman colonies.
[15] Before 1092, Cumberland, Allerdale and Westmorland belonged to the diocese of Glasgow and appear to have been ruled as one. When the Scots were dispossessed by the Normans in 1092, the acquisition contained all the areas excluded by Domesday Book six years earlier. Around 1098, the Norman, Ranulf Meschin (d. c.1129), earl of Chester and lord of Carlisle, had begun to govern the region from either Carlisle or Appleby. As Lord of Carlisle, his grant of land included the Barony of Westmorland. Through marriage, he was also said to have held the Barony of Kendal. Ranulf Meschin had wide powers over Cumberland and Westmorland under the king. He surrendered his role in 1121-22, and from then until 1133 Cumberland and Westmorland were run by minor local officials answerable to the Exchequer (pipe roll, 1129-30). See *CFH*, 225; see also, Richard S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (London, 1894), 74-76; see also Charles Phythian-Adams, 'From Peoples to Regional Societies: The Problem of Early Medieval Cumbrian Identities', *CW3,* 11 (2011), 51-64, at 55.
[16] MS: 'Jones'.
[17] The page contains another similar passage: MS: 'Being for the most part one continued vaile down which Eden runs and only divided by the said river \ which so impregnates the Bankes thereof, / that these 2 Countyes \ and Emote & Blenkerne, which run into it / if all were like them, might well be called the Gardine of Eden': See Camden's account in *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), I.760-62 and I.776-81.
[18] Thomas Fuller wrote an early dictionary of national biography: *The history of the worthies of England who for parts and learning have been eminent in the several counties: together with an historical narrative of the native commodities and rarities in each county, endeavoured by Thomas Fuller* (1662). In Vol. 3 of *Worthies* (ed. P.A. Nuttall, 1840, 301) he remarked of Westmorland, 'Though this county be sterile by general rule, it is fruitfull by some few exceptions, having some pleasant vales, though such ware be too fine to have much measure thereof; insomuch that back-friends to this County will say, that though Westmoreland hath much of *Eden* (running clean through it), yet hath little of *Delight* therein'. Towards the end of his thoughts on Westmorland, Fuller addressed the reader: 'Reader, I must confess myself sorry and ashamed that I cannot do more right to the natives of this County, so far distanced North that I never had yet the opportunity to behold it. Oh, that I had received some intelligence from my worthy friend Dr Thomas Barlow, provost of Queen's College in Oxford, who for his religion and learning is an especial ornament of Westmoreland.' (Nuttall, 311). That commentators of previous times had failed to visit all or any of the county, annoyed Machell greatly. For more on Barlow, see Part 1, Ch.20, Orton, I.639.
[19] 'A greater place than England.'
[20] 'So likewise, my sources.'
[21] Guilelmus Gemeticensis, 11th/12th century.
[22] Hector Boethius or Boece (or Boyce or Boise) c.1465-1536, Scottish philosopher and historian, was the first principal of King's College in Aberdeen. In 1527 he wrote the *Historia Gentis Scotorum* (History of the Scottish People). See N. Royan, 'Boece (Boethius), Hector, historian and college head'. *ODNB*.
[23] As written. Machell's arguments relating to the meaning and spelling of the name of 'Westmorland' form a large portion of his Preface, see below, 'Ten draft passages relating to the name 'Westmorland', the county's fertility, and perceived inaccuracies in the writings of previous historians.'

The[y] have the same seminary of religion & learneing – Queens College in Oxford, of which hath bin many \ great & / learned men; found by Mr R.E., a Cumberland Gent. \ Chaplain to K. Ed. 3. / but whose preferment was in Westm'land at Brough under Stanemore the impropriation of which he procured for the 1^{t} endowment of his College or Hall (as twas then called). Ordained Deacon at Ap[pleby] in Westm'land, Ordained priest at Carlile in Cumberland. And so he ordained his College for both & for them alone \ and those of his blood / so long as their schooll shall be able to send such schollars up thither as are qualified for it in the founders sense.[24]
The Greatest part of them under one Bishop who has one [palace] at Buly in the County of Westm'land & another at Rose in the County of West[25] both ancient Castles.[26]

[I.749]

{?} Both held by Cornage or Border service[27], till of late it was in an other Tenure, which they call [blank] by Act of Parliament – & were liable to wardship &c. This Cornage was an Honourable service under one Lord Lieutenant, {to which drengage is opposed} & joyned together in the militia, both Horse & Foote.

2. In Particular of each of these Countyes and therein
    1. Of their division into severall Baronyes.
    2. Of those Baronyes, \ & in which diocess / into severall Hundreds or Wards.[28]
    3. Of those into several parishes.
    4. Of those parishes, into several Lordships, Constablewicks, Villages and Hamlets.

With what is remarquable in Nature or Art in any one of them; refering it to the proper place whereunto it belongs with its distance & beareing \ together / with an History \ an account / of places persons & things according to the Order of Time. And at the Last (where they may be had) the Pedigree of the Proprietors, and owners of the respective \ Lordships / <u>places</u>, which may be continued by their posterity in after aiges.
But in this they differ:
Several Assises – Justices – several ways of Assessments. This by a booke of Purvey;[29] that by a Booke [of] Rates.

{<u>They afford</u>:}
{<u>Birds</u> – Egle or Vulters Hawkes, no phesants – wild ducks cormorants doterals – ospreys – speckled raven, Herinseas.
<u>Beastes</u> – otters marts wilde cats.
<u>Fishes</u> – salmon oysters cockles \ golden trout / Gray Trout muscles Eales large chars.
<u>Stones</u>
plaster of paris marble
gagates[30] or jet
common plaster
limestone frestone
slate – blewwhi[t]e
wad – Black
lead – Rudoker[31]

[24] '"Hall of the Queen's Scholars at Oxford" was founded in 1341 by Robert de Eglesfield, a chaplain in the household of Queen Philippa, who named it in her honour': see queens.ox.ac.uk.
[25] A slip of Machell's pen: Rose Castle is in Cumberland and was well-known to Machell as the bishop's residence; not only did he visit regularly, but also he worked on its architecture.
[26] Buly: Beaulieu or Bewley Castle near Bolton in Westmorland, was an episcopal manor of the Abbey of Carlisle, possibly named to commemorate the abbacy of Hugh of Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire, who, in 1219, was enthroned as Bishop of Carlisle. Henry Summerson, 'Hugh [Hugh of Beaulieu] (d. 1223)'. *ODNB*.
[27] For Cornage and other such terms, see the English Glossary.
[28] Hundred: see the English Glossary.
[29] The Cumberland Purvey was an ancient local tax: see note from Daniel Fleming, *N&B1*.13.
[30] 'Gagates': Obsolete term for jet. *OED*.
[31] Rud oker = a red variety of ochre. *OED*.

pearles
Minerals
sulphur
lead copper silver
Onely money scarce: much out little in.
& Shrubs Trees Herbs Maidenhair Juniper Holly Ewe Bayes – Lignum vitæ.}

[I.42A][32]

Queries in order to the description of *BRITANNIA*[33]

1. Of the County in generall.
2. The severall Hundreds, Parishes, Villages and Hamlets.
3. Peculiars or Priviledg'd places.
4. Citties, Towns, Corporations, Market-Towns & Fair-Towns. \ Manner-houses. Sundial. /
5. Houses of Nobility & Gentry.
6. Castles, Churches, Chappells, Monasteries, Hospitalls, Schools, Colledges.
7. Mills, Beacons, Bridges, Mountaines.
8. Chaces, Forrests, Woods, Groves, Parks, Commons, Warrens, Heaths. 4. 5.
9. Valleys, Dales, Rivers, Brooks, Meres, Ponds. 7.
10. Places where Battles have been, Lodges in Forrests &c. \ 4. 5./
11. Works and mines of Salt, Lead, Tin, Iron, Coal, Lime, Alabaster, Marble, Freestone, Grindstone, Mill-stone, Silver, Gold, Copper. \ 4. 5./
12. Waters, Springs & Baths, Cold or Hot, Medicinall, Bituminous, Petrifying &c. \ 4. 5./ \ a spae near Barton /
13. Praecincts or Dioceses \ 1. 2. /
14. What part of the Country is arable, Pasture, Meadow \ 1. 2./
15. Roman Ways & Stations, Coyns & Monuments &c. \ 1. 2. 4. 5./
16. Accidents, Calamities or Casualties &c. \ 4. 5./
17. Improvements in Husbandry, Housewifery \ 1. /
18. Peculiar Customs or manners of the Country \ Yeule, Curne, Hag, down a stang. It is not for myne own fau[l]t &c. /
19. Places of Birth, Education or Habitation of Eminent Persons in all ages. \ 4. 5./ \ Se Fuller's *Worthyes*; Gilpin.[34] /

Of these or any of them, information is desired in writing, either upon certaine knowledge or other good authority, directing each remark to the number relating to it, & annexing thereto the Country & Hundred wherein the remark falls.[35]

[I.3]

[ANCIENT HISTORY]

[B.] Part the 1[t] of the Preface

Of the Ancient Inhabitants of England: the Britaines
and of the Brigantes in particular who inhabited the northern parts

[32] Notes, some written in another hand.
[33] In 1673 the scientist Robert Hooke joined with the publisher and cartographer John Ogilby, the surveyor Gregory King, the lawyer John Hoskins, the architect Christopher Wren, and the antiquary John Aubrey to create some 'Queries in order to the description of Britannia': a new scheme projected by Ogilby, the Cosmographer Royal. These were the first fact-finding documents to be directed at individuals in the British regions. Thomas Machell sent out these questionnaires when planning his research. More elaborate than their predecessors, they were the first to specify the study of antiquities, history and geography at parish level. See Editor's Introduction, 'Machell's Methods. 1. Questionnaires.'
[34] Nuttall (ed.), Fuller's *Worthies*, Vol. 3, contains information on, 1. Bernard Gilpin (see 'Writers', 307-08); and 2. Richard Gilpin (see 'Memorable Persons', 310-11).
[35] Machell refers here to his questionnaire, which was based on these queries.

Of the Rom[ans]

1. Their coming into England.
2. Their progress & spreading over the Nation.
3. Their severall divisions of the Iland.
4. Under which division the Northern partes and particularly Westm'land. By whome – and how Governed. A catalougue of the Roman Emperours under whome Britan was, together with their lieutennants. Their names, and particular notise of what they did against the Brigantes.
5. Their departure out of the land with the fortress they made - & herin of the 2 great walls. Hadrian & Severus.

[Machell's Notes: I.3]

{pro genealogia}

{Will[iel]mus […] genuitque
|
Bonifacium e quo natus
|
Gulielmus qui duxit Sibillam filiam Balvini quæ ei filium peperit unicum nomine […]
|
Gulielmus qui sine liberis obijt. Sine prole exti[n]ctus
|
Reinerus post mortem eius duxit filiam hæredemque Emanuelis quæ peperit
|
Bonifacium qui e filia […] suscepit
|
Bonifacium qui e Beatrice filia […] genuit
|
Johannem qui talia præstitit ex hoc natus Willielmus qui duxit Johannam unde natus […]}
|
Isabell quæ nupsit[36]

Memorandum to insert a Catalogue of the British Kings out of Speed.[37]

[I.4]

Note. Lett these notes following be reduced into a compendious relation.
{1} 1. Of the Britans the ancient inhabitants of \ this / Iland.
{!} 2. Of the Romanes, with their Emperours Consuls & lieutennants or praetors that had to doe in this Kingdome and what happened remarkeable conserning any of them in these Northern parts.
{!} 3. Of the Saxons the originall, comeing in, progress, Kings in these parts, extirpation &c. therein of the Danish incurtions.
4. On the Normans, the original arrival Conquest, from whence a more particular relation*.
(a) And allso from the affinity which he has observ'd to be, betwixt the language & customs of the ancient Gauls, and those of the Britanns, who are yett in being and possess that part which wee now calle Wales, from the Latin word Wallia, which is derived from Galia; & signifyes as much as the Country of the Gauls.

[36] 'As a Genealogy. Will[iel]mus [...] and fathered Bonifacius from whom was born Gulielmus who married Sibilla daughter of Balvinus who bore to him an only son named Gulielmus who died without children. Deceased without issue. Reinerus after his death married the daughter and heir of Emanuel who bore Bonifacius who from his daughter […] acknowledged Bonifacius, who from Beatrice daughter of […] fathered John who upheld this state of affairs. From him was born Willielmus who married Johanna whence was born [...]. Isabell who married [...].' Some of this text is obscured by the binding; some has been left blank by Machell.
[37] John Speed (1551/2-1629), English cartographer and historian, belonged to a circle which included members of the original Society of Antiquaries and scholars such as William Camden and Robert Cotton. As all were involved in the methodological study of the history of the British people and institutions, they were able to help Speed in his research. Through Robert Cotton, Speed developed an interest in coins, and was responsible for those described in Camden's *Britannia*. His best-known work includes the *Historie of Great Britaine* (1611, augmented 1623), with its accompanying atlas volume, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine.* See Sarah Bendall, 'Speed, John, historian and cartographer.' *ODNB*.

For Brith, in We[l]sh, doth properly signify that which is painted; whence the word Brit (of which Brito a Britann) may be easily drawn by casting away the asperate only†. And as the inhabitants had The name of Britanns upon this occasion; so the Iland itselfe tooke it[s] denomination (of Britann) from them; and was calld Britannia by the Greek Geographers, from adding ταvι/α: a particle much in use amongst them, whereby they express a nation or Country to the word Britton. Brit.[38]
(b) And of this usage we have diverse examples:
His adde Capitania et Occitania;[39] et Isac Causabon[40] (in *epistolas a Joh. Georgio Gravio editas*; epistola 101, p. 118) dicit tamen nullibi Regionem significare aliquando autem ponitur (ut inquit ille) pro terra singula vel ora per Strabonem et alios depravate, unde figmenti huius et somnij origo.[41]

[Machell's Notes: I.4]
*Se it somewhat compendious pag. 14 hujius.[42]
†This may give us som insight into the occasion of calling the northern Brittans, Picts, because perhaps peteneing[43] their custom of painting themselves after the others had left it of & were civilized & conforming to the Romans; they might from thence be called Picti in opposition to for distinction's sake from}[44]

[I.5][45]

Of the Britans
Of the inhabitants ancient [46]

{Brit. 1[t] inhab.}
The first inhabitants of this place ~~together~~ (with the rest of this Iland) were the Brittans, concerning whose original neither could Caesar nor they themselves give an account,[47] & so much ancienter are they than att \ any / History. But the judiciouse & learned Camden derives them[48] from the next neighbouring nations \ Sc. from / the Gauls, who were formerly called Gomari & Gomerot[49] from Gomerus the eldest son of Japhet*;[50] and he confirmes it, from the Britons calleing them selves (Kumero) & Kumeri, & their women Kumeraes, and \ the / very language which they yett speake Kumeraec, whence these later words (whereby we express the people and nation) Camber and Cambria have their original. And this conjecture is more than probable if we believe (as ~~many~~ \ som / writers affirme) (a.) that ~~England~~ \ Britann / was once joyned

[38] MS: \ '~~to the / vulgar name~~ a particle much in use amongst them, whereby they express a nation or Country ~~to the vulgar name~~ to the word Britton. Brit.'
[39] Occitania is an historical and cultural region in Western and Southern Europe where the Romance language, Occitan, was historically spoken and where it is occasionally used as a second language. *OED*.
[40] Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), born in Geneva of Hugenot parents, was a professor of Greek (among other subjects) at Geneva and Montpelier universities. In 1598, Henri IV of France invited him to Paris 'pour la profession des bonnes Lettres', but, as a Protestant, his involvement in formal religious debate made his position at the French Catholic court uncomfortable, and in 1610 he accepted an invitation from Richard Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, to base himself in England. His correspondence was extensive, some of it controversial. His collection of letters ('epistles') was published posthumously in 1709. See J. Considine, 'Casaubon, Isaac, classical scholar and ecclesiastical historian'. *ODNB*.
[41] 'To these add Capitania and Occitania; and Isac Causabon (in letters published by John George Gravius, letter 101, p.118) says however that ταvι/α sometimes signifies no particular region but is wrongly used (as he says) for an individual land or coast by Strabo and others, whence the origin of this figment and illusion.' John George Graevius (1632-1703) was a German classical writer and critic. At the University of Utrecht he occupied, first, the chair of rhetoric and, from 1667 until his death, that of history and politics. William III of England made him Historiographer Royal. As well as writing admired books on the classics, he also edited many of the writings of contemporary scholars. The *Oratio funebris* by P. Burmann (1703) contains a list of his works. See *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911) Vol. 12, G. Graaff Reinet – Gräfrath.
[42] 'Of this [chapter]'.
[43] Pertaining [to].
[44] Foxing prevents clear reading of text after this point, but very similar text appears on I.5.
[45] Also numbered p.1.
[46] MS: 'Of the inhabitants ancient (~~and modern and of the present Customs & Constitutions of this Country~~).'
[47] MS: 'the Brittans, concerning whose original neither ~~their~~ \ could / Caesar, nor they themselves knew anything att all \ ~~could~~ give an account… /'
[48] MS: 'But the judiciouse & learned Camden ~~will have them to hav taken their original~~ \ derives them' /
[49] MS: 'Gomery\ot'.
[50] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 10-11.

to the Continent by a little \ isthmus or / neck of land, and was ~~only~~ a peninsula. But then as we ~~allwaye~~s see, that people and ~~Nations~~ \ Countryes / which do aggree in one \ som / general name, have other particular ~~names~~ \ names of their own / peculiar to them selves \ alone / whereby they are ~~distinguished~~ \ known / from ~~their~~ \ other / neighbouring Nations so tis not unlikely that these Cimbri or Cumeri, which inhabited \ here within / this Iland were caled Brittanns for distinction sake, the name being taken from their frequent custome of painting their bodyes, for which they are noted by those excellent authors, Caesar Mela & Pliny†.

{Britan whence so called}
The Ile had the name Britan\n/ia \ query Britania / from Greek impos[it]ion, ~~with whome it was usual to~~ for the Greeks were wont in nameing of nations to add the particle Βριτανι/α signifying a country, as Mauretania, Lussitania, Aquitania, & I think they were the first that called it Βρετανι/α, for which ~~the~~ […][51] is writt \ corruptly / Βρεταννι/α. But Caesar and Lucretius – the first Latin authors that take notise of it, \ doe write it / Britannia ~~we calld it Britan~~. And the Germans allso have a custome \ amongst them / not much unlike this, who add the word landt to the names of Countryes as \ may appear from / this very Iland, which the Germain Saxons did first calle Englandt, and this very County, which they called Westmorlandt \ & Cumberlant / (with many other places that I could mention) if it were needful.'

{It[s] Ancient Division}
Concerneing the division of Government of this land and people of old, it is not so exactly knowne as might be wished: for Caesar himselfe makes so little mention of it, that upon his account little credit is given unto Florus when he make Livie say (*Epit. Livij,* li. l50)[52] that Caesar, having slane a great multitude of Britanns reliquam insule partem

[Machell's Notes: I.5 & I.6]
*unde forsa comrade [whence perhaps comrade]. And allso from the affinity with &c.
†{Britannos se Glasto[s] (et Glast etiam nu[nc] apud illos caeruleum significat) depingere iste legitat.}[53]
[I.6]
If Horace was not before Caesar's time or Conquest he was but borne about 12 years before Caesar made his expedition into Brit[ain]: Sc. Natus Anno Mundi 3901/ Britannia a Caesare – Subacta A.M. 3912.[54]
Wee have many Roman Inscriptions found about Yorke with the name Eboracum on them. I doubt it? q[uery]?

[51] Scored-through illegible text follows.
[52] [The reference is to Florus, *Epit. Liv. XLV*.16-19]: 'Omnibus terra marique peragratis respexit Oceanum et, quasi hic Romanis orbis non sufficeret, alterum cogitavit. Classe igitur conparata Britanniam transit mira celeritate; quippe qui tertia vigilia cum Morinorum solvisset a portu, minus quam medio die insulam ingressus est. Plena erant tumultu hostico litora, et trepidantia ad conspectum rei novae carpenta volitabant. Itaque trepidatio pro victoria fuit. Arma et obsides accepit a trepidis, et ulterius isset, nisi inprobam classem naufragio castigasset Oceanus. Reversus igitur in Galliam, classe maiore auctisque copiis in eundem rursus Oceanum eosdemque rursus Britannos. Caledonas secutus in silvas unum quoque e regibus Casuellanum in vincla dedit. Contentus his (non enim provinciae, sed nomini studebatur) cum maiore quam prius praeda revectus est, ipso quoque Oceano tranquillo magis et propitio, quasi inparem ei se fateretur.' 'Having penetrated everywhere by land and sea, he turned his gaze towards the ocean and, as if this world of ours sufficed not for the Romans, set his thoughts on another. He, therefore, collected a fleet and crossed over to Britain with wonderful speed; for starting from the harbour of the Morini at the third watch he disembarked upon the island before midday. The shores were crowded with a confused throng of the enemy, and their chariots were hurrying to and fro in panic at the strange sight before their eyes. This panic was as good as victory for Caesar, who received arms and hostages from his frightened foes and would have advanced further if the ocean had not taken vengeance on his presumptuous fleet by wrecking it. He, therefore, returned to Gaul and then, with a larger fleet and increased forces, made another attempt against the same ocean and the same Britons. Having pursued them into the Caledonian forests, he made one of their kings, Casuellanus, a prisoner. Content with these achievements (for he sought a reputation rather than a province) he returned with greater spoil than before, the very ocean showing itself more calm and propitious, as though it confessed itself unequal to opposing him.'
[53] 'The Britons describe themselves as Glast[i] (and among them even now Glast means blue)', see Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637). 26.5cm of heavily scored-through text follows: it has not been transcribed.
[54] 'That is, born in AM 3901, Britain being conquered by Caesar AM 3912.'

[I.7][55]

in potestatem subegit:[56] and many take occasion to adhere rather unto the poet than Historian, who ~~tells us that~~ gives the Epethite of Intacti[57] to the Britains, as tho they had not been touched by the Roman Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet / sacra catenatus via.[58] {*Epod*. 7 V. 4.}

{Caesars Towers}
Notwithstanding we have several places in this island, and particularly in Westm'land, which bear Caesars name: But all the Emperours stileing themselves Caesars, they might borrow that denomination from any other as well as hee. But tho wee have not very particular accounts of the state {& affars} of our Nation, before his time; yett we finde here were Kings in severall parts (when the Romaines came first into these our territories) : 'who made \ a / noble ~~resistance~~ \ & vigorous defence / against their ~~Romans~~ \ ~~armies~~ incursions, /~~ one whereof was the famous Caratacas~~, but the cause of their universal overthrow ~~was~~ \ is / said to be this: that they could not aggre amongst themselves & and so att lenth became a prey to the Common Enemy. Yett so great was their courage that \ they / held them in play about one hundred and 36 years.

{Their names are these}
We have not \ I confess / the particular names of each of their Kings. But the Limits and Bounds of most of their Kingdomes which had their names from their inhabitants, are prety well dyscovered in Camden & Speed,[59] to whome I shal refer the further inquisitive, minding only to concern myself att present with the Brigants, who were the 1st inhabitants of this part of Britann, which now is called Westm'land; for they had in their territories, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Bishoprick of Durham, with Westm'land and Cumberland; In briefe; all that part which we now call the North of England, excepting North-Humberland which was in those dayes of the Kingdom of Ottadini[60] \ whose Regia Oppida or / principle seat was at Bremantium, thought now to be Ridsdall or Rebchester.

{Brigantes chief seat York}
But as to the Metropolis or chief Towne of the ~~Brigantes~~ Brigantine Kingdome; it is thought to be Yorke, which Ptolomie (in lib. *Magnae Constitutionis* 2^do^) from them calls Brigantium; ~~But~~ \ only / Mr Camden suspects the Booke not to be his: B114.[61]

{Gallagum in Westm'land, Whelp Castle; q[uery] for authority; see Speeds maps.}[62]
However the matter be, it cannot be doubted that Gallagum now Kirkbythore was a principle Towne in this part of their Kingdome, haveing so many camps & fortes.[63] And I am of opinion that the Romaines (who having as yett made no further progress in their \ Northern / Conquest kept their

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[55] Also numbered p.2.
[56] '… brought the remaining part of the island under his control.'
[57] 'Untouched'.
[58] 'Or that the unconquered Briton might descend the Via Sacra in chains': Horace, *Epodes* 7, line 4. The context is Horace's outcry against the threat of civil war. He contrasts this with legitimate, honourable wars against uncivilised foreigners like the Britons, addressing his fellow countrymen: 'Villains, where are you rushing to? Why are your hands / Grasping those swords that were sheathed? Hasn't enough Roman blood been shed over / The fields, and Neptune's waves? / Yet not so that Rome could burn the proud towers / Of an envious Carthage, Nor that the as-yet-unconquered Britons, might descend / The Via Sacra in chains.'
[59] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 37, 41, 43-44, 48-53, 111-27; see also Speed, *Historie*, Book 6, 43-185.
[60] There follows a scored-through, illegible word.
[61] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 701: 'Eboracum … which Ptolemee in the second booke of his *Great Contruction* called Brigantium (if the said booke bee not corrupted).'
[62] John Speed, *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae: The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine presenting an exact geography of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the iles adioyning: with the shires, hundreds, cities and shire-townes, within ye kingdome of England, divided and described by Iohn Speed* (London, 1611/12).
[63] MS: 'It cannot ~~yett~~ \ be / doubted that \ Gallagum now Kirkbythore was a / principle Towne in this part of their Kingdome, ~~was Callatum, \ Gallagum / otherwise Callatum \ Gallatum /afterwards Whealop Castle, and now Kirkbythore~~ \ haveing so many camps & fortes… /'

Station att Appleby) cast up that Great Camp on Speedy-Moor in Crakenthorpe Lordship[64] against this Gallatum; for the Campe

[I.9][65]

lyes at ~~halfe~~ \ but / a mile's distance from Kirkbythore by the high way side confronting the Towne but ~~I shall~~ \ in this / submit to better judgments.

{Note of the Brig[antes]}
The Brigantes were a numerous and most valiant people apud meliores notae authores imprimis celebrati[66] and their name is ~~Consonant and~~ agreeable to their natures for it implies as much as Hardy, Bold, Fierce and Cruell, as Mr Camden has ~~ingeniously~~ \ well / observed. Britanni enim nostri (sayes he) si quos pravo ingenio et audacius grassatos viderint, wharret Brigans ie Briga[n]tem agere dicunt. Gallique hodie ex prisca ut videtur Galloru[m] lingua eiusdem farinae {Whence so-called} homines Brigand, et naves praedatorias Brigantines, vocitant. An vero ea vis fuerit verbi olim in Gallia vel Britannica lingua, vel nostri Brigantes eiusmodi fuerunt non ausim affirmare. Si tamen non male memini Brigantes Alpinum populum grassatores, vocat Strabo, & Julius Belga, Juvenis projectae audaciae (cui vis authoritas et virtus nomen videbatur) Briganticus apud Tacitum cognominatur. etc. ie reddatur A[n]glic[e].[67]

{A people in the time of Ant. Pius}
For which sort of vice (if it may be \ so / called ~~one~~) (hoc enim nullam ignominiam habuit Bellicosa illa civitate, cum jus in viribus omnes gentes haberent)[68] our ancient Brigantes, ~~were very~~ seem'd not ~~very~~ far ~~distant~~ \ remote when they preyd so much upon their neighbours, and made incursions in Genouniam (Romanorum in Britannia provinciam)[69] which Camden takes to be Guineth in Wales because it layes \ situate / bounded within the \ borders & / confines of Brigantia:[70] In punishment of which\ attempts / Antoninus Pius tooke no small part of their country from them as Pausanius relates

> ɘΑπετε/μετο η] 0Αντωνι=νοφ ο(Ευ0σεβηφ και∴ τω~ν ε0ν Βριττανι/α Βριγα/ντων τη∴ν πολλη/ν, ο/9τι ε0πεσβαι/νειν και∴ ου[(~τοι συ∴ν τοι~φ ο/9πλοιφ η0/ρχαν τη∴ν Γενουνι/αν μοι~ραν υ(πεκο/ουφ Ρομαι/ων.[71]

[64] Speedy Moor is a field in Appleby St Michael parish, known also as Langespedy; spēd ēg: 'rich water meadow'. Smith, *Place-Names 2*, 102.
[65] Also numbered p.3.
[66] 'especially celebrated among the better critical authorities.'
[67] 'For if our Britons (sayes he) see people of aggressive character, brazenly swaggering around, they say 'he's playing the Brigans' i.e. acting the Brigant. And the Gauls today, from the former language of the Gauls, as it seems, habitually call men of the same character Brigand and pirate ships Brigantines. Whether there really was that meaning of the word once in Gaul or in the British language, or whether our Britons were of that sort, I would not venture to state. If, however I rightly remember, Strabo calls the Alpine Brigantes robbers, & Julius, a Belgian, a conspicuously reckless youth (to whom power, authority and valour seemed mere names) is called Briganticus in Tacitus etc. i.e. let it be rendered in English.' See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 685-86.
[68] '(for this held no shame in that warlike state, since all peoples considered right [to lie] in might)'.
[69] 'into Genounia (a Roman province in Britain)'.
[70] Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 659-60.
[71] Pausanias VIII.43.4: 'Antoninus Pius, indeed, expropriated also most of the lands of the Brigantes in Britain, because these people began to enter with arms into the Genounian district subject to the Romans.' Machell's version of Pausanius VIII.43.4, copies Camden's: 'Antoninus Pius cut the Brigantes in Britain short of a great deal of their Country, because they began to take armes and in hostile manner to invade Genunia, a Region subject to the Romans' (Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland,1637, 686) but the veracity of the original Greek text has been challenged: 'A much disputed and somewhat obscure passage in Pausanias appears to refer to a serious disturbance among the Brigantes, for he says that Antoninus deprived them of part of their territory after they had launched an attack on 'the Genounian district'. There is good reason to think that Pausanias might have confused the British Brigantes with the Brigantes of Raetia and their neighbours the Genauni, but other evidence that something fairly serious had happened in the Pennines at this time suggests that Pausanias really was reporting an incident in Britain, and had merely made a mistake about the name of the people attacked.' Peter Salway, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1993), 148.

Whence we may collect that they were not quite dispossessed of their Country even in the time of Antoninus Pius, which was [blank] year after the Romaines gott footing in Brittain*. Before I had acquainted my selfe well with the historie of these former times; alltho I had \ red / that Caesar subdued the whole Iland of Brites as has bin said ~~before~~,[72] yett I could not imagin that to be true: for it seemed strange ~~to mee~~, that he landing first in the Southern parts, should pass ~~unto~~ \ into / the North, without some years labour haveing to doe with such a hardy & warlike people especially these Brigantes, who I supposed were able to make[73] some resistance against the Romaine ~~Armies~~; and therefor I did conclude with my selfe, that the Conquest must needs

[Machell's notes: I.9]

*See Camden's preface to Yorkshire: It is all very good and pertinent to this purpose.[74]

[I.11][75]

\ proceed by degrees which / gradually I afterward found it to be for it seems that Caesar did rather, discover then subdue the Country*.[76] And that their were many Conflicts and ~~Bloody~~ Battles before it was subject to the Romaine yoake. For the people were so averse to subjection, that they hated their \ very / owne native kings if \ at / any time they chanced to ~~compound~~ \ capitulate / with the Romains ~~armes~~ & not fight it out; as appeares from that instance of Cardanus whome the Romaines (haveing conquered the nearest part of the Island) reinstated and made King thereof; ~~who~~ \ He / was faithful to and much respected of them; but disestemed and hated of his countrymen, as a pusilanimous prince and betrayer of their \ countrys / libertyes. But tho some of the British Kings were easily prevailed upon (after some Batles lost) to yeald to the Romaines, and ~~resume~~\ hand / their Crownes & septers to them ~~att their hands~~, \ from them / yett some ~~were more~~ \ on the contrary / were every whit as obstinate.

{Noble Caractacus}

And in particular that noble Caratacus: King of the Silures who ~~waged~~ wared against them ~~for severall years~~ \ 9 years together, / but att last (with his whole family) was taken, ~~captive~~ or rather ~~indeed~~ given up captive to the Romaine forces by ~~perfidious~~ Cartismandua. And so was carryed in Tryumph to ~~their Imperial City~~ \ Rome. / Concerning whome Mr Camden tells us out of Zonoras how he reproved the Romaine avirice \ coveteousness / in these words \ following: / Cum Romae (says he) splendorem et amplitudinem captivus perlustrasset itane (inquit) Cum hæc et hujusmodi habeatis; nostra Tuguriola concupiscitis? {Camd. de Cardiganshire *ad princip*}‡.[77]

He is reported to have \ kept / the field & held out against the Romans, with his Silures & Ordovises only, when the Icenias Cangij & Brigantes[78] began to faint and give over (so Mr Speed unadvisedly tells us) ~~how be it~~.[79] \ And that he was betrayed by faithless Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes; how be it in the next section he ~~tells us~~ declares how Venutius that famous King of the Brigantes and husband to Cartismandua who betrayed brave Caractacus unto the Romanes ~~after~~ he haveing ~~put him~~ \ comited / himselfe ~~the wife~~ to her protection) \ his Brigantes / give Battle to the Romaines ~~with his Brigantes~~, with whom she joyned her selfe against her husband, in which Battle they gott the victory he […] she the shame. – Whence it appears that the Brigantes were in armes after Caratacus was taken prisoner, for it is not likely, that he would seeke for protection from the Queen, after she had side with

[72] Speed, *Historie*, Book 2, Chapter 6.
[73] A scored-through illegible word follows.
[74] Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 689-70.
[75] Also numbered p.4.
[76] MS: 'for it seems that Caesar did rather, discover ~~the Country~~ then subdue ~~it to the Romans~~ \ the Country / Iland.'
[77] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 657: 'What mean you (saith he) when yee have these and such like stately buildings of your owne, to covet our small cottages.' Also quoted in Camden, *Remaines concerning Britaine* (London, 1637, 1st edn, 1605), 232, and attributed to Zonaras: 'Why doe you so greedily desire our poore cottages, when as you have such stately and magnificent palaces?'
[78] For the Iceni, Cangi, Brigantes and other British tribes see Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), from 43.
[79] Speed, *Historie*, Book 6, 34.

the common enemy, aganst her husband and Country.[80] Hence it appears that the Romaines did not perfectly overflow this nation; nor \ did / the Romanes obtaine

[I.13][81]

their Conquest with dry blowes (as wee say) over the Brit.[82] In all probability this Country or Nation of the Brigants was one of the last which \ held / out against them, being out of ~~subjection~~ \ their power / till Claudius his reigne, who came in person to \ assist & / relieve his Lieutennant Plautius ~~by name~~ \ then / all most ~~vanquished~~ \ overcome / with the British valour.' A margin comment here gives, '{Bri\n/g. in Claud. His Reigne Plautius.}

[Machell's notes: I.11-I.18]

*Ut Tacitus.
†his perfidious w[ife], who took part with them against her owne husband, the famous Vinutius, King of Brigantia.
‡(Carry on the story of him. Se libet è Speed vol 2. C6. §)[83]
[I.12]
{Gallatum} Why not from Galgacus? Because the Brigantes were seems to me before the Calidonii & therefore it seems to have bin in subjection to the Roman yoake, before his time; being a noted town in Brigantia.
Of the Brittish Manner:
Incampenis Building Burying Coyneing
Claudius and Plautius
[I.14-18] {Domitian} {Claudius}{Vespasian} {Severus}[84]

[I.13]

{Galgacus}
But the last resistance that was made against them, as being the furthest bounds of their Conquest; was by Galgacus, a worthy and most valiant prince of the Calidonians who for virtue, and Birth, \ was justly / preferrd before any other in that part of the Iland; upon which account he was made Generall against the Invasion of Julius Agricola.

{Agricola Subdues all to the Frith}[85]
~~From all which it appears~~, but being overthrowne the Romaines possessed them selves of these parts, ~~of the Iland~~ \ as far as the frith / or att least the \ best & richest part / of it, suffering the Britanes to inhabit the mountains, but themselves the planes or ~~what~~ \ as much / they pleased of them – and are therefore to be reckond as the next Ancient Inhabitants of this part of Brit.

[I.15]

Of the British Characters[86]

In Bishop Usher's Collection of Letters p.55; in a letter writ to him from Dr Langbaine the learned Provost of Queens College in Oxford, wee have this account – which \ I / have subjoined – of the British Character; which was taken out of a Manuscript Booke belonging to St Dunstans, writ by one Memnings or Memnius, but is supposed to be a mixture 'twix Irish and Saxon, & the Britans indeed to have no* rudiments.
*But if so, query: how the Druids & Bardes become so learned, as they are reported.
T.M. answer: They are said to have taught somthings by heart, which were held unlawfull to be put in writeing: & for other things to have used the Greek Character, whereby their skill was hid from the vulgar sort of people. Speed p.168. Col. 1.

[80] Machell gave this paragraph a border and crossed it through, a device (seen throughout the volumes) to erase drafts when he had finished them elsewhere.
[81] Also numbered p.5.
[82] 3 lines of heavily scored-through text follow, partly repeating the previous passage.
[83] Scored-through text on the lower third of this page has not been transcribed.
[84] These headings relate to text which appears elsewhere. I.16-18 comprises rough pencilled notes; two pages have been scored through. The first page (16) is the reverse of a page of notes on Ussher (15); dated 1686, it contains quotations as part of Machell's personal notes relating to philosophy, Christianity and preaching. On the other pages are notes for material discussed on I.3, 5, 9, 10, 21, 24, 28, 34, 39, 41, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51.
[85] Frith = Forth.
[86] British typographical symbols.
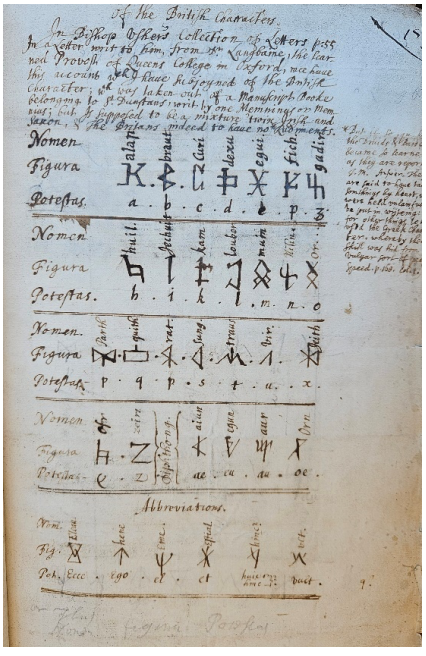


Figure 1. 'Of the British Characters'. I.15.

[I.13]

Of the Romans

The Romans had their name from Rome the famous City from whence they came, and that was so called from Romulus, the son of Mars & Rhea Syl\via / of Trojan extraction; but to lett those things pass \ Tho som will have it / {See my Hildebrand}[87] they haveing conquered most part of the world, came into Britan under the conduct of (c.) Julius Caesar Anno Ante C. N. ~~be~~ 54. which according to […][88] and the Cronolog[ie] must be Anno Mund. 3909, for Our Saviour was b\orne / An~~no~~ 3963, out of which 54 being ~~subtracted~~ \ deducted, / there remaines 3909, which must be the year of his arrival; howbeit, we have not any \ very exact & faithfull / accompt {concerning the mat[ter]} for ~~some~~ \ others / will have it \ ~~to have happened in~~ / in 3917. But ~~it is not much material~~ \ the matters not great / their being noe more than 8 years difference \ in these computations. /

The first time ~~that~~ he came~~, being woryed with a bitter fight~~ (says Eutropius)[89] acerba pugna fatigatus, et adversa Tempestate correptus nihil fere prestitit; He did little or nothing Anno autem insequente (Camden goes on) immo vero, majori classe, et Auctis Copijs redijt, et Cassibellino nostro multis detrimentis fracto, partem aliquam insule in deditionem ~~red~~ accepit, obsides imperavit, quid in annis singulis Romanis funderetur constituit, reversus est ad mare calendas septembris. ad VI calendas octob~~ris~~ solvit et exercitum in Gallias reportavit.[90]

[87] Friedrich Hildebrand, *Antiquitates Romanae: in compendium contractae, et juxta ordinem alphabeti dispositae, bono juventutis* (3rd edn, Oxford, 1673).
[88] An illegible letter is interlineated here.
[89] Eutropius (fl. 363-87 AD), *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*, VI.17: 'Britannis mox bellum intulit, quibus ante eum ne nomen quidem Romanorum cognitum erat, eosque victos obsidibus acceptis stipendarios fecit' (translated as) 'Then he made war on the Britons, to whom not even the name of the Romans was previously known, and after subduing them and receiving hostages he made them tributary.'
[90] 'Exhausted by bitter fighting, and overtaken by stormy weather, he achieved almost nothing (he did little or nothing). But in the following year (Camden goes on) on the contrary, he returned with a greater fleet, and with increased forces, and when our Cassibellinus was broken by many losses, he received the surrender of a certain part of the island, took hostages, decreed what should be produced for the Romans on an annual basis, returned to the sea on September 1, set sail on 16 October and conveyed his army back to Gaul.' [Continues I.19].

[I.19][91]

Sed haec fuse persequitur ipse Caesar - lib[er] 4 Ep[isto]la[rum] ad Atticum Ep[isto]la 14.[92]
Veruntamen aliorum Judicio Britannos tantum prospera pugna terruit vel ut Lucanus cecinit Qui Caesar[um] familiae iniquior Territa quaesitis ostendit Terga Britannis.[93]

However it was, we are satisfied ~~out of~~ è (Dion. *Lib. 42*)[94] that for 20 years after Caesars arrival this Iland of ours had not only her Kings, but used her owne Laws, without any praefects. But they being emulous one of an other ~~and every one desireing to be~~ \ and striving together who should be Greatest, were ready to fight ~~upon every occasion~~ among themselves upon all sleight occasions. / And this (says Tacitus) was the cause, which brought that puissant nation into Bonndage \ subjection, / and was the only help to the Romans \ in obteining / the victories. {The whole process I thinke you may have in Speed 2nd Vol. Cap. 5. §.1. & 3. Ita est} for seldome it chanced ~~saith he~~ that 2 or 3 states met in Counsell \ and agreed / together, ~~and concurred~~ in one opinion to repulse the Common Enemy; so that \ fighting severally they were all over come / Dum singuli pugnabant universi vincebantur.[95]

{Domitian}
But this was not don att once (~~because Caesar)~~ \ & as it wer of a suddan / for they held the Romaines back \ from Caesar's arrivall / till the days of Domitian with so much valour, that \ but / subduing some smale part of this Iland was accounted (by themselves) to match the conquest of other Great Nations. But after they had by ~~degrees~~ \ little by little / obteined the Conquest of most of this Island, they made division thereof into 2 parts, the One called Britannia Superior (or proximior) the other caled Britannia Inferior (sive remotior).[96] Britannia Superior was the more southerly part of England together with Wales, & in it were 2 Legions ~~which I take \ to / amount to 12000 \ men~~. / Legio 2da Augusta, at Caerleon in South Wales, and Legio Vicissima Victrix att Chester ~~in Cheshire~~ \ in the west.' Britannia Inferior was the northern part, and in it was seated One Legion only, Legio Victrix 6^{a} which resided att Yorke. But under Claudius the emperour (who came to the assistance of Plautius his lieuttenant) there were 2 other legions (beside those named) plac'd in this Island, viz. Legio IX Hispaniensis, & Legio XIIII Gemina Martia Victrix; yea even in the time of Vespatian the Emperour \ there / were no less than 4 Legions \ in it / so that the Romaines had once in ~~England~~ \ Britan / 5 Legions of Soljers, chosen men, which I take to be \ about / 30 thousand in a modest ~~computation~~ \ account, / reckoning onely 6 thousand in every Legion ~~the~~ \ whereas / some \ doe / compute 6666 \ some 6826. / This division ~~of their Conquest~~ into these 2 parts was made as it seems by Severus the Emperour*, who haveing vanquish'd

[Machell's Notes: I.19]
*N. Tis said on the following page to be don by Const[antine]. Ergo consider.
Constantinus; Julius Agricola.
{Division of Britain

[91] Also numbered p.6.
[92] 'But Caesar himself followed this up extensively: Book 4 of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, Letter 14, "To Atticus, on a journey from Cumae, May 54 B.C. Pray, if by chance you have any news, principally from my brother Quintus, next from Caesar, and, finally, anything about the elections or about politics ... write and tell me about them."'
[93] 'Notwithstanding, in the judgement of others he merely terrified the Britons by a lucky victory, or as Lucan, who was hostile to the family of the Caesars, wrote: "He turned his back in terror on the Britons he'd gone to attack."' See Lucan, *Bellum Civile* II.572: Pompey's speech to his men, deriding Caesar: [quod] 'territa quaesitis ostendit terga Britannis?' ['Shall Caesar overthrow the senate? ... No, Fortune does not act so blindly... Have ten years vainly fighting Gallic rebels ... emboldened him? Or the fact that he turned his back in terror on the Britons he'd gone to attack?'] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 35-38.
[94] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, 40. 4.1-2: 'Thus Caesar departed entirely from the island and left no body of troops behind in it; for he believed that such a force would be in danger while passing the winter in a foreign land and that it might be inadvisable for him to remain away from Gaul for any considerable period; hence he was satisfied with his present achievements, in the fear that if he reached out for more, he might be deprived even of these.'
[95] 'While they fought separately they were conquered all together', Tacitus, *Agricola* XII.
[96] 'Proximore': 'nearer'. 'Sive remotior': 'or further'.

Superior Inferior
Et Prox. Et Rem}
Higher Brit.
II. AVG.
XX. VIC.[97]
VI. VIC.
IX. HISP.
XIV.GEM[98]
Cohortes in qualibet legione X erant; et haec armatos minim. pedites habebat 6100. Equites 726. Hildeb. centurione.[99] According to this there are 6826 men in a Legion so that in England there were 30440 men of […] armes,[100] & select soljers – for of such men their legions were made.

[I.21][101]

Albinus, General of the Brit. and reduced the State under his obedience, divided the Government into these 2 provinces* placeing a praefect (i.e. a lieutennat \ generall / or Chiefe \ ~~Comander~~ / Governour over either of them (puto praefectum praetorio) quod vide†.[102] Whence it will appear that this Iland being become provinciall, was not under the same Government that other nations were; being neither Consulary, nor Proconsulary but praesidial, and govern'd by Caesars. And it is to be noted that the first men who made it a province (I mean that part which the Romans conquered for they were never ~~had it all~~ \ masters of all / was Julius Agricola (Domitian then being Emperour ~~att Rome~~) and that was 130 years after they first gott footing in Brittane.[103] He was the first also who saling about it[104]with his ~~Romane~~ fleet, discovered the Country to be an Iland.[105] And this may suffice concerning the first division according to which That place ~~of part was now called Westmerland~~ \ I treat of / (~~and concerning which I am to discourse~~) came under the 2nd partition \ denomination / being placed in Britannia Inferiori in Lower Britann, and under the ~~subjection~~ \ constraint protection / of the Legio 6th Victrix: the 6th conquering Legion‡.

{LEG. VI. VICTRIX}
{2 Division – 2, 3.}[106] It was after divided into three parts or provinces, whose limits Mr Camden endeavours to gather from the praecincts or bounds of the Archepiscopall Sees, building \ himselfe upon / the authority of Pope Lucius; according to whome the ecclesiastical jurisdictions of Xtans is said to accord with the praecincts or libertyes of the Rom[an] magistrates, Archbishops resideing att those very places, where the presidents ~~aboad~~ \ livd. / And those with us were in Carleon, \ in the west; / London, \ in the east; / & Yorke, in the south.[107] howbeit ~~computation~~ \ the Archbishop's see is

[97] XX Victrix.
[98] XIV Gemina.
[99] 'The cohorts in any legion were ten; and this [legion] had under arms at least 6100 infantrymen, 726 cavalry.' Friedrich Hildebrand, *Antiquitates Romanae: in compendium contractae, et juxta ordinem alphabeti dispositae, bono juventutis* (1st edn, 1647).
[100] An indistinct word appears between 'of' and 'armes'.
[101] I.20 contains headings for notes written up elsewhere.
[102] '(I think a praetorian prefect) see this'.
[103] For the provenance of this paragraph see Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 62.
[104] MS: 'He was \ 3 / allso the \ 1 / first \ 2 / who saling about it': Machell corrected his word order using numerals.
[105] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 61.
[106] A note, partly obscured by the binding.
[107] Camden, *Britannia,* tr. Holland (1637) says: 'After this, the Romans did set out the Province of Britaine into three parts, as is to be seen out of a manuscript of Sextus Rufus: namely, into Maxima Caesariensis, Britannia Prima, et Britannia Secunda. Which, as I take it, I have found out by the Bishops and their antient Diocesses**.** Lucius the Pope, in Gratian, insinuateth this much, that the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdictions of the Christians followed the Jurisdictions of the Roman Magistrates, and that Archbishops had their Seas in those cities wherein the Romane Presidents in times past made their abode. The Cities and places (saith he) in which Primats ought to sit and rule, were appointed not by the Moderne, but long before the comming of Christ, to the Primats of which cities &c. the Gentils also appealed in matters of greater importance. And in those verie cities after Christs comming, the Apostles and their Successors placed Patriarks or Primats, unto whom the affaires of the Bishops and greater causes ought to be referred. Whereas, therefore, Britaine had in old time three Archbishops,

now translated from / London ~~is now translated~~ to Canterbury. According to this account \ London / is where The place of residence ~~of that~~ \ assigned to The / President who was sete over Britannia prima⸸.

{Divisions 3,4,5.}
In after times, because of the Presidents growing great and \ Countryes / popular, they divided it agane into 5 parts, adding 2 more (Valentia & Flavia); \ 2 to / the 3 former. The bounds Mr Speed being about to describe (by I know not what faite) forgetts one of them.

[Machell's Notes: 1.21]

*{ad 1ᵗ. Divisionem. The division is said before to be made by Severus Imperator Constantinus.}
†{Se Speed} To which I shall add out of Mr Camden (for these things praemised may be of some use to the understanding of coynes ~~& ancient~~ & inscriptions \ hereafter /) that Cum novam Reip[ublican] firmam descripsisset Constantinus, sub praefecto praetorio, Galliarum vicarius praefici\e/batur, et cum Illo in Rebus bellicis comes Britanniarum, Comes litoris Saxonici, per Britanniam et Dux Britanniarum praeter praesides, Rationales.[108]
‡Memorandum vide which of the Emp. were 1ᵗ &c. in order.
⸸ II. Carleon, to him whose concernes were ~~to manage~~ in Brit. 2dᶜᵉ; and [III] Yorke to him who had the Governor of Britannia Maxima Cæsariensens, under which partition, Westm'land (however then called) \ & Cumberland / are supposed to bee. And these seem to have their distinction from the order of time in which they were conquered. T.M.[109]

[I.22]

Maxima Caesariensis and Valentia were governd by Consuls ~~onely~~, the other thre[e] by presidents; for tis observable at the decay of the Empire that those provinces onely were governed by Consuls which lay exposed or opposite to the enemye, as is evident from the *Booke of provincial notises* not only in France but in Affrica allso, and with us Valentia and Maxima Caesariensis. Flavia Caesariensis was in the midle of this Kingdome and Camden & Giraldus Cambrenses, doe conjecture. Mr Camden (from whome Mr Speed takes his information as more exact) setting downe the limitts of all the 5 provinces after this manner:
BRITANNIA 1ª (sayes he) dicta fuit omnis regio australis quae hinc Mare Britannium, illinc Tamisim et Sabrianum fretum interjacet Secunda quae nunc Wallia. Flavia Cæsariensis à Tamisi ad Humbrum[110] porrecta fuit, Maxima Cæsariensis ab Humbro ad Tinam flu[men] sive Vallum Severi. Valentia a Tina ad Fossam[111] Juxta Edenburgum quam Scoti Gramesdike vocant ubi Rom. Imperii limes ultimus - p.54.[112]

[Machell's Notes: I.22]

{This may give som light to the inscription at Crawdundale, the Consuls there mentioned being not of Rome, but perhaps of Valentia & Britannia Caesariensis CRAWDVD}[113] {Query: CN. COTTO Coss} Concerning these 2 – &c. Severus his wall. See Speed p. 229.

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to wit, of London, of Yorke, and Caerleon in South Wales, I suppose that the Province which now we call of Canterburie (for thither the Sea of London was translated) made Britannia Prima; Wales, under the Citie of Caer Leon, was Britannia Secunda; and the Province of York, which then reached unto the Limits or Borders, made Maxima Caesariensis.' The information Camden quotes here is derived from Gratian (a Benedictine monk from Bologna), *Concordantia Discordantium Canonum* ('The Concordance of Discordant Canons or Decretum'), a collection of canon law completed around 1140.

[108] 'When Constantine had firmly established the new Republic/State under a praetorian prefect, a deputy was put in charge of the Gauls, and with him for military matters a commander of the Saxon Shore throughout Britain and a general of the Britains except for garrisons [and] finances.' Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 76.

[109] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 155.

[110] This word is partly obscured by the binding but Camden supplies 'humbrum'.

[111] Camden writes 'vallum iuxta' here.

[112] 'All the south coast which of one side lieth between the British sea, and the river Thames with the Severn sea on the other side, was called Britannia Prima. Britannia Secunda was that which is now Wales. Flavia Caesariensis reacheth from Thames to Humber. Maxima Caesariensis from Humber to the river of Tine, or the wall of Severus. Valentia from Tine to the wall or rampier neere Edenburgh, which the Scotch call Gramesdike, and was the utmost limit of the Roman Empire in this Island, when this last division was in use.' Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 156.

[113] Initials partially blotted.

NB – Speed. 220. He quotes there (& gives his approbation to it) an author called Julius Capitolinus who affirms that Lollius the Legate[114] to Antoninus (circ. An. Xt 139) overcoming the Britannes, built another Turf Wall to divide the Province & impeach the Incursions of the Barbarians, which Mr Camden he sayeth thought himself to have been in an ancient chorographical chart, drawne between Carlile & the river Tine.[115]
T.M. But I suppose him to be mistaken: for the Turfe Wall is rather to be ascrib'd to him: & Mr Speed is of the same judgement – that betwixt Carlile & Tine being all of stone. Query: where Genovia is a province adjoyning to the Brig. The occasion of Lollius fighting the Brittans.
{? q. Then see Gramesdike.}[116]

[I.23][117]

Of them. Brit[annia]
1. Saye he &c. conteines those coasts which lay betwene Thamesis, the Severne & the British Sea.
2. Brit. Secunda extended from Severne unto the Irish Sea, conteineing the Country that wee now call Wales.
3. {Flavius Imp} Flavia Caesariensis was that which lay betwixt the rivers Humber and Tine.
& 4. {Valens Imp} Valentia extended from the said river and the Picts Wall ~~reached~~ unto the Rampiere near Edenburge \ frith which is / in Scotland, the farthest ~~part that~~ \ limit of / the Roman Empire ~~possessed when~~ \ at / this division ~~was in use~~.[118]

But tho he has omitted the other part which is the Maxima Caesariensis, yett tis easi to ~~collect~~ \ gather / that all the other being ~~particularly~~ \ thus / described, the residue of the Ro[man] Dominion, must make up this province. \ But Mr Camden from &c. a. / concerning those 2 that were added (Flavia Caesariensis, & Valentia) it is to be noted that the first seems to have taken it[s] name from Flavius the Emperour son of Theodosius, for wee read not of Flavia before his time:[119] the latter from the Emperor Valence, in whose time Theodosius the Generall recovered that \ of the Rom. forces / from the Picts and Scotts, which was called Maxima Caesariensis, compelling them agane to remove from the nearer Rampire (called the Picts Wall) to the ~~furthermost near~~ \ more remote one / and that was betwixt Clyd & Forth. Concerning which tho they be not in Westm'land \ or Cumberland / yett for as much as they were the ~~utmost~~ limits of the Romaine empire, and particularly (att some time or other) \ a part / of that province \ ~~Valentia~~ / where ~~of~~ to these Countrys (I am to treat of) ~~was a part~~ \ did somtime belong / allso because they are ~~very fine~~ \ noble / antiquities, I am resolved to speake ~~a few words~~ somewhat of them.

{A digression: Annotata praetenturas quae Scotos & Pictos a provincialibus distinguebant.}[120]
There ~~being~~ are 2 famous bulworkes or Rampiers in the northern parts of this Iland; which are oftentimes confounded together by ancient and modern writers. But the Best account which I meet with of them is from Mr Gordon, a Scotchman, in Blaeus *Theater* pag. 4 part 5,[121] calling the one, i.e. that further up in Scotland, Val Severii and this near in England Val. Hadriani.[122] Concerning this he[123] is of opinion that it be\gan / ~~sayed~~ to have bin made by Julius Agricola, who beat back the Picts and Scots, one whereof inhabited the Eastern and the other the West coasts of this Country, to beyond the Friths of Clyd & Forth where this rampire is made as a limit. That he did rather begin than perfect the worke, for Tacitus sayes indeed, ~~that~~ he strenthen'd the frontiers twixt Glotta & Bodotria (i.e.

[114] Quintus Lollius Urbicus was a Berber governor of Roman Britain from 139 to 142.
[115] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 157.
[116] See Camden, *Britannia,* tr. Holland (1637), 156.
[117] Also numbered p.8.
[118] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 156.
[119] A crossed-through word follows.
[120] 'Note the ramparts which used to separate the Scots and Picts from the provincials.'
[121] Robert Gordon of Straloch (Scottish cartographer) contributed maps to Joan Blaeu's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus* (1654); see C. Fleet, M. Wilkes, C.W.J. Withers, *Scotland: Mapping the Nation* (Edinburgh, 2011), Chap. 3.
[122] MS: '*b / Val. Hadriani, and this near in England *Val Severii.' The asterisks and letter 'b' were placed here because Machell wished to reverse his original ordering of the two walls. Following this sentence a castellated line is drawn across the page.
[123] I.e. Robert Gordon.

Clyd and Forth) with garrisons; but not one syllable of a trench or wall. Nor does it appear that it was finished in the time of Trajan.

Of Val. Hadriani
But wee read of

[I.25][124]

Hadrian who was next to him; That he made a famous fortification athwart the Ile, and that it was a tre[n]ch or bulworke like those of Castles, but of greater strength for duration ~~sake~~; with turrets here and there, where the Cohorts (who did not watch) might refresh themselves, and yett be in readiness against an assalt. as may be gathered from Spartianus.

{He did not build it}
Mr Camden contends that this was made in the same place where Severus afterwards builded his. But he brings these reasons against him:
1. That there is no place more narrow than this betwixt the 2 friths which might invite him to the undertakeing; & 2. that it is not imaginable that he would part with so large a Country as betwixt these 2 Rampires which just before his time was part of the Empire.
And to ~~infringe~~ \ invalidate / Mr Camdens reasons, he makes use of \ Mr Camdens / his owne Art (coating some examples out of Camdens \ his / workes) of changing numbers and sayes that for 80 miles it should be writ 30, as Mr Camden corrects Eutropius about Severus his trench, putting 80, for 35: and he adds more over that the names of Legions found thereabouts doe not signify much, because tis usuall with them to re-tane their names which they had given att first, notwithstanding the Imposers be long since dead.[125] He has allso a relation of this trench in Scotch (è Scheda Tim[othy] Pont),[126] which aggres so well with Pausanias his description ~~of Hadrian's Trench~~ concerning Hadrianus, that I thinke very fit to be here subjoyned (a).

The trace of this fortification &c.
(a.) This trench was walled and fortified by Gallio Ravennas (as is clear from Beda)[127] and the ruines thereof are yett to be seen ~~in~~ to Britonodunum, which Mr Gordon (if he had not bin old) would have traced, and probably given us a further account of*. But Lolius, his opinion concerning a trench or bulworke in the midst betwixt these two, must not be forgott; which the same author condemns as no way probable because there is no appearance of it ther, & the nature of the ground in that midle part is so horridly moutaneouse that it will not admitt of such a worke, ~~and beside~~ in so difficult a place; And besides he had but 2 Legions under him as stones of that age not long since digged up doe testify unto us. Viz. Legio 2 Augusta & Legio XX Valens Victrix. One of them found here has this Inscription

LEG II
AVG†

(b.) The other is to be seene in porticu Dunotrij and doth testify that Lolius Urbicus raised noe new wall or fortification but superstructed his worke[128] (which carrys the name of Antoninus the Emperour

[124] Also numbered p.9.
[125] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 790-91.
[126] '… from a sheet of paper of Timothy Pont.' Timothy Pont (Scottish cartographer and topographer) was the first to produce a detailed map of Scotland from an actual survey. His collection of manuscript maps was probably passed to Johanis Blaeu in the early 1630s. Before 1636, Robert Gordon of Straloch in Aberdeenshire began to work on the completion of Blaeu's Scottish coverage. Gordon prepared up to ten draft maps for inclusion in the Blaeu *Atlas*, using Pont's maps as virtually his sole source. J. Stone, 'Pont, Timothy (fl. 1574-1611), map maker and chorographer.' *ODNB*.
[127] The Venerable Bede.
[128] MS: '{Lolius built on the fortress or Hadrian he says} … Lolius Urbicus, raised noe new wall or fortification, ~~but built upon the old one of Hadrian the Emperour, which worke hereupon doth cary the name of Antonius the Emperour, because he was his Legate unto him~~ But superstructed his worke…'

whose Legate he was) upon the ancient fortress (or rampire) of Hadrian the Emperour and is a[s] followeth:[129]

[Machell's Notes: I.25]

*{But there is a third to my knowled[ge] – Sc. one within the Picts wall but not far distant from it, upon which sto[od] Drawdikes and the City of Carlile.}
†{How makes he this out from the Inscription.}
{Digres of the Picts Wall – see Speed p.219.}

[I.24][130]

Hadrians Dike

Fritharis* Brother of Fergusius, King of Scotland, was crowned with a crown of gold in form of a Rampier (Mondy p. 448). Donald circa Xt 211, their first Christian King, was the 1st that caused gold and silver to be coyned in his Realm, stamping a X on the one side and his face on the other: è Mondy's *Chronicle* 451.[131] In the time of Eugenius, son of Ferguse (Sc. circa 440 in marg[in]) the wall call'd Adians was undermined & overthrown, & the Brittaines made tributary to the Scots & Picts above 500 years after Julius Caesar had brought them in subjection to the Romaines in the 7 of Eugenius. 2. King of Scots,[132] p.447. He tells us of an ancient Prophesie, that the Scots should in the end destroy all the Pictish projeny, p.448.

The Scottish crown was made of gold in form of a Rampier for preservation of the Countries liberty till the dayes of Achaius King of Scotland circa An. Xti 819 {Anno 819} who confirming a perpetual League with Charlemigne Emperour and King of France to last forever betwene Scots & French added to the crown 4 floure de Lices with 4 crosslets divided in sunder with equal spaces, riseing somewhat higher than the foure de lices that thereby the observeing of Xtan religion & sincere faith (maintaned by the Scottish Nation) might be the more apparent to all that beheld it (p. 455). In his time allso had Hungus the Pictish King the vision of St Andrew and his X, as is reported, whereby St Andrew became Patrone both of the Scots & Picts.}[133]

De vestigia Hadriani haec sequentia habeo e sheda Timothy Pont, quae Quia Barbaris nominibus Conflant neque Leporem latinum patiuntur, descripsi sermone nobis vernaculo.[134]
pag. 4. Johanis Blaeu, *Theatri Orbis*, Part 5.[135]

> (a.) The trace of this fortification beginneth betwixt Albicorn and Queensferry besyd the Rampire & ditche with the ł grownds slott all along. It had many square fortifications in forme of a Roman Camp. It went west from Albircorn towards Kinneil, then to Inner-ewin: at Langtoun a myl be-east Falkirk a fort, att the rountree-burne head† a fort at Wester Cowdon above Helms Chapple one, att the Crayhill one, and at Cailly bee (that is the Dick wood over against the Crayhill) on the top of the Bar-hill a great one: And (such like) at Balchastle over against the Bar-hill (one) att Achindevy, att Kirkintillo, att East Caldar, at Hiltoun of Caldar, at Balmuydie, at Simmerstoun and ovir Kelvin river, at Car\r/stoun, at Achter-minnie, at the Roch-hill ovir against the Westerwood, at Bankir over against Castelcarry (&) at Dunbas.

[129] See I.24.
[130] Also numbered p.4.
[131] Anthony Munday, *A Briefe Chronicle of the Successe of the Times*.
[132] The name of the author/authority cited is obscured by the binding.
[133] Hungus is a Latinised form of Oengus (d.834?). The building of the church of Kilrymont (St Andrews in modern Fife) is attributed to him. The foundation legends name the founder as a Pictish king, (H)ungus, but it is impossible to be sure which king, Oengus I or II, the authors had in mind. See M. Anderson, 'Kings of the Picts c.300-c.900'. *ODNB*.
[134] 'Concerning traces of Hadrian, I have the following from a piece of paper of Timothy Pont, [but] because they are mixed up with barbarian names and do not allow smooth-sounding Latin I have written them in our vernacular speech.'
[135] Arguably the first modern atlas: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*: 'Theatre of the World', was produced by Abraham Ortelius in 1570; from the 1630s the Blaeu family issued their work under a similar title, *Theatrum orbis terrarum, sive, Atlas Novus*.

Hactenus Chartula illa, & multum ad huc ad Britannodunum superest, quarum rerum investigationem optarem, cum his mihi nunc aetas interdixerit … Inquit Gordonius.[136]

(b.)

IMP.CÆSARI.T. ÆL[137]
ANTONINO
AVG. P. PP. VEXILLATION
LEG.XX.VAL.VIC. F.P.M.
P. III

Haec inscriptio extat in porticu Dunotrij quae Comitis Marescalli arx est in provincia Mernia, et veritatem de Lolio Urbico testatur, Illum nimirum nullum novum' murum aut praetenturam excitasse sed suum opus quod Antoninum Imperat præfert Cujus ille erat Legatus, Veteri Hadriani praetenturæ super Struxisse ibidem p.4.[138]

[Machell's Notes: I.24]

*{Cir[ca] A.M. 365– 352 Ante Xt.}
†{Rowentre water head.}

[I.26]

Eugenius the 3rd of that name King of Scotland – son of Congal – was contemporary with King Arthur and in his time was the bloody Battaile betwene the Brittaines, Scots, and Picts: where above 20000 men were slane, with Mordred, King Arthur, and Gawan, brother to Mordred, and most part of the Brittish nobility. p.452 Mondy. Eugenius 6. son of Fequhard circa xti 697[139] reigned over Scotland 10 years. In whose time milke was turned into blood in diverse places of Pictland and cheese converted into a bloody mass or cake, p.454.
Mordaike nephew to Eugenius the 7. Anno 734. In his time (according to Venerable Beed) 4 several People[s] livd in peace & Quietness within the Bounds of Albion, though differing in Manners, Language, Lawes & Ordinances, Sc. Saxons (whom he calls English men) Brittaynes, Scots & Picts. & concludes his history with King Mordak's life p.454.

In \ Xti / 762 in the reigne of Ethfine son to Eugenius the 7th – who had 4 Governours under him: wee read that ~~the~~ Conrath the Thane of Murreyland was one. And (Ibid)
In \ Xti / 839 in the reigne of the famous and renowned King Kenneth the Pictish nation were utterly destroyed, the city of Camelon cast down, the Castle of Maidens forsaken by the Picts {? Maiden Castle} and none or very few left alive in Albion. In memory of this famous victory King Kenneth \ p.455 / brought the (Prophettick) marble stone out of Argile into Gourie and plac'd it a[t] Scone, near to the place where he prevailed aganist the Picts, p.456. The marble chair or seat of Gathelus on which the Kings of Scotland were Crown'd till Rob. I[t], haveing (as is said) such a fate thereto belonging that wherever it should be found, there should the Scotchmen reign. For upon it was this inscription. Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quacunque locatum Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.[140]

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[136] 'Thus far that document and much still survives regarding Britannodunum, of which matters I should desire some research, since age has now made this impossible for me, says Gordonius.'
[137] 'IMP[ERATORI] CAESARI T[ITO] AEL[IO] ADRIANO ANTONINO AUG[USTO] P[IO] P[ATRI] P[ATRIAE] VEXILLATION[ES] LEG[IONIS] XX VAL[ERIAE] VIC[TRICIS] F[ECERUNT] P[ER] M[ILIA] P[ASSUUM] 111': 'To the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius Father of the Fatherland. The standard-bearers of Legion XX Valeria Victrix built [this wall] for a length of 3 miles.'
[138] 'This inscription is to be found in the portico of Dunotrium, which is the capital of the Earl Marshall in the province of Mernia and testifies to the truth given by Lolius Urbicus, that he in fact constructed no new wall or defence but erected on top of the old wall of Hadrian, in the same place, his own work which he attributes to the Emperor Antoninus, whose legate he was.' Taken by Machell from the *Blaeu Atlas of Scotland* (*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Sive Atlas Novus*, Vol. V.) compiled by Johannes Blaeu, containing 49 engraved maps and 154 pages of descriptive text (1654). Blaeu's description was well known For instance, it was used by William Stukeley in *An Account of a Roman Temple and Other Antiquities, Near Graham's Dike in Scotland* (1720), 9.
[139] 'Son of Ferchard', George Buchnan, *The History of Scotland* …, 138.
[140] If Fates go right, where'er this stone is found, The Scots shall monarchs of that realm be crowned': http://www.westminster-abbey.org/archive/visit-us/highlights/the-coronation-chair.

Except old sawes do faile,
And wizards wits be blinde,
The Scots in place must reighn,
Where they this stone shal find.[141]

{The *Cron. of Success of Times*, p.481 affirms that Madan* so[n] of Locrine by Guendolen, who was eldest son of Brute and King over the Britains Anno M[undi] 290, a man who used great Tyranny among his people and Builded Madan Caistre now called Dancaster.[142]

[Machell's Notes: I.26]
*Qu. If this can be he, being a S[cottish] King? rather [than] Romain, and that Ebranke, son of Me[m]pricius son of Madan[143] built Caerbrank i.e. York & Maidens.}[144]

[I.27][145]

Roman. The Picts Wall. Vall. Severi.
The other famous Rampier, ~~some part~~ the ruines wherof are yet to be seen in some parts of Northumberland and Cumberland haveing several names in severall places, as the Audiva w. the Roman waw, the Langwaw, the Picts waw, doth cutt the Iland twix Eden Bay[146] and [blank] near to Newcastle, many people plowing near the place doe breake all their harness and tacke with rubbish and stones which are reliques \ rubbish / \ of fortification. / It is [blank] in lenth and [blank] in Breth but \ not / supposed of so great antiquity as the former, for by the name it should be a worke of Severus the Emperour. But Mr Gordon declares himself of an other opinon. Tis confess'd (sayes he) that he or his sons built this most famous wall \ extending it selfe / betwixt Eden and Tine a great part wherof is yett to be seen. But I cannot understand how he should be induced to bestow so much ground upon his enymes whilst they were att war with him, the soyle being such as succeeding Emperours thought worth the recovering. And yett authors will have it to be his worke. If they had sayd that his sons disaggreing and hastening to Rome[147] for receiveing ~~of~~ the Empire, had compacted \ and agreed / with their enemyes and so built this wall, they had spoken that which is much more credible. So you have his opinion which seemeth ~~me to be~~ very pla\u/sible\ *. / He proceeds in the next place to give some reasons of the perpetuall feuds and incurtions of the Picts, grounded upon this former conjecture, after this manner.

[141] Often phrased as: 'Except old seers do feign and wizard wits be blind, the Scots in place must reign where they this stone shall find': traditional bardic rendering of the Latin above.
[142] Anthony Munday, *A Briefe Chronicle of the Successe of the Times*. See also, Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles: The firste volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande conteyning the description and chronicles of England, from the first inhabiting unto the conquest : the description and chronicles of Scotland, from the first original of the Scottes nation till the yeare of our Lorde 1571 : the description and chronicles of Yrelande, likewise from the first originall of that nation untill the yeare 1571,* Vol. 1, (London, 1577), 17.
[143] Holinshed's *Chronicles* describe this family thus: 'Mempricius the eldest sonne of Madan, began to raigne over the Britaynes in the yere of the world 2949. Hee continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius upon an ambitious minde provoked the Britaynes to rebell against him, so that sore and deadly warre continued long betweene them. But finally, under colour of a treatie, Manlius was slaine by his brother Mempricius, so that then he lived in more tranquilitie and rest. Howbeit … he fell into slouth, and so into unlawfull lust of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wives and daughters. And finally became so beastly, that he forsooke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abhominable sinne of Sodomy. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odible to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was lost of his people, and destroyed of wilde beastes, when he had raigned twentie yeares, leaving behinde him a noble yong sonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.' Holinshed, *Chronicles*, Vol. 1, 17.
[144] Alongside this margin comment is a small drawing of the Stone of Scone beneath a coronation chair.
[145] Also numbered p.10.
[146] Presumably Bowness-on-Solway, where the Eden joins the Solway Firth.
[147] MS: 'hainstining to Roome'.

{Hadrians Dike & Agricolas}
Tis certain (sayes he) that this fortification and new made boundarye, gave occasion ever after of contention, war & slaughter; for when the Scots, Picts, Attacots, Dicalidons, Verturions & Maeates, divided \ among them yett / in their severall Countryes but under the Government of 2 princes onely, this of the Picts and that of the Scots were first of all forced beyond ~~Clyd and Forth~~, Glotta & Bodotria, by the ~~force~~ \ power / of Agricola, the Scotts being dispossessed of their western Coast, & the Picts driven from the east ~~end~~. They being intent on every occasion of recovering their owne made great disturbance under severall Emperours, but were ever suppressed and kept beyond the Trench of Hadrian or Agricola (~~for~~ it bear[in]g both those names for the reasons above) untill Severus granted them as much as they could have wished but more indeed than they could have expected (he means all that territorye betwix the 2 Trenches), and tis like, if the Romans had conteined them selves afterwards within the Trench of Severus, they would not have had them their enemyes but neighbours. But after that Carausius (as good Historians informe us) in Dioclesians time who after \ wards / ~~this~~ established tyranny in the land, had translated their Bound[148] \ marshes / to Bodotria againe; and Valentinian being emperour, Theodosius the father

[Machell's Notes: I.27]
{*But for all this I found a stone in my traceing of the Picts wall inscribed to Hadrian}
Severus[149] seemeth to have fortifyed Hadrian's Trench, with [a] stone wall & to have cast sever[al] dike allso, as a marke of his conquest & the composition which the Caledonia[n]s then made with him. T.M.! See Speed p. 229 p. 7 and 6.8.9!!!!
{Nennius Britannicus qui vixit An. 620.}[150]

[I.29][151]
of Theodosius the Emperour, as Marcellinus witnesseth, had reduced all that space which layes twixt those Bulworks into the forme of a province called Valentia.

{Valentia}
The enmyes (lieveing nothing unattempted against the Romans whome they looked upon, a~~nd~~s as perfidious and Baise as breaking of covenant) did endeavour to regaine what they had thus lost of their owne proper right. But all invane, for \ lately / the Romaines, still bearing the sway, did constantly defend what they had obteined, as long as the Empire continued prosperous. And that Rampier which Agricola made at the first; (or rather according to his opinion began or marked out) remained \ their / Boundary allmost to the last &c. But when the Roman Empire began to decline and they called home their soljers to defend their dominions, which were not so remote, The Picts & Scots repossessed themselves of all they had formely lost \ quit under / the Romans, contracting themselves to within the limit of Severus, his trench. Nevertheless, their enimes, being used to slaughter, and growne familiar with war, did cruelly raige against the provincalls, making perpetuall incurtions \ upon them / till the ~~Time of of~~ the Saxons ware called in, and ended the controverse by takeing all from ~~them~~ both \ to themselves. /
{Haec de muro pictico sed exhibit relationem multo breviorem et elega[n]tiorem infra p.14 quam cum hac confer}[152]
But these are the reasons which he doth alledge (neglected utterly by other writers) ~~of the~~ of the wars and constant feuds twixt the Picts and Romans,[153] viz. their covetousness in transgressing those bounds which were sett by compact. But it is not impossible that the Romans beginning their Conquest in the south and so driveing it on further and further, must of necessity compell a great many into the northern part (all those who would not live under their subjection) where they being very numerous and haveing little good land except this Valentia which was so often fought for, were

[148] Borders.
[149] A sketch of a castellated line appears here.
[150] 'Nennius Britannicus who lived AD 620.'
[151] Also numbered p.11.
[152] 'This much concerning the Pictish wall but he gives a much briefer and more precise account below, p.14, which should be compared with this.'
[153] An illegible scored-through word follows here.

allmost compeled to endeavour an inlargement; and that together with the hatred they had to the Romans (the spoylers of their Country) might be a reason of those durable wars (for I take not the Picts to be anything but Brit. so called (a pingendo) by their enemyes* the Romans and that (may be) for distinction, when they be came mixed with the Irish, their confederates. But however, there is noe doub[t] to [be] made, that the Romanes, being perpetually infested by them, and being att peace with the more southerly people, drew most of their soljers into these parts \ Hereabouts, / and had more fights Hereabouts than elsewhere in the nation. So that although the \ chief / stations of the Romans were ~~south at Carleon &c~~ \ at Carleon London and Yorke /as has bin said –

[Machell's No tes: I.29 & 30]

*{vide hujus paginas15, §.3 & 4}[154]
Query if Vortiger was Duke of Cornwall.

[I.31][155]

yett they were drawne out in \ to / this part of the ~~nation~~ \ Iland / (as occasion was offered) even to the last: And [er]go wee may imagin that the Romaines \ soljers / resided more in these northern parts, having their stations att severall places, whereof Apleby was one {& K\ irbythore / for cert[ain] another.}

Watercrooke and Brouham, Broug un[de]r Stane. Plu[m]pton.
But tho they were in greater numbers here than any other part of the Iland, yett they did not quite depopulate the place and extinguish the Britans, but 'twas freq[uent] with them to be Indulgent and Civil \ unto / their captives and those whome they had conquered, insomuch that the Government ~~shoud~~ \ was / often be committed [to] those very Kings whome they had overcome, as is showne before. So that tis easily supposed that the inhabitants of this place were in those times a mix sort of people, except amongst the mountains (which the Britans noe doubt entirely possessed) they being unaggreable to the Roman constitution. From which places after the Roman departure they drew themselves downe ~~agane~~ into the plaines, inhabiting that which the Romanes had left. But after this they could not be att rest[156] by reason of the Picts and Scots; the former whereof by long seperation, had forgott all affinity, not to mention their natural disposition to prey[157] \ & rapine, / and the other were mere strangers \ unto them / called in from Ireland \ in defence of / the Picts, as is aggred upon by the best writers. And beside this they were the more Cruell because they had bin so long pinnd up in a barren corner, and were allso disgusted att the Britans them selves as well as Romans {concurrit – Camden p. 33 §1.}[158] for being conciderate, and submitting to their yoake, thereby incorporateing themselves into the Empire. And this barbarous people, did so much vex and molest ~~the~~ the Province's neighbours \ inhabitants / that \ they / were forced to send to ~~the~~ Rome \ from thence / ~~Romans for assistants~~ \ to give them assistance. / And Constantius coming over with a powerful Army, & setting them free (by repulsing the enemy from them into their old territories) was thereupon (being a Briton himself by the mother's side) made King of the Britans by a compact with them and that part an ende of the Roman title to this nation of ours after, which now returned to its liberty agane. But continued not long soe, for Constantius being slane by a treacherous Pict in whom he confided,[159] Lef[t] 3 sons behinde him. Constantius, Uter and Aurelius. Constantius the Eldest was a simple youth & of too \ facile / easye a nature, \ disposition, / whereupon he was putt in a monastery \ shut up / but the other 2 were very hopefull & of great ingenuity. But they being young, the Duke of Cornwall a rich and potent man toke upon him to setle the Government, and so called Constantius from his sel to the throne; but \ it was / ~~onely~~ to destroy him; for he hired

[Machell's Notes: I.31 & I.32]

Constantius. Arthur calls him Constantine 136 *cujus*

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[154] 'From painting.' {'See on this page 15. §3 & 4.'}
[155] Also numbered p.12.
[156] An illegible scored-through word follows here.
[157] MS: 'pray'.
[158] For such events after the Romans' departure, see Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 86-87 & 107-08 (quoting Gildas).
[159] A scored-through word beginning with 'm', follows.

Constantius Uterr Pendragon Arthur Aurelius}

[I.32]
Mem. Arthurs Bury. at Caerlile King Arthurs Seaste[160] at Edenbrough.

[I.33][161]
~~certane~~ \ some / Picts to put him to death, promising ~~great~~ them an ample reward; but when the murther was com[m]itted he tooke the Traytours & put them to death ~~instead of and ward~~ Hereupon the ~~traitors of the~~ Pictish \ nation / proclamd war against him; and the \ other / brothers for fear ~~of the like practise~~ \ he should practice the like upon them / fly into Britony.'

{Saxons called into England under Hengist}
Vortiger to suppres his enemyes (because he durst not confide in his Country men) called in the ~~German~~ Saxons \ ~~out of Germany~~ / a warlike and valiant people \ of Germany / promising them \ very / great rewards; \ for their assistance. / To be brief, they haisted hither under the conduct of Hengist, their General, & beating ~~the~~ \ back the warlike / Picts back, found kinde entertanement from Vortiger; But ~~they~~ made Ill use of it ~~his kindness~~, for they swarmed hither in such great multitudes (that ~~I may be short did~~) \ they / att last rooted him out of his Kingdome and made him fly to Walles \ for saifty. / In the mean \ time / the 2 \ royal / Brothers \ Uter and Aurelius / returnd; and first (falling upon \ foule / ~~him to punish~~ the murtherer of Constantius \ their brother /) they Burned him in his Castle; and after march\~~ing~~/ against the Saxons, & gave them an Over throw & take Octa the son of Hengist ~~&~~ \ whom they / putt him to death. But my history ~~carryes me no farther~~ \ reacheth no farther / save only ~~that it tell me how~~ \ to tell us that / under these brothers the Britons had space to breath a ~~little~~ \ while / and recover their strenth.

{Would not do it, whence a Proverb.}
We may suppose [er]go that they marched on northwards to roote out \ & / conquer the \ rest of his / enemyes, and therefore the rather, Because if stones may ~~be heard~~ \ have learnd to speake / where books are silent, there is an old Castle in the County of Westm'land ~~which Bears his name~~ not far from the head of the River Eden which bears his name {being called Pendraggon which it seeme he endeavoured to surround with the river}, and a proverb concerning it ~~taken notise of by all writers~~ \ observed by all authors which have writt of the place / and still in much use amongst \ the Country / ~~the~~ people, whence vaine attempts \ when any improbable / thing is attempted.'

Let Uter Pendragon doe what he can
{the river} Eden still will run where it ran.[162]

Occasiond by Uter's attempting to draw the river round about the Castle, which he found ~~was be~~ impossible.

{Arthur's Castle} {Round Table}
And att the other end of this County is a famous Bulworke of a round forme called King Arthurs Castle, and by some his Round Table from the figure of the fort. This may seem to have ~~the &~~ had it originall from Arthur son to Uter \ Pendraggon / who was the last of of the British Kings and obtened as we red 12 great Conquests \ noble victoryes / over the Saxons in 11 years \ space, / for tho historyes of credit be very silent

[160] Presumably, 'Seat'.
[161] Also numbered p.13.
[162] More usually remembered as: 'Eden will run where Eden ran'. See *N&B1*, 562.

[I.34]

yett it is not improbable that in the prosecution of his Conquests over them he might march thus far[163] and place this as a fort upon his frontiers (whether as a defence or for post by the highway or for […][164] Turnaments I dar not th[ink]) & near the water which parts the 2 countries of Westm'land and Cumberland. I must confess I have not red any thing of his being \ marching / further \ into the / north than some part of Lancashire; ~~but~~ nor \ of / Uter's marching any further than Yorke. But ~~such monuments as these do signify some thing~~, \ these silent witnesses may be of some credit / and we must be content ~~with the light their names give us till better evidence can be had~~ \ for want of better information & proofe with what they impart by signes unto us. /

However, it is not att all to be doubted that there were Brittanes in some part of the County of Westm'land on the mountanes called Cartmel Fells, noe less than 28 years after the coming of the Saxons.[165] And not far from this place wee have 2 little rivers amongst the mountaines which retaine British names unto this day. {Glenkrodden; Glenkwen} {And all Cumberland seemeth so called from the Cumbri or Brittanes: & therefore tis likely they possesed these parts \ were part of them / in King Arthur's time, who was their last King, \ of the Brittish race / after whose decease they presently ~~fell~~ presently ~~decayed~~, \ fell / and \ were / forced (I mean the generality of them) to fly into Wales, and lieve the best part of their native Country a prey to ~~the enemy~~ \ their enemyes / the \ English / Saxon concerning \ whome / I shall ~~to~~ speake in the next place.

Of the Romans & Brit. Finis

What I have supposed above is confirm'd to me in part by what I have met with since in Mr Speed concerneing King Arthur, who gives it out of Ninius {He chased Colgerne, Captain of the Saxons, from Northumberland to Yorke about Anno Dom. 516} – a particular account of those Batle[s] which he won against the pagan Saxon, viz.

1. At the mouth of the river Gleyne; 2, 3, 4, 5, upon the bankes of Douglass in the County of Lyneax; 6. upon the river Bassus; 7. in the wood Calidon; 8. near the Castle Cumnien; 9. in Wales at Cairolien; 10. at Trachenith or Rothwood upon the sea side; 11. upon an hill named Agnot Cather,[166] Cathergonien; xii. at Bath or Bather Hill, wher the Britaines gave the Saxons a very great over throw: Bede's *History Ang.* Lib. 1, cap. 16; è Speed \ *Cronolog*. / Vol. 1. p. 316.

So that tis clear his conquests extended further than this place, even into Scotland; & therefore tis more probable that this fortification might have him for its ~~author~~, & be called Arthur's Castle from that excellent King.[167]

[Machell's Notes: I.34]

The manner of the Romanes.

1. Coyneing.
2. Building.
3. Incamping.
4. Burying.

[I.35][168]

[Picts and Saxons]

When our 1[t] ancestours and before them the Picts kept their stations in this Iland, they spred them selves \ abroad / by little & little &, their offspring encreasing, extended their bounds, Both these people were first comprised ~~betwixt~~ \ within / the friths of Foth and Clyd, as in their naturall boundarye beyond which ~~both parts went~~ the Picts following the Eastern shore challenged Lowthian

[163] MS: '~~Yet who can tell, but in~~ Yett it is not improbable that in the prosecution of his Conquests over them / ~~proseeuteing these Conquests~~ he might march thus far.' An unclear interlineation occurs here, as follows: '\ tho his place of residence was [...]alfeton […] /'

[164] Two indistinct words appear here.

[165] MS: '... in some part of the ~~County of Westm'land~~ \ countries of this / on the mountanes called Cartmel Fell noe less than 28 [?] years after the coming of the Saxons.' The sentence has been much altered and is also obscured by the binding.

[166] There is an illegible erased word after 'named'.

[167] See I.34.

[168] Also numbered p.14.

with much on that side, for theirs. If you would know their Limit, they seem to have possessed (totum illud in quod pulsis illis nostri successêre) or all that in which ours sucseded after they were beaten out. But the Scots had to them selves the western Ocean opposite to Glotta.

{Julius Agricola}
Their first \ joynt / conflicts were with the Brittans, till Julius Agricola (with his Romane Armye) made an end of the controverse so that our Picts were throwne \ driven / back to betwix the 2 friths.

{Severus}
And thus their limit continued till the time of Severus; Into whose territoryes their being many inroads but noe settlement, destruction of the Country was the end of the war.

{Maximian; Dioclesian}
Severus did first change the Limit, and either he or his sions cast up a trench called after his name. But Carausius (under Diocles[ian]; and Maximian) did extend the fortifications and remouved the Bound to the Trench of Hadrian againe, which the following Roman Capt did constantly maintaine as long as they poss[ess]ed Britan. But ~~that~~ att the last it was translated againe to Severdike, because (the Romanes being gon) the former limit could \ not / keep in the enemyes of the Picts.

{Coming In of the Saxons} {Forsaken}
Then the Saxons were called, a remedy worse than the desease, for the trechery of these assotiates, brought more misery to the nation than the cruelty of their enemyes: for they, not being content to keep the cov[ena]nt \ to stand to their covenants, / challengd all to them selves, ~~nor will they~~ \ and would not / rule as the Romanes did; \ nor / or by a mild sort of vitorie ~~grow into~~ incorporate themselves with the conquered as the French did with the Galls and the Danes afterwards with their nephews (& kindred) ~~they~~ would not rest till \ the nation was cutt of[f] & till / they had depopulated & destroyd all the Country, that they might succeed in the empty \ forsaken / possesions. They invaded severall parts under severall captanes, but all aggred in depopulateing the Ile and making a New Kingdom. They who invaded the North (Haveing taken to themselves the name of Northumbrians) with a strong army led by 2 Captanes made the 2 Kingdoms of the Deiræ & Bernicæ; \ & / they took \ againe / from the Scotts & Picts whatsoever Severus had left them, ~~and~~ about which formerly was so great contention. They advanced their bounds to the 2 friths {Sc. 660} and could not be moved ~~there~~ thence by means (no not after they were Xans) till they were 1[t] weaken'd with civill war & after by the incursions of the Danes, and they being thus broken, the Scotts \ & Picts / att lenth came their owne againe and using their victorie with lenity, granting to the \ common / people their posessions, for the most part \ holding of them as / Lords of their Country which they have ~~defend~~ kept constant from the Danes & English to this very day […][169]

[Machell's Notes: I.35. I.37]
The §6. Cum primum majores nostri:[170] i.e. The Scots &c. pag. 6.
It gives us a more brief account \ & caus / of the matter in the following cap.[171], which is: De Origine Linguae Saxonicae apud nos:[172] A more compendiouse account of Scots & Picts.
2 great Trenches, Romain victories & coming of Saxons

[169] In the MS, three words have perished here. Added to them is the deleted phrase, 'looked amongst the common sort to this very day.'
[170] 'When first our ancestors'.
[171] 'Chapter'.
[172] 'Concerning the origin of the Saxon language among us.'

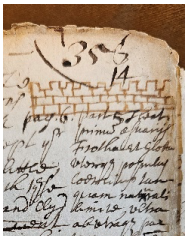


Figure 2. Sketch of the Picts' Wall. I.35.

[I.36]

{So he says, sed contusis et fractis Saxonum opibis nostri pictique in sua Rediere &c.}[173]
This Conq[est] (he speaks of) must be since <u>the time of</u> Beda, for He tells us of One Osuerin, who brough[t] a great part of the Picts' Kingdom in subjection to the English: Anno 660. He tells us allso that Idamus King of the Scots, had an unfortunate battle ~~against~~ with the Northumbrians, from whence there were none afterwards that durst contend with them for those provinces they had won. For what he relates after the coming of the Saxons, he referrs you to Beda, out of whome sayes he much may be gather[ed] to confirme this truth, alltho this change hapned above 600 years after his time.

<u>{The Picts Wall: when, why? And by whome</u>.}
It seems to me a naturall process, that as they made their advances & Conq[uests], so they should make their pretenturæ[174] for secureing of them – which makes me suppose (what others may write or fancy to the contrary) – that the Dike by Carlisle was 1ˢᵗ made – then that in Scotland – and at the time of the Roman recess than the Romans were possessed of the other as far; yett they thought fitt to reinforce and strenthen this latter; as soone as don to lieve the front – unto the Picts – ratio – the stone which has built it twixt Bowness an[d] Brough fetchd out of Scotland which they could not do, unless masters there, or at least in friendship.*

[Machell's Notes: 1.36]

*quod Iniquun. T.M.
X he sayes in the other paper that it was rather attempted or begun than finished by Agricola.[175]

[I.37][176]

<u>{Eulog. Saxonor'</u>}
§2. Their praise v. vol. 2, pag. 178, col. 1, §2.
When the props of the Roman Empire began to faile, the Saxons for their valour a 2ᵈ tryumphant nation, began, as it were where the Romans left. For besides the continuall possesion of their Owne Country (out of which they could never be beaten) as unpartial Tacitus doth tell us; their Legions were transported into all parts of the world, and without them allmost noe vict[ory] was won. Of whose power & prowesse in the expedition of war both Dionysius, Arrianus & Seneca doe speake. To these then likewise if the Britons gave place, the Conquest was bought att as dear a rate as any part of the world beside. Neither was Britain subdued by either of these nations, or their policye or government changed, but with an unwilling subjection and great loss of \ blood / enough to make a mightier nation faint and give over.

<u>{Pic[t]s driven into the Nor[th]</u>}
§3. Tacitus sayeth that Agricola drove the Roman enemyes (to mean the obstinate & untractable Britons) into the Northern parts, as it were into an other Iland. They sent forth an army against him of

[173] 'When Saxon forces were beaten and broken, our men and the Picts returned to their own places.'
[174] 'defence'.
[175] An 'X' usually signifies that Machell (or other unknown individuals) later judged this information to be in error.
[176] Also numbered p.15.

30000 and made such resistance against Severus that in one expedition he lost 70000 of his Roman sold[iers]. 181, col.1.

{Picts why so called & whence descended}
§4. The Picts language Manner & Government was the same with the Britons & never had the name of Picts till excluded from their fellow Britans by the Roman Conquest. And those whome they \ had / reduced into provinces had possibly left of that custome of painting them selves, being civilised ~~by~~ \ & confirmd to / the Romans. And they were knowne by no other name than that of Britannes to ancient writers. Nor was Commodus, Severus, Bastianus, Geta upon their victories over these northern inhabitants called Pictish but British Conquerours, which showes the name Pict to be of later imposition, and used only for distinction sake. & Bishop Wilfride in the Convocation before King Osway of Northumberland (concerning the Celebration of Easter) calls Britans Picts: see vol. 2, p.331, lin.1: Speed in Fuller.

§5. The Cæsars landing was upon a plane & open shore, thought to be Deale. 184. He landed att the same place \ or / near \ it the / year following setting out from Callis[177] and encountered the Britans 12 mile inland at the River Stower. {He had but Cityes that submitted to him.}

§6. The Britanns insteed of money used rings of Iron & plates of Brass which passed currant as Cæsar.[178] {Ref[erence] Cuneboline was the first that stamped his image upon m[oney] in Britain.}

[I.38][179]

[Roman Consuls and Leaders in Britain]

1. In the battle under Queen Bodicea or Boudice against Paulus Suetonius, 80000 Britans lost their lives.
2. King Arthur Arms v.2: 207: C.1. His Banner displayed often against the pagan Saxons. 26: c[l] 2.
3. Vespasian under Claudius was sent lieutenant of a band into Germany, thence into Britann where he fought 30 sett battles conquered the Ile of Whight, subdued two mighty nations to the Ro[mans] and wonn 20 Townes from the Britanns. He came afterwards to be Emperor, Anno Domini 72: Suetonius.
4. (Vitellius sent Vectius Belanus to be lieutenant of Britann.)
5. Vespatian Imp. sent great Captains & good soljers into the provinces, and into Britann Petilius Cerealis, who had formerly served here in the wars against Boudicea. He struck great terrour into the Britanns at his coming; and at his 1[t] approach fought many Battles and some of them Bloody against the Brigantes i.e. Yorkshire Lancashire West[morland] & Durham, the most populous state of the whole province, in which Battles the greatest part of these people were wasted and their Country came into the Roman subjection (211. Col. 1.)
6. After him succeeded in the time of Vespasian Julius Frontinus who subdued the Silures i.e. South Wales.
7. After him Julius Agricola the year before the Emperors death. He subdued the Ordovises, conquered Mona, & being a good & prudent man, moderated the Tribute, which lay soe heavy on the poorer sort. And incouraged the Britanns to Build temples & publique houses, \ taught / their nobles sonns Arts and Sciences, and brought them even to the wearing of a gowne.
8. Titus Emperor, son to Vespasian. In his ~~use~~ \ life / served in Britann with exceeding commendation. – His lieutenant in Britann was Agricola. In the 3[th] year,[180] he marched norwards to the Frith of \ Taus / Tweed \ & / wasted all as he went without any resistance fortified the places with Castles & bulworkes (which \ he / stored with sufficient prov where every Garrison wintering Garded itself. & if any losses hapned they were repaired all agane by their next soljers serving sommer service.) The fourth summer he spent in disposing & ordering what he had won, garding and fortifying that narrow space of ground twixt Glotta & Bodotina (2 armes of the 2 opposite seas, which shoot far into the

[177] Calais.
[178] There is a small sketch of a ring in the margin here,
[179] Also numbered p.16.
[180] MS: '3[th]' (because Machell originally wrote '4[th]').

Land) with castles & garrisons, so that now the Romans were absolute Lords of all the South side of Britann having cast their enemyes as it were into an other Iland.
Virius Lupus built Bowes Castle in the time of Severus about the year of Xt 197, & strength[ened] the northern part with many other, hold either under or repaired by him: may be Apleby &c. See Speed's *History* p.228.
{Agricola præsident. Builde castles about the yere of Xt 84. Imperat[or]e Tito Vespatiano Flavio Agricola being Lieutenant.}[181]

[I.39][182]

Domitian suceded Titus his brother in his Empire but not in vertue; howbeit Agricola (remaneing Lieutenant in Britann) went on in his victoryes, fighting against the Caledonians in 2 Batles, & dispatching ships to discover the Coasts & Creeks of the \ more / northern parts.

{IX LEG.}
In the first Battle the Caledonians fell in upon the Roman conquerors where the 9 Legion was lodged. But they were rescued by Agricola's light horse. In the later, Galgacus being General, 10000 of Britanns fell & but 340 of the Roman Armye. After which Agricola wholy discovered the British Coasts. But after these victories least he should be too pop[ular] Domitian sent him home under pretence of making him Lieutenant of Syria. He left the nation setled in peace and Salustius Lucullus came in his steed.
The fourth part of the Ile in the 4th year of Domitian (Xt 86) was reduced into a full province (by Agricola) the Government whereof was ever annexed and appropriate to the Roman Emperors themselves, & not at the disposition of the senate, as other provinces were.

XII [Legion]
~~Trajan~~ Nerva was the next. A good Emperor but reigned not long. Who his lieutenants were & Trajans allso, is not well knowne, but the Arch Deacon of Monmouth brings a succession of British Kings,[183] and amongst them Marius who conquered Roderick King of the Picts accompanyed with the Scots,[184] whose trophe erected near unto Carlile remained a long time afor, bearing ~~bering~~ the Inscription of his victory. {An Trophy erected at Carleol: MARII VICTORIE. T.M. sic conscribit.}[185] Maybe the battle was fought thereabouts.
{2. It may seeme to be fought at Rere Cross: HERE KING WESTMAR SLOE KING ROTHINGER: Bishop Ussher}[186] & here some wil have Westm'land \ viz. from Marius king of that place. / And after him, his son Coilus Brought up att Roome. But in these things histories are very dubious and sterrill.

{3. Via Rom.} XIII
Vepius T\r/ajan adopted by Nerva. Honoured with the epithet of Optimus Augustus. He raised the empire unto the highest pitch. He caused the famous casways to be made in Our Iland concerneing which Hear Gallen 218 Col. 1. Speed 2 vol.
4. Tho histories be silent, yett there is litle doubt to be made that he sent His proprætors Lieutenants præsid[ents] prætors & proconsulls & municipal magistrates of Cityes into this Ile as well as other places. The prætors sat upon High throne attended on by their Rictors, haveing Axes & Rods called

[181] In the MS here, there is a small sketch of a Castle keep.
[182] Also numbered p.17.
[183] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*. The author's name appears on six charters, dated between 1129 and 1151, in the Oxford area, sometimes styled *magister* ('teacher'). He was probably a secular canon of St. George's College. All the charters signed by Geoffrey are co-signed by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, also a canon of that church. See J.C. Crick, 'Monmouth, Geoffrey of [Galfridus Arturus] (d. 1154/5), bishop of St Asaph and historian. *ODNB*.
[184] See also Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 11.
[185] 'The Victories of Marius. T.M. [Thomas Machell] thus wrote it.'
[186] James Ussher (1581-1656), Church of Ireland archbishop of Armagh and scholar. In 1639 he completed his research into the early history of Britain and Ireland by publishing his monumental *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, in which he attempted to trace the development of Christianity in Britain from its beginning to the end of the seventh century. see A. Ford, 'Ussher, James (1581-1656). *ODNB*.

fasses for the common people, who were to receve a new Governour every 7 year which was a great Burthen to the province. & perhaps on occasion of the Britons revolt whoe notwithstanding were soone suppressed.

[I.40][187]

XIIII.

Ælius Hadrianus suceed his uncle Trajan. A universall Scholler & excellent Artist. In his time the Britons impatient of servitude Began to revolt, for his lieuetennant Creus Tribellius successor to Agricola could not prevent \ keepe / his soljers from Oppresion & Mutiny; upon whose abuses the northern people imboldened by Bogs & Rocks inaccessible were resolved to defend themselves, finding many confederates & it was disputed with loss of Blood. Hereupon Julius Severus was sent, but before all was quieted, called home \ agane / to goe into Syria. Then the Emperor came in person \ him selfe / with 3 legions in the 3[d] year of his Consulship. Anno Xt. 124. And recovered all the holds \ agane / which they had taken, forceing them into the woods & mo[untains], and perceiveing the aer further North too sharp for the Roman constitution he made a Bulworke twix Eden & New \ Castles / sayes Lampridius).[188]

He made Livinus Priscus Lieuetenant, and the southern Britons being glad to be secured from the inroad of their Countrymen {?} conformed to \ the / Roman Laws in martiall & civill aff[airs]. This Priscus was proprætor of Britan and imployed in the Journey of Jewry with Hadrian, as appears from an old Inscription*.

[Machell's Notes: I.40 & I.41]

*{& what \ he / him selfe hath writ [in] the margin of his *Britannia* & by the name which ~~the People yett give it~~ \ it commonly beareth / & he him selfe hat[h] writ in the margin.}

I think an account of Roman emperors with their lieuetenants & what they performed in the north might not be amiss.

Here I want a list of the Roman Emperors related to England and their Lieuetennants or prefects especially in these parts, which must [be] extracted out of Speed's *History* att Leisure. And then lett the British Kings follow as they are, pag. 33. &c.

[I.41]

de metis et divisis Inter comitatum Eboraci et Westm'land faciendis. See my Coll MS. VI. p.56 out of Sir W. Dug[dale] 'e dorso patentis 13 Ed III p. 1.[189] Est etiam divisio post in eodem MS. V. inter Furness et Kendallum q?[190]

Queries observ'd.

June 1 1688. I observ'd that Mr Speed agrees with me in my possision of 30 years being a Rational Limit for a descent, for *Hist.* p.164. col. 2. allows[191] – 120 years for 4 descents.

[I.135B]

[Roman Lieutenants, Consuls]

[1.] {First Lord Lieutenant of Britain, Aulas Plautius; his wife Pomponia Græcina – caryed the X[t] Principles to Rome with her, whereof she stood accused and indicted upon life and death.}

The first Lieutenant authorised over The British who when upon som occasion was sent for home, (the wars not quieted) and with a small Tryump[h] (as Tacitus sayeth) entered Rome. To whom succeeded

2. Publius Ostorius Scapula: Lieutenant or proprætor. Som of the British [who] were then unconq[ered] raugeded[192] the Countreys of the Confederates. The Icenians began (Norf. Suff. Camb. & Hunting[donshire].) He subdued them & the Cattuvellauni. And a final resistance was made by the Brigantes; but without much trouble soone quieted by the execution of som few & pardoning the rest.

[187] Also numbered p.18.

[188] Aelius Lampridius was one of the six authors of the *Historia Augusta* (biographies of Roman emperors of the 2nd and 3rd centuries). He authored four of the chapters (on Commodus, Diadumenianus, Heliogabalus and Severus Alexander); his writing is frequently quoted in Camden's *Britannia*.

[189] '… from the back/reverse of letter patent 13' etc.

[190] 'Concerning the boundaries and divisions to be made between the County of York and Westmorland,'… 'There is also a division later in the same MS. V. between Furness and Kendal. Q[uery]?'

[191] MS: 'How allows.'

[192] 'marauded' or 'raided'.

But the Silures (those of South Wales) could ~~o~~[193] be brought to bear the Roman yoake but withstood them manfully under Caractacus their King – who remo\ved/ the war unto the Ordovices (i.e. North Wales), where all joynd with him who either fear'd or disdained the Romans, but was overcome, being betrayed into his hands by the Brigantes Queen &c. after the British took heart agane & so vexed Ostorius that he dyed of griefe \ & they worsted Manlius Valerus with his legion. \ Gallus stilling these forigines (*Brittannicæ* p. 5.) /

{Temp. Claudius et Neronis}
To him succeeded by Claudius his order, and was sent to Britain:
3. Aulus Didius, in whose time Venutius, a very expert man in military affairs, ~~began a new rebel~~ (justis to the Romans so long as his Queen Cartismandua, was faithfull to him) began a new rebellion for she \ being / in favour with the Romans for delivering Caractacus, & abounding in welth peace & ple[nty] & fel in Love with her husband's serv[ant] & Harnessbearer, Velocatus, & endeavoured to make him King; who raised a power against her & \ her / paramour – & she in the meantime tooke her husband's Brother with som of his nearest Kindred, prisners whereupon the next neighbours declared against her [and] with a Choyce band of youthful soljers invaded her teritories: whereof Didius haveing intelligence sent certain cohorts to secour[194] her & incounter them, which they did with som success – yett he kept his Kingdom, for the Silures were not altogether Quieted {Tacitus *History*, Lib. 3, C.9.}

{Nero 4}
To him Verannius in time of Nero succeeded who mad[e] small inroades into the Silures \ & dyed / anno primo ~~mort~~ 197. §6.

[I.136][195]

{What kin to Suetonius Tranquillus}[196]
To whom Paulinus Suetonius; \ of / great skill in service and great allso in the op[inion] of the people – who invaded Anglesey – caled then Mona – & separated from the continent by the \ River / Meni fronted on the Midst of ~~Mona~~ Ireland. {Query if this be not Man – see the map.}[197]
! Then was Catus Deciamus procurator (i.e. Receiver of the Tribute \ ~~cui sui Julius Clascitianus~~ / in the office of receipts. / It seemes the Centurians had the spoyles of the Kingdoms & the slaves of the Houses of Kings as Lawfull beauty[198] – they craved aide & Catus Deciamus the Procurator, when the Iceni stirred up rebell[ion] against; in the absence of their Lieutenant it seems there were Lieutenant of Legions, as, Petrilius Cerialis Lieutenant of Leg. IX – all foot but a Troup of horse.

{198 §15. 200 §21}
This Paulinus overcame Boduora Boadicia near unto London, & slew of the Brit. 80000 men (Pænius Posthamus a captain master of Leg. 2.) – This Paulinus being suspected & fear'd of Nero, was commanded by him (the warrs yett continueing) to deliver up his army to

[193] 'not'.
[194] 'Secure'.
[195] Also numbered p.15.
[196] Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (born 69 AD) probably in Rome, died after 122) was a Roman biographer and antiquarian whose writings include *De viris illustribus* ('Concerning Illustrious Men'), a collection of short biographies of celebrated Roman literary figures; and *De vita Caesarum* ('Lives of the Caesars'). The latter, seasoned with bits of gossip and scandal relating to the lives of Julius Caesar and the first 11 Roman emperors, secured him lasting fame. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Suetonius.
[197] In 58 AD Gaius Suetonius Paulinus was appointed governor of Britain and began a forward movement to the Irish Sea, subduing Mona, a stronghold of druidism. When he learnt of Boudicca's revolt (60 AD) he returned with his advance-guard but with this inadequate force he was compelled to abandon Londinium and Verulamium. Retreating (along Watling Street) to his main force, he routed Boudicca's attack. His severity towards the rebels led to discord with the procurator Iulius Classicianus and his own recall (61 AD). *Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World,* 2104. Online.
[198] Presumably, 'booty'.

{6. §24}
Petronius Turpilianus, who had lately given over his Consulship at Rome – & who being a quiet and peaceable man gave up his charge to {Obijt Nero \ last Cæsar by descent.[199] /

7. {anno æt 31. X^{t}. 70.} Trebellius Maximus (who continued during the Emp. of Sergius Galba, & Otho & Vitellius) (de Niniano Bernicio vid. P.204, §9)

{8.} To whom succeeded Vectius Bolanus in the province of Britain – in Vitellius his reigne; to whom (sending for aid against the Illurian Bands) he returnd answer that the Country of Britain stood not so quiet that he might spare any number thence, the soljers & confederate having their hands full to hold all upright. He continued till Vespatian was saluted Emperur, who sent into Britain:

{9.} {211. §8}
Petilius Cerialis, who had bin here in the warrs against Boduo in the time of Nero – He warrd against the Brigantes &c. – Yorkshire Lancashire Westm'land & Durham {The most populous state of the whole Province} & in many Battles, som of them bloody, the greatest part of these people were wasted – to whom succeeded Julius Frontinus, a great soljer allso, who subdued, the strong & warlike of the Silures i.e. South Wales – after whom

Julius Agricola {! 212. §5. Castles & Bulworkes; 211. §10. He had served under Cerialis} sometime Questor Tribune & Prætor in Rome & lieutenant in Aquitania was sent by Vespasian into Britain to be General …[200]

[I.138]
Chronicon Regum Brittanicorum ad Mor, Morum sive Marium et Inde ad Lucium ipsius Nepotem[201]

A.M. 3912 V.C. 700 Ante Xtum Natum 52*	Cassivela\u/nus Britanniæ Imperator, Cæsari se dedidit. A[n]no Urbe Rom[a] Cond[ita] 700, Mundi 3912. Ante Xt natum 52 = Reg[navit] autem past hoc. Cum filio 93[202]
Tem[pore] Julij I. Imper[atoris] Tem[pore] Oct[aviani] Aug[usti] II. Imper[ator] et Tib[erius] Nero III Imp[erator] Caius Calig[ula]	Kimbellinus
IV. A.D. 43 Claudius Dru[sus]. IIIII Imperat[oris] 1^{0}.	Guidericus (Kimbellini F[ilius] nepos Cassalauni) Pacem cum Julio irritam fregit Anno Xt 43. et 3^{0} ab hinc anno, bello cecidit cuj successit[203]
A.D. 46 4^{0} Claud[ij] Drus[i] V. Imper[atoris]	Arviracus Anno X^{ti} 46 – 4^{0} Claudij, qui (Anno insequent[i]) Vespasianum cum exercitu in Britt[aniam] misit, qui Insulam Vectis cepit, resque Brittannicas adeo compos[uit] ut paulo post, Anno Claudij 7^{0}, Aulus Plautius Primus, ex consularibus, missus est in Britt[aniam] Præfectus. Anno Xt 52. Claudij X^{0}. P[ublius] Ostorius Scapula Caratucum Silurum Regem vicit captumque cu[m] uxore et fratribus ad Ro[mam] misit […][204]Defuncto autem \ ibi / Ostorio A[ulum] DIDIUM Cla[u]dius in Præsidem misit, qui statim motum Silurum

[199] Publius Petronius Turpilianus (died c.68 AD) was the successor of general Suetonius Paulinus as governor of Britain in 61-62 AD. Previously a consul in Rome, he advocated a more peaceful policy than his predecessor. He was recalled to Rome in 63 AD: Matthew Bunson, *A Dictionary of the Roman Empire* (New York and Oxford, 1995), 322.
[200] Words obscured by the binding here include, 'ordovic[e]s subd ... rebell'.
[201] 'The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain to Mor, Morus or Marius and then to Lucius, grandson of Marius.'
[202] 'Cassivelaunus, ruler of Britain, surrendered to Caesar in the year 700 from the founding of the city of Rome, in the anno mundi 3912 and BC 52. But he reigned after this with his son [until] 93.'
[203] 'Guidericus, son of Kimbellinus, grandson of Cassivelaunus, broke the ineffective peace with Julius in AD 43, and in the third year after this he fell in war.'
[204] There is an unclear interlineation here.

AD 57 Claud[ius] Domitius Nero Caes[ar] VI Imper[atoris] Anno 1^0	compescuit. Anno Xt 54. Cla[u]dij 12 et Anno Insequenti Cogidulo Brittaniæ Regulo aliquæ civitates ab Imperatoræ donatæ sunt; qui deinde usq[ue] ad Tempora Domitiani fidiss[imus] mansit Anno autem Domitij NERONIS Cæsaris 1^0 X^{ti} 57.[205]
	AVITVS Brittanniæ præfectus extitit, sub quo Romani magnam cladem accipere:
	Anno proximo VERONIVS Brittanniæ legatus missus, ibi moritur cui sucessit.
	SUETONIVS PAVLINVS, Neronis 3^0 Arviraco adhuc Principe ~~Brittanniæ~~ [et] Rege Brittann[iae] cujus Regni anno XV, Neronis 4^0 Xt. 60^0, Multi Britonum ad fidem X^{ti} conversi sunt ut quidam tradunt per {Tacit. XII:[206]} Josephum de Arimathiâ, qui X^{t}um sepiliverat. Vixit etiam et supervixit Aviragus Reg. Britt. ~~Duos~~ \ Tres / alios Imperatores [207]
VII	Sergius Sulpitius Galba VII. Rom[anorum] Imp[erator] Qui reg[ebat] menses 7.
VIII	Sylvium Ottonem – VIII Rom[anorum] Imper[atorem]. Qui reg[ebat] dies – 95.
IX.	Aulum Vitellium IX Rom[a]n[orum] Imper[ator]. Qui reg[ebat] menses fere 8 Primo autem [anno] [208]
X	Vespasiani – Othonis – Titiani \ X Imper. / moriebatur et ej successit[209]
	postquam regnasset an[nos] XXVI[210]
	Marius Arviragi filius Britonum Rex ~~ob~~ an 48. ~~Incepit Regis Vespatiani~~ Incepit Regnare Otho / Xt 72. Vespasiani Othonis 10 per quem Julius AGRICOLA anno ejus circ. 8^0 datus est Brittanniæ Legatus.[211]
AD 81 Xt Tit. Vesp. XI Imperator	Qui totam fere Romanis subegit anno autem Marij X0 Imperator Otho objit cuj Titus Vesp[asianus] succesit. Anno Xt 81, et ejus 50 marij 16, Picti Roderico duce e Sythi sedes novas quer[…] in Brit. Coyllus Marij filius Britt Rex an[no] 45, 30 Adriani Xti 120.[212]
AD 120 3^0 Adriani XV Imp[eratoris] T[itus] Ant[oninus] Pius XVI incep[it] An[no] D[omini]139 AD 165 4^0 M[arci] Aur[relij] XVIII Imp[eratoris] Regnabat cum M. Ael[io] Aurelio Antonino	Coyllus – Marij filius, Brit. Rex anno XXXXV. Quem, Ara[m] suppono Instituitisse. {2^0 Antonini Pij XVI Imper[atoris] Britt[anni] libertatem affe[ctam] a LOLIO Urbicio, divers[is] [proel[ijs] retin[end]o [au]ferebant}. 5^0 Adr[iani] Brittan[i] deficientes, Trebellio duce frenati sunt. Hinc (ut Spartacus) Brit[tania] a Scot[tis] muro divisa est. quod tamen plerumq[ue] Severi.

[205] 'His successor was Arviracus AD 46, 4th year of Claudius, who (in the following year) sent Vespasian to Britain with an army. He took the Isle of Wight and so settled affairs in Britain that a little later, in the 7th year of Claudius, Aulus Plautius Primus, one of the consuls, was sent to Britain as governor. In AD 52, 10th year of Claudius, Publius Ostorius Scapula overcame Caratucus King of the Silures and sent him prisoner with his wife and brothers to Rome. After the death of Ostorius there, Claudius sent Aulus Didius as governor, who immediately settled the disturbance among the Silures, AD 54, 12th year of Claudius. And in the following year certain citizen rights were granted by the Emperor to Cogidulus the client king of Britain: who then remained entirely loyal right up to the time of Domitian.'

[206] Words here are obscured by the binding.

[207] 'In the first year of Domitius Nero Caesar, AD 57, Avitus was governor of Britain, under whom the Romans suffered a great defeat. In the next year Veronius was sent as Legate of Britain and there died. His successor was Suetonius Paulinus, in the 3rd year of Nero, while Arviracus was still Ruler [and] King of Britain. In the 15th year of his reign, the 4th year of Nero, AD 60, many of the Britons were converted to the Christian faith, as certain [people] record, through Joseph of Arimathia who had buried Christ. Arviragus lived as ruler of Britain and survived three other Emperors.'

[208] 'Aulus Vitellius 9th Roman Emperor, who reigned about 8 months. But…'

[209] '…he [viz. Aviragus] died in the 1st year of the 10th emperor Vespasian – Otho – Titian and was succeeded,'

[210] 'after he had reigned 26 years, by'

[211] 'Marius son of Arivagus, King of the Britons, in his 48th year. Otho began to reign in AD 72 in the 1st year of Vespasian Otho, by whom, in about his 8th year, Julius Agricola was appointed to Britain as governor.'

[212] 'He subdued almost the whole [island] to the Romans. But in the 10th year of Marius the emperor Otho died, succeeded by Titus Vespasian in AD 81 and in his 5th year, 16th year of Marius, the Picts under the leadership of Rodericus [came] from Sythia seeking new settlements [and entered] Britain.'

Philos[opho] ideo Como[dus] XVIII numer[o] et Antoninus ejus Pater est XVII	Lucius (Coylli filius) Princeps Rex Brittanniæ, An. XXII. In an[no] 13 ejus regni (M[arci] Aur[elij] et Comodi 16. Xti 178) fidem Amplexus est Xt[i]anam, Beda et Gildas, Author[es].[213]
AD 187 7^0 L. Au[relij] Ant[onini] Com[modi] XIX Imp[eratoris] regnabat 13	Post cujus mortem Anno Xti 187 Duces Brittaniæ Inter se discordes Romanis ad totam fere Insulam occupandam ansam praeposuerunt, Anno Imper[atoris] Lucij Aurelij Antonini 70 Christ[i] 187.[214]
XX	AEL Pertinax – 2 mens. 25 diebus.[215]
XXI	DIDIUS IVLIANVS – 65 diebus.[216]
XXII Imp. AD 195 AD 208	L[ucius] Septim[ius] Severus r[egebat] anno[s] 18. an[no] ejus 9^0 Scoti primo fidem ampl[exi sunt] 2^0 CLOD Albinus Brit[tannorum] exerc[itus] Dux {erat sed q an B} 14^0 S[everus] Bellum in Britt[anniam] transtulit ut eos ab incursione Barbarorum liberaret. vallum CXXXII M[ilia] P[assuum] a mari ad mare duxit. s[ed] d[icit] Polyd[orus] 200 fore post an[n]is [...]'[217]

[I.139]

A Cronickle of Rom Emp. Propriæt. and Brit. Kings

{My booke of maps sayes about 54 ante Xtum natum. ergo see again in favet.}

Anno Xt.	Anno Imp.	Emperors of Rome & Proprætors of Britain	Lieutenants of Britaine	Kings of Britain
		One & fifty years before Christe's Nativity, Anno M 3912. Julius Cæsar subdued Cas. Emperour of Britaine & 6 years after the said [blank]		
M. 3918	Cas. 1^0 2 3 4 5 6	Julius Cæsar (The Romane Republic then being oppressed) & he one of the first obtained the sole empire thereof, which before was by Consulls; they notwithstanding still continuing, their name and holding the place, but \ in / subordination to their Emperours for [blank] years after. He reigned 5 yeares. To whom succeeded		Cassivellaunus, emperor of Britaine
3923 3925 3947 3955	Octav 1^0 2 3 23 33	C. Octavius Augustus (II Roman Emperour) who reigned Ann. 56 In the Third year of his reign the Famous Poet Ovid was born. And in the 23, the no less admired Virgil dyed. In the 33	26	

[213] 'Coyllus son of Marius became king of the Britons in his 45th year, whom I suppose to have set up an altar. In the 2nd year of Antoninus Pius, 16th emperor, the Britons retained and recovered their liberty, eroded by Lollius Urbicius, in several battles. In the 5th year of Hadrian, the Britons rebelling under their leader Trebellius were restrained. Henceforth (as with Spartacus), Britain was divided from Scotland by a wall, which, however, was for the most part the work of Severus. Lucius (son of Coyllus) became High King of Britain, in his 22nd year. In the 13th year of his reign (the 16th of Marcus Aurelius and Comodus, AD 178), he embraced the Christian faith. Beda and Gildas are the sources.'

[214] 'After his death in the year AD 187, the British chieftains, being at odds with each other, gave the Romans an opportunity to occupy nearly the whole island, in the 7th year of the emperor Lucius Aurelius Antoninus, AD 187.'

[215] 'Aelius Pertinax – 2 months 25 days.'

[216] 'Didius Julianus – 65 days.'

[217] 'Lucius Septimius Severus ruled for 18 years. In his 9th year the Scots first embraced the faith. In his 2nd year Clodius Albinus was leader of a British army {but query whether B.}. In his 14th year Severus carried war into Britain so that he might liberate them from a barbarian invasion. He constructed a wall of 132 miles from sea to sea. But Polydorus says it would be 200 after [...] years.'

M. 3963 et domi Nostri Jesu Christi Anno 1[0]	38 40 Dicitur circa 41 annum Augusti 53 56	Claudius (afterwards Emperour) was brought into the world. In the 38 Sergius Galba was Borne. In the 40 ~~this famous Cæsar~~ \ ~~year of his reign, Augustus~~ / he shut up the Temple of Janus the 3 third time; & so there was peace \ all / over the world ~~about~~ which \ time / The Lord of Peace \ our L. & S. J. C. / was Borne \ of a virgin; / (Irenæus Lib. 3 cap.25) from whom wee Begin our next computation, changeing it from the year of the world to the year of Christ. In the 53 year of Octavius \ Augustus / Caius Cæsar (afterwards emperour) came into the world And In the 56 Octavius dyed XIV Cal. Sept at 9 a clock of day. To whom succeeded		
Anno Christ Nati 17 21 30 16 32	Claud. 1[0] 5 14 <

43	1	Tiberius Claudius Drucius the V Romain Emperour who reigned XIII yeares VIII month & XX day. In the first year of whose R. Titus Vespasianus was Born.	And	Guidericus, son of Kimbelinus \ & / nephew \ or Grandchild of / Cassi[vel]launus, King of Brittan, broake the Peace which \ was / made with Julius Cæsar, the first Invader, & Cassa[vel]launus; upon which the next year great warrs ensued […][219] &
44	2	And the next year many say Peter ~~som say~~ came to Rome and governd the Church, 25, which how trew it is commentatours will show. And if so, Peter was Bishop of Rome, before		Guidericus was slaine in the wars; to whom succeeded ARVIRACUS[220]
45	3	E'vodius was Bishop of Antioch: which hapened not \ till / the next year following that he was made the first Bishop there as Eusabius tells us. in which year allso Marc (Peter's \ Disciple / schollar preached in Egypt. And the next year following.		
46		The nex year after Vespasianus was sent		
47	4	into Britane with a great army, [he] tooke		
	5	the Ile of Wight & composed affaire there: so that ~~Vespasian~~ \ Claudius / within 2 years after haveing reduced it		
	7	into a province, sent Ola came himselfe into Britaine, Conquered & settled it within VI months		
	9	space: Speed. Primus ex-consularibus Brittan præfectus	Ad Brittan A. Plautius, a Roman senatour to be the 1t Praefet there.	

[Machell's Notes: I.139]

*{To make this Cron[ickle] perfect, add Consull next to Emp[eror] & Lieutenant of Brit. before K[ing]. Caesar. Lib. 5}

[II.448][221]

[TOPOGRAPHY]
Of Westm'land

[General Notes and Method]

{For ancient Gentlemen see the Note Rol}
{This should belong ad Part II of my MS, which is som what bet[ter]}

[219] The next 1cm of this sentence is illegible.
[220] Aviragus.
[221] Also numbered p.1.

{1.} Of the county in general se Camden.[222] Correct where amiss & add where deficient. V.P. 6, 9, 13. P.26. Ap p.9, 11.
{2.} It is divided into 2 generall partes, the Bottome of Westm'land \ the Barony of Westm'land / & the Barrony of Kendall, \ which is more mountainouse. / In the Bottome of Westm'land, which is champion ground,[223] and, because in a vale free from mountaines, therefore called the Bottom ~~of Westm'land~~ are 3 Wards or Hundreds: E. Ward, W. Ward & Midle Ward. & so, answerably, 3 High Constable: to each ward, one. Petty Constable, 132. {a. vid. N. ad Fig. 2.} {esp part \a / ratio per person in kind.}[224]
In the Barony of Kendall, which is more mountainouse, consisting of hills & dales, & ergo called the Barrony of Kendall or Kandall, are onely 2 Wards or Hundreds, viz. Kendall Ward & Loansdall Ward. To each of them there is one High Constable. Petty Constable, 51. Particularly in Kendall Ward, 39; in Loansdall, 12. (b) Se the particular petty constablewick, p.7.
So that in Westm'land there are 5 Wards, Hundreds or High Constablewicks; Petty Constablewicks 183.

Bottom of West.		Barony of Kendall after	
Parishes	Villages or Hamlets	Parishes	Villages or Hamlets
33 with churches of ease & 7 chappels	Take them from the map p.5.	7 with 18 chaples & churches of ease 1. Gresmire has chaples of ease 2 2. Windermere: 1 church of ease, voc. Troutbeck Ch. 3. Kirkby Kendall has 13 chap. of ease 4. Heversham: 1 church of ease call'd Crosthwaite Church 5. Betham: 1 church of ease, voc. Wither Church: given by Dr Barwick, Dean of St Paul's, & consecrated by Bishop Wilkins, late of Chester anno 1671 6. Burton Chap.	Se the map p.5 but I suppose ther is no distinction twixt the Barony & the Bottom of Westm'land Tis a Chapel of Ease only.
{if we particular […] we must 1[t] doe Bot[tom] & then the Bar[ony] distinct}[225]			
(c.) A Chaple at Crakenthorp (besides private chap.) Winderworth	A Garth at the Town Head, where cherries – called Chick croft[226]		
Parishes	Churches of Ease		Chap. of ease
{in all} 40	6	There are 18 churches and chaples of E. besid[e]	23

Churches and chappells, 69.

[222] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 'Westmorland', 760-63.
[223] Champion: 'champaign'; an expanse of level open country, as distinct from mountains or woods. *OED*.
[224] This comment is partly obscured by the binding.
[225] Part of this comment is obscured by the binding.
[226] 'Chick' is indistinct.

[II.449][227]

{Sheriff}
3. It is peculiar to this county of Westmorland to have one perpetual sheriff (tho it was formerly paternall ~~through~~ \ in all / England), which office is intailed on the family of the Countiss of Penbrroke ~~whose~~ \ Her / residence is now att Apleby;[228] yet they rather the[y] had Cliffords, a sort of Roy[a]lty, to prick or appoint, than official.
{Adde ad 3[d]} {See the der[ivation] & significance of sheriffs in Preface to *Warwick.*}[229]

[I.750]

Of the County of Westm'land
1. Its Bounds.
    1. Why Westm'land; whether even a Kingdom of it selfe; whet[h]er part of Scotland.
    2. Why Countyes.
    3. What Countes or Earles.
    4. What shereffs or vicountes (or Barons).

Mr Lawson calls it the Garden of England for the choice Herbs that it affords {and Sledall the Gardine of W[estmerland]}

Of the division of Westmorland into Baronyes, and! By Way of Em[phasis]}
It is divided into 2 Baronies:
    The Barony of Apleby which is anciently termed (by way of emphasis), 'The Barony of Westm'land' – more soft and Champion – which lyetth north.
    The Barony of Kendall, commonly called by the name of 'The Barony'; more strong & mountaneous, which lyetth in the south part.

[I.767C]

1. Of the County of Westm'land in General with a Map – and therein, of its \ name and / Civil & Ecclesiastical government, with a Catalogue of shirefs.
2. Of its division into 2 Baronyes: Sc. Westm'land, Kendal.
3. The subdivision of each into so many Parishes conteined in them.
4. Of each Parish in particular.
    1. In General.
    2. In particular as on the other side.

[I.767D]

1t. In General, \ Notation & in what Denary Ward or Barony. /
1. Valuation with yearly deduction: olim; nunc![230] If not more appositely at the the account of the church and bounds. Q. Which first.
2. Advocation olim; nunc.
3. Situation et extent E. W. N. & S. and how far distant from other churches or market townes.
4. Perambulation or bounder.
5. Division into Manners. Townes, Villages Hamlets & other out houses perteineing to each & in what Constablewicks and how far distant from the church or manner house: E. W. N. or S.

II. In Particular Concerneing each Manner
1. Notation or Ratio Nominus.[231]
2. Situatio et Extentio sue contonens: In length & breadth & how bounded E. W. N. S.
3. Res Contentæ opida et fam: If the church not in it; how far ab Ecclesia.
how many fam[ilies] Fre[e]; Customary. Fine: certe; arbt.[232]

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[227] Also numbered p.2.
[228] Machell is referring to the Countess of Pembroke (Lady Anne Clifford, 1590-1676). He referred to her throughout as the Countess of Penbroke, an archaic form of the name based on the Welsh word 'pen': head or chief part, and 'bro': a valley. See E.&T. Williams (eds), *The Cambrian Register 2: 1796* (London, 1796), 62.
[229] Dugdale, *Warwickshire*.
[230] 'Once; now!'
[231] Ratio nominus = reason for the name.
[232] Fine certain; fine arbitrary: see the English Glossary.

1. Olim; 2. Nunc: How it is accommodated or adorn'd, by art or nature.
Customry & Priv. ten[ancies]; Priviledges waifes strayes &c. deodant.[233]

4. Places & Things of note in Art; Nature &c.
1. Persons of em[inence]; Dr; general; Kgs.
2. Springs, birds, eagles, hawkes, Beasts, \ marts, /w[ild] cats, otters. Fishes. pike, salmon, pearch, Trout eale extraordinary grown. Strange accidents.

That it more general, as
1. Church \ and p[arsonage] house / or chaple foundation. It dedication, \ duration / extention, Indowment, prescriptions, Reparations \ i. br. / with Arms & Inscriptions, or other raritye with succession of ministers.
2. Scholl: Foundation \ Reparation / extent. Arms & Inscriptions. Endowment.
3. Hospital.
4. Common Halls, Correct Prisons: foundation, reparation, scituation, description.
5. Gentlemen's houses: arms & inscriptions.
[6.] An Historical account of the \ descent of / the manner.
1. Olim 2. nunc; with their Armes & Pedegres especily of the present Proprietors or familyes, & of famous men in them for Arts or Arms.

[I.153]

See Dugdall of *Warwickshire*, Burton of *Leicestershire*, to help method & order.
If I could spare time to Methodise these Rude Notes which are conteined in my severall books of Collections marked thus [blank] I would:

1. Speake of the Country in Generall[234]
1. Of its division* into 2 parts viz. the Barony of Appleby commonly called the Botom of Westm'land; Barony of Kendal.
2. Of its division into Hundreds, commonly called the Barony.
3. Of its division into Parishes.

In speaking of the County in General I would shou:
1. Whence it takes its name.
2. Its Bounds.
3. Its Forme what Lenth Bredth & Circumferance.
4. \ The ancient inhabitants and modern: their Natures. /
5. The Nature of the Aire.
6. The Nature of the Soyle \ Helped by rivers & mountaines / with the benefits & rarities ther of wood Arable pasture mineral. Query: the worth per Acre.
7. The Nature of the people & Customes of the Country; course of rivers; tract of highways.
8. It divition into 2 parts; the Barony of Appleby, \ commonly called the Botome of Westm'land / and the Barony of Kendall, which tho a Barony of it selfe was subordinate to the other \ and tis commonly knowne by the name of The Barony. / (As appeares from Lancastres doeing service in Appleby Court, which must not be mentioned till I come att its proper place; viz. either in treating of the Barony of Appleby or Kendal or both.) In which 2 are conteined, 3 Hundreds or Wards; viz. In the Barony of Appleby, 3: E[a]st Ward West Ward & Midle ward – In The Barony 2: viz. Kendall Ward and Loansdal Ward.
9. Market townes, yeomanry, how many, nameing them; whereof Apleby is chief.

[233] In English law, a deodand (sometimes deodant) was a personal chattel which, having been the immediate occasion of the death of a human being, was given to God as an expiatory offering, i.e. forfeited to the Crown to be applied to pious uses, e.g. to be distributed in alms. (Abolished in 1846.) *OED*.
[234] The numbering in this section has been edited for the sake of clarity.

10. Religious Houses their number & names of which hereafter.
11. Castles & Halls, to which formerly belongd Towers for stre[n]th. \ See Mr Burton of Lestershire. /[235]
12. Parish churches. How many – nameing in Order Alphabet[ical] / concerneing which:

2. Of the County in Particular and therein of the respective Parishes & Lordships
In speakeing of each particular parish:

1. Of the Church, with Tower or none, fair or not. How tis commonly called, to whom dedicated? By whome & when Built, what value, who Patrone?
2. {The nature of Chaples & 1st Indowments} Appurtenances, as what Chaples thereto belonging, of which more at Large in their respective Lordships.

{3.} In the particular Tract
1l: Speake of Heraldry in order to understanding of Coates of Arms.

1. Repeat the number.
2. Speake of them in particular with the severall Lordships & Manners conteined in the parish.
3. \ Order in Alphabet. /

[Machell's Notes: I.153]

*{Civil into 2 Barronyes Wards & each Ward into Constablewicks:
1. Shap. Ap[pleby] Midle Ward.
2. Ecclesiastical into Denaries, & those into Parishes.}

[I.154]

What things most remarkeable, as Armes or Monuments.
4. How many Lordships or Gentlemens seats conteined in the parish, their names, of which in Order Alphabetical, after the church Towne is spoke of, for that I designe to mention still first.
*N.B. Note to speake of Chapples as of Churches, except the 2nd & 4th Head.

In treating of particular Lordships and Families show:

1. The Name of the Manner, whence taken?
2. It Appurtenances; as \ villages / Hamletts &, if any thereto belonging
   Places and things most remarkable \ in them; / as Chaples Schools Hospitalls Religious houses places of Battles, of Coyns found, & of Roman inscriptions, Camps &c.
3. {Horse races &c.}
4. \ Accidents & Calamityes in the proper place. /
5. The ancient inhabitants, with their Armes \ or seales / mentioned if they be knowne.
6. The Modern Inhabitants.
7. The Manner House: Its situation & distance from Church and market, what remarkeable in it, Mention the present owner whose seat it is, and then proceed to:
8. The Armes & pedigree of the present owner and proceed to the next Manner.

[IV.60B]

After the preface:
1. A general description
2. After which add it were easy for me to prosecute my method as ~~Mr Cambden~~ others have done by the Course of these Rivers. But because this way is no[t] satisfactorie to those who have not Leisure to peruse the whole booke, I will rather proceed in Alphabeticall Order, so that they [who] have not a minde or ~~because~~ so much time as to follow the windeing courses of Rivers, may have a near Cutt[236] to their desired Inquisition.[237]

[235] William Burton (1575-1645), *The Description of Leicester Shire. Containing Matters of Antiquitye, Historye, Armorye, and Genealogy* (1638, 1st edn, 1622).
[236] Short-cut.
[237] As the text on the rest of this page is similar to information given elsewhere, it is not transcribed.

[I.154]

N.B. Haveing despatched all the manners in one parish, as in the parish of Ashby, proceed to next in order of alphabet, as for instance to Askham, following the foregoing method in every particular. This order I purpose to follow, excepting only in Appleby \ the chiefe Towne, / wherein I shall speake of bothe the Parish Churches which are conteined \ therein / and consequently of the Manner and Lordships allso. But in all other places I shud stick close to my Method proposed. and 1[t] of Ababy & its 2 parishes: St Lawrence & St Michaels. 2. of Ashby. 3. of Ascome &c.
N.B. See a Method elsewhere in better order: But this is not yett to be quite rejected, but compared with the other for the General Tract.

[Machell's notes on the recording of manors]

[I.197]

This must be corrected accordeing to the foregoeing method.
Manerium de M[o]rton
Morton takes its denome[na]\tion/ from the situation thereof upon a Moore, and has given name to a family of old, which was called de Morton. But I finde that in the 8. of Edward 2.[238] Thomas Musgrave, then a minor, held this lordship with Great Musgrave, halfe of Rookeby & proparte de Sandford, in which family of the Musgrave yett in being (as you shall finde in its proper place) it continued till of late yeres, that it was sold by [blank] Musgrave, to [blank] Helton. The ancestour \ Mr / Robert Helton, now justice of peace & coram,[239] whose Armes are [blank] and the pedegre of this family is as followeth {See the armes in a paper at Cap. de Kirkbythure.[240] There pedegree amongst my pedegrees.}
Hilton ... [blank][241]
Robert Hilton, justice of peace & coram = Mary \ 1 of / the daughters of [Blank] Hilton of Hilton Castle.[242]
{Johan. Hilton amicus meus dilectissimus immatura morte pracreptus:[243] anno 1676, flore ætatis & S.V. [sub verbo] mense junii in fol[io]}[244]
The manner house is Morton Hall \ 2 miles from the church,[245] / seated by brooke side under the high mountaine called Meal Fell, and near to that remarkeable hill called Murton Pike, out of which doth Isue a fluent spring, which is conv[ey]ed into the ~~house~~ Hall. This lordship yealds great plenty of limestone & of lead oare.

[I.198]

[Newby]
The manner house is a very fair one, built (of he[w]n stone) by R. N.,[246] 16[blank], att the high end of the village, 2 miles distant from the parish church & [blank] from Apple[by] which is the market they most frequent, and is [blank] from Penrith. It is now the seat of Mr John Nevinson, whose Armes and Ped[igree] take as followeth.

Note. Method for particular Lordships & Families

1. Name of the Manner; whence taken?
2. Its Appurtenances if any other Hamletts belonging there to.

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[238] 1314-15.
[239] 'Coram' = 'before, in the presence of': often used in confusion with 'quorum': a senior Justice of the Peace. See 'quarum' and 'coram'. *OED*.
[240] Capital mansion of Kirkby Thore.
[241] Machell left space for a complete pedigree, but four generations remain blank until 'Robert Hilton = Mary Hilton the daughter of [Blank] Hilton of Hilton Castle' [n.d.]
[242] Hylton Castle in County Durham.
[243] MS: 'præerinptus'.
[244] 'John Hilton, my very dear friend, was swept away by early death in the flower of his age in 1676: under the heading of the month of June in the folio.'
[245] From St Michael's Appleby?
[246] Nevinson.

3. Places and things most remarkeable […][247]
4. The Ancient Inhabitants with their Arms.
5. The modern inhabitants ~~with there pedegre.~~
6. The Manner house its distance from Church and Situation, what Remarkeable in it. Whose Seate.
7. Their Arms & Ped.

This is that it may be Continued and Augmented.

1. Of the Country in General
   - Situation
   - Commodity
   - Number of parishes
   - Numbers of Castles and houses only nameing the nobility
   - Schools & Bridges
   - The Rivers and their Course
2. Division Into
   - Partes – 2
   - Hundred –3
   - Parishes – the manner of tenure
   - Lordships – in the respective parishes
3. An Index of Sirnames, of Places, of things remarkable.

{Method for the Parish

1. The church, how com[mon]ly called, to whome dedicated, where and by whome built, what rate, who patrone.
2. Appurtenances. What chaples thereto belonging of which in the Lordships where they are.
3. Things most re\m/ark, as Armes & Monuments.
4. How many Lordships or Townships belonging thereto, of which in order & 1^{t} of [blank] the first according to this method.}

[I.229]

Note. {I have don this into queryes in a Better Method – vide:}

1. The Church; It[s] dedication: Discribe it by Iles, Body, Quire & Stepel. with Belles. Note the windows & other monuments: 1. without. 2. within. Who Founder Benefactor? Patrone.What Chaunteryes in it.
2. What Chaples belonging to it {Whether demolished or in repare, & when & By whome founded when you come to speake of the place where they are Built.}
3. What Villages or Hamletts Belonging to the church. Name them with the Lords or Lordship they belong to.
4. How many manour ~~houses~~ or Lordships. and reduce the villages to the Lordships or mannours. Houses of Nobility and Gentry: to whome anciently, to whome now? with there Genealogies &c.
5. What remarkable as rarities: Accidents, Antiquities, Mines, Quarries, pitts &c. {each of them.}

Of Families

Lett this bee the method, in the list of Familyes.

His name; whence taken. His:

1. Descent & Time of Birth.
2. Honour dignity & preferments or Estate Acts and mon[uments].
3. His Armes, taken from seales or otherwise.
4. His Marrige, with his wifes Honourable estatate \ Acts & / Armes.
5. His & Her death Time they lived place of Burial.

[247] Five illegible words have been scored through here.

6. His & her Isue, and How disposed of.

N.B. This will be a Better method and therefore a Change, which is amiss in the Account of Viponts & Cliffords. It seemes they descend from the Viponts Lords of Westm'land a younger house for I mett with Robert son of Lawrence de Veteripont, 13. of King Edward I. [1284-85].

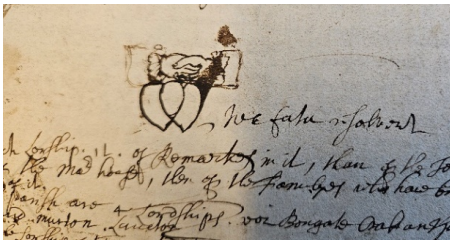


Figure 3. 'hec fata resolvent'. I.229.[248]

[I.157 & I.158]

Witnesses to the Writeings of Viponts.
A. Radulfus de Arincourt, Joh 9[0] [1207-08]
Simon Briton & Will[iam] filius Simonis B J; Philippus de Burgo, marryed Matild the daughter[249] of Sophin de Waldby; Simon Briton 9. John; Dominus Richard de Bellocampo (Dominus Thome filius Thomæ); Reginald Bellocamp Joh. R; Alexander de Brakestan (for Brakenbur) John 9. Henry de Cundale 9. J[ohn]; John clericus 9. Joh.

Anselmus de Barneis 8. J. [1206-07]
Gervise Damecourt: 8. John; G. Galfrid de Wateley, 9. J
Guido de Hellebeck: 9. John; John 9.; John de Harclay: John 9.
Robert filius Robert de Kaberghi: 8. John; Henry de Kabye (forsan pro Taby)[250]

[I.148]

The County of Westmerland in its present state as now.
Consider of a chapter de Schire Countys Wards Parishes Lordships – by selves, to present & then draw.[251]

Of the Division of Westm'land
It is divided into 2 \ great / Baronyes:
The Barony of Westmerland (KαT)[252] by way of eminence ~~as the principle~~ (Because its being the Chiefe, both for quantity & quality, both in greatness & goodness) leveing at the Bottom of Westmorland, the ridge of which hems them in as i[f] with a bulworke; and The Barony of Kendale, which lyetth S. of it, [be]yond the mountains, or rather amongst them. These subdivided into 5 Wardes or Hundreds whereof 3 doe pertaine to the Barony of Westmorland ~~& r[elate] only to The Barony of~~ Kendale, ~~and conteined in Both~~ with conteineing in \ them / 25 parishes. & in 2 only to The Barony of K. wherein are but [blank]; but that of Kendale is a very large one.

[248] 'They will resolve this fortune.'
[249] As written.
[250] 'Perhaps for Tebay.'
[251] This sentence, with an indistinct final word, has been placed within an inked border.
[252] Kα/T[ω]: In several places Machell follows the phrase 'Barony of Westm'land' with the letters KαT. The vowel is clearly written as the Greek letter alpha. This suggests that all the letters are meant to be read in the Greek (not the Roman) alphabet and that the word is abbreviated from the Greek adverb κα/τω meaning 'below'. Classical Greek authors sometimes used this word in a geographical connection to mean 'lower'. It is likely that Machell's meaning is similar and that this is a way of referring to the 'Bottom' of Westmorland.

{? } Query of the Barony of Apelby. If the Corp[oration], if Castle &c. If not before in a Chapter by itselfe. Here speake of a Barony out of Dugdall's *Baronagium*;[253] And a Court Baron; & describe this Barony by meets & boundes, & speake of the Messuagium Capitale & Baron of it.

[Dioceses]

1. In what Diocese. N.B. Here 1[t] describe it.

The Barony of Westm'land as to its ecclesiasti[cal] government is wholy under the Bishop of Carlile, & within that Diocese \ & is but one Denary / commonly the Denary of Westm'land.[254] And is divided into 3 wards \ or 100s: / East West & Midle, which are subdivided into severall parishes ~~and they agane~~ consisting of severall Manners & Lordships – of which hereafter.

[25 parishes 'with the Value and Patrones',[255] in Carlisle diocese]

	Ecclesia	Patronus	Valor Annu[256]					Decima Inde[257]				
			£	s.	d.	ob.	q[u]	£	s.	d.	ob.	q[u]
1	Apelby 2: St Laurent (Vic.[258] both)	Dean & Capit Car.	009	5	1	ob	0	000	18	6	0	q[u]
2	St Michael	Episcop: Carliol	020	12	9	ob	0	002	1	4	ob	0
3	Askeby: Rectoria	Sir George Fletcher	023	13	4	0	0	002	7	4	0	0
4	Askam: Vic.	Not correct: the crown[259]	006	0	0	0	0	000	12	0	0	0
5	Bampton: Vic.	Sir John Lowther of Sockbridge	007	5	0	0	0	000	14	5	0	0
6	Barton: Vic.	Sir John Lowther de Sockbridge	011	1	0	0	0	001	2	1	1	q[u]
7	Burgh: Vic.	Queens College in Oxon	008	18	9	0	0	000	17	10	ob	0
8	Burgham: Rect.	Lord Baron of Westmorland	016	17	10	0	0	001	13	0	ob	q[u]
9	Cliburne: Rectory	Episcop. Carliolensis	009	1	4	0	0	000	18	1	ob	q[u]
10	Clifton: Rect.	Episcopus Carliolensis	008	3	4	0	0	000	16	4	0	0
11	Crosby Garret: Recto.		019	14	4	0	0	001	9	5	0	q[u]
12	Crosby Ravensworth: Vic.	Sir Ph. Musgrave {dub Patron de Crosby Garret}[260]	007	13	4	0	0	000	15	4	0	0
13	Dufton: Rect.	Lord B[aron] of Westmorland	009	9	6	0	0	001	18	0	ob	qu
14	Kirkby Thore: Rect.	Lord B \aron/ of Westmorland	037	17	8	ob	0	003	15	9	ob	0
15	Kirkby Stephan: V.	Lord Wharton	048	19	2	0	0	004	17	11	0	0
16	Lowther: Rect.	Sir John Lowther de Lowther	025	6	2	ob	0	002	10	8	ob	q[u]
17	Marton: Rect.	Lord of Westmorland	021	15	5	ob	0	002	3	6	ob	q[u]
18	Morland: Vic.	Dean & Capit. Carliol	011	18	0	0	0	001	3	9	ob	q[u]

[253] Dugdale, *Baronagium.* For the full title see 'Abbreviations'.
[254] An almost identical sentence is found in *N&B1*, 13.
[255] This quotation was originally placed on MS. I.160.
[256] 'Annual Value.'
[257] 'Value of the Tithes.'
[258] 'Vicarage.'
[259] Addition, probably in a later hand.
[260] 'Or is he patron of Crosby Garret?'

19	Musgrave: Rect	Episcop. Carliolensis	016	8	1	0	q[u]		001	12	10	ob	q[u]
20	Newbigging: R.	Mr Crakenthorpe	004	14	0	0	0		000	9	5	0	0
21	Ormside: Rect.	Episcopus Carliolensis	017	17	8	ob	0		001	15	9	0	q[u]
22	Overton: Vicar.	Parochia de Overton	016	17	4	0	0		001	13	8	ob	q[u]
23	Ravenstonedale	[Blank]	[blank]						[blank]				
24	Shap: Vicaria	[Blank]	008	15	7	0	0		000	17	6	ob	q[u]
25	Warcop: Vicar.	Mr Brathwate	009	5	1	ob	0		000	18	6	0	q[u]

[I. 619][261]

A Catalogue of the Dignities of Carlisle Church

The Rev[d] Mr Machell Rector of Kirkbythore in Westmereland, this

[I. 616]
{ad Buly et dat.}

A Catalogue of the Bishops of Carlisle

Anno Domini 1133
33 Hen. 1 — 1. Athelwold, Adelwaldus, Adelwulphus or Adelwoldus
Anno Domini 1157
3[0] Hen. 2 — 2. Bernard
Anno Domini 1218
1[0] Hen. 3 — 3. Hugo, Abbot de Bello
4. Walter Malclerk
Anno Domini 1247
30 Hen. 3 — 5. Sylvester de Everdon
Anno Domini 1255
38 Hen. 3 — 6. Thomas de Veteri Ponte or Vipount
Anno Domini 1258
41 Hen. 3 — 7. Robertus de Chancy
Anno Domini 1280
7 Ed. 1 — 8. Radulphus de Ireton or Irton
Anno Domini 1288
15 Ed. 1 — 9. Johannes de Hal\a/ughton or Halton
Anno Domini 1325
18 Ed. 2 — 10. Johannes de Rosse or Ruse
Anno Domini 1332
6 Ed. 3 — 11. Johannes de Kirkby[262]
Anno Domini 1353
37 Ed. 3 — 12. Gilbertus de Welton
Anno Domini1363
37 Ed. 3 — 13. Thomas de Appleby
Anno Domini 1396
20 Rich. 2 — 14. Robertus de Reed
Anno Domini 1396
20 Rich. 2 — 15. Johannes de Merik's or de Novo Mercatu

[261] This page consists of the sealed outer paper of the list that follows; it is not in Machell's hand but appears to have been obtained from Bewley Castle, once a residence of the bishops of Carlisle. Compare this list with the longer, detailed list in *N&B2*, 251-300.

[262] MS.IV.85 contains a narrative relating to this bishop in William Nicolson's hand. Viz. '1343. A significavit is sent by Bishop Kirkby against John Aglionby; who had incurr'd excommunication ipso facto (by the Canon) by strikeing and drawing blood on the body of William Hare a Clergyman, and had continued above 40 dayes under that sentence. Reg. de Kirkby, p.478.' A significavit was a writ employed in ecclesiastical cases, issued by Chancery for the arrest of an excommunicated person; also, the bishop's certificate on which such a writ was based. *OED*.

Anno Domini 1400	
2 Hen. 4	16. William de Strickland
Anno Domini 14\19/	
6 Hen. 5	17. Roger Whelpdale*
Anno Domini 1423	
1 Hen. 6	18. William Barrow
Anno Domini 1430	
8 Hen. 6	19. Marmaduke Lumley
Anno Domini1450	
28 Hen. 6	20. Nicholas Closs or Close
Anno Domini 1452	
30 Hen. 6	21. William Pearcy
Anno Domini 1462	
2 Ed. 4	22. John Kingscot
Anno Domini 1464	
4 Ed. 4	23. Richard Scroope[263]
Anno Domini 1468	
8 Ed. 4	24. Edward Story
Anno Domini 1478	
18 Ed. 4	25. Richard Bell
Anno Domini 1496	
12 Hen. 7	26. William Senhouse
Anno Domini 1503	
19 Hen. 7	27. Roger Layborn or Layburn
Anno Domini1509	
1 Hen. 8	28. John Penny
Anno Domini 1520	
12 Hen. 8	29. John Kyte or Kite
Anno Domini 1537	
29 Hen. 8	30. Robert Aldrith or Aldridge
Anno Domini 1556	
1^0 Mary	31. Owen Oglethorp
Anno Domini 1561	
3^0 Eliz.	32. John Best
Anno Domini 1570	
12^0 Eliz.	33. Richard Barnes
Anno Domini 1577	
19 Eliz.	34. John May
Anno Domini 1598	35. Henry Robinson
Anno Domini 1616	36. Robert Snoden
Anno Domini 1622	37. Richard Milburn
Anno Domini 1624	38. Richard Senhouse or Senos
Anno Domini 1626	39. Francis White
Anno Domini 1629	40. Barnaby Potter
Anno Domini 1642	41. James Usher
Anno Domini 1660	42. Richard Sterne
Anno Domini 1664	43. ~~R~~Edward Rainbow

[263] MS.IV.85 contains a narrative relating to this bishop in William Nicolson's hand. Viz. '1465. Bishop Scroop (in his Chappal at Rose) enjoyn'd \ Christopher Curwyn of Cammerton / a penance of being lash'd round his parish church and afterwards entering with a Wax Taper (of 1.li weight) burning in his hand, and cover'd with a white sheet &c. Entering also into a Recognisance of 40 marks not to converse any more with Alice Grayson, the other Fornicator. Reg. Epi. R. Scroop.'

Anno Domini 1684	44. Thomas Smith

A Catalogue of the Priors of Carlisle[264]

Anno Domini 1304	1. Ethelwold or Adelwold
	2. Walter, Prior
	III. John, Prior
	IV. Bartholemew, Prior
	V. Radulph, prior
	VI. Robert de Morvil
	VII. Adam de Felton
	VIII. Alanus, Prior
	IX. John de Halton or Halaughton
	X. John de Kendall
	XI. Adam de Warwick
	XII. William de Hautewyssel
Anno Domini 1308	XIII. Robert de Helpeston
Anno Domini 1325	XIV. Simon de Hautewyssel
	XV. William de Hurtchworth or Hustword
	XVI. John de Kirkby, Prior
Anno Domini 1350	XVII. Galfridus
	XVIII. John de Horn-Castle
Anno Domini 1350	XIX. John de Bothcastre
	XX. Thomas de Hextildesham
	XXI. John de Penrith
	XXII. William de Dalston, Prior
	XXIII. Robert de Edenhall
	XXIV. Thomas de Hoton
	XXV. Thomas Barnaby, Prior
	XXVI. Thomas de Haythwait
	XXVII. Thomas Goudibour
	XXVIII. Simon Senous or Senhouse
	XXIX. Christopher Slee.

A Catalogue of the Deans of Carlile[265]

	1. Lancelot Salkeld
	2. Sir Thomas Smith, knight[266]
	3. John Woll'y Esq.
Anno Domini 1610	4. Christopher Parkins
	5. Francis White
	6. William Peterson
	7. Thomas Comber
Anno Domini 1660	8. Guy Carleton
Anno Domini 1671	9. Thomas Smith
Anno Domini 1684	10. Thomas Musgrave
	11. William Grahme

[264] Compare with *N&B2*, 301-03.
[265] Compare with *N&B2*, 303-05.
[266] See Part 1, Ch.14: Kirkbythore and Newbiggin,

Chancellours[267]

Anno Domini 1220	1. Adam de Kirkby
	2. Walterus de Ullesby
	3. Adam de Appleby
Anno Domini 1337	4. Robert de Southayks
Anno Domini 1355	5. Adam de Caldbeck
	6. John de Appleby
Anno Domini 1378	7. William, Rector of Bownes
Anno Domini 1379	8. William del Hall {NB* Here is a defect in the records near 200 years}
Anno Domini 1552	9. Henry Dethick
	10. George Dethick*
Anno Domini 1622	11. Isaac Singleton
Anno Domini 1660	12. Robert Lowther
Anno Domini 1666	13. Henry Marshall
Anno Domini 1667	14. Rowland Nicols
Anno Domini 1685	15. ThomasTullie

*Thomas Burton, Anno Domini 1581, out of the probat of Mr Knipe's will in the custody of the Vicar of Warcop.

[I. 618]

A Catalogue of the Arch-Deacons of Carlile[268]

A.D. 1230	1. Robertus
A.D. 1233	2. Petrus de Ros or Ross
A^0 17 Henry 3	3. Gervasius de Lowther
A.D. 1293	4. Magister Richardus
A.D/ 28 E.1	5. Petrus de Insula
A.D. 1311	6. Gilbert de Halaughton (or Halton)
A.D. 1318	7. Henry de Karliol
A.D. 1323	8. William de Kendale
A.D. 1354	9. Richardus de Arthureth
A.D. 1363	10. William de Rothbury
A.D. 1364	11. John de Appleby

{here is a defect in the registers for above 200 years to Eliz.[269]}

1548	12. George Nevill
	13. Edward Threlkeld
	14. Henry Dethick
	15. George Warkwic
	16. Robert Wright
	17. Isaac Singleton
A.D. 1660	18. Peter Wentworth[270]

[267] Compare with *N&B2*, 305-07.
[268] Compare with *N&B2*, 307-08.
[269] Elizabeth I's reign began in 1558.
[270] Peter Wentworth is not listed as an archdeacon by Nicolson and Burn but Nightingale includes him in his *Ejected of 1662*, Viz. 'Peter Wentworth, M.A., D.D., 1645-1660 (?), son of Thomas Wentworth of Oxford, and related to the Earl of Strafford. Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 1617-18, matriculated at the age of 16; Fellow of Balliol 1621; took his MA at Cambridge in 1623 ; B.D. 1631, and D.D. 1633. Rector of Riseholme, Lincolnshire, 1633. Dean of Armagh from 1637 to 1641. The Ulster Rebellion in 1641 necessitated his flight from Ireland; his appointment to the Archdeaconry of Carlisle and the Great Salkeld living followed. Whether he was resident is not clear, still less is it whether he held these appointments until the Restoration. He was in charge of Buriton in Hampshire, in January, 1658 …At the Restoration, reinstatement in his former deanery or an Irish Bishopric was offered to him, but he declined to return to Ireland, and accepted only the rectory of Haseley, in Oxfordshire. He

A.D.1660	19. Lewis West
A.D. 1667	20. Thomas Peachel
A.D. 1669	21. Thomas Musgrave
A.D. 1682	22. William Nicholson

[I.160A][271]

[Churches and Chapels in East Ward]

A Perfect Shedule of all the Churches & Chappelles within the East Ward within the Bottome of the County of Westm'land and what ~~churches~~ Constablewicks as in each Parish.

{Westm'land East Ward}

{ad 9? 12}

	Constablewicks	**Parish Churches**	**Chappelles**
{Mr Pety.}	Orton	}	
	Raisebeck	} Orton	
	Langdale	}	
	Bretherdale	}	
	Ravenstonedaile Parish divided into 3 Angles	Ravenstonedaile	
{Pendragon Castle}	Mallerstang		Mallerstange
{Lord Wharton}	Wharton & Nateby	Kirkby Stephen	
	Kirkby Stephen		
{Sir Musgrave}	Hartley		
	Soulby		Soulby
{Scaife}	Smardale & Waiteby		
{Neatby}	Winton		
	Keyber & the Outside		
	Crosby Garrett	[perished][272]	
	Musgrave		
	Stainmoore	Brough puto	Stainmoore
	Brough Sowerby		
	Market Brough		
{Lord Thanet}	Church Brough		
{Scaife}	Helbeck		
	Musgrave Great &		
	Flitholme & Langrig	Musgrave	
{Mr Brath[waite], the Hall}	Warcopp	} Warcopp	
{Scaife, the Tower}	Blaytarne		
{Mr Hilton; demolishd schoolmaster house cald New Hall}	Burton & Sandford		

died at Bath, July 22, 1661, at the age of 60; and was buried in the Abbey Church. A brass plate there bears the following inscription: Petrus Wentworth S.T.P. Patriciorum proles, doctrinae maritus. Summus Hyberniae decanus, Angliae praeconium primns. Ob. 22 Jul. 1661.' Extracted from Nightingale, *Ejected of 1662*, 360-61.

[271] In the MS, this is written on a long, narrow piece of paper, folded at the foot and later repaired.

[272] I.160A has been restored here; some text is illegible.

{Mr Hilton}	Hilton & Murton		Murton Church demolished
	Bondgate	} Bongate	
{Machell Esq.}	Crackinthropp		Crackenthorpe Chaple demolished
{Mr Clapham}	Dufton Parish	Dufton	
	Long Marton		
{Mr Cole}	Brampton	} Long Marton	
{Jone Armstrong}	Knock		
{Mr Warton, Hall Mr Machell, Rectory}	Kirkbythore		
{Sandford, Barw. H[owgill] Castle}	Milburne & Grange	} Kirkbythore	Milburne Chappelle called Kirkhouse
Mr Dalston	Temple Sowerby		Temple Sowerby
Castle, Lord Thanet	Appleby		Note: Appleby is divided part in the East and part in the West Ward
	Scattergate & Burrells	} Appleby	
	Hoffe & Drybeck		
Mr Warcop	Cowby part of Appleby parish but in the West Ward		

[I.160B]

	East Ward	Parish Churches	Chappelles
	Constablewicks		
	~~Colby~~		
Mr Hilton	Ormside Greate & Ormside Little	} Ormside	
	Asby & Winderwath		
	Asby Coatsforth	} Asby	
Mr Musgrave, Asby Grange	Asby Little		
Mr Crakenthorpe & Crak.	Newbygin Parish	Newbygin	

<u>Westm'land Midle & West ward</u>

	Hartsopp & Patterdaile		Patterdale
	Martindale	} Barton	Martindale
	Barton & Powley		
Lowther of Whit[e]haven	Sockbridge & Low [W]inder		
Lowther of Lowther	Yanwath & Bridge		
Mr Sandford	Askham		
	Helton & Dale	Askham	
	Bampton Parish with Swindale & Mardale		
	Being part of Shapp parish	Bampton	

	[perished]		
	[perished]		
	[Di]vides there		
Abbey	Shapp Rosegill		
	Sleddale, Hardendale & Wastdale	Shapp	Mardale
Lowther	Lowther, Hackthorp & Whale	Lowther	
~~Dalston~~	Melkinthorp		
Wiber	Clifton[and] Dikes	Clifton	
Bird & Hospital	Browham		
	Woodside & Moorhouses	Ninekirks	Browham
Lowther Sir John Mr Wivell	Cliburne & Winderwath	Cliburne	
Halton	Bolton		
	Kings Meaburne		
	Sleagill		
Jack Nevinson	Newby	Morland	Bowlton
Mr Backhouse, Atkinson	Morland		
Crakanthorp & Fletch[er]	Grate Strickland		
Mr Dalston	Little Strickland		
	Thrimby		Thrimby {to Morland puto}
Captain Lowther	~~Colby~~	In St Michaels Apleby	
	Mauldsmeaburne & Reagill		
Mr Dodsworth	Crosby Ravensworth	Crosby Ravensworth	
	Bancke & Rowe		
	Birckbeck Felles		

[I.148]

Division into Wards

{Here speake of Wards or Hundreds. But now to notifye these severall into which the Barony is divided}

[I.751]

This Barony of Westm'land ~~commonly called the Bottom of Westm'land~~ Is subdivided into 3 wards – east ward West ward & Midle ward whereof the Last is quite lost & extinguished nor can wee tell how or where to finde it, unless wee ~~may take leave to~~ suppose, that the town of Appelby (which lyes in the midst betwixt the 2 wards) has ~~have~~ bin ~~called~~ \ accounted / whilst it was in its Glory, the Midle ward. of which I seeme to reteine som reliques; for it is not oblieged to repare any Bridges \ in either ward / excepting its owne. The East ward lyes, for the most part, on the East side of the River Eden, whence it taketh its name; and conteineth in it [blank] parishes.

[Machell's Notes: I.751] {Method: Consider?}
The Best may well be to follow Eden with the stremes that flow on East side into it from several Parishes But then Crak[enthorpe] come afor K[irkbythore] que injuriam fecit familiae Machellorum. Non mors.[273]
A list of High Constables, & Coroners. {Query: where sh[ould] this come in?}

[273] 'Which is an injustice to the Machell family. Not death.'

[I.148]

The East Ward is that \ tract of ground / which lyes on the east side of The Great River Eden, the West Ward, that which lies opposite to it. And the Midle Ward \ I take to be / ~~is~~ the \ ancient / Town & ~~Corporation~~ \ Burrow / of Apleby (which lyes in the Midle on each side of the river; & \ being som times / ~~which once was~~ answerable to a \ full / 5th \ part of / the County \ of Westmorland /~~when it was in its Glory~~ \ as shall be shown when I com to hear of it. / {Speake of this in the particular description of Apleby.}And yett continues the shire \ County / Town of Westm'land; being free from the \ all / Taxes & Contributions towards \ highways & / bridges & ways \ &c. / in the other 2 wardes, & repaireing her own: whence I doe conclude it The Midle Ward, which other wise is quite swallowed up of the other 2. For \ now / no man ~~now~~ liveing can certainely tell me (if this be not it) where the Midle Ward was,[274] although its name remanes on record in the Rolls of the County to this very day.[275]

[I.160]

In the East Ward

Apleby, Bongate, Colby, Overhoff, Rawe, Asheby, Little Musgrave, Crosby Garrett, Knockes, Doffton, Langton, Marton, Bra[mp]ton, Murton, Hilton, Crakenthorp, Ormside, Warcop, Neatby, Soulby, Kirkby Thore, Temple Sowerby, Newbigging, Mylborn, Great Musgrave, Kirkby Stephen, Winton, Hartlay, Sowerby, Waytby, Caber, Burght.

The sume of all grane to be sold in the Eastward: 106 quart. 2 bushels.

In the Midle Ward

Lowther, Emontbrigg, Yanwath, Winder, Burbanke, Bruham, Morland, Ascome, Hilton Fleyhun,[276] Clifton, Hagthorp, Mekyl-Strikland, Thrynby, Bolton, Mebron, Morehouses, Newby, Whytbor, Maldys Meborn, Crosby Ravensworth, Clybborn, Shap, Whale, Melkinthorp.

[I.135]

Ad Generalem Westmorlandiæ Descriptionem[277]

And \ now / to proceed to a more particular description of Westmerland. I shall begin with The East Ward of it: And therein first with the Kirkbythore Parish (which lyes in the very north pointe of this ward, \ & / next unto Cumberland) both because it is the place of my residence,[278] and allso it falls out to be that parish wherein the ancient Gallatum stood, which was the iiij city of the Brigantes i.e. Counties Yorkshire, Lanc., Bishoprick of Durham, Westm'land, when the Romans first Invaded Brittan & som time after.[279] {And this is confirmed by a stone set up in the Gardine house at Apleby School thus inscribed:} {Claudius Drusus Caesar Emp.}[280] {Speed p.194.}

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[274] MS: 'where \ it should befored {stand} / the Midle Ward was \ stood.'/

[275] See also I.751, below. Nicolson and Burn describe the wards thus. 'Wards …four in number… being the districts of the like number of High Constables, who presided over the wards … for repelling plundering parties out of Scotland. Two of these wards are in the barony of Kendal, to wit, Kendal and Lonsdale Wards; and two in the Bottom, called East and West Wards: There was anciently a Middle Ward between these two last; but since watching and warding ceased, that hath fallen into and been absorbed by the other two.' *N&BI*, 12-13.

[276] Helton Flecket, now known as Helton: *N&B1*, 427.

[277] Here, Machell tells us that he intends to begin the parish sections with his own parish of Kirkby Thore; specifically, the village of Temple Sowerby. His settled method, however (described in detail in several parts of the six volumes), was to place the parish sections in alphabetical order within each barony, after describing the major town.

[278] Machell was presented to Kirkby Thore in 1677, see Editor's Introduction.

[279] MS: 'and allso ~~because & Because~~ it falls out to be that parish wherein the ancient Gallacum stood, which was the ~~Chief place not only~~ \ iiij city of the Brigantes / ~~In these Westmorland But in~~ \ i.e. / C. Yorkshire Lanc. ~~&~~ \ Bishoprick of / Durham, \ Westmorland ~~& Northumberland~~ / when the Romans first Invaded Brittan & som time after.'

[280] The last two margin comments have been moved from the top of MS.I.135B.

{Having spoke of the Parish with it[s] description by Meets & Boundes & what it affords, mention, in Generall, then divided thus: It is divided in 3 Lordship[s]: K[irkby Thore], Milburne & Temple S[owerby] – I shall begin with S[owerby] first because the place where my B. began {And so follow Eden (& the Military Way, calld the Hee Street) Till I arrive at far end of this Easterne Ward. I will begin at Eden Side. Thus, haveing made my perambulation I will tell you what I have observd.}

[Machell's Notes: I.135]

But Query: whether I shall begin my perambulation from west to north & so on with the son[281] as I doe the ward, or the contrary way.}

[I.750]

{1. The Barony of Westm'land described}

The Barony of Westm'land is otherwise called The Bottom of Westm'land from its low situation & is a most delicate Champion Countrey with mountaines as with a fence or Bulworke.[282] And lyeth in the N. part of Westm'land / extends in length from Brough under Stanemore eastwards to Emot Bridge, westwards about [blank] \ being watered with Eden, Emote & Lowther alius / And from ~~K which~~ Newbying, which is the North \ north point of Kirkbythore Parish / to Greata brig in the south about \ 12, in which you are as in a Gardine. /

{Sleddall, Loan and many less principall Brookes of Westm'land, is cald the Garden: The Garden of Eden.}

{Apalby Castle}

{Caput Baroniæ[283] & wherein formerly the Sessions Assises & prisners were kept.}

The Principal Seate of this Barony of Westm'land is at Appelby Castle which is Caput Baroniæ – to which is annext the shirefalty of the County ~~of Westm'land~~ by ancient Inheritance ~~being Granted~~ \ given ~~&~~ by King John / to Robert de Veteripont in the iiijth of his reign [1202-03]. And so has passed by the Heires general from him to the Cliffords.

{The Tuftons}

And from the Cliffords to The Tuftons of Tufton; now Earles of Thanet, Barons of Westm'land & shieriffs by inheritance, & Lords of the Honours of Appelby & Skipton – of whom wee shall give a particular History when wee com to speake of Appelby Castle.

There are 2 other places which beare the names of Baronyes, Sc. Dufton & Barton, But I thinke they are only called so because they belonged to Dakers of Daker who were sometime seald Barons} {And the other to the Barons of K[endal.]}*

[Machell's Notes: I.750]

*{Q. whether here or there? The Succession of the Barons of Westm'land

[281] 'sun'.

[282] MS: 'The Barony of Westmorland is ~~commonly~~ \ otherwise / called the Bottom of Westmorland from Its \ low / situation ~~being plane and Champion lyetth in the N. part of Westmorland~~ & Is a \ most / delicate Champion Countrey ~~excepting the mountains with which it is~~ encompassed \ with mountaines / as with a ~~Girdle wall~~ \ fence / or Bulworke/ ~~and~~ \ ~~this Bottom of W. it'~~

[283] For 'caput baroniæ', see the Latin Glossary.

[I.41]

II
Part 2
Collections in Order to the
<u>Generall</u> <u>Discription</u>
&
Division of
Westm'la



Figure 4. Proposed Title Page, 'These Armes with the Pedigrees adjoyned will make a pretty Booke.' I.41.

[A.] The Method may be thus

1. A prefatorie epistle vindicateing the County from aspertions and showing that it is called Westmoreland from Mo\o/res whether fe[r]till or otherwise \ If not from Morus the King. /
2. Procede to speake of the County of Westm'land and there show: 1[t]. Why tis called a County, where Cont. & shireve, when this division first begann. 2. Why Westm'land. 3. Proceed to its description – By bounds & Limits, by figure & extent, by Quality of the soyle (1. hill, 2. daile, 3. vaile) and allso of the inhabitants \ Their customes Tenures & sports. /
3. Proceed to the division into Botom & Barony; Hundred or Wards: general parishes & Lordships.[284]

[284] 4^0 = quarto.

4. Partic[ular]. Proceed to speake of parish & Lordships therein as the more particular Tract de Westm'land and that according to alphabeticall order in the parishes, except in the shire towne, which requireing a more particular tract than the rest and haveing 2 parish churches in it, will oblige me to treat of them under the Na[me] of Appleby.

[Machell's Notes: I.41]

*These Armes with the Pedigrees adjoyned will make a pretty Booke[285] & See my Notes on Heraldry out of Boswell.[286] It is in 4^0.

[I.43][287]

Discriptio Generalis

1. Of Westm'land in Gennerall.
2. It[s] Limits.
3. Why so called? 1. Why County? 2. Why Westm'land?
4. The Quality of the soyle.
5. The Commodityes
    1. Westm'land why soe called? Sc. from the moors but Camden's sense of moor refuted & the fertility of the soyle vindicated §2. 3: p. 6. & 7. {2. Dales 3. Vailes 1. Hills}[288]
    2. It General description:
        i. By Bounds & Limites.
        ii. By figure & extent.
        iii. By it qualities – pag. 7. §8. {Sheep, mines, quarries, peeks, woods, turfes, deere, Coal} Why called a County §3. Whence the word comes, whence shire & shireue?[289] ibidem. When England was first devided into shires §4 \ p. 4 / (How many shires it was 1st divided into? How many att the Conquest? §5. & why this with some other Northern Counytes were not then taxed) \ and that Westm'land never belong'd to the Scotts §6.[290] /
        iv. {Here a Catalogue of Earls & Sheriffs.}
        v. Thence occasion to condole his want of assistance that shall undertake to write of this subject, with other imped[iments].
        vi. & here I may take occasion to share it never did belong unto Scotland.

    3. Of the rivers in Westm'land, their courses with mention of Gentlemen's seats upon them, as allso Milns & Bridges. p.15.
    4. Of the highwayes or great roads immediate *post Fluvi*.[291]
    5. A Table of Raites of One division in the East Ward which showes the \ proportion / rent of every towne therein {not to be published} & the Royal Ayde which they payd {not much pertinent} as allso of Demaines & their ~~rent &~~ \ proportion to the / Ayde: p.1.

[285] In the MS, Machell lightly sketched a coat of arms (5cm x 4cm) on either side of his title.
[286] John Boswell (or Bossewell), heraldic writer and author of the *Workes of Armorie* (Three volumes: 'The Concordes of Armorie', 'The Armorie of Honor', 'Of Coates and Creastes' (1572). 'Contains between three and four hundred coats of arms particularly well cut in wood': John Holmes, *Descriptive Catalogue of Books in his Library, Vol 2* (London, 1830), 15.
[287] Also numbered p.4.
[288] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 759; see also *N&B1*, 1, 3, for similar text.
[289] Shireue: sheriff.
[290] MS: §5.
[291] 'After rivers.'

[III.vii]

A collection of what relates to Westm'land
Out of Mr Adam's *Index Villaris*, London 1680[292]

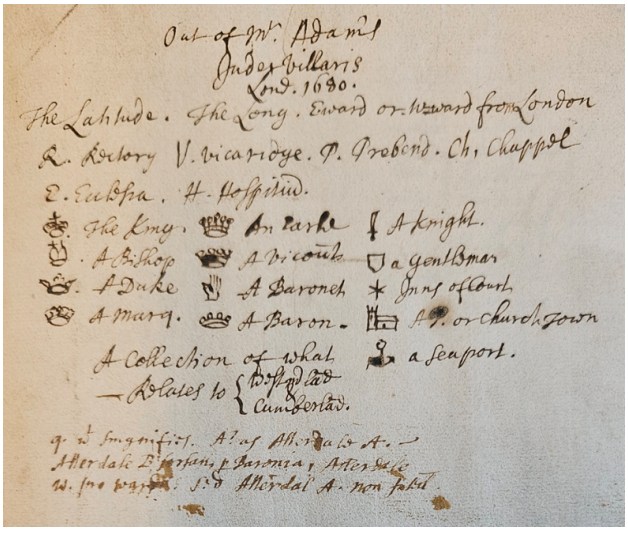


Figure 5. 'Out of Mr Adam's Index Villaris'. *III.vii.*

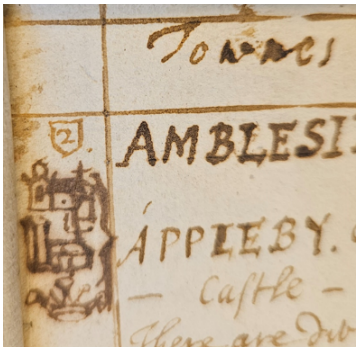


Figure 6. Examples of symbols, based on the Index Villaris. *III.1.*

[292] Machell conducted a highly charged correspondence with John Adams, see Part 3, Ch.2, E. Correspondence with John Adams, cartographer, 1686/7. In 1680, Adams published the *Index Villaris, or, An alphabetical table of all cities, market-towns, parishes, villages, private seats in England and Wales* … (reprinted with additions in 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, and designed to be used in conjunction with the map. It refers to 24,000 places using geographical co-ordinates, see Elizabeth Baigent, 'Adams, John (d.1738)'. *ODNB*. The full title gives some idea of the scope of this work: *An exact register, alphabetically digested, of all the cities, market-towns, parishes, villages, the hundred, lath, rape, ward, wapentake, or other division of each county the bishopricks, deaneries, churches, chappels, hospitals, with the rectories and vicarages in England and Wales and their respective valuations in the King's books, the private seats of the King, nobility and gentry, the number of Parliament-men sent by cities or burroughs, the inns of court, colleges, inns of chancery, or other societies, the latitude of each particular place, and difference of longitude, East or West from London : explained by words at length, and symbols or characters, in a plain and most intelligible method : hereto is added a perfect catalogue of the nobility of England and Wales to the present time, Feb. 20, 1700, with their respective seats, and the counties wherein they are situate*.

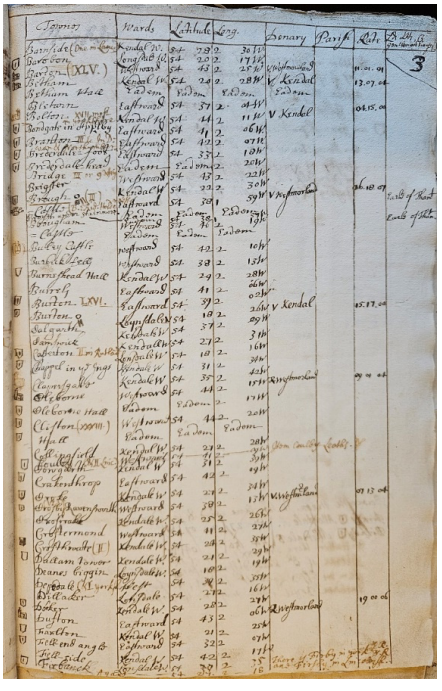


Figure 7. Part of Machell's Township Chart. III.3.

[III.1]

Towns, Wards, Latitude and Longitude, Deanery, Parish, Rate and Lords
[Chart inspired by the *Index Villaris* of John Adams]

⛊ In the chart below denotes a gentleman
[† in the chart below denotes a parish or church town]

	Towns	Wards	Latitude	Long. from London e. or w.	Denary	Parish	Rate	Lords & Gentry houses
⛊2. †	AMBLESIDE	Kendal	54-35	2-40 w.				
An earle	APPLEBY	Eastward	54-41	2-08 w.	Westmorland	St Lawr. V. St Mich. V.		Earls of Thanet
	Castle	eadem	eadem	eadem	eadem			
There are diverse other towns of this name: Sc. ~~Appellby~~ in Derbyshire in the Hundred of Ripington; in Lincolnshire in the Hundred of Manlake, & Appleby Magna & Parva in the counties of Leicester, & Hundred of Sparkingho; and Appleby Street in the county & Hundred of Hartford. From all which that this may be distinguished I would rather choose to write it Appelby, as it has bin of old. Q: Locus Appellationum or Apalby from Aballaba, its ancient name, tho I must confess that I never met with it writ in this manner.								
⛊1	Applethwate	Kendal W.	54-31	2-38 w.				1.
? 0	Armside ? Ormside	Eastward	54-34	2-09 w.				1.
? 0	Arnwith	Westward	54-43	2-22 w.				
† 2	Asby: He calls it Cotsford, the church town							

⛊3	Asby Cotsford	Eastward	54-35	2-10 west	Westm'land		R. £33. 13s. 4d	
1	Asby Magna	eadem	54-36	eadem				
1	Asby Overgrange	eadem	54-34	2-09 west				
0	Asby Parva	eadem	54-35	2-08 west				
⛊?	Ashthwate	Kendal	54-30	2-21 west				
⛊1	Askham	Westward	54-43	2-22 west				
There are ~~many~~ \ IIII / other townes of this name in Yorkshire and Notingham								
⛊2	Bampton Patric	Westward	54-39	2-22 west				
There are 2 more BAMTONS both as I take it market towns, the one in Devonshire, the other in Oxfordshire								
0	Banck	Westward	54-37	2-23 west				
There is also a place in Cumberland in Lethward of the same name, where ⛊ 1 and another in Staffordshire in the Hundreds of Pirehil: 0								
† 1	Bamton	Westward	54-39	2-23 w.		v.	7:1:4	
There is also Bamton Parva & Bamto Kirk or rather Kirkbamton in Cumberland								
								[III.3]
	Barnside (one in Lancashire)	Kendal W.	54-28	2-30 w.				
⛊1	Barobon	Longsdale w.	54-20	2-17 w.				
†	Barton (XLV)	Westward	54-43	2-25 w.	V. Westmoreland		11:01:01	
†	Betham	Kendal W.	54-20	2-25 w.	V. Kendal		04:15:00	
	Betham Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem	eadem			
	Bletarn	Eastward	54-37	2-04 w.				
†	Bolton XVII Most in Yorkshire	Kendal W.	54-44	2-11 w.	V. Kendal		04:15:00	
⛊1	Bondgate in App\e/lby	Eastward	54-41	2-06 w.				
⛊1	Branton III Sc. in Devon & Northumberland	Eastward	54-42	2-07 w.				
⛊1	Brederdale-Foot	Eastward	54-33	2-18 w.				
⛊1	Brederdale-Head Bridge III or 9 de[…]	eadem	eadem	2-20 w.				
	Brigster	Westward	54-43	2-22 w.				
⛊1	Brough o (III) (B. East Rid. Holderness)	Kendal W.	54-22	2-30 w.			16:18:07	
An Earle	Castle	Eastward	54-38	1-59 w.	V. Westmorland			Earle of Thanet
	& Brough upon Stainmore	eadem	54-38	1-19 w.				
	Brougham	Westward	54-46	2-19 w.				Earle of Thanet
	Castle	eadem	eadem	eadem				
A Bishop	Buley Castle	Westward	54-42	2-10 w.				
	Burbeck Fells	Westward	54-38	2-13 w.				
⛊	Burne Head Hall	Kendal W.	54-29	2-28 w.				
	Burrels	Eastward	54-41	2-06 w.				
⛊1	Burton (LXVI)	Eastward	54-39	2-02 w.				

⛊1	Burton 0	Loynsdale w.	54-18	2-26 w.	V. Kendal		15:17:00	
	Calgarth	Kendale W.	54-37	2-29 w.				
	Camswick	Kendall W.	54-27	2-31 w.				
⛊1	Casterton II in Rutland	Lonsdale W.	54-18	2-16 w.				
⛊1	Chappel in the Ings	Kendale W.	54-31	2-34 w.				
	Clapergate	Kendale W.	54-35	2-42 w.				
†	Cleborne	Westward	54-44	2-15 w.	R. Westmorland		09:01:04	
⛊1	Cleborne Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
⛊1	Clifton (XXXIII)	Westward	54-44	2-15 w.				
⛊1	Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
	Collingfield	Kendal W.	54-27	2-28 w.				
⛊1	Coulby (& II Linc.)	Westward	54-41	2-09 w.	Item Coulby Leaths			
	Congarth	Kendal W.	54-31	2-39 w.				
⛊1	Crakenthrop	Eastward	54-42	2-09 w.				
⛊1	Croke	Kendale W.	54-27	2-34 w.				
⛊1	Crosby (VI) Ravensworth	Westward	54-38	2-13 w.	V. Westmorland		07:13:04	
	Croscrake	Kendale W.	54-25	2-26 w.				
	Crostermond	Westward	54-41	2-27 w.				
⛊1	Crosthwate (II)	Kendale W.	54-24	2-35 w.				
⛊	Dallam Tower	Kendale W.	54-21	2-29 w.				
	Deanes Biggin	Loynsdale W.	54-18	2-19 w.				
	Depedale (& 1 Yorksh.)	West	54-39	2-35 w.				
	Dillaker	Lonsdale	54-27	2-16 w.				
⛊1	Docker	Kendale W.	54-28	2-27 w.				
†	Dufton	Eastward	54-43	2-06 w.	R. Westmorland		19:00:06	
⛊	Farlton	Kendal W.	54-21	2-25 w.				
⛊1	Fell-end Angle	Eastward	54-32	2-07 w.				
	Fell-side	Kendal W..	54-42	2-17 w.				
⛊1	Firbanck	Lonsdale W.	54-27	2-35				
	Agane		54-27	2-18	There is Firby in Yorkshire & Firsby in Lincolnshire			

[III.4]

*There are many places ~~in England~~ which begin with Glen, as first Glen, in Northamptonshire; 2. Glen Magna & Parva, & Glenfield in Leicester; 3. Glenrumney in Glamorgan in Wales.
⛊ > Graveship – Kendal Ward: 54-25/ 2-26 w.
+ many towns begin with Grisi, as Gresby in Lincoln; 2. Gresfords in Denbigh, Gresham in Norfolk & Gresham College in Midlesex, & Gresley, & Greshey Castle in Darby. Q: de Gres?
Bewcastle Nixon in the same ward & same degree of latitude; long. 02-16 w.
Birkby ⛊ 1; Allendale A. 54-27/ 3-07 w.

Birkby ⛊ 1; Allendale B.. 54-50/3-04. w.[293]
Hutton: there are xxx places of this denomination, several of which have distinguishing termes aded unto them. Sc. in Essex, Lancashire, Somerset, Yorke, Cumberland, Durham, Dorset, but most in Yorkshire.

[III.5]

⛊	Glenkwen	Westward	54-40	2-38 w.				
⛊	Grazinghall*	Kendall War.	54-30	2-19 w.				
†	Gresmere +	Kendal War.	54-36	2-45 w.	R. Kendal		28:11:05 ½	
⛊[294]	Hackthrop (14 or 15)	Westward	54-43	2-20 w.				
⛊	Hall	Eadem	Eadem	Eadem				
	Harberwen[295] (3)	Westward	44-37	2-16 w.				
	Hardingdale (7)	Westward	54-37	2-21 w.				
	Hartley (xi)	Eastward	54-33	2-00 w.				
	Castle	eadem	eadem	eadem				
	Hartshop	Westward	54-38	2-35 w.				
⛊	-Hall	Eedem	eadem	eadem				
⛊	Haverbrack Hall	Kendale War.	54-21	2-29 w.				
⛊	Harose House	Kendal War.	54-31	2-16 w.				
	Haye (VI or VII)	Kendal W.	54-28	2-24 w.				
⛊1	Hedcorne (1 in Kent)	Eastward	54-40	1-58 w.				
	Helbeck	Eastward	54-39	1-58 w.				
⛊	Helbeck Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
⛊1	Helsington	Kendal War.	54-26	2-28 w.				
	Helsington Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
	Helton (1 in Dorset)	Westward	54-41	2-23 w.				
†	Helton-Bacon	Westward	54040	2-02 w.	R. Kendall		20:00:06	
	Helton Dale	eadem	eadem	2-25 w.				
⛊1	Heversham	Kendal W.	54-21	2-29 w.	R. Kendal		08:09:02	
⛊	Highhouses	Kendal W.	54-31	2-34 w.				
⛊1	Hilton (XVIII)	Eastward	54-40	2-2 w.				
⛊1	Hincaster	Kendal W.	54-21	2-26 w.				
	Hoff	Eastward	54-39	2-09 w.				
	Hollinghall	Kendal War.	54-29	2-33 w.				
⛊1	Holme (XV or XVI)	Lonsdale W.	54-19	2-26 w.				
	Holmescales	Kendal W.	54-20	2-22 w.				
⛊1	Hoaf	Eastward	54-38	2-10 w.				
⛊1	Horlay (& 3 Horleys)	Eastward	54-36	2-24 w.				
⛊	Horlay Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
	Hornby	Westward	54-47	2-17 w.				
A Baronet	Howgill Castle	Eastward	54-45	2-07 w.				
	Hudfoot	Westward	54-46	2-14 w.				

[293] This paragraph (relating to Bewcastle and Birkby) has been scored through.
[294] This symbol has been scored through.
[295] Harberwain.

A Baronet 0	Hugill ⛊1	Kendale W.	54-31	2-34 w.				
⛊1	Hutton in the Hay x	Kendal War.	54-28					
⛊1	Hutton Roofe	Lonsdale W.	54-18	2-17 W.				
⛊1	Hutton Old	Kendal W.	54-24	2-23 w.				
	St Katherines (VI)	Kendal Ward	54-25	2-32 w.				
	Kellath	Eastward	54-32	2-12 w.				
⛊2	Kendal 0 11	Kendal W.	54-28	2-27 w.	v. Kendall		92:05:00	
	Castle	eadem	54-27	2-25 w.				
⛊1	Kentmere	Kendal W.	54-33	2-34 w.				
⛊1	Killington (8 beg)	Lonsdale W.	54-25	2-18 w.				
⛊1	Kings-Meburn	Westward	54-41	2-13 w.				

[III.6]

> Langdale: Eastward, 54-32; 2-13. W. There are no other places in the villars of this name, excepting only Longdale End in York N.R. & hundred of Whitby, 54-23; 01-19.
⛊ > *Mayburgh Castle, Westward 54-45; 2-21
+ The name of Medep: […] in Yorkshire is Middop: W.R. in Stanicliff hundred.
Mortons in England & Wales XXXIV. There is Morvale in Cornwal, Morvil in Penbrock, & Morvil in Salop.
† > 0 Musgrave Magna, Eastward: 54-36; 2-2 w. R. […] 16:8:10½
A Baronet: Musgrave Parva Eastward: 54-36; 2-3 w. (Westm'land Deanery)
*4 Ormsbys. Sc. 2 in Lancashire & 2 in Northfolk. & Ormskirk in Lancashire, a market town in Darby Ward.

[III.7]

A baronet	Kirby-Kendall	Kendal W.	54-28	2-28 w.				
⛊1	Kirby-Lonsdale 0 11	Lonsdale W.	54-17	2-18 w.	V. Lonsdale		20:15:02	
⛊1	Kirbysteven 0 11	Eastward	54-34	2-03 w.	V. Westmorland		48:19:02	
⛊2	Kirkby-Thure	Eastward	54-43	2-08 w.	R. Westmorland		37:17:08½	
	Kirkland	Eastward	54-47	2-08 w.				
⛊1	Kirk-land	Kendal War.	54-28	2-27 w.				
	Knipe	Westward	54-38	2-23 w.				
⛊1 ?	Knock (no no) Knock Torum in Chest[er]?[296]	Eastward	54-44	2-27 w.				
	Lady-ford	Kendal W.	54-28	2-27 w.				
	Lamrige	Kendal W.	54-29	2-20 w.				
⛊1	Langdale Magna[297]	Kendal W.	54-36	2-46 w.				
⛊1	Langdale Parva	eadem	54-35	2-48 w.				
	Lanton (XX Langtons)	Eastward	54-40	2-05 w.				
	Leith ~~Kend~~	Kendal W.	54-24	2-35 w.				
A Baronet 0	Levens ⛊ 1	Kendal Wa.	54-22	2-29 w.				
	Long-sleddale	Kendal W.	53-34	2-31 w.				

[296] Knocktorum is Noctorum, a suburb of Birkenhead; see F. Sanders and W.F. Irvine (eds), *Wirral Notes and Queries ... Relating to the Hundred of Wirral, Vol. 1* (Birkenhead, 1892), 40.
[297] A horizontal line here, and also beside Langdale Parva, denotes information on Langdale on III.6.

	Loughrigg	Kendal W.	54-36	2-44 w.				
	Lowther	Westward	54-43	2-21 w.	R. Westmorland		25:07:02½	
A Baronet	Lother Hall	eadem	eadem					
1	Lupton	Lonsdale W.	54-24	2-17 w.				
	Lythe (V or VI)	Kendal W.	54-24	2-34 w.				
	Malsborn	Westward	54-39	2-15 w.				
⛊1	Mansergh	Lonsdale W.	54-20	2-17 w.				
⛊1	Martindale	Westward	54-40	2-30 w.				
⛊1	Marton	Eastward	54-43	2-08 w.	R. Westmorland		21:15:05½	
	>*[298]							
⛊1	Meborn Mauds	Westward	54-41	2-14 w.				
+[299]	Methap	Kendal W.	54-20	2-33 w.				
⛊2	Midleton	Loynsdale W.	54-23	2-17 w.				
A Baronet 0	Milborn ⛊ 1 (VIII) Milborn[300] Grange Warwicksh.	Eastward	54-23	2-17 w.				
⛊1	Milthrop (III)	Kendal W.	54-21	2-30 w.				
⛊1	Mollerstang	Eastward	54-30	2-04 w.				
† 2	Morland	Westward	54-42	2-13 w.	V. Westmorland		11:18:00	
⛊	Morton Hall	Eastward	54-33	2-09 w.				
⛊1	> 0[301]							
	Naitby	Eastward	54-33	2-02 w.				
	Nanesergh	Kendal W.	54-22	2-29 w.				
	Nanerooth	Westward	54-45	2-22 w.				
⛊2	Natland	Kendale W.	54-25	2-26 w.				
⛊1	Newbiggin (VI) all in York, W. C. & Nor.	Eastward	54-46	2-10 w.	R. Westmorland		04:10:04	
⛊	Newby Stanes VI in W. & Y.	Westward	54-02	2-14 w.				
	Oddledo[…]	Westward	54-36	2-15 w.				
	Orald [?]	Kendale W.	54-22	2-33 w.				
⛊1	Ormeshead Magna	Eastward	54-37	2-06 w.				
*[302]	Ormeshead Parva	eadem	eadem	eadem				

[III.8]

*There is Pater Church in York &Patrick Brampton in the North Rideing of Yorkshire; Patricksborn in Kent, & Patrington, a market town in the East Rideing of York.
2 Shapwicks: one in Dorset & the other in Somerset.
*There is Skallingdam in the north; k in York; Skalshal, Leth Ward in Cumberland.

[298] Symbols here point to information on places beginning with the letter 'M' on III.6.
[299] A symbol here refers the reader to further information on III.6.
[300] Milburn Grange, Warwickshire.
[301] Symbols here refer the reader to information on places called Morton on III.6.
[302] A symbol refers the reader to settlements called Ormsby on III.6.

There is Sock in Somerset; Sockborn in Durram in Stricklan Ward								
								[III.9]
⛊1	Orton 0 11 (VI)	Eastward	54-33	2-18 w				
	Oxenholme	Kendal W.	54-27	2-25 w.				
⛊1 x	Patterdale	Westward	54-39	2-36 w.				
⛊1	Patton	Kendal W.	54-29	2-24 w.				
An Earle	Pendragon Castle XLI	Eastward	54-30	2-03 w.				
⛊	Powley	Westward	54-42	2-26 w.				
⛊	Preston Hall (LIII)	Kendal W.	54-22	2-26 w.				
⛊1	Preston Patrick	Kendal W.	54-22	2-26 w.				
⛊1	Preston Richard	Kendal W.	54-22	2-25 w.				
⛊	Raisgil Hall	Eastward	54-32	2-15 w.				
	Rasbeck	Eastward	54-33	2-12 w.				
⛊1	Rasgill	Westward	54-39	2-22 w.				
⛊	-Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
⛊1	Ravingstone-dale	Eastward	54-32	2-07 w.				
⛊1	Regill	Westward	54-39	2-17 w.				
⛊	Regill Grange	eadem	eadem	eadem				
⛊	Rigmadon	Lonsdale	54-35	2-40 w.				
	Runthwate	Eastward	54-32	2-17 w.				
⛊1	Rydal N. R. York	Kendal W.	54-36	2-42w.				
⛊1	Rydal Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
⛊1	Sandford (VI)	Eastward	54-39	2-03 w.				
⛊1	Seggeswick	Kendal W.	54-24	2-27 w.				
⛊1	Selside (VIII)	Kendal W.	54-41	2-07 w.				
⛊	Selside Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
⛊	Selsted Hall	Kendal W.	54-31	2-26 w.				
⛊1	Shap[303]	Westward	54-39	2-20 w.				
⛊	Shap Abbey	eadem	eadem	eadem				
⛊	Shap Grange	eadem	eadem	eadem				
⛊1	Siserge	Kendal W.	54-24	2-30 w.				
⛊1*[304]	Skalthwate Rigge	Kendal W.	54-30	2-15 w.				
⛊1	Skattergate	Eastward	54-39	2-03 w.				
⛊1	Skelsmore (XV)	Kendall W.	54-29	2-25 w.				
⛊1	Sleddale Sledmere E.R. York	Westward	54-33	2-32 w.				
⛊1	Slegill	Westward	54-41	2-16 w.				
A Baronet 0	Smardale (Smarden Kent)	Eastward	54-34	2-05 w.				
A Baronet 0	Sockbridge	Westward	54-45	2-23 w.				
⛊1	Soulby (I Cum.)	Eastward	54-36	2-03 w.				
⛊1	Sowerby (VIII)	Eastward	54-36	2-00 w.				

[303] A symbol here points to information on ‘Shap’ place-names on III.8.
[304] The symbol here refers to information on place-names beginning with ‘Skal’ on III.8.

⛊	Sowerby Castle	Eastward	54-36	eadem				
⛊1	Temple Sowerby	Eastward	54-45	2-12 w.				
	Spittle	Kendall W.	54-28	2-26 w.				
	Stainbanck Green	Kendall W.	54-28	2-26 w.				
⛊1	Stainmore	Eastward	54-36	1-54 w.				
⛊1	Stainton (X all N.W.)	Kendal W.	52-22	2-29 w.				
	Stanley (XI)	Eastward	54-40	2-08 w.				
⛊1	Staveley (I in Darby)	Kendal W.	54-31	2-31 w.				
⛊	Strickland Hall	Westward	54-42	2-18 w.				
	Strickland Kettle	Kendal W.	54-24	2-30 w.				
⛊1	Strickland Magna	Westward	54-42	2-19 w.				
	Strickland Parva	Westward	54-42	2-18 w.				
	Strickland Roger	Kendale W.	54-24	2-31 w.				
	Sunbiggin	Eastward	54-34	2-12 w.				
	Tebay	Eastward	54-32	2-15 w.				
	Thistlethwate	Westward	54-29	2-25 w.				

[III.10]

a. Thurn in Norfolk, & Thurning in Northampton & Huntington; Thurnham in Lancashire; Thurnby & Thurnenaston in Leicester.
b. There is Ullesby, a rectory in Cumberland in Allerdale; Uldale another; Ulleskelf in the N. R. in Yorkshire; Ulseby: 2 towns of that name in Lincoln; Ulsthorp in Leicester & Ulvescross Abby.

*Qu. How this mistake? For Wharton is in Kirkby Stephan parish, which is a V. rated as above.

> + Whitwell (IX) Kendal: 54-42; 2-17 w.
> 0 Winander-mere Kendal W.: 54-30; 2-40 w. R. Kendal, [£] 24:6:8.

Ad Winder: There are townes of this name, one in Lanc., another in Cumberland in Allerdale, and a place in Warwick and Wriderton in ? in Kington Hundred.

d. There is Winton in Southampton, Sussex & N. R. in Yorkshire.

[III.11]

⛊1	Thornthwate	Westward	54-38	2-27 w.				
⛊	Thornthwate Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
a.[305]	Thurnby \ Cumb et W. R. York /	Westward	54-41	2-18 w.				
	Thranthwate	Kendal W.	54-25	2-18 w.				
	Trantram	Westward	54-28	2-21 w.				
⛊1	Troutbeck (I in Cum.)	Kendal W.	54-33	2-26 w.				
	Ubarrow	Kendal W.	54-28	2-29 w.				
⛊ 2 b.[306]	Ulva	Kendal W.	54-29	2-30 w.				
	Underbarrow	Kendal W.	54-25	2-33 w.				
	Underley	Loynsdale	54-18	2-19 w.				
	Waitby	Eastward	54-43	2-18 w.				

[305] See III.10.
[306] See III.10.

⛊1	Warcop	Eastward	54-38	2-03 w.	V. Westmorland		09:15:01½	
⛊	Warcop Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
	Wastol Foot	Westward	54-35	2-19 w.				
	Wastal Head	eadem	54-36	2-23 w.				
	Watchfeild (I in Bark.)	Kendal W.	54-28	2-26 w.				
	Watland	Kendal W.	54-25	2-26 w.				
Q.	Wellop	Westward	54-44	2-11 w.				
	Wharton	Eastward	54-33	2-05 w.	R* [307] Westmorland	*	74:10:01	No suer
	Wharton Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				Lord Wharton
⛊	Whinfield	Kendal Ward	54-30	2-22 w.				
	> + 1[308]							
	Wickerslack	Westward	54-38	2-16 w.				
	> 0[309]							
	Winder	Westward	54-41	2-38 w.				
⛊1	Winstar (I in Darby by M.)	Kendal W.	54-26	2-38 w.				
⛊1	Winton	Eastward	54-34	2-02 w.				
	Witherslake (field in Sussex)	Ken W.dal	54-22	2-33 w.				
	Yanewith	Westward	54-43	2-26 w.				
⛊	Yanewith Hall	eadem	eadem	eadem				
There is Yeartor & Yearton Court in Devon								
Addenda								
	Woodside							
†	Windermere							

[III.12]

N. Alsten Moore cannot be in Westm'land Denary.

[I.600]

[B.] {Ad Generall} Pars. 3[a]}

[I.149] [310]

[General Notes 1.]

There are few places of the Compass of Westm'land which have produced so many viri clari[311] for Learneing & otherwise, as Westm'land & Cumberland; so well has the erecting of Queen's College in Oxford answerd the expect[ations] of the Piouse founder – who did it amongst som other reasons for this more especially.[312]

Par. III. A Common Place Booke for the Antiquities of Westmerland.

[307] See III.10.
[308] Symbols to denote information on III.10.
[309] Symbol to denote information on III.10.
[310] Much of the marginalia are blotted and overwritten; consequently, some of the transcription is insecure.
[311] 'Outstanding men'.
[312] The "Hall of the Queen's Scholars at Oxford" was founded in 1341 by Robert de Eglesfield, a chaplain in the household of Queen Philippa, who named it in her honour. He envisaged an establishment of fellows, chaplains, 'poor boys' and various officials and servants, headed by a Provost. Membership was to be open, but with a preference for inhabitants of Cumberland and Westmorland. Initially The Queen's College was poor, but the endowment slowly grew … After 1400 the preference for people from Cumberland and Westmorland became a monopoly, making Queen's a community of north-westerners. During the 15th and 16th centuries it prospered. Benefactors were Bishop Thomas Barlow (Provost 1658-77) and Sir Joseph Williamson (Charles II's Secretary of State). See https://www.queens.ox.ac.uk/history.

Memorandum: to paist the Map so that it may turne up out of the Booke while you are a-reading, so that you may consult it before your eyes in any part of the Booke.[313]

In the next General, speake of
Hyde &c. See this at ~~Brough~~ \ Merton / p. 1.
Cornage.
Border Service.
In Brough as novell scutagij.[314]
Allso in the beginning de Bowes.

{Method}
{South from K.[315] lyes the [blank] of Bondgate – so calld from the Town where the church stands, which is Part of Apleby & ~~and there I shal treat of~~ which hath in it 2 parish churches – St Michael and St Lawrence; ergo I shal treat of this Town – 1st of St Michael, cont[ained] in the Lordship Bongate, Sc. Crakenthorp, Murton, Hilton, Langton & Bat.: of which in order the last, of Batleber, as part of the SW.[316] And in these,

1. of Antiquities & rarityes.
2. of [317]& houses Armes & Pedegrees.}[318]

[I.41B]

Query. at London

1. Of Manner houses in the Tower Rolls;[319] to finde out the Antiq[uity] of the Gentlemen in Westm'land. Write an alpha[betical] Table. both of them and the Gentlemen.
2. Search the Her[alds] for Knights, Matches, Armes.
   i. Of ancestry of families, which were Knights?
   ii. Of Matches – belong to each family?
   {Se the Arms of Sled Becks.}

[I.42]

Ogleby[320]

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[313] There is no pull-out map but the memorandum suggests Machell's plan for the finished work.
[314] 'Scutage': money paid by a vassal to his lord in lieu of military service.
[315] Kirkby Thore.
[316] Insecure transcription.
[317] The next two words are illegible.
[318] This margin comment is very unclear.
[319] MS: 'Rools'.
[320] Several notes in these volumes refer to John Ogilby (1600-1676). They begin in 1673, when 'a group comprising the publisher John Ogilby, the lawyer Sir John Hoskins, the architect Christopher Wren, the antiquary John Aubrey and the surveyor Gregory King, held a meeting to devise a list of research topics for a projected series of county studies which were to form part of a volume on 'Britannia' envisaged by Ogilby in his capacity as Cosmographer Royal. The result was a printed sheet, 'Queries in Order to the Description of Britannia', containing headings under which information was to be sought. These were the first fact-finding requests to be specifically directed at individuals in the regions of Britain. Among listed questions on antiquities, topography, buildings and natural resources was one reflecting John Aubrey's particular interest in 'Peculiar Customs or Manners'. The Queries served as a blueprint for Aubrey's own survey of Surrey undertaken later in 1673 and were influential in structuring the research agenda of county studies in Britain and Ireland over the next generation. One young scholar influenced by them was Thomas Machell. In June 1673 Aubrey sent Anthony Wood a copy of one version of the 'Queries in Order to the Description of Britannia', and it might have been through Wood that Machell became aware of them. Their contents clearly inspired him to work on his own research design; he later admitted to having "enlarg'd Mr Oglebyes Queries, that I may be both able to satisfy Them, and myne owne curiosity." The result was his four-page pamphlet, "That the Northern Counties which abound in Antiquities and Ancient Gentry, may no longer be bury'd in Silence, Information is desir'd concerning the following Queries as they lye in order." Although it carried no imprinted date, at the bottom of one of only two extant copies Machell wrote, "1. Jan. 1676-7."' See Adam Fox, 'Vernacular Culture and Popular Customs in Early Modern England: Evidence from Thomas Machell's Westmorland', *Cultural and*

Query de: <u>These belong to the Queryes By Ogleby</u>
Westm'land:
Gray-Troutes in Ullswater their nature – and bigness.
25. Where slates &c.
29. See Cross Fell; altar the Leap measure at Woodside.[321]
31. How much money every year paid at the piller.
33. The mason's name that broke the stone writ upon at Br.
35. How ma[n]y men, how long a fulling the hole at Brampton yeat.
36. How much an Oxgang; as much as one ox can plough threwot the year; halfe a Quarter of a carucate[322] or Hyde land. 15 acres.[323]

[I.600]

[<u>General Notes 2.</u>]

<u>A Collection of Miscellany Notes to be refrd to their respective Heads in the 2nd Part.</u>[324]

For the:
Hyde Sax[on][325])
Caruca N[orman])
Carucata) \ the same / terrae, vid. Speed & mapps Huntingdonshire §3.
Virga)

<u>A Family</u>:
Manse Saxon)
Hyde Saxon)
Carucate Norman) 100 acres (i.e. 6 score) num certo gr[adu.][326]
Plowland Anglice)

Really and Truly as much as a Plow with a Teame (of 8 o[xen])[327] can till round the year; & ergo according to the stiffness [and] loosness of the soyle, sometimes greater, sometimes lesser.
<u>A virgate</u> (or Yardland) is a 4r of a Carucate: as much as […][328]
A <u>Bovate</u> (or Oxgang) is ½ a Quarter of a Carucate, as much as […][329] can plow.

Social History, 9 (2012), 329-47, at 329-31. Ogilby's best-known work is *Britannia, volume the first, or An illustration of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales: by a geographical and historical description of the principal roads thereof actually admeasured and delineated in a century of whole-sheet copper-sculps : accomodated with the ichnography of the several cities and capital towns, and compleated by an accurate account of the more remarkable passages of antiquity : together with a novel discourse of the present state* (London, 1675). Chiefly a road atlas, it was securely based on contemporary and collaborative research. See C. Withers, 'Ogilby, John (1600-1676), publisher and geographer.' *ODNB*.

[321] See II.475.

[322] Carucate: originally an amount of land such as one team of oxen could plough in a season: see the English Glossary.

[323] *N&B1*, 2, remarks that in some parts of Westmorland the customary acre measured 7840 yards, which varied from the statute measure: 'as if where the land is bad they are willing to give so much the greater measure'.

[324] 'Mixed Notes Relateing to Armory & familyes to be referd by Index' is also part of this scored-through heading, but has been omitted here. For Machell's notes on families, see II.486-88, below.

[325] A hide or hyde was a Saxon land measure which continued in use after the Norman Conquest, varying in extent with the nature of the ground, etc. Primarily, a hide represented the amount considered adequate for the support of one free family with its dependants; at an early date this was defined as being as much land as could be tilled with one plough in a year. *OED*.

[326] It is possible that these are three Latin words meaning 'presumably in fixed proportion' but the edge of the page has perished here.

[327] This word has perished.

[328] The rest of this sentence has perished.

[329] A word here has perished. The phrase probably reads, 'as much as an ox can plough'.

È Dr Thorotons *Antiq. of Notinghamshire*.[330]

[I.618]

[Letter in another hand][331]

As to your Quaere's:
Sir
1. To the 1st servicium seculare, dicitur in opposione ad spirituale et ecclesiasticum servicium &c.[332] Stat1. E. 4. C. 1. Which is a [e]stirmacon of Magna Charta where (C.1) tis said the Church of England shall be free and have its rights & liberties inviolable. So that to be free from all Secular Service is to enjoy the Liberties & privileges of Church Poscessceons, for which you may consult the Canon Law.

2. Blodwita[333] or Bloudwit is an Amerciament[334] for bloodshed: from blood & wyte, or blame. He that hath Blodwite granted him, hath power to take all Amerciaments in Courts for shedding of blood. ~~Fleta L1 C 47~~ si aliqui pugnantes &c. extraxerint sanguinem prior habebit Bloudwit i.e. Amerciamentum inde in Curia sua. Ex sig[illo] Priorat[i] de Cockesford Cowill v[er]bo Bloudwit.[335] Fleta L.1 C. 47, sig[nifica]t Quietantiam misericordiae pro effusione Sanguinis.[336]
3. Serviciu[m] Extrinsecum, or forinsecum is that Service which[337] is due to the King & not to the Capital. Lord or Intrinsecum is that which is due to the Capital Lord of the Mannor.

N.B. Bovata Terrae, an oxgang of land; that is, as much as an ox can plough, which is said (by Skene) to be 13 acres, some say 18 acres.[338] Eight Bovates make one Carrucate: 144 acres, accounting 18 to the bovate.

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[330] Robert Thoroton (1623-78), *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677). As a contemporaneous antiquary, Thoroton's references have clear similarities to Machell's. viz. 'Roger the Man or Tenent of Roger de Busli, had two Carucats in demesne, thirteen sochm., three Vill, seven Bordars, having eight plows or Carucats.' (121); 'The land was sufficient for two plows (or two carucats)' (5); 'One virgate or yardland' (9).
[331] The author of this letter is at present unknown.
[332] 'To the 1st secular service, it is meant in contrast to the spiritual and ecclesiastical service etc.'
[333] Or 'bloodwite': a fine payable for the offence of shedding blood; also, a legal action for this offence. *OED*.
[334] Or 'amercement': a discretionary penalty or fine; originally one imposed on an offender at the discretion of the court of his or her lord, as opposed to a statutory fine. *OED*.
[335] 'If individuals while fighting etc. shall draw blood, the one who initiated it shall have Bloudwit, i.e. a fine for it in his own Court. On the authority of the Prior of Cockesford. Cowill, on the word Bloudwit indicates immunity from a fine for [in proportion to] the spilling of blood.' For this passage, see John Cowell: 'Bloodwit (blodwita) is compounded of 2 Saxon words (blout. i. sanguis) and (wit) for the which we have the word (wite) still in the West parts of England signifying a charging of one with a fault, or an upbraiding. And Speight in his expositions upon Chawser saith, that (to wit) is as much as to blame. (To wit) in some other places of this land signifieth as much as (to hitte in the teeth) or to upbraide. This bloodwit is a word used in charters of liberties aunciently graunted, and signifieth an amercement for shedding of blood. So that whosoever had it given him in his charter, had the penaltie due for shedding of blood graunted unto him. Rastall in his exposition of words. *Skene de verbo. signif*. writeth it (bludveit) and saith that (veit) in English is *injuria vel misericordia*: and that (bludveit) is an amercement or (unlawe) as the Scottishmen call it, for wrong or injurie, as bloodshed is. For he that is infest with (bludveit) hath free libertie to take all amercements of courts for effusion of blood.' John Cowell (1554-1611), *The Interpreter: or Booke containing the signification of words wherein is set foorth the true meaning of all, or the most part of such words and termes, as are mentioned in the lawe writers, or statutes of this victorious and renowned kingdome, requiring any exposition or interpretation. ... Collected by Iohn Cowell ...* (Cambridge, 1607), Letter B.
[336] 'Fleta saith, quod significat quietantiam misericordiae pro effusione sanguinis. li. 1. ca. 47.' Fleta (fl.1290-1300), is the name sometimes used to designate the author of a Latin treatise on English common law (written between 1290 and 1300) entitled *Fleta*, which updates and abridges an earlier treatise (*De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae*) ascribed to Henry of Bratton (d.1268). The author of Fleta drew scattered passages from the Bratton treatise into a coherent order, omitted some content, and incorporated some of Edward I's legislation. See D. Seipp, 'Fleta (fl.1290-1300)'. *ODNB*.
[337] 'External or foreign service is that service which…'
[338] Sir John Skene, *De Verborum Significatione: The Exposition of the terms and difficill wordes conteined in the foure buikes of Regiam Magistratem*, *etc.* (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1599). Skene's changing pronouncements on

[I.42]

Ad Hunc Librum[339]
Westm'land – p.2b. How Westm'land divided from Yorkshire? Why \ called / County?
Dugdale of *Warwickshire* – Warwickshire govern'd by a vicount ante conquestum?[340]
London or Oxon Lib. – p.5b. *Ypodigma Neustriæ* by Walsingham[341] concerning 12 Towne in Cumberland granted to the Scot[s], q. an 12 et nihil amplius.[342]
Mr Dugdall *Westm'land* 14.d. If rushbearing at midsom[mer] may not allude to John the Baptist?
15.a. Where Eden riseth, with many Queries about all the Rivers.

[I.42B]

Martendale F[orest] Parke & Forests. Hall. Towers.
1. Whinfield F[orest]. 2nd. Lowther P[ark]. 3. Crosby Ravenwaith?[343] 4. Hartley Park. 5. Whar[ton]. 6. Colnhead P[ark]. 7. Sleemere. 8. Firbanke \ forsan Grarig. / 9. Midleton. 10. Kendal. 11. Camswick. 12. Watland. 13. Barborn. 14. ~~Leek~~ Croscrake. 15. Preston Chapel. 16. Siserge. 17. Brigster p[ark]. 18. Witherslack 19. Bethan.

[I.127][344]

[C.] The Division of the County

{Why County? vid paref. ad County et p.12 in A}
This County is severall ways divided, as:

1. Into 2 part: The Bottom of Westm'land & Barrony of Kendal.
2. Into 5 Wards or Hundreds: 3 in the Bottom, 2 in the Barony.[345]
3. Into parishes [blank] in the Bottome and so many in the Barony.
4. Into Lordships or mannors.

{Hon[orius] divided Kent into parishes about the 640 [A.D.]: vid V.2 Sp[eed] 294, et Lothairs.}[346]

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how many acres an ox could plough were reproduced in John Jamieson, *Supplement to the Etymological Dictionary of the Scots Language* (Edinburgh, 1841), 607-08 (HUS).

339 'In this book'.

340 'Before the Conquest?' See Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, f.2: 'Before the Normans entrance the Bishop sate in the Hundred Court, with the Lord of the Hundred, as he did in the Countie-Court with the Earl, and in the Shireeves-Turn with the Shireeve … Primi igitur sedebant, saith Sir H. Spelman, in omnibus Regni Comitatiis & tribunalibus Episcopi; in Regali quidem palacio cum Regni magnatibus; in Comitatu unà, cum Comite, & Justiciario Comitatus; in Turno Vicecomitis cum vicecomite; in Hundredo cum Domino Hundredi; sic, ut in provenda Justicia usq; quaq; gladius gladium adjuvaret, et nihil inconsulto Sacerdote (qui velut Saburra in Navi fuit) ageretur. [Therefore the leading men used to sit, saith Sir H. Spelman, in all the assemblies of the kingdom and tribunals of the Bishop: in the royal palace with the magnates of the realm; in one assembly, with the earl and judiciary of the assembly; in the Turn of the Viscount with the viscount; in the Hundred with the Lord of the Hundred; in such a way that in providing justice on all sides, sword might help sword, and nothing be done without the Bishop (who was the ballast in the ship) being consulted]. And so likewise after the Conquest, till William prohibited it.'

341 Thomas Walsingham, prior of Wymondham, said to be the last of the great medieval chroniclers, dedicated his *Ypodigma Neustriae*, to Henry V, c.1420. See J. Taylor, 'Walsingham, Thomas (c.1340-c.1422)'. *ODNB*.

342 'Whether 12 and no more.'

343 An indistinct letter or numeral appears before the question mark.

344 Also numbered p.17.

345 Nicolson and Burn refer to the number of wards being four, 'being the districts of the like number of High Constables who presided over the wards … Two of these wards are in the barony of Kendal, to wit, Kendal and Lonsdale Wards; and two in the Bottom, called East and West Wards: there was anciently a Middle Ward between these two last; but since watching and warding ceased, that hath fallen into and been absorbed by the other two.' *N&B1*, 12.

346 Honorius was Archbishop of Canterbury, 627-653. For events surrounding the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and the later spread of Christianity see 'History of the Kings of Kent' (including Lothaire), in John Speed, *Historie*, 214-17.

{Method}
Now because most places of note are situate upon rivers, before I speake of particular places I shall present you with a scheem of the course of each river, with what mills & bridges there be upon it; which otherwise I would have taken notice of in the generall description. And haveing don that, I will speake of each parish as they laye in order:

1. Of the church with what is remarkable therein and who have bin patrons.
2. Whatt Lordships or manners in the parish \ or Gentlemen's houses / & to whome they doe or have belong \ armes & descent &c. / with an accompt of what I have observed remarkable in each of 'em, whether monuments of antique; accidents or calamityes; or whatsoever else \ & schooles or hospitals. /

And least the rivers should turne away from anything remarkable, I will give you an account of the high-wayes, more especially of the Romane, with occurrences I can remember, which may serve the travaller to divert himself withall. {Dout whether by highwayes or rivers}.
Lastly, I shall annex the coates of armes of all the gentry with their blazonry, and that to prevent all exceptions, ordine alphabetico,[347] together with their ma[t]ches and pedegrees.

{ad Stanelands Burwens}
{Bottom} Sunt glebae [prove[ntus]] novi] quae agriculae imperio numquam recusant*, sed cumulation[is] mensura quod recipiunt reddunt (viz. Stanelands). (Turfs Peats Lings Coales Whins copses.) Hyemes hu[ius] loci sunt satis clementes, frigoris enim vim carbonis fossilis ligni et cespitum abu[n]dantia, ita disolvit, montesque in altum circumfusi ita moderato te[m]pore terram fove[n]t, ut multo rimosius sit apud eos frigus, quam in non nullis Angliae regionibus, ~~xxx~~ in Septentrionali parte possitis.[348]

[Machell's Notes: I.127]

*Cf. Cicero de senectute XV.51: ...terra, quae numquam recusat imperium nec umquam sine usura reddit, quod accepit.[349]
{Shires 100 & tith[es] 358, col. 2, f. 25}

[I.128]

{Bottom}
In 2as partes dispertita Westmaria est, Inferiorem et Superiorem quarum inferior, Westmariae fundus est ie The Bot[t]om of Westm'land; superior autem Barony de Kendal ie The Barony of Kendal vulgo appellatur. pars inferior praeruptis at cerulei coloris montibus circumcincta qua mirum in modum occulos delectat est magis culta magis consita, ideo laetior, nor per libratata planetie, sed modice plana plurima imo tota (nisi qua sylvas copiosessime progignit, pratis pascuis et frumentariis jacet ca[m]pis), Hordeumque laudatissimum ibi Big vocatum, Triticum Avenas, cum omni granarum genere copiosissime effundit, adeo ut circum-vicin[i]s comitat. 69 Saepissime subministrat. 27 {magnum frumenti numerum et farris copiam non exiguam, ad vicinos alendos quotannis exportaveri[n]t. 229 vid.} (Hic piscium tanta multitudo, salmonum, […][350] et praecipue Truttarum; ut advenis sit miraculo carnis bovinae ovinae et ferinae, saporis optimi ut Advenis sit miraculo, Indigenis pro Illorum admiratione ludibrio.277) Colles etiam quibus includitur sylvis vid. The Adventure of Mr J. Smyth, London 1670 p.114 olim utrimque amicti fuere, nu[n]c vero pecoribus: jis subsunt utrimque a[r]va, arvis floridis[si]ma prata at pascua, et in medio Ituna fluvius limpidissimus interlabitur quae circumvienis agris quasi vim vitalem infundit 349. Laudatissimarum aquarum faecunda olim Genetrix. Vallis Amplissima per 12 ad min[imum] fere miliaria a Burgo sub Sax et ad pontem Emoti in longitudine jacet, latitudinem alicubi supra 11 a … extendit; alendis frugibus

[347] 'In alphabetical order.'
[348] 'There are lands which never refuse the farmer's demands, but, by the measure of their accumulation, what they receive they again release (viz. Stanelands). (Turfes Peats Lings Coales Whins copses.) The winters of this place are quite mild, for the abundance of coal, timber and turves so far diminishes the force of the cold, and the high encircling mountains so far warm the earth with their moderate climate, that among them the cold weather has far more remissions than in many regions of England located in the Northern part.'
[349] 'Land which never resists mastery nor ever returns without interest what it has received.'
[350] Here, Machell left space for additional text.

pascendis pecoribus mitissima frequentibus opidis, et nobilium virorum Domubus exculta crebrisque fluminibus rigata. Lincolnsh[ire] 297.[351]

{Cantridum} vocant Britanni terrae portionem, quae 100 villas {complectitur, inde} Cantrid Bickam centuria minor. Caer Nerv. Denbysh. 371.[352]
{Kendal} Licet hac per montibus plurimum emineat, convallibus tamen grata fecunditate, tum pascuis tum arvis faelix est regio.[353]
{Dales}A fluminibus valles apud nos denominantur (says Cam.) unde Wensedall quasi Vents dale, ie vallis ad ventum (Sic Kendale, quasi Kent dale, ie vallis ad Kent. sic denique Loansdale, q[uasi] vallis ad Loane.) 223.[354]
{Westm'd} Frugibus satis fertilis, gregibus abundans fossilium carbonum et metallorum, plumbi praecipue, alicubi ferax 370 et ut res est Dicam est Regio, nisi in montes amoena et fertilis, sua semper in principem fide et in exteros humanitate inter celeberrimas Britanniae regiones connumeranda. u[t]pote in qua[355]

[D. Passages concerning the Division of Westmorland]

[II.464][356]

Kendale Barony, tho it contane it Loansdale allso, and Langdale? with severall ~~littell vilages~~ \ other / dales & hamlets here & there. There is but one considerable valley ~~commonly~~ and because it is so incompassed with hills, is ergo called the Bottom of Westm'land. It begins at Brough and so extends it selfe in Length to Browham Castle [blank] miles in Bredth from [Blank] to [Blank], [Blank] miles.

[II.463]

From the Roy † to Browham Castle, 21 miles, and so from Hellgill brig to Browham, 21.
The bredth from Teeswater to Raflen Forrest near Shap, 16 miles.

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[351] 'Westmaria is split into two parts, Lower and Upper, of which the lower is the bottom i.e. The Bottom of Westmorland; while the upper is commonly called the Barony of Kendal i.e. The Barony of Kendal. The lower part surrounded by steep, blue-coloured mountains, which make it a wonderful delight to the eyes is the more tilled, more cultivated, and therefore more prosperous, and not because the plain is level, rather, most of it lies only more or less flat (except where it produces woods in abundance), but all with meadows, pastures and corn fields. And it brings forth a barley called Big most celebrated there, [also] Wheat [and] Oats, with every kind of grain most abundantly, to such an extent that it furnishes the neighbours round about. Very often it supplies [them]. {It exports a great quantity of corn and no small supply of spelt for the sustenance of its neighbours every year. 229 see.} Here is such a quantity of fish, salmon … and especially trout; [and] of beef, mutton and game, of [such] superb flavour that to strangers it is a miracle, though their admiration makes the natives smile. And the hills by which it is enclosed, see *The Adventure of Mr Smyth* (London 1670), p.114, were once covered on either hand by woods, but now by flocks: next to them on both sides is arable land, in the cornfields, lovely flowery meadows and pastures, and in the midst slips by the river Eden, crystal clear; which pours out its vital force, as it were, on the surrounding fields .349 … once the fertile Mother of the most celebrated waters. A very broad valley lies about 12 miles at least in length from Brough under Stainmore to Eamont bridge; it extends in breadth in some places over 11 [miles] from [Blank]; it is very mild for cultivating crops and pasturing flocks, with numerous towns, and adorned with the mansions of noblemen and watered by many rivers.'
[352] 'The Britons call a portion of land which embraces 100 houses, a cantrid, hence Cantrid Bickam; a lesser hundred.' A cantred, cantrede or cantref (a noun associated with the English land area 'Hundred') is an area of ground containing 100 settlements. A half or other portion of a cantred is called a cymwd. *OED*.
[353] 'Although lofty mountains rise up here, in the vale, however, the region enjoys a delightful fertility, blessed both in its pastures and also in its cornfields.'
[354] 'Among us the valleys are named after the rivers (says Camden), hence Wensedall like Vents dale, that is, the valley of the Vent (thus Kendale, like Kent dale, i.e. the valley of the Kent, thus, finally, Loansdale, like the valley of the Loane.)', 223.
[355] 'Very fertile in its crops and its flocks, rich in coal mines and minerals, especially lead, in some places fruitful 370, the fact is, I would say, that the region is a pleasant and a fertile one except in the mountains, ever, through its loyalty towards the monarch and its civilised attitude to strangers, to be reckoned among the most distinguished regions of Britain. Seeing that …'
[356] Also numbered p.17.

[I.43]

The Barony of ~~Apleby~~ Westm'land for the all or most part thereunto held Lands of the Barony commonly called the Bottom of W. and by the Barony men called Westm'land: & so the Barony of Apleby was anciently called the Barony of West[morland].
The Barony of Kendall commonly called the Barony for distinction sake from the Bottom of Westm'land commonly so called: yett these are not soe different but that even the Baron of Kendal himselfe was obliged to doe sute in the Court of Apleby as you will finde in my Notes of one of those places.[357]

[I.129]

{Division Gen. v. p.19. H.}
The most generall division of it is into 2 part which we may cale Alpina and Transalpina. The one mountaineouse, tho hear and there intermixed with little valleys; the other Champion, yett here and there swelling with hills. The Champion ground is frequently called the Bottom of Westm'land, and Westm'land,[358] the Hilly Country {which is so calld}, is called the Bar-rony, and more particularly the Barony of Kendall, and they call the Bottome, by way of eminence, Westm'land denominatione a majori simul et majori parte descripta[359] the Bottom, of both more fertill and popularis.

{Whence Wards p.56 et quaere? Which is so calld q. p.}[360]
It is otherwise divided into ~~Hundred~~ Wards or Hundreds \ a p.13 col. 2 / whereof in the Bottome are 3 Wards: Eastward, Westward & Midle Ward, and answerably 3 High Constables, to each ward, One. Petty Constables,132. v. Note (a) p.4.
{So called p.1} In the Barony are onely Kendall Ward & Loansdall Ward; to each of which one High Constables; Petty Constablewick, 51. So that in Westm'land there are 5 Wards 8 Hundreds or high Constablewicks; Petty Constables, 183.

{Whence Pari\shes/ Camden p.57}[361]
The next division is into Parishes. And of these we finde [blank] in the Bottom of Westm'land with [blank] Chapels of Ease. In The Barony [blank] with [blank] Chapels of Ease. So that in the whole County are [blank][362]
The 4th and last which I shall take notise of is, if parishes, into Lordships or Manners, whereof there are for the Bot[tom] [blank], in the Bar[ony] [blank]. so that in the whole County there [blank] manner houses, or seats of Nobility and Gentry, as will more particularly appear from this following[g] schedule.
{Whence Manners?}

	Wards	Parishes	Manners
Bottom			
Baron			

Now if I had ~~a minde to write a Booke and leisure~~ leisure sure to doe it I would speake of every parish within the Church, what Lordships to whome they belong and what remarkable in each Lordship.

[I.131]

~~But because I am att too great a distance I shall \ to have other business / rather proceed by way of answer to these queryes which cam lately to my hand, & put me upon this unnecessary imployment.~~

[357] This is followed by information on Constablewicks, also found on MS.I.129.
[358] A crossed-through Latin phrase here, '~~late\[rn]tu/bis~~', might mean 'latent; concealed'.
[359] 'Named, and at the same time apportioned, from the greater portion.'
[360] Wards: See Camden, *Britannia,* tr. Holland (1637), 158.
[361] Camden numbered the ecclesiastical parishes in England and Wales, quoting Matthew Parker (1504-75), Archbishop of Canterbury, who counted them in the archdioceses of Canterbury and York. As Westmorland was divided between the Dioceses of York and Chester, Machell could not ascertain the number through this means: see Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 160-62.
[362] Camden gives the number of parishes as 26, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 763.

~~Haveing reduced them to this closer method. Crackenthorpe ita fuit arbores fructum proferentes, non insitivae manus industria sed Ipsiuss humi natura?~~[363]

[I.59]

{Unde dicit Westm'land?}[364]
It is indeed a thing to be lamented, and the greatest occasion ~~regarding working to write a book~~, \ which discourages me from writeing concerneing this county / is that Historyes are so silent: and that I should be deprived of the assistance which other men have \ so easily / bin happy in from *Doomsday Booke*. And therefore, not knowing where to begine I must content my selfe with takeing some rude notes of those monuments of antiquity which yett remaine, they being the onely evidences I know of the famous exploits which have bin performed here in former aiges. But to proceede I must show in the next place why tis called Westm'land.

[Machell's Notes: I.59A]
Anno 1175, 17 Kal. Sept. apud Ebor[acum] facta fuit conventio et finis Inter Henricum Filium Imperatricis et Willielmum Regem Scotiae […][365] qui ~~redidit sit~~ liberavit. Regi Henrico Castellum de Be[r]wick, C[astellum] de Jedeworth, C[astellum] puellarum et de Strouelin in misericordia. Regis Angliae et Inter alios Richardum de Morevilla constabularium et Richardum Comitem & Johannem de Vaux, et Hugonem Rydell, p.493, Ed. 1.[366]

[E. Passages relating to the name 'Westmorland', the county's fertility, and perceived inaccuracies in the writings of older historians][367]

[I.44A]
For the \ lesser and more / southerly part (The Barony of Kendal) is confessd to be sufficiently fertill in the valleys thereof. And the \ larger / more northerly \ The Barony of Westm'land / (of which he[368] takes no manner of notice) cannot be denyed \ by any that see it / to exceed in ~~fruitfulness~~ \ fertility, / being a large Champion Country [blank] miles long, & [blank] miles broad {surrounded with a ridge of high mountaines \ which are here calld fells /as it were upon a mound \ & within which ~~one can~~ is divers / full of rich meadows cornfields pastures, here and there interspersed with woods[369] and washed with a number of rivers and ~~other such~~ \ swe[e]t / brookes (which branche themselves like so many veines into the noble river of Eden (~~as the vena cava~~): which springeth in the head of Westmorland, \ at Hewseat Hill / & runneth down the midst of this barrony like the vena cava in a man's body,[370] & impregnates the same with life & vigour) by reason, \ which it becomes / of which It becometh so fruitfull that it hath not only enough of it[s] own to susteine it selfe \ withall, / but allso to supply ~~& support~~ the neighbouring Partes of Yorkshire[&] Bishoprick upon all occasions with corne and hay, & severall other partes of the Kingdom with cattle, & sheep, which have the report of the sweetest muttons that are in the nation. And tis commonly calld the Bottom of Westm'land.

[I.60]

[Moors or Meres]
Loca etenian inculta (sayes Camden) et quae non facile agricultura sublevari possint moors Angli septentrionales vocant et idem quae tota inter montes alter pertingentes ad occasum sita est hoc nomen

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[363] 'Crackenthorpe was thus, the trees bearing fruit not by the labour of another's hand but by the nature of the soil itself.'
[364] 'Below, speak of Westm'land?'
[365] Some words in this Latin passage are obscured by the binding.
[366] 'In the year 1175, 17 Kal. Sept., a meeting and final concord took place between Henry son of the Empress and William King of Scotland, who liberated to King Henry the Castle of Berwick, the Castle of Jedeworth, the Maidens and of Strouelin, in compassion for the King of England, and, among others [Sc. liberated] Richard of Moreville, Constable, and Lord Richard, and John of Vaux, and Hugo Rydell.'
[367] This text, musing on the name of Westmorland, is included here as one of at least 10 such references in Machell's MS. All repeat aspects of the extracts above; see MSI.43A; MSI44B; MSI.44C; MS.II.451.
[368] William Camden.
[369] See *N&B1*, 3, for the same information.
[370] 'Like the hollow vein in a man's body.' Venæ cavæ (Latin) = 'hollow veins.'

Invenit. i.e. …[371] Nor am \ I / willing to derive it from those famous meers, which are in \ the western parts of / this County (tho it has bin writ formerly Westmerland, & not Westmorland).

[I.45][372]

[Criticism of John Speed and William Camden]

Before I proceed to give ~~an account~~ a description of this Country \ of W. / I must endeavour to correct the errours of former writers, \ or late antiquarij / and especially of Mr Speed, who does not onely make the soyle for the most part so barren {magna ex parte sayes Camden}[373] that it cannot be brought to any fruitfulness by the industry and painefull labour of the husbandman: But allso confines the whole plenty thereof, within the narrow bounds of the Vailes near Kendall situate between the river Loane[374] and Wind\nand/ermere.[375] Whereas tis most certane that the Country in Generall is sufficiently stored with all sorts of Commodityes for supplying the necessityes of humane nature \ & to susteine themselves and others / and that in such abundance, that it often ~~supplies~~ \ assistes / the neighbouring Counties (~~& Durham in particular~~ \ & Yorkshire & Bishoprick / with Corne and Hay {even from the more Northern part of Westm'land which he Take no manner of notice of} from that part of Westm'land as which lyes more northerly, & is {commonly calld the Bottom of Westm'land ~~which~~ from it situation being a large Champion Countrey} within the Beayes of Westm'land.[376]
And for that part of Westm'land which lyes about Kendall, \ and therefore, though the more Southerly part; / tho it be in deed a plentifull Country, he was ~~guilty of a very~~ grossly ~~oversight~~ \ mistake when he neglected that spacious vaile called the Bottome of Westm'land, which does not onely exceed it in bigness butt frutefullness ~~too~~ \ allso, / as must easily be granted, by any who considers \ the advantageous situation of it being / how it lyes – environed with lofty mountaines to keep of the cold, \ on every side / & how well it is watered with a number of rivers, whose bankes swell with fatness. {Yett the more sothern part is not reported (sayes he) & here writes upon report, notwithstanding he pretends in the Preface to have seen every province of England and Wales and for the most p[art] transcribes out of […][377] who does not [pre]tend to so much [ex]perience, tho I [thin]ke he had more.} But I suppose the ground of this mistake was partly his want of good information, for he writt upon hearsay; and partly the authority of our Incomparable Antiquarie, who will have it calld Westm'land, quia tota inter montes alte pertingentes\ ad. occasum / sit sita et magna ex parte inculta jaceat, loca etinim inculta\ (sayes he) / et quae non facile Agricultura subleuari possint Mores Angli septentrionales vocant. Unde Westm'land; quae nihil aliud est, quam inculta ad occasum regio.[378] In which Mr Camden ~~comes very near the matter as to it denomination~~ but is somwhat mistaken (pace tanti authoris)[379] in the use of the word whence he derives it; for the northern people ~~mongst whome I have liv'd a considerable time, and~~ with whose language I am very well

[I.47][380]

acquainted, never call their lofty and towering mountains, by the name of Moors {only Stanemore ~~which is a place on Yorkshire side~~ a mountane towards Westmerland}, for they are call'd Fells; nor

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[371] 'For (says Camden) such barren places which cannot easily by the painfull labour of the husbandman bee brought to fruitfullnesse, the Northern Englishmen call moores; and Westmoreland is nothing else with us but a western Moorish country. Let that dream therefore of touching King *Marius*, bee excluded out of the schoole of reverend antiquity.' *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 759A.
[372] Also numbered p.1.
[373] 'For the most part, says Camden': *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 759A.
[374] Lune: see *N&B1*, 3.
[375] This text resembles John Speed's description of Westmorland: *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611-1612), 85-86.
[376] 'Beay': 'a recess in a range of hills', in *OED* as 'Bay'. Alternatively, 'Brea' is a variant of brae: a steep, a slope, a hillside: *Dictionaries of the Scots Language*. Online.
[377] The name given here has perished but see I.47, below, where John Leland's research is discussed.
[378] 'Because it is situated entirely among mountains that stretch right out to the west and lies for the most part uncultivated, for places which are uncultivated and cannot easily be improved by agriculture, the northern Englishmen call Moors. Hence Westm'land, which is nothing other than an uncultivated region to the west.' See Camden, *Britannia* (1587 edn), 517-8.
[379] 'With respect to so great an author'.
[380] Also numbered p.2.

yett their places, which are either Barren or unfit for Culture, for they are commonly either Lings or Mires*: Butt their Other waste grounds (be they never so fertill ~~&~~ \ or convenient / fitte for tillidge) which are not inclos'd, but lay waist and in Common; these they call Moors. \ ~~as you know very well~~ / But neither Mr Speed nor yett Mr Camden for anything I \ can / finde \ to the contrary / have had the happiness to write of this place by their Owne experience (~~they not being there~~ \ the one haveing never bin in the country the other only in the more southerly & mountainouse part, calld the (c) Barony Kendal /†.
Whereupon adhereing too much to the name, and playing a little too much ~~with the Name~~ with the word {the onely thing which Mr Camden seems to be afraid off},[381] they have renderd Westm'land more fruteless and Barren than indeed it \ really / is (as will evidently appear when I come to particulars.) Onely here give me lieve to remarke, that if Cumberland (which ~~they truly represent as~~ \ owne to be / a plentifull ~~and fertill~~ Country) had hapned \ chanc'd / to have \ had / the same denomination, it had scaped \ fared / no better. For there can no reason in Nature be given, why that County should abound so in all things \ necessary (~~as they have represented it~~) / and Westmerland \ pass for a / barren \ place / whereas the soyle is (for \ the / most part \ of / the same \ nature ~~which~~ / ~~these~~ and as full of mountaines every whitt as well watered as that; and of the more southerly situation ~~remote from the north~~ \ and to satisfy them of their ~~ignorance herein~~ \ mistake in this particular. /

[Mr Camden \ & Mr Speed as little more than his translator / as far as I ~~am~~ \ ~~able to~~ / conjecture, came into Bishoprick and Yorkshire; but turnd of into Lancashire – &[382] so entered upon that part of Westm'land towards Kendall; whence he seems to have pass'd to Millum & so travalled on by the eastern-shore,[383] even to Bulness,[384] where he trac[ed] the Ruines of the Picts wall & had a view [of] a great part of Cumberland & Northum[berland], no dout allso that he st[epped] into Scotland.[385] But whether he returned by Newcastle or (which is more likely) pass'd over into Ierland and thence by shipp came to London againe, lett others determine \ enquire. / ~~But~~ However I doe affirm that he never came in the Bottom of Westm'land, there being not the least probability of it, \ for / if he had, those many monuments of antiquity which lay so obviouse in that part of the Country \ even in the highway / had not bin conceald \ or omitted by him / nor so plentifull ~~a soyle~~ \ & pleasant a plasse / pass'd over without his observation. Much of what he has writt about Westm'land he had out of Leiland, & in particular his description of Apleby.[386] And yett Leiland himself was no whit more fortunate for he travailed no further than Barnards Castle, & where made his enquiries concerning Westm'land \ and tooke them on heresaye. / ~~and these~~ I imagin Camden did allso where he had not a view of the whol Country. But to excuse himselfe he has this expression in His Epistle: Fieri tamen potest ut a nonullis quibus fidem adhibui, perperam sim edoctus.[387] {Int. Cambden ad Lectorem}[388] And soe doubtless he was concerning this place.

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[381] See Camden: 'Many happily will insult over me for that I have adventured to hunt after the originals of names by conjectures, who if they proceed to reject all conjectures, I feare me a great part of Liberall learning and humane knowledge will be utterly out-cast into banishment': *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), Preface.
[382] Four words have been interlineated here but they are illegible, apart from 'in Lancashire'.
[383] The text has perished here, but the letters 'Ea … ern' can be seen.
[384] Bowness. See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 775.
[385] Part of this margin comment has perished: the words 'Furness' and 'Northumberland' are partially lost.
[386] John Leland (c.1503-1552) was an antiquary who made several journeys in England, recorded in his notebooks as 'Itineraries'. Though unpublished in his lifetime, most of the notebooks were preserved, for example, in the Bodleian Library. During the late 16th century, Leland's antiquarian writings were championed by William Camden, William Lambarde (in his *Survey of Kent*) and John Stow (in his *Survey of London*, 1598). In the 17th century, antiquaries such as William Dugdale, John Aubrey, Robert Plot, and Anthony Wood greatly admired his work. See J. Carley, 'Leland, John, poet and antiquary'. *ODNB*.
[387] 'It may be that I have been misled by the credit of authors and others whom I tooke to be most true, and worthy of most credit.' Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), Preface, final paragraph.
[388] Camden, Preface.

These things I thought fitt to premise; that if any should happen to meet with these papers and be so vainely prodigall of his time as to give them the reading; he may plainly discover that I goe not about to thwart such grave Authors whose Learning & Industry I shall ever admire, without ~~some appearance of solid reason~~. \ good grounds. / And I was the more imbolden'd thereunto, not onely because I have Truth on my side but their invitations allso, who would \ not / willingly impose upon us, but have ~~all that is~~ \ what's / amiss to ~~our gentle correction~~ \ be corrected hereafter. / Cambden in Epist. dedico. In plurimis me posse errare fateor, nec erroribus indulgebo; quis totam diem iaculans semper colliniet?[389] I shall therefore proceed to the general discription which both confess were fertill enough in the valleys thereof, ~~but~~ yett supposeing the northerly part of Westm'land to be more mountainouse & by consequence ~~more~~ less fit for tillage. And mistakeing the notion of the word Moore, which they would insinuate have to imply barren mountanes which cannot be cultivated, they have represented the County in general.[390]

[Machell's Notes: I.47]

*Heaths or Boggs.
†{Si vero ex Platonis praecepto rei naturam non exprimant, si non sint liquidae purae ex natura ipsa petitae (loquitur de etymologia conjecturis suis) explodantur ejiciantur exulent. Ibid.}[391] {Mr Camden was in Yorkshire. & see my Booke of Inscriptions} {Partem Regni longe maximam perlustravi: Camden in praefat Epist.}[392]

[I.141][393]

But to proceed:

Descriptiones of the name of Westmerland

[Moorland]
[1.] The County of Westm'land \ is so called / sayeth Mr Camden, from being a Western moorish Countrey &c. But here I ~~crave here to~~ must needs dissent from his Judgment, {because (being better \ ~~both~~ / known to the place & the language of it) I am well assured that a moore \ or more / with them is a Generall name for what lieth in Common, being never so fertall & more the surpluss sayd.} \ Besides / (in the mane) tis Plentifull Countrey & affordes great store of good arable ground meadow & pasture, not only in the Barrony of Kendall, but much more \ ~~allso~~ / in the Bottom of Westm'land, \ ~~as is obvious to any consider~~ / considering the small extend of the Countrey[394] where their very moores, as they were called, if as by the ridges it doth appear they have bin formerly, would bring forth good corne.[395] And their Mountaines ~~afford~~ \ allso yield very / Good Pasture for \ cattle / sheep & ~~besides~~ many rich veines of Lead & Coale ~~they yield underground which~~ are ~~conceald~~ in them, and som brought to light; which in due \ time / place shal be made apear: nihil nobis de est praetor.[396]

[King Westmer]
2. that it is so calld from one King Westmer; who should have ruil'd here, & in a fierce Combate on the Top of Stane Moore, ~~where this County & Yorkshire parteth \ meeteth / should have~~ \ should have

[389] Camden, *Britannia*, Lectori, 10: 'in plurimis me errare posse … fateor, nec erroribus indulgebo. Quis totam diem iaculans semper collinet?' Translates as, 'And so I right willingly acknowledge that I may err much; neither will I sooth and smooth my errors. Who shooting all day long doth always hit the mark? See *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), Preface: 'To the Reader'. Machell's 'colliniet' should have been written as 'collinet'.
[390] MS: 'they have \ Ms / represent the C. in gen.'
[391] 'But if according to Plato's rule they do not express the nature of the thing, if they are not pure liquids procured from nature itself (he speaks about etymology from his own conjecture) they are rejected, thrown out, excluded. Ibid.'
[392] '"I have surveyed the greatest part of the Realm far and wide": Camden in the Preface to his Epistle.'
[393] A page of (mostly illegible) interlineation and scoring-through. What is legible has been reproduced.
[394] An indistinct interlineated phrase appears here.
[395] Nicolson and Burn concur with Machell's judgment: 'There is not one ancient record that we have met with, wherein it is not expressly called *Westmerland,* and not *Westmorland*; which doth not altogether favour Mr Camden's supposition: the Latin termination is *Westmaria*, sometimes *Westmeria*, which hath still less resemblance of the moor.' *N&BI*, 1-2.
[396] 'We lack nothing except'.

slane / ~~subdued a~~ King ~~called~~ Rothinger, ~~upon which victory this verses (tis sayd) writt~~ another \ great / prince ~~who~~ \ that /contended with him, & endeavor'd to drive out of his Kingdom, whereupon (as they say), a Cross was reard up \ erected & sett for a \ on a long stone rather now is calld a † of very place where combat was fought. / In the ~~rear of this Country where it Joyneth~~ \ very place where this combat was fought, with this Inscription: Here King Westmer sloe King Rothinger which how true it is I ~~cannot~~ shal not determine \ shal not concerne myself \ now / much to enquire, the † ther being had no devision. / But the ~~cross~~ \ stone / standeth still as a meet or Bounder betwixt this County \ & the County of / ~~&~~ York~~shire~~; ~~& Is~~ \ being / called \ by / the name of Rear Cross upon Stane-moore.Yett Hector Boetius, a zealous Scottish author, tells a contrary story.

[Machell's Notes: I.141]

{Neither is it a barren but a plentifull Country, affording great store (for the compass of it) of good arable land, pasture and meadow and that not onely ~~as is very obvious~~ for the Barony of Kendal but allso much more &c.}
{But what is tilled already affords so much of it, & mont. fells, that it yields like money, ~~this County may~~ Served by quits the cost of husband[ry], Westm'land might say of itself did: Inopem me copia fecit[397] which I suppose might be amended if they would convert more into pasture – But tho their breed would over: Up Corne – Down Horne – Up Horne – Down Corne …}
{With the stat of 7 yeares exemption from tithes & fit for tillage; If it were needfull; but the ~~Country~~ fields doe yield so much corne already that it bear but smal price: will hardly pay the Hus[band]man for his cost to till.}
{So that it being not be called Westm'land from being a western mooreish County in their Barony sense \ or so / though it might in the other, as abounding \ with /many ling moores or commons, which are fit for tilledge but for want of people (to spend & take the fruites of the earth), doe lye uncultivated, ~~They~~ are called Mores ~~therein~~, \ whereby Moores ~~import~~ meane, \ according to his own fashion, / barren heath \ ground of / in he sayes of this c. ~~county~~.'

[I.142]

He[398] saith it was sett as \ affirmeing that this † was erected for / the Outmost Limit of the Kingdom of Scotland, ~~& calls its~~\ & to collour the matter / ~~&~~ calls it Roy Cross; affirmeing ~~that~~ the English & Scottish armes \ to have bin formerly / ~~were~~ Ingraved upon it \ carved either side: one on that side & the other on this! {But I doe belive ~~that he steps too far~~, that being ~~a zelot~~ \ zealous / for his own Countrey he steps \ but step'd / too far to Inlarge the Boundes of it, & has made an inroade with his Pen. For not concerneing to inflict myselfe with the misnomer, I have often viewed it with the greatest dilligence and could never perceive the least vestigia,[399] so much as the shape of a shield or scutchion on either side of it, much less the Inscription that wee spoke of before. Nor did the Kingdom of Scotland reach hither, In any aige; for all they \ could ever with any colour / pretend or to or was, the Countys of Cumberland \ & Northumberland / – wherein (when \ we com to examine this manner it strictly / it comes to be examend) {and my reasons are in the Latter, of which they had Tindal formerly in the other} ~~it will~~ \ ~~we shall~~ / \ it will be / discovered that \ in all probability / they had but five Townes, which \ & those / they held in Homage of the Kings of England; tho perhaps with the Tithe of Dukes of Cumberland, \ theretofore / annexed therto. For their authors \ affirmeing / say that it was a Dukedom. \ Howbeit, this, & (the other story) make way & give light to \ an other / conjecture (which I will adventur to insert of myne owne;[400] that this Tract of Ground might be called Westm'land; (I doe not say the County of Westmerland \ for thats an addition of later date; for the division of this Ile / into Shires & Countys is ascribed to King Egbert the first Saxon monarch – by H. Huntington[401] – who began his reigne Anno 800 – or […][402] Now the Highest wee can go for it, is to

[397] 'Plenty has made me poor'.
[398] Hector Boetius.
[399] MS: 'For not concerneing \ ~~to notiss~~ / \ to inflict upon the / myselfe with the misnomer, I have often viewed it with the Greatest dilligence, and could never perceive \ the least vestigia. /'
[400] MS: 'Howbeit, this, ~~Contest (on the Scottish side)~~ & (the other story) ~~& the other may way~~ make way ~~story~~ & give ~~unto~~ light to ~~another~~ \ an other / Conjecture ~~of my~~ (which I will adventur to Insert of myne owne.)'
[401] Henry of Huntington (c.1088-c.1157), *Historia Anglorum or The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon. Comprising the history of England, from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the accession of Henry II. Also, The acts of Stephen, king of England and duke of Normandy* (1129-1154).
[402] The following blotted word is illegible.

King Ina – Anno Dom. 720 – as Mr Dugdall doth show more at Large {in his Preface}. Tho Ina is strictly fixed there.)[403]

[3. Marius or Morus]
This Tract of Ground might peradventure be called but Westmerland – e Terra Maris Occidentalis / from Marius or Morus, a Brittish King; {It might be his territory} ~~especially if he ruld of the Brigantes~~ & as som say, Præfect to the Romans themselves – for Westm'land in the Roman Language is Terra Morij Occidentalis. And the ground I have for it is this Inscription, which is ~~supposd~~ \ tooke / kept at Ilekirke. But whether fo[u]nd in this County or that is not now [known][404]

[Machell's Notes: I.142]
{! Qu. An non Pictorum ubi q. Regum Pictorum. ubir – Reg – Scotorum.}[405]

[I.143]
nor much material. But it planely shows us there was such in this western Country. \ D.M. /[406] That this Tract of Ground \ whereof I now treat / might be called Westm'land (I doe not say the County of Westmorland for that's an addition of later date, but onely Westm'land from Marius or Morus, a Brittish King who sometime stoutly resisted the Romanes.[407] But after, he (or at least his son Koyllus & who was Bred-up at Roome in the Emperour's Court) was a great \ favourite of & / frend unto them. ~~And tis thought~~ \ Hence ~~this Part of the Brittish Iland might~~ / {of ~~whom~~ \ him / I suppose it might be called by the Romane soljers, Terra Maris Occidentalis being seated in the west of Brigantia Ulna. And from I suppose being in this best of part of Brigantia ~~Kingdom~~. It might be \ say the Romanes / it might be called Terra Maris \ Occi[dentalis,] / or Terra Mori Occidentalis: ~~which is~~ in English, Westmorland.}

I know it may be objected against he never was King of the Brigantes, of the Brigantes time; not while the Ileland was in diverse Kingdoms. But now I suppose them all ruind, beinn all destroyd by the Romane armyes, because wee had nothing of a successor except in this family. However, that there was such a King our Historyes witness. And that he had to doe in these partes (though they they derive him from \ hence into / ~~the~~ South Brittain & place him there) may be strongly praesumed from may be strongly praesumed from this altar {a stone thus inscribed} which Mr Camden met with \ at Ile Kirke / in Cumberland (~~not far from hence~~) (in ædibus Barhousiorum) \ de / Ilekirke \ a Westm'land family translated from Barwise {within the Parish of St Lawrence Apelby & perhaps cary[d] with them} perhaps caryed Hence when they were translated from Barhouse Hall in the Parish of Apleby, which gave their sirname. {That ancient family was transplanted from Barhouse Hall in ~~the County of~~ Westmerland which gave them their Name, to Ilekirk in Cumberland where they now are, which Altar he saith was thus Inscribed To Ilekirk in Cumberland where they now ~~reside & where Mr C. met with this stone~~ are, which Altar ~~is Inscribed thus~~ he saith was thus inscribed.}.[408] Which Altar he saith was thus Inscribed.

[403] See Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, Preface, 2, where Dugdale ascribes this passage on Ina, king of the West Saxons, to Selden.
[404] Another note on Marius [MS. I.145] expresses similar views. 'There was one Marius King of the Brittaines \ who is stiled / Aviragi Regis filius, anno Xt 72 Vespasiani ~~primo~~ \ 2^0. / But this could not give name to the County of Westm'land because ~~it~~ \ the land / was not then divided into Countyes or Shires. Yett ~~we have~~ it might be called the \ Terra Mori Occidentali[s] / the \ West / Land of Marius. {It might be so, he being lieutenant to Nerva}. If so be, \ then / he was King of the Brigantes, for it lyes in the western Part of that Kingdom & I take this Inscription to be made ~~by the~~ \ More / Romano [Roman custom] in Memory of him, being then in league with them.'
[405] 'Query. Whether or not of the Picts, where the kingdom of the Picts, where the kingdom of the Scots.'
[406] D.M. See the Inscription below.
[407] MS: '\ but afterwards Hel. /'
[408] The same text occurs in the margin of MS.I.142.

D.M.
MORI REGIS
FILII S HEREDES
EIVS SVBSTITVE
RVNT.VIX.Λ.LXX.[409]

Which I read ~~thus~~ \ in this wise: /

Dis Manibus
Mori Regis
Fillij – et Heredes
ejus substitute-
-runt. Vixit. Annis septuaginta

In English thus:

To the Household Gods
of ~~Moris the King~~ King Mor, (or Morus)
his sons & heires
did substitute this. He lived – years seventy

Qua Inscriptione, says Mr Camden (fruitfull which is all the use that he makes of it) breviter observare Licet Antiquitatis Lusum; Quæ Ideo literas vocum dislocavit, ut Lectori Crux figeretur. Sic enim (Hîc) vocabulum substituerunt ceu a Bacchis pentheus discerpitur, et ejus prima litera S dirempta ponitur in superiori Linea.[410] But I tak[e] S. to be put &S: & the other ~~to be~~ \ being just supplyed from éjus. /

[I.145

But I have farther to note concerneing it, that the Letter A, which stands for Annos – haveing no line or ~~dashing~~ \ or stroake / passing through it, may serve (as he sayeth in another place) to show the date of it: observavi a Severi ætate usque ad Gordiani, et postea Literam Λ ubique in hac insula in omnibus Inscriptionibus transversam lineolam non habere.[411] Camden: e Libro Meo Antiquorum Inscriptionum, p.5*.[412]

[Machell's Notes: I.145]

*{But this makes nothing at all for my purpose.}
{Cassivellanus – Cæsa[ri] se dedidit anno Xt n. 52}[413]
{Kimbelinus in vita Pat Guidericus Rex pacem egit 43; et bello cecidit anno Xt. 46 cui successit Reg. Arviragus anno Xt. 46 4º Claudij.}[414]
{Quid nom} Westm'land is thought \ by som / to be so calld from one who is stiled King Westm'land.} {Terra Marij sive mori occidentalis.}[415]

[I.143]

{Marius the King}[416]
But I have farther to note concerneing; that he seemeth (by this) to have had many \ sons, / tho there is

[409] Camden provides the inscription relating to King Morus amongst several found at Ilekirk: 'D M. MORI REGIS FILII HEREDES EIVS SVBSTITVE RVNT VIX. A. LXX,' but without comment; neither does Camden use the word 'fruitful'. See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 772C.
[410] 'From which inscription … it is possible briefly to observe the games antiquity plays; for it has displaced the letters of the words so far as to make a torment for the reader. For here they have substituted a word, just like Pentheus is torn apart by the Bacchae, and its first letter S is ripped away and placed on the line above.' This passage is not to be found in the 'Cumberland' chapter of Camden's *Britannia*.
[411] 'I have noticed from the age of Severus right up to that of Gordianus and later, the letter Λ everywhere in this island in all inscriptions has no cross-bar.'
[412] 'From my book of Ancient Inscriptions.'
[413] 'Cassivellanus surrendered to Caesar in AD 52.'
[414] Most margin comments on this page have been omitted; they repeat text on I.138 and I.143.
[415] 'The western land of Marius or Morus.'
[416] As this passage, crammed onto the page foot, contains much interlineation and scoring through, the transcription is, in part, impressionistic.

but one recorded in \ our / history, whome he made his co-heres,[417] divided his substance & Crown Landes (which were then very large for the British Kingdom) amongst them{!} \ & why might not he to som part of them. / & that they in gratitude erected this monument according to the Romane fashion. & being educated, his eldest son, at least on tel of R., as far as Bodotria being run into one, for wee read – and as Speed thinketh – succeeding him in the Iland of Brittain. No more of any succession but in his line, where he is not only as the Brittish King but the Romane præfect in whom they \ followeth / confided. For speakeing of ther emperor, Nerva, \ who succeeded Domitian / he wateth thus[418] under him.

[I.145]

And he might well be called Regis filius; note: The son of the King – His father being the only King ~~in his time~~ \ the chief King in his time / that som writers have noted – a valiant

[I.146]

and judged an object worthy the incounter of the Roman Emperour – whom the Poet {Juvenal} flatters after this sort:

It Boades Great Honour to thy self
Som King thou shalt deprive[419]
Or else Arviragus from Rule
Of Brittaine's wain shalt drive.

Speed hath inserted and old British lyne which seems to be his: 177. §3.[420] & I shall not disdane to adorne this place with it.

{Anno Domini 98 Galfridus Monmothenis}

Speed (227. §3) speeking of the Emperour Nerva, sayetth what liege Tenants under him were in Brittain or under his successor Trajan.[421] I finde not in record but [in] our English writers from the Archdeacon of Munmouth,[422] being a succession of British Kings & amongst them Marius, who conquered Roderic King of the Pickts accompanyed with the Scotts; whose Trophy erected near unto Carleile remaned a long time after, bearing the Inscription of his victory*.

And after him his son Coilus, brought up in Rome all the time of his youth, returned their favours & payed them Tribute without Constraint. Albeit by Juvenal it seemeth that Arviragus (the father of Marius) a great resister of the Romanes & lived in the reigne of Domitian, as hath been touched (Cap. 6 §12),[423] unless you will say that Muragus & Arviragus was the same Marrus. But through the uncertaintyes & disagrements {!} occasioned by the silence of Better authors, our Historyes rest doubtful & soe wee must leave them – returneing to finish.

I wish I could see this monument, or finde it described in any author. May it not be that ~~same~~ which, or that for which, or in whose place this was erected as superstition doth imply, is said to have bin graved on Ray ✝ upon Stanemore. Here, King Westmer slew King Rothinger; which has som affinity with Mar[ius] & Rotheric? Or may it not be this very stone which I have described? If so, it agrees well with this relation: His son & heire being bred at Rome, might erect this for him \ intre Romano / but

[417] Two or three scored-through words are illegible here.
[418] The page has perished here; text is difficult to decipher.
[419] The centre of this word is blotted.
[420] Speed: 'Notwithstanding by Iuvenal it is plaine, that this Arviragus was in his fame in the daies of Domitian, unto whom the Poet, as a Prophet, would foredoome his happy successe in the dispossession of his government over the Britaines, as in these his verses are seene; "It bodes great honor to thy selfe, some King tho[u] shalt deprive, Or els Arviragus from the rule of Britains waine shalt drive." An ancient British Coyne of silver is here inserted, and a mans head thereon instamped, which is supposed to be his, the letters alluding so neere to his name.' Speed, *Historie*, 177.
[421] Speed, *Historie*, 217, section 3.
[422] Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1154/5), bishop of St Asaph; historian. Author of *Historia regum Britanniae* 'The history of the kings of Britain' completed c.1139. See J. Crick, 'Monmouth, Geoffrey of [Galfridus Arturus]. *ODNB*.
[423] See I.19 and I.39 for other references to Domitian's rule.

[Machell's Notes: I.146]

*{*Flores Histor.*[424] Will. Malmsb[ur]y[425] ascribeth this memorial to be erected for Marius, a consul at Roome: *Polychr[onicon*] lib. 4: C: 12.}[426]

[I.147]

it cannot be applied to Marius the Consul, because he was neither King nor Kings son. The great doubt is raised by the poet Ju. ~~and~~ \ yett / he lived I thinke both in Domitian & Nerva's Time, who succeded each other – consider it well. {He seems in great f[avour] stil with the Roman R[ulers]. He & his post continued still Kings} See Juvenal &c.

Might DM MORI REG. warrant the spelling it Westmorland, as the writeing it, as Marius doth Westmaria. And he might be calld Marius by the Romans according to the Lattin form, that being a common name amongst them, insteed of Mor \ or / Moras – as it is on the stone. As his father is called Arviragus insteed Arivag upon his Coyn. & BODA Boadicia insteed of BODAC {upon a stone which ~~I would have the Welh as~~ may be her monument & which the Wesh antiquaries may enquire more into.}[427]

[Machell's Notes: I.147]

Query: of Pen-mor – Pennigent. Speed's \ Booke of / Maps,[428] or Cambden.

… Est etiam Locus Antiq[uus] in Cumb[erland] Morisby vocatus quo \ multa / opido ~~multa~~ Antiquitatis veneranda reperiunt[ur] vestigia et Lapis a Camdeno editus sic Inscribitur DEO SILVANO &c. {MS Inscrip[tiones], p. 1111}[429] Hic forsan Locus a Moro rege nomen desumpserit quasi Mor'sby – i.e. locus seu villa Mori. Et Morland in Westm'land.[430]

Camden rejects the former opinion of Marius.[431] This, tho Mr Camden hath exploded, I doe make bold to revive it for these following reasons:

1. [blank]
2. An Inscription which he hath collected but not observed.[432]

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[424] Florus (fl. time of the emp. Hadrian), an *Epitome of Roman History*.

[425] William of Malmesbury (c.1090-c.1142), was an Anglo-Norman monk and historian, author of *Gesta Regum Anglorum* ('Deeds of the Kings of the English', 1125-34), and *Gesta Pontificum* (1125). R. Thomson, 'Malmesbury, William of, historian, man of letters, and Benedictine monk'. *ODNB*.

[426] *Polychronicon* (or *Ranulphi Castrensis, cognomine Higden, Polychronicon (sive Historia Polycratica) ab initio mundi usque ad mortem regis Edwardi III in septem libros dispositum*) written by the English Benedictine monk, Ranulf Higden (d.1364). See John Taylor, 'Higden, Ranulf'. *ODNB*.

[427] The 'Welsh antiquaries' included Edward Lhwyd, an Oxford naturalist and philologist who from 1693 updated information on Welsh counties for Edmund Gibson's new version of Camden's *Britannia* (1695), to which Machell also contributed. See Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the seventeenth century* (Oxford, 1995), 345-54.

[428] John Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*.

[429] Camden refers to 'this altar I saw lately digged out there [Moresby], with a little horned image representing Sylvanus, erected to his honour by the Second Cohort of the Lingones'. And in his margin: 'Deo Sylvanus cohors Secunde Lingonum, cui præst G. Pompeius M. Saturninum', *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 766.

[430] 'There is also an ancient place in Cumberland called Morisby in which town are found many venerable relics of Antiquity including the stone published by Camden inscribed as follows: TO THE GOD SILVANUS etc. {MS Inscriptions p.4}. This place perhaps took its name from King Morus, Mor'sby as it were – i.e. the place or estate of Morius. Also, Morland in Westm'land.'

[431] Camden describes an inscription found at Carlisle thus: 'This Marius some will needs have to be Arviragus the Britain: others that Marius, who being claimed emperor against Gallienus, was named to bee of wonderfull strength… Yet have I learned, that another, making mention of this stone, saith it was not inscribed MARII VICTORIÆ, but MARTI VICTORI, that is, to victorious Mars, which …seeme to come nearer the truth': *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 779D. See also 759: 'Let that dreame therefore as touching King Marius, bee excluded out of the schoole of reverend antiquity, who forsooth, as our Chroniclers have dreamed, subdued the Picts and called this countrey after his own name.'

[432] A paragraph written in larger letters than the rest. Presumably Machell was referring to the inscription transcribed but not discussed by Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 772, which Machell copied into his history as evidence for Marius/Mori (see I.145).

But whence soever it taketh its name, since the division of this Land into shires – it hath bin calld the County of Westmerland:[433] 'and \ hath / Given title to a Count or Earle ~~calld by name~~ ~~which is now in the Formerly~~ of Westmorland,[434] which Honour was formerly in the Name of the Nevill, {a Yorkshire family} whose armes are seen in som part or other of most churches in Westm'land, Sc [blank]; But is now in the name of the [blank] of whose armes & pedigree I here subjoyned. But when soever it takes its name, since \ & / tho […][435] the land into Shire w[h]ich it has bin called the Co. of W.
But Will. of Mal[mesbury]
– land 20 li per acre.

[I.61][436]

{Moore – More}
It is called Westmorland, from Marius (say some), ~~the~~ a King of this Country, who fought with the Picts; and haveing vanquished \ or overcome / them, called these ~~place after~~ \ partes by / his Owne Name. But since this opinion can not please Mr Camden [~~who was such a master of History~~] it shall not \ contend, / ~~to give it countenance~~: neither finde out a new one \ of my owne query / Terra Maurorum Aureliorum from the Aurelian Maurs who resided at Apleby; tho some peradventure, ~~that delight in Etymologie, would take up the cudgels~~ ~~and contend \ much / for it~~ would be pleasd with it. But I am content \ myself at present / to walke by his light, ~~and had rather play the sceptic than use as far as it will carry mee~~ \ and to goe along with him as far as I can, deduceing it / ~~And~~ rather ~~deduce it~~ \ ~~with that worthy book q.~~ / from the word moore.
But I must begg \ his / pardon, if my experience of the use of that word \ in the northern parts / urges me ~~to be so bold as~~ to contradict him a little. For ~~notwithstanding all that their Etymologists and Lexicographers have writ, concerning the original and meaning of the word \ moore~~ / ~~yett none knows so well the use thereof in those parts of England, as one who has had a great while amongst them; (which I have don.)~~ ~~And I know very well that~~ a more ~~there is the selfe same thing with common in the south~~ \ signifies the same that \ a / Commone doth with us, being 2 different names for the selfe same thing, / and is never used ~~in any~~ otherwise ~~use by north Country men~~. (of \ which / I could give \ a great many instances all over / ~~instances through all~~ this Count\rey, / ~~where~~ their Commons ~~alway~~ allwayes \ being /called moores: altho the soyle be never so rich \ fertil.) / ~~and some I am sure are as fitt for tyllidge as their common fields; they were not inclosed~~. And Stanemore it selfe, has not the name ~~of moore~~ on any other ~~accompt~~ \ score, / but because tis a Common ~~the only instance I can give for his discription of it is a Common. There is a great difference~~; And there is not a village in all this Countrye that ever I heard of ~~that is destitute of~~ them, which has not a Common.
And wherefore I presume our Learned Mr Camden being not often in this Countrey is a little mistaken when he informes us that Loca ~~ista quae inculta jacent~~, et \ quae non facile / Agricultura ~~facile~~ sublevari ~~in~~ possint moores angli septenrionales vocant,[437] i.e. that places unfit for culture in the northern language are called Moors: for most of their Commons, which they calle so, are as good soyle and fitt for tillage, as their Common fields, \ are / if they were ~~but~~ inclosed & \ accordingly / husbanded ~~somewhat accordingly~~. So that mores are nothing but loca inculta,[438] ~~and so they always take them to be~~ wast places ~~laying waist~~ \ uncultivated, / however ~~unfit or~~ \ fertill or / fitt for tillage. But if those places be montes Alte pertingentes, et quae agricultura sublevari non possint[439] (as most of their mountaines are) They challenge to them \ selves / a peculiar name which the northern people never give to the Commons ~~or moors that are not mountains~~ for they are ~~and that is~~ \ calld / Fell. Since ergo we see the true sense

[433] The name of the county is given in full here, rather than in the usual contracted form.
[434] The name of the county is again written in full.
[435] A small amount of text has perished here.
[436] Also numbered p.7.
[437] 'Such barren places which cannot easily by the painfull labour of the husbandman bee brought to fruitfulness the Northern English call moores', Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 759.
[438] Waste places.
[439] 'Far extending mountains, which cannot be improved by agriculture.'

[Machell's Notes: I.61 and I.62]

{There was one King [of] Westm'land who is noted in Ussher's *Antiq. Ecclesae Britan*. pag. 582[440] who slew King Rothinger on the Top of Stanemore, whence this rithme: HEERE KING WESTMEER SLOW THEE KING ROTHINGER. Se allso Burton upon *Antonin[us]*[441] for the Limits.}

{Except Stanemore. Query if it extends to the fell – yes. Stanemoore dale & Stanemore fell.}

[I.62]

Maden Castle. Endenburge. Castrum alatum Aden. But Alain signif. forsan \ in / Aden pro Eaden.

[I.63][442]

of the word, Moore is nothing else but a waist place\ or Common,[443] / What if I should derive ~~it from~~ \ it ~~mean~~ / of the English word more (their being little or no difference betwixt them either in \ sense or / sound or signification)? For More, we know, is an over plus, \ remainder / or residue.[444] And moore is ~~somewhat~~ left behind \ such a parcel of ground, / ~~behind, viz a portion or parcel of ground as which~~ \ as /~~which~~ was not thought fit to be inclosed, with the fields an Demaisnes ~~were when they~~ first ~~of all divided & separated them from the Great waist places~~ \ taken up, but was left as a pasture in Common for ther beasts to goe on. \ Now this Country of old being the seat of war \ q. Morandi Locus / both in time of the Romaines & Saxons, \ the / Danes\ & Normans; / and perpetually \ since that / infested with ~~incursions of the~~ Scotts till of late years* could not husband their ground & improve it so much as \ those which lay somewhat remoter from them / ~~remoter places, so that their fields~~ \ ~~Whence it comes to pass that our fields / were little, and their moors our Commons great. Whence your southerly people in some part of Yorkeshire, and easterly in Bishoprick where the people of Bishoprigg to whom it layes west (and some part of Yorkshire) \ to whom it lies west / called the place Westm'land, and they doe to this day calle the people of this County and & the inhabitants of Cumberland, West-Country men~~.{Compared with our neighbours in Y[orkshire] & Bishoprick of whom wee lye West, whence they call us West countery men & C[ounty] Westm'land}. It appears then that Westm'land is so called, from it[s] \ western / situation – and great store of Moores and \ i.e. / Commons, \ ~~therein & unimproved places~~ / many of which notwithstanding are arable \ ~~which are therein~~ and have bin ploughed, as appears by the ridges & furrows upon them / held non quia inter montes alte pertingentes ad occasum sita est.[445] But not from lying amongst high mountaines[446] \ alltho it be enviorenned with them / for they are commonly called Fells, not Moors.[447]

[Machell's Notes: I.63]

*Usus ad tempo Jacobi Regis [James I.]

[I.46][448]

[F.] County of Westm'land
Why tis called a county; why Westm'land; Describe in generall; Divide it, and Speake of the particular Parishes & Lordships

Thus Sir,[449] haveing given you my thoughts concerneing the mistake of those 2 worthy authors in this particular, who otherwise in the general have writ beyond compaire: (yett even the better of them (as all men must doe) doth acknowledge himself, subject to errours) \ mistakes / (In plurimis me posse

[440] James Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (Dublin, 1639).
[441] William Burton (1609-57), *A Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary, or Journies of the Roman Empire, so far as it concerneth Britain* (London, 1658).
[442] Also numbered p.7.
[443] For Camden's opinion see *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 749.
[444] This is repeated on MS.II.460.
[445] 'Not because it is situated among mountains extending far towards the West'.
[446] Here, Machell translates the Latin above.
[447] See the same comments in *N&B1*: 1, 3.
[448] Continuation of I.44A.
[449] Machell was addressing the reader here.

errare fateor, nec erroribus indulgebo; quis totum diem jaculans semper colliniet?)[450] I shall proceed to speake of the County of Westm'land, & therein show you [1.] Why tis called a county. 2. Why Westm'land. 3. Describe in generall. 4. Divide it. 5. Speake of the particular Parishes & Lordships.

[I.48]

Tis divided from Bishoprick by the River Tease which springs in this Country*. It semes parted from Yorkeshire by a direct line from Argillhouse to Rear Cross;[451] & so by the Romaine Way to Bowes Castle whence in a direct line to Holme Cross.

{Why County?}
This, with Cumberland and Northumberland, are not called shires as others in England, but Counties: yet I finde Cumberland caled by Leland, and that not unfrequently, Carluelshire. & \ Westmorland-by is Apalbyshire. / They are called Counties: in Latin Comitatus, from Comes, a Count or Earl, of which every shire in England \ have one / as Governor thereof: and under him was the Vice Comes, Viscount or Sheriff; Sheriffs to this day being called Vice Comites, notwithstanding that the ~~title~~ \ word / be now transmuted to signify principly a title of honour rather than office; howbeit in this County the office & honour go together, for &c.

[Reign of Richard I. 1189-1199]
\ John de Crakenthorpe 21 Rich. at Berewise witness penes Blenkinsop /

[Reign of King John. 1199-1216]
Phillip Scroope 5^0. Johais
Joha de Ormsheved: Temp. Jo.
Reymund de Dernford t. Joh.
Eudo de Bellocampo t. Joh.
William de Ireby temp. Joh.

[Reign of] Hen. 3. [1216-1272]
Gilbert de Kirkington
Thomas filius Johannis
Robert de Morvil vice comitus
Thomas de Musegrave 36. H.3
Randulphus de Notingham \ alibi 27. H.3 / clericus \ vice com. Westmorland / in Cart. s.d. Cum. Willielmo de Goldrington. Testis (penes Mr Blenkinsop) in which Thomas de Hellebeck purchased Lands in Asco \ Ascome* /
Richard de Notingham clerk s.d.

[Reign of] Ed. 2. [1307-1327]
Henry de Warthecop 10. Ed. 2

[Reign of] Ed. 3. [1327-1377]
Henricus de Threlkeld vice com.
et Johanes de Burgh forsan Burgham sub vice com. 35. Ed. 3.

[Reign of Richard II. 1377-1399]
Johi de Crakenthorpe, 21. Rich. \ at / Berewise. Witness, penes Blenkinsop

[450] 'I confess that in very many matters I am capable of making mistakes, nor will I condone my mistakes; who, when aiming all day long, always hits the mark?' The Latin word 'collinet' has been written by Machell as 'colliniet'. The quotation is repeated on I.47 and I.48.
[451] Argill house lies on South Stainmore, Kirkby Stephen, CA17 4DH. Rey Cross (Rere Cross or Rear Cross) is located on Stainmore towards the western edge of County Durham, approximately 1 kilometre (0.62 mi) east of the border with Cumbria along the A66 road.

[Machell's Notes: I.48]

*{Sed de hoc qua?[452] see the Bounder penes Jac. Bird. Jo. Hall.}
Shirerifs Tarne?
As I remember, Warwickshire was governed before the Conquest by a viscount – Sed dub[ito]?[453]
Shireriff & Lieutenant. 57: Camden.[454]
Com\it/es 2. 345. Officiales in Saxonum Tempor[ibus] Hereditarij in Normanorum.[455]
Vice comites Westmor[iae] sub fam[iis] Vipont & Clifford in Antiquis Cartis Memorandum.[456]

[I.49][457]

{§1. Bounds}
{E Cart. penes Thomas Sandford de Askham}
The County of Westm'land \ sometime writ the County of Appleby / is bordered on the north and west side theirof with Cumberland; on the south with Lancashire; and on the east with \ part of / Yorkshire and the Bishoprick of Durham. It is separated from Cumberland by \ Tees / Emote and Blenkarne Rivers, and part of Eden, to wit from the Bridge […][458] where Blenkarne comes into it till it meets with Emote [blank] mile below. It is divided from Lancashire by \ the western bankes / Windermere Water \ which is all in Westm'land. / And the River Winster. Some take Roy Cross on the Top of Stainemore to be the Boundary twixt Westm'land & Yorkshire; yett I find that Bowes Castle \ was said to be / in this County. Vide Dugdalle *Baronagius* de Roberto de Veteriponte, qui fuit custos Castelli de Bowes \ in Westm'land* / tempore Joha[nnis] Reg[is] 2.}[459]

[Machell's Notes: I.49]

* Treat of Bowes Here.

[I.388]

Bowes Parish in Westm'land[460]
{ad Brough, on the General Description of W[estmorland]}
Tho Bowes be generally reputed in Yorkshire, yett for as much as I finde it – in evidences of great Antiquity, \ ut patet[461] = *Baronagio*, Dugdall: de Robert de Veteripont / viz. in the Time of King John – to have bin in Westm'land, & cannot finde[462] when or by what Authority alienates thence, I shall take occasion to treat of it Here (or by the by in the Limits of Westm'land, or in speakeing about Cæsars Tower Apud Appleby.)

Virius Lupus, Lieutenant under Severus & Successor to Heraclianus about the yere of Christ 197, strenthened the province especially in the north with many Strong Castles ~~amongst~~ and repaired many places ruined either by fyre or furie of the Bordering Swords & of which Lavat Ræ (i.e. Bowes under Stanemore)[463] where the 1[t] Cohort of the Thracians lay, was one; as appears by this Aultar there erected for The Goddess Fortune* now at the House of Sir Rob[ert] Cotton of Conni[n]gton in Huntington Shire†. And tis not unlikely that either he, or \ the Emperoure T.M.[464] / Severus who

[452] 'But which way from here?'
[453] 'But I doubt it'.
[454] See Camden, *Britannia,* tr. Holland (1637), 763C-E.
[455] 'Officials in Saxon times; heirs in Norman times.'
[456] 'The viscounts of Westmaria [were] under the families Vipont and Clifford in ancient deeds.'
[457] Also numbered p.3.
[458] Two illegible words have been scored through here.
[459] 'Who was guardian of the castle of Bowes in the 2nd year of King John.' [1200-01]: See Dugdale, *Baronage* (1675), 347: '[In 4. John] he first had a grant from King John of the Castle of Appleby and Burgh, with the whole bailiwick of Westmerland, to hold during pleasure'; 348: 'In the … fifth year of King John this Robert de Vipount had also the custody of Windsor Castle; so also, of the Castle of Bowes in *Com. Westmorl*.'
[460] According to Machell's instructions (*on I.49), this edition has placed notes on the parish of Bowes here.
[461] 'To make plain/to be clear.'
[462] Machell has interlineated the figure '0' here, perhaps to indicate that he found no evidence.
[463] Lavatræ or Lavatris.
[464] These are Machell's initials, placed alongside an interlineation.

reedifyed Olinaca (which is Heckley in Yorkeshire)[465] as appeareth by \ an / Inscription \ which was / found there) were the founders, or Repar[e]res of of those Castles in Westm'land, whose mighty Towers bear the name of Cæsar. Se the inscription ibidem IM. SEVERVS‡.

[Machell's Notes: I.388]

*DEÆ FORTVNÆ &c. se Speeds *Cron*, 228 or Camden.[466] {Memorandum: I heard one found at K[endal] Fortunæ Servatrici. 1 seemes before an Ingaigement, the other after.}

†{Query if not Brough under Stanemore? Send to Cottones Sc.}[467]

‡{See also what is said of Theodosius Civilis, Lieutenant Flavius Valentinianus, who Reedifyed Cityes Castles &c. Book 6. Cap. 50 p. 270. §8.} See more there in Speed, How Severus warred with noe great Glorie against the North Brit[ons].

[I.49]

{[§2.] Figure and Extent}

The figure of this County is somewhat oblong, reaching from Kirkland in the north to Burton in the south about 30 miles; and from ~~Eden~~ \ Hewseat Morvill / {Hill} to the head of Gresmere near upon 30, which makes the measure of the whol circuit much upon 120 miles.[468]

{§3. Why County?}

It is called a County (which is peculiar to Westm'land Cumberland & Northumberland)[469] from the word Count, which signifies an Earle: In Latin Comitatus from Comes, and implyes as much as Dignitas Comitis, vel tantum spatium Terrae, quantum ad comitem pertinent;[470] i.e. The jurisdiction of an Earle, or so much land as was allotted unto him. (See more in Spelman's *Gloss[ary]*[471] *Titles of Honor*:[472] sub title: *Comitatus*.) Now tho the word cannot be out of use amongst us to express an Earle by, yet 'tis very frequent in forreine nations, and we calle his wife Countess & his deputy Vi-Count (which are reliques of the word) to this very day.[473]

{Comites; Whence Shireref}

These Comites, Countes or Earles had their \ County Courts as wee have to this day / wherein matters

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[465] Machell appears to have taken his information from Speed's *Historie*, which spells Olicana as Olinaca, and Ilkley as Hekeley; see Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725), *Biographia Britannica, or The Lives of the most eminent Persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland from the earliest ages down to the present times, collected by the best authorities, both Printed and Manuscript, and digested in the Manner of Mr Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary Vol. 6, Part 1* (London, 1763), 3931-43, at 3938, where these names are correctly written.

[466] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 732. Camden placed Bowes in 'Richmondshire'.

[467] Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) was an antiquary and politician. In the late 1580s, having already collected material for a history of Huntingdonshire, he became an early member of the Society of Antiquaries, together with his former teacher William Camden, and began to lend volumes from his growing library to fellow antiquaries. In 1599-1600 Cotton accompanied Camden on a tour of northern England, surveying and collecting Roman remains from the area around Hadrian's Wall; reports of their findings were later added to an edition of Camden's *Britannia*. In November 1629 Charles I ordered the closure of Cotton's library, and for a brief period Cotton was imprisoned because he had allowed his collections to be used for the production of arguments thought detrimental to royal interests. Cotton published little under his own name but acted as a source for many scholars engaged in their own work, for which 17th-century writers praised him. At his death, Cotton's library consisted of around 800 volumes of MSS, mainly Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, monastic registers, biblical works, lives of the saints and martyrs, genealogies and heraldic materials. See S. Handley, 'Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce, first baronet (1571-1631), antiquary and politician'. *ODNB*. Graham Parry describes Cotton as 'a magnificent specimen of the full-blown Jacobean antiquary,' Parry, *Trophies* of *Time*, 92.

[468] The length of Machell's 'mile', in this paragraph and throughout the volumes, is open to interpretation.

[469] 'Shire' does not appear in the names of these counties.

[470] 'The dignity/jurisdiction of an earl, or as much area of land as pertains to an earl'.

[471] Sir Henry Spelman, *Glossarium Archaiologicum* (1626, completed by William Dugdale 1664).

[472] John Selden: *Titles of Honor* (1614).

[473] Machell here digressed to discuss the office and dignity of persons with the title of 'Count' in England and mainland Europe: see Part 3, Ch.4, Heraldry.

{Anno 1068. 2. William}[484]
Wee read that the northern English conspired att Brough against William the Conqueror in the beginning of the Norman government, which in all probability was[485] 1068 – the 2nd yere of the Conquerors reigne, when Edgar Athling the right heire to the crowne came out of Scotland to Durham, where he slew Robert Cumin & 700 Normans placed there on purpose to withstand all dangers which might arise from Malcolm King of Scotts or Edgar himself, whose sister Malcolm had espoused.

{Anno 1069. 9. William}
But notwithstand winter wether he posted into ~~his /or in~~ the north & appeared further towards 1069 when the English fugatives brought in the Daines to their succour, under the conduct of Osburne Brother to Swaine King of Denmark, & Harold & Canute his 2 sonns, who arrived in Humber & landed their men.

[I.51][486]
It is very dubious ~~when~~ whence the first division into Shires or Countyes tooke its rise: but ~~no doubt~~ \ probably / it was in the time of the Saxon, because the word is puerly Saxon, and signifyes as much as a division: however wee will run it as high as wee can. Not to mention Ignulphus: his mistake (which we shall have occasion to speake of hereafter and which is indeed of later date than what I purpose to produce),[487] Mr Seldon observing in his *Titles of Honor,* p.2 c.5. {? vid} § 3, an old law of Ina's King of West Saxons, Anno DCCXX: That if any Ealdorman ~~were~~ bee guilty of an escape, perdat suum Comitatum[488] ~~Lett him~~ \ he was to / forfeit his shire. Which ~~learned~~ Mr Dugdall has taken notice of, and afforded ~~us~~ \ me / allso an other proofe of greater antiquity ~~of H Huntington his folio 170 which he refer to King Egbert by a circumstance of time~~, ~~who began his~~ reigne, who made Egga and Learicus witnesses to his foundation Charter of Crowland, by the titles of Comes Lincolniae, & Comes Leicestriae;[489] and if theire were then Counts or Earles, no question but there were Shires or Countyes also. However Here Huntington, lib. 1. fol.170,[490] speakes more clearly concerning this division, tho of later date, for sayes he: postquam autem Reges West Seaxe cæteris praevaluerant, at monarchiam obtinuerunt (which was of Circumstance of time in the reign of King Egbert, who began to rule Anno DCCC) Terras per 35 provincias sibi diviserunt.[491] So that in probability there was a division into shires or Counties in the year DCCXVI, or DCCXX. But beyond all controversie in the year DCCC, the land there being divided into 35 Provinces, Shires or Counties.
{§ 5. The several Kings haveing severall shires in their several D.[492] – But [they] were then divided into 25 shires, as they are at this day.}[493]

{Number of shires}
But then againe we are allmost as much at a loss about the Number of Shires in this Kingdome as we

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[484] The second year of the reign of William the Conqueror.
[485] An illegible word here is possibly, 'either'.
[486] Also numbered p.4.
[487] Ignulphus/Ignulf (c.1045-1109), a royal scribe to William I, became Abbot of Crowland c.1086. He was supposedly author of the *Croyland Chronicle*, which bears his name and is written in the first person. The *Chronicle* deals with events and documents, particularly charters, relevant to Crowland Abbey, from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, but has since been found to be a 15th-century forgery (now named *Pseudo-Ingulf*). *Pseudo-Ingulf* draws at times on reliable chroniclers and may at times reflect authentic traditions. See E. King, 'Ingulf, abbot of Crowland'. *ODNB*.
[488] 'He should lose his shire'.
[489] In Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, Preface.
[490] Henry of Huntington, *Historia Anglorum* or *The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon*.
[491] 'But after the Kings of West Saxony had prevailed over the others and obtained the monarchy … they divided the Lands for themselves into 35 provinces.'
[492] Dominions; domains.
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are about there original; for though, H. Hunting\ton/ tells us planely of 35 provinces in those dayes, we finde the account to alter in after aiges; for Mr Camden has coated to our hands that "in the year 1016 {?} There were in England XXXII shires. (è Malmsburiensi)[494] When William the Conqueror taxed the Kingdom (which was about 15 years after his arrivall) XXXVI (ut habet Polychronicon Acta tamen publica in qu[ibus] Censum ille retulit dum taxat XXXIIII percensent.[495] {Censum egerint Take the Lat[in].} For Durham Lancaster Westm'land Cumberland and Northumberland, were not rec[k]oned in the Number Because these 3 last, as some will have it, were att that time in subjection."[496]

[Machell's Notes: I.51]

! ! ! ! ! Westm'land Cumberland Northumberland. I thinke Meschines gave the Barony of Brough to Raife de Engayne temp Conquestis, the Conquerer gave land in Kendal, and founded a Nunery in Cumberland, so that this should se[e]m falce {Se Dugdale *Barony* Se allso Ewbank ped[igree]. Ep. 1. in the parish of Bro[ugh.}[497]

[I.52]

It should seem by this account that these 3 Northern Counteys (of Westm'land Cumberland and Northumberland) did not then belong to England att all \ in the Conqueror's time / But the Contrary will appear from severall circumstances, as 1st.

1. 'Tis certain He had both Cumberland & Northumberland in the 1st yere of his reigne Anno 1066, as appeares by his takeing along with him into Normandy (to the ende he might secure peace in England) such nobles as were most potent & powerfull, amongst whome are re\ k/oned: Edgar, sirnamed Ethling, who was \ right / heire to the Crowne ~~if not hindered by Conquest~~; Walheof the sonn of warlike Siward, Earl of Northumberlan; Gospatrick, Earl of Cumberland, with others*.

2. 'Tis certain that in the 2nd yere of William the Conqueror he founded a Religious house in Cumberland (called Nunery to this day & now the seat of the Grahams) endowing it with large priviledges; as appears by his charter bearing that date, penes Mrs Graham de Nunery: & ergo Cumberland was the Conquerors then.[498]

3. In 1073: which was the 7th of his reign tis objected to Malcolme King of Scotts, that he did not onely entertaine Egarethling the chief pretender to the English crown & his adherents; but led them on in person, and entering Cumberland waisted the Country all before them, even as far as Durham: i.e. Cumberland & much of ~~Northumberland~~ \ Bishoprick / which show they were both subject to the Conqueror.

4. He sent Gospatrick against them (lately reconciled) whom he then created Earl of Northumberland; who putt them to flight and the Conqueror pursued as far as Galloway; whereupon Malcolm sent an embassy of peace & aggrement was made, says Hector Boetius, an author of theire owne,[499] that the Scotts should have Cumberland. Our late writers give him into the Bargan (for the sake of Rere Cross which they \ falsely / call Roy) by force of conjecture, Northumberland & Westm'land. But I am \ noe writeing on this subject / of opinion that He had onely 12 Townes granted in the Kingdome of England; and those likely in Cumberland, his neighbouring. My reasons are

1t. Because he was beaten when this peace was concluded and the enymy entered into his owne Kingdome & therefore I suppose he could not capitulate upon so great advantage as the accession of a whole County (much less of 3, 2 of which the General was Earle of) to the Crowne of Scottland.

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[494] Camden took this figure from William of Malmesbury: see *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 159: 'For in the year … 1016 whiles Ethelred raigned, the Chronical of Malmesburie reporteth …in England thirty-two Shires'.
[495] 'As the *Polychron* has it, however, the public Decrees [in which] he recorded the Census while he was levying the tax record, 34'.
[496] The paragraph is based on Camden, *Britannia,* tr. Holland (1637), 159.
[497] The foundation of the Nunnery at Armathwaite as proof of the Conqueror having taken Cumberland c.1067, has been found to be false; see Part 1. Ch.6, Brough, I.396, I.399.
[498] The walls of Nunnery House, Cumberland, are partly mid-13th century, with 16th- and 17th-century additions and alterations by the Graham family. George Graham Esq. sold Nunnery c.1690 to Sir John Lowther, for £1,436, who later exchanged it with John Aglionby Esq., for Drumburgh Castle. Further alterations were made for John Aglionby (1694, date-stone). https://historicengland.org.uk/listing; see also *N&B2*, 431.
[499] Hector Boece, *Scotorum Historia* (1527).

2. Because in 1092 when Malcolm King of Scottland advanced into England as far as Chester (Reg. Will. 2.) & had a great advantage He lefte no more for a peace than 12 villages (and sure he would aske all that belonged him) which he had formerly held of his father (viz. the Conqueror,) which he required should be restored: and upon restitution returned home again. ~~In some place contradicted~~ The reason why this and the other Northern Countyes were not taxed, was, no question, least they should adhere \ to the Scotts to keep quiete & free from rebellion. /

The destruction of the Saxon Library att Yorke (Cam[den] p. 412) & Wolsty Castle in Cumberland, which was built on purpose to secure the treasure and writeing of the monkes at Holme Cultram, with the Tower at Yorke where they \ saye the / evidences of the northern parts were kept, and Mr Dugdalls informacion that there is noe thing to helpe me \ in / the Tower att London, has undon us for any historicall account. And *Doomsday Booke* (which has stood all Antiquaries in so much steed) is silent as to us, so that what I write must be scratched out of the earth, & mere conjecture, nisi quae sunt superioris seculi.[500]

[Machell's Notes: I.52, 52A & 52B]

*[See}§9 of King William the Conqueror in Speeds *History,* ergo he had Cumberland & Northumberland.

[I.52A]

1. Road.
2. William Longspere 2nd Duke of Normandy so called of the long sword he wore.
3. Richard of Hardy 3rd Duke of Normandy so called from his admirable fortitude.
4. Richard the Good 3rd Duke of Normandy He marryed = Judith Sister of Gefferey Earle of Britaigne.

[I.52B]

Marlesuein & Gosspatrick noblemen of Northumberland, went into Denmarke upon the defeat of the English after King Williams returne out of Normandy. Queen Agathas 2 brothers Mocar Earle of Chester, & Edwine Earle of Yorkshire, who were the heads of the conspiracy went for saifty into Scotland. The Queen likewise which Edgar Atheling her son & right heire to the Crowne and Her daughters Christian and Margrett, who were courteously entertained by Malcolme (sirnamed Canmoir)[501] King of that Country who maryed Lady Margaret (2nd of King William's reigne). I am sure the Conqueror had Cumberland then for he founded Nunnery that he might be near to the English Crowne. Hence Scotland became a refuge & sanctuarye to the English who fled from the pressures of the Normans. Robert Cumin with 700 of his Normans were slane in the night time at Durham by Edgar Atheling and his followers January 28 1068. 3rd Willielmi.[502]

[I.53][503]

{Gospatrick Earle of Cumberland}

The Conqueror had Cumberland, and then doubtless Westm'land allso in 1066. which was the 1st yere of his reigne (his being Crowned at Westminster on 'Monday Natalis X^li^ anno praedicto).[504] For when he had setled affairs in this Nation, and reconciled himself to the Kentish men; he tooke saile in the Lente following towards his owne Country, take[ing] with him several pledges of the English fidelity, with many Nobles whome he feared to be potent,[505] amongst whome was Gosspatricke, Earle of Cumb'land.

{Seised Estates 1067, Reg. 2^0^}

In 1067 dureing his absence, the Welshmen under Edrick Sylvaticus rebelled against the Normans; whereupon King William returned, & toke this occasion to give the possessions of the English nobility to his owne people, as a reward of the ones service & the others disloyalty. & ~~being torn with~~ dealing severely with them, many fled the nation and found protection under Malcolme King of Scots in the yeres 1068 & 1069. 1070, 1072. He was then in person as far North as Selby {where his son Henry was Borne; afterward King of England. ~~May be fore this time Malcolm held Cumberland~~.}

[500] 'Except what there is of an earlier age'. For Domesday see https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/domesday/.
[501] Some of this word is obscured by the binding, but it is probably the name 'Canmoir'.
[502] MS: '1608'. Machell reversed two digits here.
[503] Also numbered p.5.
[504] 'In the year aforesaid'.
[505] MS: 'poten', but perhaps 'potent': powerful; mighty. *OED*.

{Gosspatrick Earle of Northumberland}
And about the yere 1073 Malcolme did not only entertaine Edgar Etheling, the chiefe pretender to the English Crowne with his adherents as he had don hitherto; but ingaiged himself in person as their Leader & entered into Cumberland, ~~where then~~ waisteing the Country all before them, even as far as Durham: whither King William sent Gospatrick, lately reconciled unto him and by him created Earle of Northumberland, who payed the Scotts in their owne coyne: & the Conqueror was so incensed against them that he entered their Kingdome as far as Galloway; but being wearyed with the Marches & Mountains thought fitt to retire.

{Cumberland granted to the King of Scotts}
And Malcolme upon that sending an Embassy of peace; it was kindley received & King William granted Cumberland unto ~~that~~ \ him / ~~Malcolme~~ upon Condition that the Scotts thenceforward should [not] (continue or) attempt anything which might be prejudicial to the Crowne of England, upon which grant Malcolme did Homage \ to King William / for it, and as some thinke, Rear Cross upon Stainemore was then erected as a meet or bound betwixt the 2 Kingdoms, haveing Williams picture & the armes of England on one side butt Malcolmes & the Scottish Ensigns on the other, which I should willingly believe if any vestigia of those {things} were upon it, or if it could that Cumberland did [af]ter extend thus far. Sure the Conqueror upon the grant of one

[Machell's Notes: I.53]
Westm'land never part of Scotland ad page 5.

[I.54]

County, would not permitt him to incroach so much upon him as to take away 2.
In the foresaid yere 1078, the Rowle of Winchester, or *Doomsday booke*, was made, so called partly because of the heavy taxes (6s fore every hide land) partly because noe man was exepted from that survey. & the English men were so oppressed that they invited Malcolme once more to enter King Williams Confines, wasting all before him unto the River Tine \ i.e. Northumberland. / Against whome the Conqueror sent his son Robert, who layd the foundasion of a Castle there, which gave both name & beginning to the Towne. Yett there was a place there called Monkches[ster] before – an habitation of Monkes.

William the Conqueror Anno 1067 built Hastings Castle; Lincolne Castle; Notingham Castle; & Yorke Castle. In 1072 the Castle of Wysbech, near Ely & Hereward Castle of wood and turfes was then reared against him. The Castle at Durham much about the same time, or in the yere following after he had made a Truce with Malcolme King of Scots. In 1078 he built a strong castle on the east side London with deep trench, Gundulphus Bishop of Rochester being surveyor; the same wee now call the Tower of London said to be builded by Julius Caesar, so far comes it short excep wee should thinke that William onely added to the old worke. Newcastle founde[d] by Robert his son, Anno 1079. Allain Fergent (i.e. Red) Earle of Little Britaigne, had for dowry with the d[aughter] of King William & good service don at the Conquest, the Earldom of Richmond, where he built the [cast]le.

Walter Bishop of Durham bought of King William the Earledom of Northumberland so that Gosspatricus had it not long. (Henry 3. son of King William was borne \ at Selleby in Yorkeshire in 1017. 3^0 Conquest / & there the Conqueror founded the Abby of St Germans.)

{William 20. Malcolme. 12 townes in Cumberland belonged to the Scotts}
In 1092 Malcolme entered into the English Marches as far as Chester in the Street: but returned again upon the ~~restauration of~~ \ restitution of / 12 villages, which he had held in England under his father. N.B (I believe these 12 were in Cumberland, and all that he had upon the 1^{t} composition which William the Conqueror esceated maybe to the English crowne by reason of his inroad in aid of the English conspiratours after the Great Tax)*.

[Machell's Notes: I.54]

*_Ypodigma Neustriæ_.[506] Vide? Author.
(See Math. Paris. 1. Henry Hano Gemeticensis,[507] Hector Boethius[508] lib. 12. Cap. 10). Westm'land was Westm'land then.

[I.55]

{Walsingham in his _Ypodigma Neustriæ_}
And this is confirmed from the following passage, namely, that King William then repaired those castles which the Scotts had destroyd, new built in Cumberland the City Carlisle, & built a Castle there &c, which if \ all / Cumberland had belong'd to Malcolme, \ he / would not have \ suffered / permitted; nor is it likely that, comeing into England with a great power (as he did) & att such time as the English \ fleet / sent against them was torne by a Tempest and the Horsemen perished through hunger & cold, I say tis not likely that he haveing these advantages, should demand less than he \ & his ancestors / formerly injoy'd; wherefore I conclude that the Scotts were so far from haveing Westm'land & Cumberland too, which they allow them, who grant Rear Cross, or as they calld it (to palliate their fiction) Roy Cross \ upon Stanemore / for the Limit of their Kingdome, that \ they / had not all Cumberland, nor any considerable part there \ But / onely 12 villages; which the Scotch Author Hector Boetius, to inlarge the Bounds, & extoll the valour of his \ Nation / Countrymen, by ~~an unluky~~ synecdoche,[509] expresses by Cumberland; and to make out the matter, Westm'land must be \ com / in to the Bargain, \ & / Reare Cross must be called Roy Cross, & be bravely garnished with p[…]net[510] and armes, wherein all likelyhood there never was any, T.M. But Hector Boetius is not very au[then]tick*.[511]

{Malcolme killed 1093; R. Mowbray of Northumberland.}
In 1093 Malcolme King of Scots came to Glocester to treat with King William \ 2 / Rufus about affairs of theire Kingdoms, but takeing ~~some~~ distaist att \ somthing or other in the / ~~his~~ manner of \ his / rea[…][512] returned ~~without~~ \ suddenly without so much / [as] speakeing to the King; & thereupon immediately entered the Kingdome \ of England / with a great hoast, destroyd in Northumberland as far as Alnwick Castle which [was] near upon the western shore: But Robert Mowbray then Earle of Northumberland, made head against him & without expecting the King's lieve \ for it / fell fo…[513] upon \ him / and killed both him & Malcolme & ~~his sonn~~ Edward his son. Holy War was meditated upon 5 yeares before, but not pursued till this yere – by […][514]

[Machell's Notes: I.55]

*See Speed *Historie*, pag. 430 col. 2.

[I.56][515]

King Henry 1st maryed for his 1st wife Maud the daughter of Malcolme the 3rd King of Scotts sirnamed Canmoir (i.e. Great Head), by St Margaret, daughter to Edward, son of Edmund Ironside,

[506] Thomas Walsingham (d. c.1422) was an English chronicler who emulated the writing of historian, Matthew Paris (d. 1259). His last work, *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, dedicated to Henry V in 1420 (see published edn, 1574) is an epitome of English history from 911 to 1419. J. Taylor, 'Walsingham, Thomas (c.1340-c.1422), historian and prior of Wymondham'. *ODNB*.
[507] Guilelmus Gemeticensis (fl. c.1137): contributor to the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*; see *Oxford Medieval Texts 21* (Oxford, 1992,1995).
[508] Boethius (Boece, Boyce or Boise), Hector, *Historia Gentis Scotorum* ('History of the Scottish People'), see Nicola Royan, 'Boece [Boethius], Hector'. *ODNB*.
[509] Synecdoche: a figure of speech in which a more inclusive term is used for a less inclusive one or vice versa, as a whole for a part, or a part for a whole. *OED*.
[510] Part of this word has perished.
[511] The rest of this sentence has perished.
[512] The rest of this word has perished.
[513] The rest of this word has perished
[514] A line of text has perished at the page foot; some words appear to be '… the 2 set forward.'
[515] I.56 and I.57 comprise rough notes written on paper previously used as letters to Machell from two of his students (see Part 3, Ch.2. Correspondence).

King of England \ 1000 / to whome he was maryed the 2nd yere of his reigne \ 1100 / and hereupon I suppose it was, that Alexander King of Scotts was trusted with part of his army against the Welsh in 1114 & called a parliament for the Dowry of Maud his daughter maryed to the Emperour Henry 4 in 1126 in the presence of himself & Davyd King of Scotts. He was borne in 1070 3^0 Conquestoris.[516] Dyed in 1135.[517]

Besides the tax in *Doomsday booke* of 6 shillings an Hyde per Angliam, there was an other about the yeere 1112, i.e. the 13. of Henry 1t, at 3 shillings the Hyde, upon the completion of the marriage of Maud his daughter with Henry the 4. Emperour of Germany. Q? where to be seen.

The 1st Parliament of England was in 1116, called at Salisbury by King Henry 1st consisting of the estate spiritual & temporall, the Kings of England in former times ordering their affairs by Edicts, by their Officeres and Governo\u/rs of every County. p. 439 Col. 1 am sure he means since the Norman Conquest; otherwise, I have reson to doubt of the truth of it.

[I.57]

The King of Scots, William which of right he said belong'd to his ancestours: which He ~~proposd at his~~ \ answerd after he had ascembled / his parliament at Northampton Reg. Ejus 50 {Anno 1194} that he could not by any means satisfy his petition in that Juncture of Affaires least his enemyes in France should raise a report that he did such a thing rather for fear than love & friendship. But granted a Convoy to him & his Heires in ~~every~~ \ the / Countys when they should com by summons to the Court of England.
Yett allthough Mr Speed as tells us out of William of Newburg that Appleby & Brough were surprised by William King of Scotts & recovered by King John & Liberall bestowed upon Robert de Veteriponte: yett I finde they came to King John ex forisfactura[518] Hugonis de Morevill, who did (maybe) confederate with the Scotch King. T.M.*

[Machell's Notes: I.57]

*{See other Priviledges granted the King of Scotts: Hollinshed, eodem An[n]o.}
See more of the Affairs twix Scotland and England from this time till the reigne of King Henry 3d – In the reigne of King Stephen read Section 7. 11. 12 lines 6. 14. 16. 31. 35.
In Hen. 2 reigne §7. 10 sed parum ad rem[519] 65. 67. 73.76. 78. 80. 83.
In Richard the Ist §13. 56: Speed.
In King John §10. 41. 45 sed parum ad rem.

[I.58]

{The Descent of King Stephen}
King Stephen who \ was Earle of Montaine & Boloine / began his reigne 2nd of December 1135: Contrary to the Just title of Maud the Emperess daughter to King Henry 1t & her son Henry Plantaginet after King of England. For Stephen was Nephew onely to Henry the 2nd, as \ 3 / son of Adela, Adelicia or Alice as some variously terme her: daughter of William the Conqueror & sister to the 2 preceeding Kings, whose Husband was Stephen Earle of Bloys & Champaigne. The son of Earl Eaudes[520] the son of Earle Theobald, the son of Gernon the Daine companion of Rollo, the Conqueror's ancestour. He built many castles all over England, thinking theirby to strengthen his Kingdome, but they proved the baine of subjective obedience; which Henry sirnamed Fitts Empress very well understanding, when he came to ~~the Crowne~~ make a peace with him & caused 1115 castles to be razed & cast downe. These should be some of the castles built by King Stephen:[521]

[516] 'In the third year of the reign of William the Conqueror.'
[517] The rest of the page has partly perished but reads: 'Dyed in 1135 ætat suæ […] Henry may for all this […] 2 William Rufus ætat suæ 1. William […]'
[518] 'Forfeited of Hugo…'
[519] 'But little to the point.'
[520] This word is blotted.
[521] MS: 'These should be some of the Castles built by King Stephen: ~~§7. §11. §12 6 lines §14. §16. §31. 3 &c.~~'

Hereford C. Caris C. Ludlow C. Dunestor C. Warram C. Meltune C. Shrewsbury C. Dovre C. {p. 447.} Salisbury Cast. Sherborne C. & Malmesbury C. built by Roger Bishop of Salisbury. The Devises, allso as is probable, being then accounted one of the goo[d]lyest castles in Europe.

[Machell's Notes: I.58 and I.58A]

Henry 2?[522]
Query: whether the Scotts ever had so far as to Rerecross.
Answer in short:
They had Cumberland granted (says Hector Boetius); yett I have reason to believe that they never had more granted them then 12 Townes, and as for the conjecture about Roycros, tis very false taken up~~on~~ of his owne head to extend the Limits of his Country & their Conquests: for tis Rerecross & noe signe of armes or figures upon it. Besides tis not said in any place that they had Westm'land {and beside, I finde in [blank] that the castles there came unto him ex forsfactura Hugonis[523] of taking part against King John. {Tho tis very true that the King of Scots rog[avit][524] of King Richard the first after his returne from the Holy War, to have restor'd to him the Countyes of Northumberland, Westm'land & Cumberland & the County of Lancashire.}
[I.58A]
Not[ae] de proelijs inter Malcolmum et Willielmos Angl[iae][525] Reges Anno 6. Will[iellmi] Bastardi Malcolmo Rege Scotorum Rebellante, per Terram et mare exercitum duxit in Scotiam, et eidem Malcolmo in Loco qui dicitur Abrenithes occurrit et Malcolmus suas homo devenit. è *Cronicis Mariani Scoti*.[526] Rogeri Hoveden,[527] Hen. de Huntington.
In *Cronicis Mariani Scoti* et Rogeri de Hoveden in multis Libris intenitur. Quod Anno Domini 1086 successit eidem Willielmo Bast, Willielmus Rufus f. ejus qui anno 14 regni sui Rebellante Malcolmo Rege Scotorum & Northumbriam Invadente cum Roberte fratre suo acies in Scotiam direxit cuj Malcolmus occurrit, & pax inter eos facta è conditione tali; ut Idem M. Rex Scotiæ eid. W[0] regi Anglie, sicut patri suo[528] obediret p. 491.[529]

[I.59][530]

in subjection to \ the / Scots ~~as some will have it~~; and the other 2 were either freed and excepted from tax or comprehended under Yorkshire*. But afterwards, they were all brought in and so made up the number xxxix.[531]
It seems by this relation that in the Conquere\r/s time these 3 Northern Countryes did not att all belong to England, but rather to Scotland, except they were a principality of them selves, and laying betwixt two \ crisdoms / resolved to pay subjection unto neither and it is not unlikely that Durham and Lancaster, were ~~omitted~~ \ freed / from the tax least by Burthening of these Remote Countryes, the Conqueror might give that stubborne people occasion to revolt; for I remember a passage in Mr

[522] MS: '~~Hen. 2 §7. (§10.) §65. 67. 73. 76. 78. 80. 83. Rich. 1t §13. 56 King John §10. §41. 45x~~ Henry 2?'
[523] 'Forfeited by Hugh.'
[524] 'Asked'.
[525] 'Notes on battles between Malcolm and the Williams, Kings of England. In the 6th year of William the Bastard, when Malcolm, King of the Scots rebelled, he led an army into Scotland by land and sea and met the same Malcolm in a place which is called Abrenithes and Malcolm came down… From the Chronicles of Marianus the Scot, Roger Hoveden, Henry de Huntingdon.'
[526] *Chronicis Mariani Scoti* ('Chronicles of Marianus Scotus') d. 1082.
[527] G. Bishop, R Nuberie & R. Barker (eds), *Rogeri Hovedeni Annalium Pars Prior & Posterior, in Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Post Bedam Praecipui, ex vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi* (London, 1596).
[528] A Latin word here is illegible.
[529] 'In the Chronicles of Marianus the Scot and of Roger de Hoveden in many books it is … that in the year of our Lord 1086 William Rufus, his son, succeeded the same William the Bastard, and in the 14th year of his reign, when Malcolm, King of the Scots, rebelled and invaded Northumbria with his brother Robert, he led his army into Scotland and Malcolm met him, and peace was made between them on a condition such as this, that the same M[alcolm], King of Scotland. should give obedience to W[illiam], King of England, just as he had [formerly] done to his father. 491.'
[530] Some text here completes the subjects raised earlier; most words on this page have been scored through, suggesting a draft version.
[531] Camden, *Britannia,* tr. Holland (1637), 159E.

Camden concerning Bishoprig men, that they stood upon their priviledges saying they were Hali warke folke.[532]
But if it be so that Westm'land was under the Scotts, How could the [blank] att Brough make a conspiracy against the Conqueror, whose subjects they were not, that being in Westm'land [blank] miles on this side the Rere Cross, or Roy Cross as some will have it (which they \ say / was a boundary 'twixt Scotland and England, having the armes of each nation upon ~~its severall sides~~; and tho we read that Cumberland was given to the Scots, yett never findeing any gift made of Westm'land, wee must either deny that the Scotts Dominions extended to this Cross, or confess that Westm'land and Cumberland were all one and had but one name, which have no aut[h]ority for; And besides if the King of England gave them he must be supposed to have had them: So that there is nothing but uncertainty concerning this matter; nor we can wee possitively determin any thing till the reign of King [blank] who won it from the Scotts with the other Countyes & so annexed it to England for ever.
{And this seems to be the reason why §6. Westm'land & its neighbouring counties were not taxed, which however advantageous then we have reason to lament & be sorry for now.}

[Machell's Notes: I.59]
*Camden p.57 (an ita sit vide *Doomsd. Booke*).[533]

[I.63]

[H.] Now of its bounds, Limits, figure & extent, Quality \ of soyle / & inhabitants

{§ 8 ~~Soyle~~ The Nature of the Country}
The next thing to be taken notise of is the soyle which for the generality is in no way dispicable, produceing great plenty of Corne and Hay allmost in every place; & where these commodityes are awanting, the defect is supplyed with pasture for cattle; or, which is allmost as necessary, woods coalpits mines or quarries which this Country affords in great abundance.

{The Barony of Kendal}
As to the more southerly part of it, tis confessed (by those who have allready writt) that there is no want of any thing necessarie; and tis very well know to those who have seen it, that northern part doth ecceed ~~the~~ \ other / in all \ sorts of naturall commodityes, / being a more Champion ground, better watered, and (bye reason of the hills wherewith tis incompassed) of a more calme and prolifique temperature: which Mr Camdens and Speeds

[I.65][534]

maps doe demonstrate, however they came to ommitt \ it / in their writeings. So that speakeing in general and considering one part with an other, it is a Country plentifull enough and sufficiently frutefull, affording all things necessarie for the sustenance of humaine nature. (For if here it be naked and destitute of trees, there it is clad with thick woods & copses. If here be mountaines and hills without any corne, there are vales and dales which abound therewith. If here be want of one thing there is plenty of an other, so that nature may seem to have sported her selfe Here, adorning the Countryes with such varietyes as render it at once both commodious and pleasant*.)

{Dales}
{It generally consistes of mountains and vales, or rather dales as they calld them there ansiently.}
And they are little planes Hedged in on each side with mountaines, haveing a river runing through them, \ from which they usually take their names / which renders them fruitefull not onely for grass

[532] 'Haliwerk-folk', also written 'Halywerc folk': people who held their lands by the service of defending the body, relics and territory of St. Cuthbert; also, the county of Durham wherein they lived. *OED*. Machell's reference is to Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 736B: 'For they pleaded (the Storie of Duresme shall speake for mee) that they were Haliwerke folkes, and held their lands to defend the Corps of St Cuthbert; neither ought they to goe out of the precincts of the Bishopricke, namely beyond Tine and Teese, for King or Bishop.'
[533] 'Whether it be thus, see Domesday Book.'
[534] Also numbered p.8.

and hay, but allso sortes of grains – as wheat rye beans pease; a sort of barly, which growing with a greater head than that in the south they usually call Big: {Bigg so called from it Bigness ~~& there~~ hav 4 rowes of Corne, whereas Barly has but 2}; but espicially Oats which in the Language of the Countrye are called Haver, of which sort of graine the Mountaineres and Dalesmen ~~doe for the~~ generally make all their Bread.[535]
And of these little valleyes (which are therefore more ~~plentifull~~ \ fruitfull / because sheltered from the cold by towering hills betwixt which they lye) there are a great Number, as Bretherdale Hegdale, Hickabdale (where are no hab[itations]) Langdale, Mardale, Matterdale, Martindale, Mallerstangdale; Oddendale, Patterdale, Ravenstangdale, Swindale, Smardale, Stainemoredale; all which lay amongst those mountaines ~~that are about~~ \ that environ / the Bottom of Westm'land \ which is the / onely place within this Country that can deserve the name of a vaile \ both / for it evenness and \ noble / extent.
And besides these are 2 greater dales than the rest viz. Loansdall & Kendale, both which are comprised ~~together~~ \ under / the Barony of Kendall. And Here 'tis to be observed that in these dales are not many villages, or Townes, but for the most \ part / loane houses which stand very frequently one from an other \ at a 4^{r} / halfe a mile distance.

[Machell's Notes: I.65]

* {Insert here water & fish p.12 col. a.}

[IV.55-56]

Ancient Value of land and cornage in the Bottom of Westmorland

Inquisition Post mortem of Robert Lord Clifford[536]

[1. Notes]
Then out of an inquisition about the quantity of corne in Westmorland, [in] which every particular made had to sell at a reasonable rate over and above it was necessary, for seed & the maintenance of his owne house. 25 xi \ & 10 xii / 27 Hen viii [1535].
The total sum of all grane to be sold in the Midle Ward: 305 quarters: Decemb. X. xxvij of Hen viii.[537] (In the Barony of Kendall 700 quarters & ½: 25 of November 27. Hen. 8) [1535].
The sum of all corne & granes \ to be / sold within the county of Westmorland is MDLXXI quarter 9 bushell: i.e. 1571 quarter 9 bushell.
I thinke the Midle & West Ward go together. Yes.[538]
It was also presented by the Justices of the said County that there were no common keepers of corne at Xtmas last past, nor noe Ingrossers of corne in the said County, nor noe wheat carried over the sea at any Port or Creke since Xtmas last past, which shows the occasion to have bin the transportation of corne, & want thereby, in the kingdome att that time.

[2. Table]

Owner	Manor (villa de)	Value	Cornage
Alan de Kaber	Kaber	20li	17s 8d
Andrew de Harcla	Harcla	40[539]	1li 6s 0d for both
	Smardale	6li 13s 4d	
Richard de Blenkinsop }	Helbeck	8li 0s 0d for his part	6s 0d between them
Isabel de Slekeburn }	1 part each	3li 0s 0d for her part	
Robert de Swinburne	Askham	20li	5li 0s 9d
T. Musgrave Infant	Great Musgrave & Murton	42li	1li12s 4d I have seen it as 45s 10d but this I take to be right
Do	Rookeby (½ of) & Sandfoot	7li	
T. de Helbeck	Half of Soulby	30li	17s 8d

[535] See a reference to oat bread in *N&B1*, 11.
[536] There were several Roberts de Clifford in the 14th century: see *N&B1*, 275-79.
[537] MS: 'Decemb. x. xxVij: Hen. 8 x. xxvij of Hen viii 27th of Henry VIII.'
[538] A surmise on Machell's part; the answer was added in different ink.
[539] Unit not given, but probably in pounds as per the other amounts.

Henry de Warcop	Warcop & ½ of Wateby	30li	17s 8d
Do	Propertyes in Helbeck	40s 0d	[Blank]
William de Dacre	½ of Wateby & ½ of Overton	40li	12s 6d
Richard de Musegrave	Crosby garratt & part of Musgrave	34li	26li 0s 3d for all his holdings in these
Do	½ of Overton	30li	
Robert Bacon } Andrew de Hellerton}	Hilton	13li	13s 8d
Robert de Asby	½ of Asby Winderwath	10li	19s 0d
John de Cottesford	½ of Great Asby	6li 13s 4d	4s 2d
Robert D'Englays	Little Asby & ½ of Helton Flecket	21li 13s 3d	13s 6d ½ (I have seen 3s 0d)
Nicholas de Hastings	Crosby Ravensworth & Nateby	40li	1li 7s 2d
Gilbert de Culwen	Shap Bampton PalKnipe & I have seen Bampton Patrick & Kings Patrick as his	5li 2 the lot	1li 6s 7d or 1li 6s 8d
Henry de Cundale	Bampton Cundale & PalKnipe	13li 6s 8d	15s 3d
Walton de Wessington	½ of Helton Flecket	6li 13s 4d	16s 4d
John Godberd	Brougham	3li 6s 8d	13s 6d
William Crackenthorpe & Henry de Reddings			
Ralph filius Willelmi (held by Ralph Lord Greystock in 1464-5)	Bolton Yanwath (& elsewhere held in chief)		
John de Boyville	Knock	13li 6s 8d	3s 4d
Luke Tailboys	½ of Cliburn	13li 6s 8d	12s 4d
Thomas de Colby	Colby	13li 6s 8d	6s 10d
The heir of Thomas de Multon of Gilsland	Hoff & Drybeck	30li	9s 2d
John de Derwentwater	Ormside	10li	13s 6d
Robert de Newbiggin	Newbiggin	10li	20d
[deleted name]	Milburn by Howgill	6li 13s 4d	1li 1s 7d
John Kirkbythore	Kirkby Thore	10li	1li 12s 0d
Thomas Mauchell	Crackenthorpe	13li 6s 8d	6s10d
Robert de Bradewood	1 carrucate in Appelby	1li 10s 0d	2s 0d
The heir of Walter de Spencer	8 akers in Apelby	–	4d
John de Harcla	Kinkber	2li 10s 0d	2s 0d
Adam de Coupland	Lowther	2li each except the Prior's	1li 0s 4d
Henry de ~~Hardington~~ Harrington			
Hugh de Lowther & the Prior of Watton			
Richard de Fraunceys	Maulds Meaburn	2li	1li 13s 0d
William de Tylia	½ of Cliburn	6li 13s 4d	7s 8d ½
John de Staffield			
Robert de Sowerby			

William de Helton	Halletun de Burton	10li	13s 4d

[I.64]

\ A short / description of the Bot[tom of Westmorland].

Through the run in the river Eden, which receives into it a great many rivuletts on each \ side, / which infuse into the ground such vital spirits Being plenfully stored with granarys pastures \ woods / meadows cornefields, & cleare runni[n]g rivers, amongst [which] Eden Is counted the chief which running dow the midst of the Country, it riceves the Other here & there Into it bosom & putts such vitall spirits into the ground, and it does not give place to any part of England, for richness of soyle.

[I.66]

Fells

But notwithstanding they bee viarable, and less fit for Husbandry; yett they bring their comodity along with them. For they are a great defence against winde and cold; which is why the Lower pla\c/es are so fertill, notwithstanding the clime, which other men having only respect to, and not knowing the advantage of it situation, have for which concluded the Country to be barren: And besides their defence against in the winter &c.

In these fells are allso stones of all sorts necessary & usefull: Free stone, Grindstone, Milstone, Limestone & slate ~~or tile~~ which are allso in great plenty in the Low Country. In the fells allso where they digg for Ore is found great plenty of a transparent stone which shines like Cristall and might be of \ some /use to the Lapidaryes, tho not regarded there. But the \ generality / is a soft and Blew stone, which is very fitt for make[ing] moulds for Buttons or Bulletts and allso for whetstones, \ & is used so by them. / These are so plentifull that they laying \ spred / upon the mountains, make them seem at a distance of a perfect \ azure / Blew colour, which is very pleasant to the Ey & renders the prospect wonderfully delightfull.[540] But the most miraculous stones that every I see were dugg up \ in the fell / at Harclay,[541] representing the fig[ure] & col[our] of Owles*, of which more there I shall speake in their proper place, vi[de). Kirkby Stephen parish, Manner[ium] de Hart.[542]

[Machell's Notes: I.66]

*Stones like Owles. Some at Harclay. Kept by Sir Phillip, & gett the picture drawne from Mr Provost:[543]

[I.67][544]

{Mountaines}

{In Caves of Mountains are ingendered cold windes*. And the greatest difference I ever observ'd thwixt these parts & south of England (in which I have equally shared my time) is in great \ high / winde in winter that oc[curred].}[545] The mountains here are very high & steep, and in some places full of Rocks and Craggs. And tho they be such for the generality as can not bee improvd by the plough, 'yett they bring their Commodityes ~~sufficiently along~~ with them; for they ~~are a defence against cold in the winter and~~ afford Good pasture for Cattle in sommer especially for \ cowes / sheep, ~~of~~ which are bred here in great abundance, yealding very good wooll. But the sweates[t] mutton in all the world;[546] inso much that King Charles the 2[d] as I have bin inform'd preferd this Country mutton before all daintyes that were brought to his Table. (Infor. Lady Tyr.)

[540] MS. II.454: 'The[y] are blew & pleasant to behold.'
[541] Hartley.
[542] Manor of Hartley.
[543] See Part 1, Ch.13, Kirkby Stephen, I.584: *Figure 1.13.12. Stone 'howles' (owls).*
[544] Also numbered p.9.
[545] Machell shortened the last word to fit the page; its transcription is therefore unsafe.
[546] See *N&B1*, 3, for the same information.

(a.)[547] Amongst these fells are allso bred staggs of an incredible bigness, with wild Bulls & Cowes ~~with which this~~ by some called Bugills, with which this Country of old did very much abound; and some continued till the late Civil Warrs.[548]

{Lead Mines}
~~But beside these commodityes~~, they have \ allso / rich treasures which lay hid within them, to wit, \ of mettall but especially / lead mines allmost in very place where they take the paines to dig and discover them, ~~which have alloys of silver and gold~~.

{Gold Mines}
And some \ shepherd[s] / are sayd to have found Gold Ore in seeking their sheep. Concerneing ~~which I must observe one thing that in~~ a sheep's head brought up to the table, I have seen ~~there the~~ all the teath gilded \ over as it were /~~as~~ with gold; but I doen\t/ use this as any argument to confirme their report. ~~But I am of opinion that if there Be plenty of gold and silver it must be under ground, for it is not possible money should abound in~~ those northern parts as it doth in south ~~by reason that~~ it is so far remote ~~and all land sute tried att London which make a great vent for money. But the Best of it is that that if they have less they need less, for all sorts of provision, are plentifull and cheap even to a wonder~~.

{Wood, Coale, Turfes}

[I.174]

In our island, as som ancient writers doe tell us, Westm'land, Cumberland and all the Northern parts of England were full of woods, trees & bushes, especially upon the mountains, where scarce any wood is now to be seen‡.

[Machell's Notes: II.510]

*Speed.
†Heilms *Cosmog*[*raphie*] p.226, Col. 3.[549] Brigantum Yorke dub ver[um] Camden 40?[550]
‡e lib. voc \ *the adven[tures] of Mr J. Smith*, putt forth by 4 Robbers, printe at London[551] pag. 114.[552]

It is though[t] allso that upon these mountains, in former times have bin a great store of ~~oakes~~ \ wood / and there still remaines some probabilityes of it, as anon shall appear: And tho all in the mean times \ or most of / be now destroyd, yett they have enough left in the Lower Countryes, there being the less need of cutting them there, by reason of their other sorts of fewell which Latter Aiges have brought to light to witt, Coale and turfes \ & peates / which are gott in great plenty upon the mountanes allmost in every place – and in some part of the Bottom of Westm'land.[553]

[Machell's Notes: I.67]

*See Pallad[io] 10. 193.[554]

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[547] Machell employed the letter '(a)' here as a memorandum to reposition the text when completing his draft document; this edition has obeyed his instruction. MS. I.67 also contains the following crossed-through sentence: '~~Staggs and wild Bulls & Cowse, if not all destroyd in the warrs~~.'
[548] Bugill or bugle: a wild ox or young bull. *OED*.
[549] Peter Heylin (1600-1662), *Cosmographie in four bookes: containing the chorographie and historie of the whole world, and all the principall kingdomes, provinces, seas and isles thereof* (London, 1652).
[550] 'Was York of the Brigantes? I doubt it, yet Camden p.40?'
[551] The rest of the page has perished.
[552] John Smyth (Smith), *England's improvement revived; plainly discovering the several ways of improving all sorts of waste and barren ground and of enriching all earths, with the natural quality of all lands; and the several weeds and plants which naturally thrive therein observed &c.; together with the manner of planting all sorts of timber trees and underwoods experienced in 30 years' practice.* 6 vols (London, 1670).
[553] See comments on deforestation and peat mosses in *N&B1*, 7.
[554] Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), *The Four Books of Architecture* (Venice, 1570). Book I was first published in English in London in 1663.

[I.69][555]

But the best Coale that this Country affords \ I thinke I may [say] or England either / is gott in the fells, and particularly on Stanemoore; it burnes \ as if it were / pitch blaseing and giveing light like a candle, but without that noysome and sulfurious smel which other Coals have; and lieves behinde it a sort of sinder after it is Burned, which will make a 2^{d} fire as bright as charcoale. And this plenty of coale makes wooden fewell so cheap in this County, that you may have underwood for cutting ~~upp~~ \ down, / for it serves them in noe steed, save only for Hedging: But their underwoods are frequently Haszell, and therefore here is great plenty of nutts, yett so little reagarded that they yeald noe commodity to those who owen them.

{Peets upon the fells}

In the Boggy places amongst the mountaines which are spongie and viscous, commonly called mosses, they digg a sort of \ black / turfes about a foot in lenth \ & ½ diameter / like to a Brick or their tanners turfes,[556] by them called peets; \ for turfes with them are a distinct thing, i.e. broad flatt taken of[f] the surface / which are excellent fuell, but the smoke thereof ~~not~~ somewhat unpleasant att least to those which are not used to it. And these pitts (or potts as they call them) tho of a considerable depth shall grow up againe in 7 year time and be fitt ~~againe~~ for a 2^{d} harvest (se *Surv. Dial[ogue*).[557]

{Woods upon the fells}

In digging these peet mosses are often found Great Oken Trees, which have laid so long that they are buried very deep in the Boggs, and the water (which in such places is Black from the nature of the soyle) hath given them a tincture like ibony and rathere added very much than taken any thing away from their naturall hardness, which may be some argument of the great store of wood that in former times was upon those mountains; for in Our Iland, as some ancient \ old / writers doe tell us \ testify, / Westm'land and Cumberland and all the northern parts of England, were full of woods trees and Bushes, especially upon the mountains, where scarce any wood is now to be seen. Verum ex quo Opulentæ ferri aliorumque metallorum venæ, hic sparsim aliisque \ vicinis / Regionibus fuerunt repertæ, sylvæ illæ Condensæ paulatim ut opinor rarescere ceperunt;[558] to which may be added an other probable reason \ also* / viz. that they being a receptacle for thieves and robbers & for enemyes allso either to lye wate in or make

[Machell's Notes: I.69 and I.70]

*{adv. of Mr J. Smith London, 1670, p.114}[559]

[I.70]

Crakenthorpe furne & woods demoll.

[I.71][560]

escapes unto, might upon that account be Burned & Cutt downe for the better security of the neighbouring inhabitants, for the Scotts have ever made inroads here, and doe to this day make certane sally to steale and drive away cattle, tho not so frequently as in Cumberland because \ this Country is / more remote from them.[561]

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[555] Also numbered p.10.

[556] For tanners' turf, see Andrew Steele, *The Natural and Agricultural History of Peat-Moss or Turf-Bog* (Edinburgh, 1826), 12-13: '[Trees] generally found in mosses, are sometimes used as a substitute for oak in tanning leather; and peat mosses being an accumulation of a variety of vegetable matters … perhaps preserved by the stagnated water … continues to receive, by infusion, fresh supplies of tanning matter…' *OED* offers a helpful quotation from 1688: 'The Bark cast out of the Tan-Pits, wrought into Turfes, which, dried, is good fire Fuel.' *OED*.

[557] John Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (London, 1607).

[558] 'But from the time when rich veins of iron and other minerals were found here and scatteredly in other nearby regions, those thick woods gradually, as I reckon, began to grow thin.'

[559] John Smyth (Smith), *England's improvement revived …*

[560] Also numbered p.11.

[561] A point also made in *N&B1*, 7.

And the Picts no question were \ heretofore / apt enough for to doe ~~att the Comeing in and Goeing out of the Romaines, for they were men of the same sort of manner in that respect with the Scotts now a dayes~~ (if the were the old Brittaines & particularly Brigantes, which I doe really suppose them to bee) at such time as the Romaines po[sses]sed themselves of their Countrie; who for any I know destroyd the woods upon this account haveing left one great mountaine \ viz Romane Fell / which bears their name to this very day – Roman Fell. And some of the Scotts doe still drive away cattle from those people which live near or upon the mountaines, secureing them selves now by Boggs and Mosses instead of woods, through which they have dangerous & unknowne paths except to themselves (their horses being so well disciplined that they will leep from seeve bush to seve bush, {so they call your rushes} contracting their feet into the compass of a Bushel, whereas if they shoul[d] miss of those little Ileletts, horse and man would be swallowed up quick.[562]

[Borderers]
And that I suppose which animates them the more to this practisse of thievery, is that they doe not beleeve it to be a sin, as the Borderers heretofore being taught by their ancestours \ who / told Mr Gilpin (that Honest parson) ~~that~~ Thou shalt not Steale was not God's old Law but a new Law of King Henryes makeing {Henry 8}.[563] And in like manner, as I have bin informed by one who lived amongst them, doe the Highland Scotts prey upon the low and yett thinke them selves so far from sining in it, that when the husbands

[Machell's Notes: I.71]

Roman Fell alias Rut-man Fell.

[I.73]

prepare and make them selves ready for a sally, their poore wifes will fall downe on their bare knees, and begg of God to prosper their attemps and send them good success \ booty. /

[I.72]

(a) And this sort of \ way / plundering, which they openly profess, is authorised amongst them by this tradition: that they indeed are the old inhabitants, and true owners of the Country; the Lowlandmen being strangers and lowly usurpers who possessed \ the / land not by right but by might.

But to returne againe to the Lowland Scotts and mostroopers with whome ~~we~~ \ the English / are infested, or att least ~~or at least~~ have bin, as much as the Lowland Scotts are by the Highlanders.

[I.73]

But for the avoyding of Inroads and suppressing of ~~those~~ moss troopers ~~theeves.~~
Nobiles fere omnes in hoc tractu Du\c/es limitanei erant, tenentes enim dominos suos defendere, et sub illis signo Dato merere in membranulis tenebantur, sicut etiamnunc videre est in Antiquis manerijs; et privata sua Jura quodamodo regalia, eorum aliqui habuisse videantur, quae paulatim pacis tranquilitas, uti Regnorum Connub. Iam antiquavit. Adhuc autem in Cumbria et Northumbria contra Scotorum abactiones Conscripti sunt milites*, (sicut olim fuere).[564] For I read of one Gray who did soe and soe (b.) (c.)

(c.) And they have still a Troope in Cumberland kept in pay for suppressing mos[s]troopers; howbeit, I suppose in former times, they made provison rather against the Scotch Kingdome who was very apt

[562] 'Moss troopers': members of the marauding gangs which, in the mid-17th century, carried out raids across the 'mosses' of the Scottish Border; border pillagers or freebooters. *OED*.
[563] Bernard Gilpin (1516-1584), born of a gentry family at Kentmere; at Queen's College, Oxford, from 1533; a well-known itinerant preacher known as the 'Apostle of the North': D. Marcombe, 'Gilpin, Bernard, Church of England clergyman and preacher'. *ODNB*.
[564] 'Almost all the nobles in this territory were border guards, for they were held by written documents as retainers to defend their masters and to serve under them at a given signal, just as even now can be seen in their ancient manors, and some of them seem to have had their own private laws [and] in a certain manner, regalia, which gradually the tranquillity of peace-time has made obsolete, as has the 'Marriage of Kingdoms'. And to this day in Cumbria and Northumbria, soldiers are conscripted against the raids of the Scots (just as once they were).'

to Quarrell with England and there was nothing more common than for pursons of quality upon private quarrels some times as well as publiqe, to come with all ther men & tennantes in troopes \ & regiments / killing all they could, & driveing away what cattle they mett with; and sometimes takeing away children which they kept till redeemed, and this practised on Both sides, ~~both~~ \ ours as / well as theirs; especially if a father was slane in such an encounter, the sonn thought him selfe obliged to revenge his father death, and that I looke upon as a great reason why all the Gentlemens houses, or most of them, were formerly built with Towers, & in which their under roomes were vaults.

[I.72]

(b.) {Not far from Apleby} there is a place within the Lib[erty] of the Machell of Crackenthorp, which they call Hang-man Close, where some say a pair of Gallows stood, & there are 2 little hills supposed to be the places where the posts were fixed, which they show to this day. The place seems to have had it[s] name from being bestowd for some certaine time as a reward to the executioner, but whether this Lordship had an extraordinary prerogative (for it is an ancient one) or whether some of the Machells had bin Shiriff and upon that account might maintane an Executioner (haveing no aut[h]ority) I dar not determine but than (my thinkes) it is some thing odd that the Gallow should [be] placed in his owne Dom[aine]s if he was only [s]hireve.

[Machell's Notes: I.73]

*{Translate this.}

[I.74][565]

{Marshes are called in Latin arcifinales et limites ab arcendis finitimis sic uti}.[566]
wherein they kept their horses and other cattle. And truly I cannot say but that Westm'land was as much or more trubled with these inRoads noe longer since than Henry 8 times, as Cumberland or Northumberland are now. For in amongst the writeings at Crakenthorpe Hall I finde that Hugh Machell of Crakenthorpe Esq. was appointed an assistant to Sir Thomas W\harton / Knight, deputed Warden of the Westmarshes of Scotland (June 28, 29. Henry 8.) [1536/7-1537/8] by a speciall warrant under the said Kings signet and signe manual, and the Tenants of the Lordship ever did and doe yett hold their estates (amongst other conditions) by military (if I may so say) or, as it is commonly called thereby, Border Service. But now in Westm'land they live in more securitye, so that those Tennantes who heretofore held their lands at a deare rate (the Hassard of Armes) doe now live in saifty and Eat their bread in piece and Quiettness \ in a peacefull land. / Howbeit there is nothing more hatefull to them \ at this day / nor ~~nothing~~ noe man in the world they sett less by than a Lowland Scott, whom they looke upon both as treacherous and cowardly, 2 sordid vices / which they mortally abhor; but of this, more in the next particular.[567]

Concerning the Inhabitants \ ancient & / moder[n]; their disposition*[568]

When wee come to speake concerning the Inhabitants ~~ancient and~~ modern, this Country for it[s] better security & strength has yett [blank] Castles, beside [blank] which are demolished, al in good repaire. And to give warning of the approach of an enemy, [blank] Beacons.

It has 8 large rivers well-stored with fish of all sorts, as Salmon, Trouts C[h]ubs, Pikes, Brass Trouts, Gray Trouts, Gold Trouts &c. Vid the Query's?[569]

Over these rivers are a many Bridges & most of them Stone, with a great number of mills for lead, corne & cloth: Concerning all which I shall speake more large in som other place (cheepness of fish.).

It affords allso great store of cattle, as sheep cows oxen and deere in Great Plenty with staggs & wild couse on some of the fells; wild foole[570] as duk & mallar[d], teele & widgion, wild geese, herrinshoes &c. which I shall speake of hereafter.

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[565] Also numbered p.12.
[566] 'Lands that protect [or hold] the boundaries and borderlands, because they ward off the neighbours'.
[567] See *N&B1*, 9-10 for Border Service and assignment of land.
[568] Perished marginal content includes headings on market towns, improvements and free schools. The text is a draft of material on I.75.
[569] 'See the queries.'
[570] Wild fowl.

The aire, which tho otherwise would be sharpe and cold, is more warme and temperate by reason of the mountaness and is very w[hole]some & healthy in so much that men usually live 100 yeares.[571]

[Machell's Notes: I.74]

*See notes for Ogleby.[572]
{There are in the County [blank] houses – nobil[ity] & gentry; Castles [blank] churches [blank] chaples [blank] [perished illeg.] sch[ools] [blank], mills [blank] Bridges [blank], chases [blank] woods [blank] forest [blank] grounds [blank] parkes [blank] heath [blank] warrens [blank] Nework [blank] salt [blank] lead [blank], Iron [blank] lime [blank] plaster [blank] freestone [blank] grindstone.}

[I.75][573]

§1. The Inhabitants of this County are by speech Saxons, by their names Normans & by their nature both. They doe not affect any thing of novelty, either in habitt or Language, and that is the reason why new fashons and refined expressions are nott allowed, except amongst Gentlemen. And tis very remarkable that about Ableby,[574] tho they gennerall adhere to the old English Saxon as for their words, yett they \ neither / make use of the Yorkshire Lancashire nor Scottish Dialect ~~which some of which their neighbour are infected~~, as some of their neighbours ~~were use to~~ \ most frequently / doe (~~For about Carlile they speak very Scottish & about Kendall, yea even in Orton which is but [blank] distant from Appleby, they are very much addicted to the Lancashire tone~~) but they on the Contrary give every vowel its true & full sound.[575] {Scots pronounce myne as mein; Lancs pronounce ou as au, now as naw; Yorks pronounce oo as oi, foot as foit.}

§2. They have this great advantage of Southern people, that tho they speake in their owne uncouth language (for such the true English is accounted nowadayes); yett they understand the refined tone, ~~& tho many of them can speake it too, yett except they~~ […] ~~tis counted pride in them & called~~ […] and are able to speake it if they would but practiss and ~~accustome~~ \ use / them selves to it. But by their avertion to all innovations they obteine this advantage: that they easily arrive to the knowledge of the Saxon; & have a greater propensity to pronounce French right, than any people in this nation besides.

§3. The generality of them are of a kinde and courteouse disposition, so long as they are not affronted or abused: but otherwise much addicted to revenge. They are very true & faithfull to their friends, & wonderfully Hospitable to strangers & others.[576]

§4. They love any man that dares to fight, so that a stout rober ~~when taken & imprisoned shall be company for a knight~~\ is estemed of by them: / for if he have valour he's counted a Gentleman, & the sence of ~~that is~~ \ his valour / is enough to wipe of all ~~his~~ other indignities.

§5. A schollar or a soljer they have in Great reverence but a pilfering theefe, & a dastardly coward they hate above all things ~~and have more great kindness for the Lowland Scotts. But love the Highlanders because they are~~ valiant'.[577]

[Machell's Notes: I.75]
Memorandum: the manner of holding. Clifford Knights Service: rel[i]qui per corna:[578] write the tables.

[I.76]

[§6.] A[s a] people they are Strong Active and Hardy, fitt for Labour & Lovers of industrye, yett so much addicted to masculine recreations; as Fishing Fowleing Hunting Hawkeing Horse Coursing & the like; that for these they will lieve their more necessary imployments. & love musique so well

[571] This paragraph alos appears in *N&B1*, 2-3.
[572] See the Editor's Introduction and this chapter, I.42, for Machell's connection with Ogilby's Queries.
[573] Also numbered p.13.
[574] Appleby.
[575] See this theme in *N&B1*, 11.
[576] See *N&B1*, 9, for similar attributes.
[577] The last scored-through sentence was originally placed on MS.I.76.
[578] 'The rest through cornage:'

(especially the Baggpipe) that heareing one play \ at night after worke / they will straight fall a dancing, ~~when they are most weary with workeing & Labour~~ as if they knew not what \ it were to be weary. / {!} Gens pervalida, pro loco et Tempore, nunc aratra hunc ad Arma Promptissima.[579]

§7. Their gentry are men ~~of~~ more gallant~~ry~~ in their actions than in words & clothes,[580] \ ~~or houses~~ / true to their Country & Loyall to their Prince. Witness their behaviour in the late Civil Warrs, & unda[u]nted suffering ~~in the~~ \ during / Tyranny of Oliver, for I thinke this little \ County / may say it with glorie that their was not one \ 3 /[581] Gentleman, perfidiouse in it. {An in Cumberland? Onely 3: Cholmley. Punsenby. Lawson. Roundheads in West[morland] Totidem.}[582]

§8. As \ to / ~~for matter of~~ Education, not onely the Gentry but the very commonalty bring up their children in much subjection \ to their parents & superiours; / putting them to schoole whilst they are young wher \ the / most learn English & many of them Latin before they lieve schoole and betake themselves to traides; \ & / some Greek & Hebrew, \ whose parents are able to proceed farther to, / and thence are sent to Oxford or Cambridge where they improve to a very great eminency; and for this their education is the more acquirable because of the number of free schools \ & chapel / in this Country, whereof there are ~~many~~ \ lot, Sc. / that of Appleby being \ counted / chiefe.[583]

{**Ther customes**}

§9. They plow here allwayes with oxen, haveing onely in ~~their~~ \ a / teame 2 Leading horses; & this is the old way, whence wee have the word Oxgan[g]. Bovata Terræ[584] that is to say [blank]

§10. They carry their corne \ commonly on horse back / & other Burthens commonly in wains carts but never in waggons by teames of horses, which is one reason why they use not coaches \ so / much \ in this Country; / yett it is to be noted that they carry as much or more \ sorts / with their single Horses, than the southern people doe with

[I.77][585]

their waggons, computeing Horse for Horse. But though there were an inconvenience in it, they would scarce have any regard thereunto; for they hardly give way to any innovation.

{§11.} They have \ some / particular customes \ of their own / which I doe not finde practised in the south of England; as of shooting[586] yeale[587] {Yeule see Bishop Usher in som of his works} (which in this Country Language signifies Oyle and may ~~signify~~ \ denote / joy and gladness) as soone as ever they come out of the Church on Christmas day and such like the common sort when feasted by their Landlords, come forth after dinner all together, & shoote Yeule yeule yeule 3 severall times, and if any be within doore & not present att the solemnity, ~~they to~~ man or woman \ or child, / they inflict a punishment, which is stanging or swilling.

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[579] 'A people particularly strong for their place and for their time, most ready at one moment for the plough, at another for the fight.'

[580] According to Nicolson and Burn, 'In the article of cloathing, they have departed of late years from their ancient simplicity.' *N&B1*, 11.

[581] Inserted in another ink, possibly suggesting that the number of Roundheads in Cumberland and Westmorland was the same, but the passage appears muddled.

[582] 'Just as many/all the same.'

[583] Nicolson and Burn stress the number of good schools in 'almost every village. And in the larger towns … there are free schools handsomely endowed. Insomuch that it is a rare thing in this county, to find any person who cannot both read and write tolerably well.' *N&B1,* 9.

[584] 'Ox-ploughed land.'

[585] Also numbered p.14.

[586] Shouting.

[587] Or yeule: Machell's 'a' is often left unclosed, thus resembling 'u'. Additionally, 'Yeal' and forms of 'yeul' were interchangeable in Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire and Lancashire: See Joseph Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary* (London, 1898-1905), 6., 573, 592-94: 'Yeal… also written yewl, yool or yeel in Scotland, was a northern variant of 'yule' i.e. Christmas.'

{‘Stanging’}[588]
Stanging is proper to the men, not onely upon such delinquencies, but allso upon other occasions in X^{t}mas, & as being found inbed a morneings, or any ~~delinquency~~ or \ any / misdemeanour whatsover committed against the custome of the places, or the persons their {dwelling} ~~resideing~~; and tis nothing but takeing up a man ~~up~~ upon a coltstaff which they calle a stang & carry about upon their shoulders, either into a Gentleman’s ~~hou~~ \ seller, / where they make him drinke of a great charger, or to an ailehouse, where ~~they~~ \ the / make him drinke, defraying the charges of the whole company.

{‘Swilling’}[589]
& so swilling is much the same save that tis for women who are carryed in a Swill or Basket & sometimes (if persons of quality) in a chaire, by the men, who either cause them to pay a forfett or cary them for a punishment into some water or poole near adjoyneing, for refuseing soe to doe. But they have allways musique with them; & sometimes the young men of one towne will goe to an other & stagg all they meet with in their Bedds after midnight, & Gentlemen themselves will in like manner for a Xtmas frolique thus visit one another, both in Westm’land and Cumberland.

[I.78]

[Christmas]
They keep their Christmases with great Entertainements and always musicans ~~those never absent~~ \ being calld upon eve morning about X a clock in every village all the xii days. / The Lords ~~doe most frequently~~ invite \ not only their friends but / allso their Tenants ~~together~~ to dine & be merry ~~with & the Tenents~~ \ who in requitall present their Lords with \ eggs & / poultry and \ other / such things &c. \ as / they can ~~Tenements~~ afford.[590] {N.B. Take in Here §18.}Paying allso, beside other rent services as ploughing Harrowing reaping & mowing (coales & pout Henns),[591] when \ every yere att what time / their Lord is pleased to require them. They pall for annuall rents of a smale value, & fines upon the death of the Lord and change of the Tenant.

[‘Merry Nights’]
§12. And the common sort, besides their feasting of one another (especially the young ones) have certaine sett Nights appointed for Mirth \ which they call Merry nights, in / ~~upon~~ which they all meet, att some \ public / place ~~or other~~ where a cupp of \ good / aile is sold. & there pass their time in mirth and danceing; ~~& these they call their merry nights.~~

{Boys and Childrens accustomed Sports}
§13. On New Yeres Eve the Lesser Boyes \ calld New Year Barns[592] / goe about the Neighbourhood, and gather such gifts as every Household thinke fitt to bestow; some giveing them candles, some pyes, some ro[a]st, \ some money, / some one thing & some another \ as they are disposed / which when they have \ made their / collected \ round / they make merry therewith amongst themselves. ~~They are called the New Yere Barnes, and~~ \ and in their procession or going about / one of them

[588] Stanging: a New Year’s Day custom, apparently unique to Cumberland, Westmorland and Yorkshire;one of a range of customs in which the working classes claimed the right to ‘manhandle’ their superiors. ‘Riding the Stang’ was a form of punishment inflicted on faithless partners by their community as a kind of rough justice at any time of year in many other parts of the country: *Oxford Reference*, https://www.oxfordreference.com.
[589] Swilling: a form of stanging where women were carried shoulder-high in a basket (swill) to the nearest ale-house, where they were expected to buy drinks. The only way to avoid this treatment was to pay a fine immediately, *Gentleman's Magazine* (1791); *Oxford Reference*. https://www.oxfordreference.com.
[590] MS: Following this is a crossed-through paragraph on boon services and rents, taken up again in §18.
[591] Pout hens (poults, pullets): young of the domestic fowl; chicks. Sometimes also a kind of game bird (apparently without regard to age). *OED*. The young of the moor-cock/moor-hen were also named pouts, especially in the North of England: see R. Brookes, *The Natural History of Birds: with the Method of Bringing Up and Managing those of the singing kind*, Vol. 2 (London, 1763), 149.
[592] Bairns = children.

~~repeats~~ \ sayes / a great many Stanzayes of old ~~Saxon~~ English rimes att every doore, all the rest joyning \ with him / in the chorus, whereof I will onely give you this taist, viz. ut seq.

To Neeight it is the Newyeres Neeight
To moarne it is the Day
Wee'r com'd to laite our Newyeres gyft
gitt it gin we may
(Chorus) With an Hagdown aye \ Hagmanay, Hag neun ay* / \ an Have no nay /[593]

And where they meet with a disappointment & have nothing bestowed upon them they all cry alloud:

Hunger Ith Midding
Fyer Ith House Rigging

& soe pass to the next house. And the Scotts have the selfe same custome but with som little variation in the rhyme.

['Scotch and English']

§14. And the Boyes in this Country have allso a play or sport, which of all others I must not forgett. Namely that after Schoole, or att any leysure time; they divide themselves into 2 Companyes under 2 Captaines who chuses ~~man~~ \ boy / for ~~man~~ \ boy, / whome they thinke the best for their

[Machell's Notes: I.78 & 79]

The New-Yer Gift Sang

This neeght's never eene, Hog non a
The mo'rn is King Henry's day Trol, lol a
Gang to yer breead heap. Hog &c.
Bring us down a heal heap. Trol &c.
Gang te yer Hen fleakes. Hog &c. {roostes}
Bring us Toppock & her meak. Trol &c. {an hen's name}
Gang te yer Befe-tub. Hog &c.
Cut round, cut sound, cut not yer muckle
thaum -Trol lol la.

*Hag newn a.: i.e. Have no nay, et put[o] L. Bland?

24 September 1675

From Hugh Anderson a Scottch pedlar. Compare this with the New Yeare song used in Westm'land.

[I.81]

purpose: then they strip them selves into their dubletts and drawers, each party \ the one calleing them selves Scotts & the other English, / laying their clothes all on an heape a[nd] sett a stone as it were a bounder betwixt the 2 kindomes exactly in the midle betixt their heapes of clothes. Then they begin to make incurtions into one another's territories the English beginning with this revileing expression

Here's a loup in thy Land dry bellyed Scott. {i.e. a Leape.}

& soe they plunder and steale away one from another all that ever they cann lay their hands upon. But if they can ~~catch~~ \ take hold / of any invader within their own jurisdiction either before he catches his booty (which they call a wed) {i.e. a weed or garment} or after, Except he escape clear into his owne province, they take him prisoner & carry to the weeds (i.e. their treasure or heape of clothes); whence he is not to move till some of his owne party [come] & breake in and by speed of foote lay hands on the prisoner before he \ himselfe / be touched by any of this adversaries \ party, / which if he doe, he has rescued his man & may carry him of without molestation. & thus som times one party will so farre prevaile upon the other, what with plundering & what with takeing prisoner, that the other shall have nothing att all left. This is a very active & violent ~~recreation~~ \ Sport, / which when they are

[593] For 'Hagmanay' as a variant of 'Hogmanay' (New Year's Eve) in the north of England, see Peter Hempson Ditchfield, *Old English Customs extant at the Present Time: an account of local observances, festival customs and ancient ceremonies yet surviving* in *Great Britain* (1896), 32. New Year songs were once common: see Ditchfield (32) on this custom in the Isle of Man.

suffised withall, every one take his owne clothes agane upon a truce made till the nextime and so they conclude.
This Sport they call Scotch & English, & I am persuaded that Heretofore, when incursions were so frequently \ made / betwixt the 2 Kingdomes: 'The~~ir~~ children \ either / tooke this up in imitation of what their parents did really act, or else the parents taught it to their children, as a means to instruct them in the ~~and render them active in depredation~~ prædatory art, & ~~as it were~~ inspirit them \ from their very cradles / against the Scotts \ whose fein[d]esh incursions wer so frequent, troublesome, that before King James came they called [it] the Ill Ward i.e. the ill world, and said such & such things were don th'ill Ward.[594]

['Burning Hollies']
§15. On the 12 Eve they have allso a custome of Burning Hollies (as they calle it) and this they doe all over the Country \ in every village / whereat you may see 20 or 40 fires all at once.

[I.82]

The occasion I suppose is in memorial of the wise men ~~comeing to~~ \ who came at that time / to see Our Saviour: and If I mistake not they are called Hollyes upon this account \ Sc. holy lights / {No, sed Ignus Sanctus: the holy fier, which by a mistake is converted to holly: & thence the abuse.} That formerly they were made of severall linkes or torches, tyed to severall bowes or Branches of Hollie tree, which they provided on purpose, and so carryed it about, especially upon Hills where they might be most seen, and tho att other places of late they content themselves with burneing \ whins or / furse (~~which they call whins~~) or straw or any other ~~combustable~~ matter \ stuff / which will make a great Blaze; yett att Brough they make use of an Holly \ Branch / in a manner aforesaid to this very day. I see it \ myself / on the 12 eve 1674.

['Bean Fires']
§16. They have an other custome of makeing bone fires (which they call bean fires) either from Bones, by them called Beanns, of which they gather as many as they cann of Dead Doggs Horses or the like, & Burne them in their fires; or else from the Fre[n]ch [word] Bien, which signifies good, they being usually made upon some \ Boun / good News. But whatsoever they take the word from, 'tis very certaine that they will make 2, or 3, or more of these, in a Towne \ or village / according to the bigness of it, but never less than 2, one at one end of the Towne & the other at the other; and the Boyes being divided, will robb the fires & fight as heartily for it as if it were for life and death; so that it may seem to have bin continued in memory of some great fight and of Victorie obtained; but when or what or where it was I have not yett learned. Onely it is to be Noted that [they] constantly observe this ceremony all the Country over of St John Baptists day Eve – calld Midsommer over.

[Rush Bearing]
§17. Which day \ doth allso / putt me in minde of an other custome, formerly much used amongst them, both by Boyes & Girls; and that was of Rush Beareing. For upon this day the young fry in every parish, did gather rushes (which they calle seives) as many as would Straw the church all over, & Brought them & strowed [them] on St John's Day. this methinke may be in memory of St John Baptist's being

[594] For a similar passage, although not attributed to Machell, see *N&B1*, 10.

[I.83]

An Hantshire Piper, taken at Sherborn Monach[595]



Figure 8. 'An Hantshire Piper'. I.83.

[Machell's Notes: p. 83]

For my L[earned] Friend, Mr John Mill.[596]

[I.85]

in the wilderness, But I have read somthinke more in *Kings Vaile Royal of the Ile of Man*:[597] vid my notes & insert it. (Memorandum allso that they calle the procession weeke \ in som places, / Gang Weeke, from goeing their Bounders then) & Cross Weeke, from their resting & praying att every cross which was in their circuit.

There is butt Little Land in this Country Held by Knights Service of the King in Capite: onely Apleby[598] with the castles thereto belong[ing] as Brough Brougham & Pendraggon; & Kendal Castle; which notwithstanding was in som respect subordinate to Appleby. And all the Lords or at least most of them Held by Cornage of whence take these lists {se in part 5[l]} of Apleby Brough & Kendall.[599]

[Kurne-day]

§18. The Tenents in [this] Country ~~hold frequently~~ for the most part Hold of their Lords by [blank] and many of them are bound (besideing fighting for their Lords) to severall services, as ploughing Harrowing reaping mowing &c. besides coales & pouthens, & a smale annuall rent which they pay to their Lords: as allso a fine upon death of the Lord or chainge of the Tennant. They call the Lord of the manor, speakeing ~~in the 3 person~~ \ of him / usually the Lord, & his wife the Lady. ~~But speakeing to them, Master & Mister~~. And on the kurne-day* The Tenents will come with their wifes & children, & soe will the neighbours who are nott tennants, to helpe him that day; so that he shall [have] above 100 \ or 200 reapers / att ~~once~~ a time, whome he entertaines with good ~~victuales~~ \ meat & / dri[n]ke and musique \ with a piper amongst them. / And when they have finished, they all go together upon some near Hill, where one of them (commonly the Lord's Balife) repeats this old rime, & all the rest joynes with him in the chorus, which they shout aloud. ~~The rime is thus:~~

Balife	Blessed be th' time that God was boarn
	we have gitt aw Mr …'s coarn shoarn
Chorus	A churn a churn a churn, a whowe!

[595] Monk Sherborne.
[596] Dr Mill, Principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford. See Part 3, Ch.2, Correspondence.
[597] James Chaloner, *A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man, digested into Six Chapters, published as an Appendix to King's Vale Royal of England*, *or, The County Palatine of Chester…* (1656).
[598] I.e. the Clifford estates.
[599] No list appears below.

which they repeat 3 times over: And then goe to the Gentleman's house in a Troupe,[600] the piper playing \ still / before them, where they have a supper provided \ for them / ~~and for their last~~ \ at which the last / dish, [to] every one a mess of cream out of the churne as a reward of their conquest: & then they fall to danceing (frequently in a O,[601] a man & woman mixed) as tho they had not wrought att all.

[Machell's Notes: I.85]

*{Churne: a mistake (forsan) for corne-day, But the custome of creame has come from the mistaken word} (as they calle it), that is the day upon \ which / the Lord ~~has likelyhood~~ of reape~~ing~~ \ &c. / his last corne.

[I.86]

[Dances]

Their dances ~~is~~ \ are / frequently in a circkle, a man & a woman, which they call a Westmorland round: or a sort of gig dance, in which the man haveing chosen the woman, leades her in his hand and gives her a Turne over the floore like a Corant;[602] and then, haveing placed her on one side the rome, where she stands all the while that He is dancing his gig, ~~&~~ \ which / haveing don he gives her a ~~salute~~ \ kiss, / & changing places, ~~then she begins and~~ \ she / danceth her Gig. And that being ended they \ both /dance ~~a Gig together~~ \ one against the other / but take not hands as they did at first – ~~where the women frequently dance realls as well as the man~~. & so, haveing don, they salute & ~~depart~~ \ sit down. Their third dance is a reele, 3 or 6 running the figure of eight. ∞.

[I.149]

{General}

['Unaccountable Arts']

They have many in these partes which Pretend to Conjuring and som have the hard reputations of witches, and much sought after, yett much hated for it.

They have several unaccountable Artes practiced by the vulgar, without any Compact with the Devil or any apparent wickedness in it, of discovering Thefts; as by a bowle or wooden dish that hath never bin wet, which they fill with water; and write the names of the suspected & other with them who in any wise might be guilty of it, in Pieces of Paper like unto Valentines, the which they put on the surface of it, & after the reading of a verse – I suppose in the Psalmes – that which sinkes first is guilty of it.

[1.] This was tryed at Warcop Tower, at Mr Farer's, for som thred that was stolne from the Talours. They suspect a maid, but her name would not sinke – though som foule play was offerd in pressing down unto it. At last a mans sunke; who \ though / [he] denyed & forswore the fact, ~~but~~ \ yett, / serching h[is] chamber, they founded it \ wrapt up in / a stocking top hid behind his bed.

Inf. Jo Wiber, sutor (Testis occulatus) Jan. 27 1686.[603]

[I.150]

2. They performe the same with a Ridle & Sheres.[604] The Ridle is a sort of Sieve which they dress their corne with, and the Sheres they commonly use are such as they shere \ clip / their sheep withall. They stick the sharp pointes of these Shere, into an hole in the side of Rudle which they hang ~~them~~ it up by – & 2 people opposite, one to the other, putts their long finger under each shoulder of the Bow of the sheres, supporteing them by \ the ends of / their fingers ends. Then another names a suspiciouse person and redes of the Psalme: Thou sawest a thefe & consentest unto him &c. If it prove not the person, the Rudle stands still, and they name \ or thinke upon / others – still reading the verse after every name – And when they hit on the guilty person it will whirle about & fly of their fingers. {Which thing I never experienced my self least I might offend God [by] it, but have had it related from several that have.}

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[600] The main text is superimposed over several other words, including, 'manner for them'.

[601] In a ring.

[602] Courant: A kind of dance characterised by a running or gliding step (as distinguished from leaping). *OED*.

[603] 'Informant, John Wiber, cobbler (an eyewitness).' This edition removes the phrase from the foot of the previous page of the MS.

[604] Riddle: a large coarse sieve, see Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary* 5, 99-100; also named a 'ruddle' in Cumberland. Divination by riddle and shears was a common method of divination in Scotland: *Dictionaries of the Scots Language*. Online.

[3.] This hath often times [been] tried in [Temple] S\owerby / within the parish of Kirkby Thore, Ch[ristopher] Lowson, who is my Informant, being once ~~time~~ an operator in ~~performeing~~ \ it / & Mr J. H. declared to mee that he tryed the same for som soape ~~that was lost~~ \ which they wanted / which he charged his mades with, but they denyed; whereupon they cast the Rudle & sheres, & nameing the mades (whom they most suspected) in stirrd not all. Then they \ named every / every body about the house, & still they stirr'd not. Lastly they named the mastiff dog, being the only remaneing Creature which could be suspected (& hardly that) of medling therewith, and presently they wirled about & flew of their fingers. He [to] satisfy himselfe farther calld the dog to him, smeld at his mouth, & it savourd of soap.

[Machell's Notes: I.150]

A County of sportes, a Horse race almost at every Town on som of the Holy dayes & sommer time, as will be see[n] in my particular discourse of places & parishes.

[I.145]

[Houses]

There houses are generally low, and so were formerly, even in France itselfe – till Hildigastus, an eminent man upon this account in the time of Hildrick, King of France, circa An. Xt 224, reduced them (as Herodian libro 6^0 ad Cultiorem Vitam & Mores; tam in amictu, quam in Ædificijs)[605] to a more elegant manner of living, both in their habits & houses also; whence the Proverb concerneing strong but unpolished worke: Das ist ein gut alt Frenchisk werk. This is one geud auld French warke: Trithem[ius].[606]

[I.137]

[Produce]

{The fruites are aples pear plumes cherryes black & read apricoths peaches &c. though not very common, because since Scottish invasions & civill wars, few have delighted in gardines & orchards. But there are allso naturally, which show the benignity of the soyle & air – Cherryes, wine berryes, & raspberryes also very fragrant & juyey.[607] Strawberryes are common in every wo[od]. & there are beside which tho plentiful here are not heard of else-where, Hinds berryes[608] & Bleaberryes which are very pleasing.}

{For flowers, clove gilly floores have bin here at Shrove-Tide, & double daysies above fower inch aboute; But to pass these by to show what it naturally doth produce: Here in the medow lands and likewise in the fields are your grait colourd violet, which are calld hearts ease & love & Idle;[609] & In the medows your Golden Globes in great abundance, & a sort of R.[610] colour.}[611]

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[605] 'As Herodian in his 6th book concerning the more Civilised Life and Customs: so in dress as in buildings'. This refers to the 6th book (on Severus Alexander, 222-35 AD) of Herodian's 8 books on *Roman History*.

[606] In his *Compendium sive Breviarium primi voluminis annalium sive historiarum, de origine Rerum & gemis Francorum* (Paris, 1539 edn, Lib I, 38: 35), Johannes Trithemius describes Hildegast thus: 'And Hildegast, remembered as a sage among the Franks … taught the people to live in civilised ways, to build houses and to dress with greater refinement, and he told them to lay aside their savagery. For the Franks cared so little for culture or ornament, in clothes just as in their buildings … From that time the Franks began to build their houses both larger and lovelier, and distinct in separate dwellings. For whatever they constructed in former times was lowly and rustic and excessively plain, since, indeed, on account of frequent changes of settlement, they were more accustomed to live in the open countryside than in townships. Hence the Germans, whenever they see something made or depicted with old-time simplicity, reciting a proverb which praises antiquity, are accustomed to say: "Das ist ein gut alt Frenchisk werk."' ["That's real old Frankish stuff."]

[607] Juicy.

[608] The hindberry is another name for the raspberry. *OED*.

[609] Love-in-idleness is a type of purple heartsease.

[610] 'Red'? Golden globes or globe flowers (Trollius: family Ranunculaceae) are usually yellow: see George Don, *A General History of the Dichlamydeous Plants,* Vol. 1 (London, 1831), 44.

[611] For a catalogue of Westmorland's 'scarce or curious plants growing wild', see *N&B2*, 587-90.

For fish it affordes of Trout, Chevins,[612] Pikes, \ monster eles, Charres which are a great rarity, / Smelts,[613] Salmons, & a Trout which for largeness is their competour, calld a Gray-Trout.

For flesh: Beefe, large & good; \ som of which dry & hung; / mutton of all sortes, both great & little: but generally small, which yet is ~~the sweetest in~~ far sweeter th[an] the great, & preferd (I am told by the now Earle of Thanet) by King Charles the 2, for its dillicate taiste before all the muttons in the Kingdom of England.[614] I shall not mention the other sortes which are common every where but only observe that Brawn & venison are very \ plentiful / common dishes in their proper seasons Xmas \ winter / & Lammas \ sommer / all over this Countrey.

{Beastes} {The hart \ & bore /; the buck & doe; the fox \ hurtfull: / I wish wee had none. The homeless sheepe;[615] the mart[616] & the otter. All these in the Bottom of Westm'land. The Gardine of Eden.}

For fowle they have woodcock, partrige fine, all sortes of plovers ~~And what is mo~~ \ curlews, moor h[en] / mawes[617] & wilde ducks, which doe not only appear here at seasons, but breed in the Countrey. And so likewise do your gorfowle,[618] more pulates. \ But which are yett for greater rarityes / Herins (or Cranes), orspreys & Eagles or ~~rather~~ vulturs; & the mical \ comical[619]/ Doterall. But they have no Phesants, that species of them – being so tame a fowl – are long since destroyed and since the great forrest have bin depoupulated of their wood & verdure so that there is little or none on the mountains for want of Copses & Covert, to fly too at severall stages, they could never yett be restored agane. But it hath bin lately attempted by Mr Lowther to restore that game ~~in which~~ he who 2 or 3 yeares since brough[t] young one[s] over out of Yorkshire hither; But the Countrey people destroyed them before they increased to any considerable replennishing number.

[Machell's Notes: I.137]

{The River Eden running down it & being wald in on every side. It be calld the Gardene of Eden, & that not undeservedly.}

[VI.462B]

Regio est aut pascendis pecoribus aut alendis frugibus n[um]quam non mitissima, et ab omnibus vitæ necessarijs instructissima, ad quas etiam com[m]oditates flumina ista pr[rae]ter alia accedunt eximia Eden, Lowther & Emot qu[ae] cum floridissima prata et lætissima arva placide irrig[av]erint demum confluent et per Cumbriam uno Itunæ nomine praeterfluunt.[620]

It is a country very productive of corne and cattle, abounding with all sorts of necessarys for humaine life, being very much inriched by those famous rivers, Eden, Emot & Sleddell, which though not navigable, yet full of fish & of trouts especially. After they have pleasantly watred many flourishing meadows & smileing cornfields, doe meet all in one, and so run through Cumberland by the name of Eden. \ It has of old been a plentifull country for the breed of good horses. /

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[612] Chubs.
[613] Smelt, sparling, sperling: a small fish like the salmon, emitting a peculiar odour. *OED*.
[614] MS: '& preferd (I am told) by King Charles the 1t \ 2 / sure I am by the now Earle of Thanet, for its dillicate taiste before all the muttons in the Kingdom of England.'
[615] Perhaps, unheafed.
[616] Clean mart = pine marten; foul mart = pole cat.
[617] Machell was probably referring to the sea-mew: the common gull. *OED*.
[618] The gorecock, or red game, was the moor cock (female: moor hen); the young were named gorfowl and pouts, Brookes, *Natural History of Birds* 2, 149.
[619] In another hand. A suggestion for an extension to 'mical'.
[620] 'The region is always very mild for the pasturing of flocks or growing of corn, and very well provided with all the necessaries of life, to which products those marvellous rivers also contribute beyond anything else – Eden, Lowther and Eamont, which, when they have peacefully irrigated the flowery meadows and happy fields, at last flow together and run through Cumberland under the single name of Eden.'

That part of Westmorland which layes N. & N.E. is more frutefull and woody; the other towards the south if you take in the fells is much greater but soyless worth, yet no way contemptible, for even this doth bring forth great plenty of corne, especially of bigg & oates & has very good pasture, with some shaddye woods and many coppeces. A. p.2.
It hath plenty enough of corne, abounds with cattle, and in many places has store of pitt cole. A.14.
And ergo it scarce seems strange to me att all that the Romanes ~~should pitch here and defend these places from the Scotts & Picts of old.~~ and the Kings of England in later times, should so much esteem of it \ as / allwayes to contend for keeping this (& its sister county) in their dominions. It is a country temperatæ ubertatis, plentifull enough and sufficiently frutefull.[621]
{[Rea]dy for the approachin[g] enemy especely the Scotts; there are severall beacons.}

Regio nisi in montes amoena et fertilis, pars huius Borealis Colibus
[...]ncta in fertilissimam subsidet planitiem Itunoq[ue] nobilissimo flum[ine]
[...]lebis quasi vim vitalem infundit irrigatur. Australior pars quæ
[...]ntes, salis etiam ferax est et sylvis obumbratur.}[622]

[I.87]

Of Rivers & their Courses[623]

A Cataloge of Rivers and Brookes in Westm'land with the milns that are upon them, and the Bridges which they run under, showing allso what vilages & Gentlemen's houses are near or upon the Course of the Rivers & to whome the Milns doe belong

There are 6 Principle Rivers in Westmorland and many Riviletts which run into them as followeth:

Rivers	Bridges	Milns	What Sort?	The Owners
	Upon Eden Are			
The chief river in Westm'land is Eden, which springs att Hewseat at Morvill hill, and runs downe the midest of the Bottom of Westm'land, by many fine places and pleasant seats, as Pendragon-Castle, Harcley-Castle, Kirkby-Stephen – a market Towne, Warkop Tower \ Warcop Hall / Ormside Hall, Apleby Castle \ where there are 2 pleasure boates, ~~Colby Tower~~, Crakenthorp-Hall \ where there is a pleasure [boat] / opposite to which is Buly Castle* \ Barton / [Machell's Notes: I.87] *Opposite to which at half a mile's distance is Buly Castle, on the west on [blank] & Colby Tower on the south side thereof. _____ Kirkbythore – where there is an Hall & where formerly was a castle, Temple	8. 1. Hellgill-bridge 2. Pendragon-bridge 3. Strengthrett-bridge[624] 4. Kirkby Stephen-bridge 5. Musgrave-bridge 6. Warcop-bridge	6. 1. Att Neatby 2. Att Kirkby Stephen, 2 3. Att Bongate under Apleby Castle, a great one being a double miln 4. Att Crakinthorpe	 Corne, Cloth Both for Corne Corne Corne Cloth	 Countess of Pembroke Viscount Westm'land Squire Machell

[621] The page foot has perished here
[622] Partly perished Latin text: 'Except in the mountains, the region is pleasant and fertile; the northern part of it [...] slopes down from the hills to a most fertile plain and is irrigated by the noble River Eden [...] as though it pours upon it a vital force. The more southerly part which [...] is also plentiful in salt and shaded by woods.'
[623] Title, moved from MS.I.106.
[624] Stenkrith.

Sowerby, Winderwath Hall, – Betwix which place and Hornby-Hall it receives the River Emote, & so enters Cumberland, passing by a great many seats of the Gentry of that County. & about ~~Roweliff~~ \ Bowness / it taketh the sea, retaineing it name all along without any allteration. It is render passable by 8 stone Bridges, & has 6 or 7 milnes builded upon, as you may see in the column opposite. Into Eden doe run on the east and nor-east, these riviletts following:	7. Apleby-bridge 8. Eden-bridge below Temple Sowerby & All these bridges are built of stone.	1 & 1 gon downe 5. Att Bolton 1	Corne	idem
Upon Bel. & Augill are				
1.Below:[625] which springs upon Stainmore, runs by High-Ubainke and haveing inlarged it selfe by a little Brooke called Argill[626] Water, discharges it selfe into Eden att Great-Musgrave.	2. 1. Belah bridge betwixt Brough & Brough Sowerby. 2. Argill Bridge in the High Street upon Stainemore	2. 1. Att Ewbanke one 2. Att Argill one		
2. Helbeck (or Brough-beck) which springs in Helbeck-Fells; runns downe by Helbeck-Hall; Brough (a Market Towne) and Brough Castle. And this allso dischargeth it selfe att Great Musgrave, where 4 rivers meet, viz. Eden, Below, Helbeck & Soulby	1. Helbeck-bridge 2. Brough bridge 3. Musgrave bridge	1. Att Hellbeck two 2. Att Brough two Att Musgrave two	One Corne One lead Corne corne 1 Corne 1 Lead	
				I.89
3. Barton Beck, which springs [blank] runs downe by Barton-Hall and thence to Warkop, where it enters Eden		2. 1. Att Burton one 2. At Warcop one	Corne Corne	
4. Helton-Beck, which springs (I suppose) about Roman-Fell att the ~~wes~~ northend thereof. runns by Helton-Hall and Lancton deschargeing it selfe into Eden, 'twixt Ormside and Apleby	2. 1. Helton-Bridge 2. Couplandbeck-Bridge	2. 1. Att Helton one 2. Att Langton one	Corne Cloth	
5. Is Troutbeck (or Morton-Beck) springing in the mountaines twix Meal-Fell and the Pikes. It runs downe by Morton-Hall \ through the Towne by / Flakebridge Wood, Brampton Hall, Long Martin \ church / & Kirkbythuer Hall, where it takes the river.	3. 1. Stockbridge 2. Morton-bridge,[627] stone 3. Kirkbythore bridge of wood formerly; now stone	3. 1. Att Brampton one 2. Att Longmarton one 3. att Kirkbythore one	Corne Corne Cloth	

[625] Belah.
[626] Augill.
[627] Long Marton.

6. Kieslay-beck, which springs on the other side Morton Pike, i.e. North Westm'lan. The true name thereof I know not & therefore call it Kiesley-beck (may bee tis Hikab). It runs downe by Kiesley towards Flakebrig wood (sed de hoc query)[628] where meeting with Troutbeck, it looseth its name. Knock q?				
7. Swindall-beck. It springs betwixt Dufton & Knock-Pike, runns by the Church and The ruines of an Old-Hall, att Dufton Towne End, and meets with Troutbeck a little before it comes to Long Marton where they both loose their names and are called Marton beck; but Kirkbythure beck when they come att Kirkbythore as it is usull with these little Brookes to take new names from all places they come att.		1. Att Dufton one	Corne	
8. Grainge-beck (so I name it cause that's the first village this rivilett calls att.) It springs in the fells on the North side Knock Pike, comes in att the higher end of Grainge, and runs even downe the streat; Leves Howgill Castle a little of[f] on the right hand, and so runs along to Newbiggin Hall, \ having met & joyneth it selfe with / where it meets with Blenkarn.[629]		2. 1. Att Gullham Holme 2. Att Milne-burne	Cloth Corne	
9. Blenkarne-beck. It spring about Cross Fell, runs downe twixt	2	3		
				[I.90]
There are more [mills] sure upon Livennat. Memorandum: Woodhead Mill				
				[I. 91]
Blenkarne and Lownthwate Wood, thence to about Newbigin, where it meets with Milburne [Beck], and so they pass on by Ackorne-banke and Milln-rigg, change name att every place, and att Edenbridge a little below Milnrigg they take the river. This Blenkarne is a boundary on the North 'twixt Westm'land and Cumberland.	2. 1. Newbiggin Bridge 2. Mil Rigg Bridge	4. 1. Att Newbiggin one 2. Att Acorne banke two 3. Att Milnrigg, one	Corne Corne, both Corne, but now gon downe	? Squire Crakinthorp ? Squire Dalston Mr Burbek but now Esq. Dalstons
Into Eden doe run, on the west and southwest, these	Bridges	Milns	Sorte	Owners
1. Soulby-beck. Or (maybe) ~~Mallerstang-beck~~; it springs I thinke in the Forrest of Mallerstang \ no / runs by [blank] and glides into Eden att Little Musgrave, being one of the fower that rondevouse there.	2. 1. Soulby Bridge 2. Sowerby Bridge	2. 1. Att Soulby one 2. Att Sowerby one	Corne Cloth	{?}
2. Ormside-beck, which springs not far from Piper Cross. It runs \ or rather springs / by Breeks att some little distance [blank] and enters Eden att Ormside Hall.		2. Both att Ormside	Corne Cloth	? Squire Hilton of Ormside

[628] 'But query this'.

[629] Machell gives an alternative here; the pecked line demonstrates his uncertainty. The word 'met' is unclear.

3. Colby-beck (or rather Asby beck). It springs in Ashby Towne Gate & hath a fine head called St Ellens Well, near Great Ashby church; runns downe by Rutter, where there is a great force or waterfall, and there it receives \ Dribeck / which ~~doth~~ runns \ not / in the sommer time, and thence has its name. So it passeth along by Barhouse-Hall, and Coulby Tower, a little below which it enters Eden.	3. 1. Bow-bridge 2. Upper Hoff-bridge 3. Colby-bridge	4. 1. Att Ashby 2. Att Rutter two 3. Att Colby one	 Corne Corne Cloth Corne	
4. Livennett: riseth near Gilse by Oddenden Parke. Runns downe by Crosby-Ravensworth Mauds-Meaburne, and Morland, wher are 2 halls, and a Great Force or waterfall, and meets with Shap-water a little below Cleaburne, and then enters Eden att [blank] betwixt Kirkbythore and Temple Sowerby {crawfish}	3. 1. Crosby Bridge 2. Meaburn bridge 3. Morland bridge	4. 1. Att Crosby 2. Att Meaburn 3. Morland two. One called Pow donnett	 Corne Corne Corne Corne	{see the description of Crosby}[630]
				[I.93]
5. Shapwater springs in 2 places near \ victa / Shap, viz. att Hardendale and Midlerigg-well. It runns by Shapp ~~Abby~~ \ where was an Abby / Strickland where are \ now / 2 Halls \ & / Melkinthorpe Hall otherwise called [Blank] and Cleburne Hall, a mile below which it meets with Livennatt & soe runns on to Eden.				
2. Sleddall flu. or Lowther flu.[631]				
An other Great River in the Bottome of Westm'land is Sleddall, which is commonly call'd Lowther. It springs att Wett-Sleddall, & soe runns along by Shapp Abby, Rosgill-Hall, Bampton ~~Hall~~ \ Grainge / Askham & Lowther Halls, Clifton Hall; & the 2 famous forts, Mabrough-Castle, & Arthurs Castle, otherwise called King Arthurs Round Table: near to which places betwixt Emote Bridge & Browham Castle, leveing Browham on the right hand It falls into Emote, \ where it looseth it name / and there looseth its name. \ And which Emot dischargeth it self into Eden 2 or 3 miles below near Hornby /	3. 1. Abby-bridge 2. Bampton grainge bridge 3. Lowther bridge near Browham	5. 1. New-milne 2. Abby-milne 3. Rosgill milne 4. Clifton milne 5. Askam milne	 Corne Corne Corne Corne Corne	
On the east side it has but one Branch or Rivilett, viz. Harberwen (or Milbeck), which springs att a place of that name runns by Bampton-Hall, & meeting with Sleddall (or Lowther) near Shap, it there leves its name.		1. Miln-beck milne	 Cloth	
Into Sleddall doe runn on the west & southwest:	1. Hoffa-bridge	2.	 Corne	

[630] I.e. Crosby Ravensworth.
[631] 'Flumen' = river.

1. Hall-water (alias Haw-water), so call'd from the place near which it springs; ~~that is~~ \ viz. / Thornthwate-Hall. This takes no long course before it enter the river near unto Bampton, and looseth it name.		1. Att Thornthwate one 2. Att Bampton one	Corne	
				[I.95]
2. Swindale Beck				
3. Heston Beck [blank] which goes into Sleddall Water a little below Askham.				

3. Emote or Emont flu.

An other great river in the Bottome of Westm'land is Emote, by some called Emont: q[uery] e montibus, because it comes from amongst the mountaines. The 1ᵗ rise hereof is out of the mere called Brotherwater, {no} which sends forth a streem N'wards by Patterdale-Hall into that other great meere or lake which is called Ulswater, att the low end whereof this said \ river / takes the name of Emote, being as a sluce to that great mote or waterplash. And so it runs along with a very swift and rapid motion by Stockbridge-Hall, Yainworthe-Hall, Mabrough Castle & Browham Castle (~~with severall pleasant seats on Cumberland side~~) \ where it after entertaines the River Lowther / till it ~~come att~~ \ so by / Hornby-Hall, a little Below which it yealds up its name to the noble River Eden, where it enters upon Cumberland.

On the southeast it has running into it these rivul[ets] foll[owing]:

1. Glenkrodden

[I. 97]

1. Glenkrodden, which springs at [Blank] and thence runs Norwest into Ulse-water
2. Glenkrowen, which springs at [blank] and runns eastward, by [blank] towards Ulsewater.
3. [Blank] which springs att [Blank] and runns directly east, by [Blank] into Ulse-water.

Besides these, 2 rivers more are powered in Ulse[water] on Cumberland side viz: Downthwate & Wether-meleck; and Daker beck into the river Emote a little below Dalemane. But they doe not ~~in Westm'land~~, belong to my present designe.

Emote and Ulse[water] are a Boundary twixt Westm'land and Cumberland.

4. Burbeck or Leun Flu.

An other great river which springs allso within the Boundaryes or Breas[632] of the Bottome of Westm'land (yett amongst the mountaines) is Burbeck ~~Water~~, which in the Barony of Kendall obteines the name of Lean ~~this being the greater of its 2 Heads~~ or Loane; whence we have Loansdale & Kirkby Loansdale, so called from the river. This Leun or Loane has an other head in Ravenstondall, which meets with Birbek about a mile or somthing more below the Hause-house, & is a boundary

[I.99]

twixt Westm'land and Yorkshire. But because Birbeck is the greater, I rather take the denomination from thence. It springs in Birbeck Fells 2 or 3 miles from Thornthwaite Hall, & runs thence for the most part southward by [blank], Midleton Hall and Kirkby Loansdale, a great markett Towne a mile below which, or thereabouts, It enters Lancashire, & takes the sea att or about the Towne of Lancaster, which is caled so from the River Leun. q. Castrum ad Loane.

Into this River doe runn on the E. & Nor.E.

1. Ortonbeck which spring in or about the Scar, and runns directly southward downe to the Towne,[633] which is a mart. and so on to Tybay, or Teba, where is meets with Teba-beck, & mixeth with it.
2. Tebay beck hath 3 heads: viz. Raisebeck, which runns from N. to South, by Rosgill (or rather Raisgill) Hall; Malerstang Water, which runns from E. to W. by [Blank]; and Langdale-beck, which runns from South toward the Norwest. & these 3 haveing mett alltogether about Tibay, obteine that name but keep not above have a mile,[634] till they loose it in the river.
3. Barborne, forsan Barburne for burne doth signify a water or brooke (Anglo-Saxon). It springs in Yorkshire, and after it has runn through some part of Westm'land it enters the river in Barburne-Parke.

Burton beck allso springs in Yorkeshire and runns through a little corner

[I.101]

[632] 'Brea', variant of brae: a steep, a slope, a hillside. *OED*. See also, *Dictionaries of the Scots Language*. Online.
[633] Orton.
[634] As seen. Perhaps Machell meant, 'half a mile'.

of Westm'land into Yorkshire againe, where it enters ~~this river~~ \ Leun / att a place called Burton. Severall other power themselves into it[s] boosome from East to Nor-east, but they are in Yorkshire and therefore not pertinent to my present purpose. On the W. & Nor-w. these 2 runn into it: viz.
1. Brether, which runns downe the dale from W. to East, by [blank] and falls into the river hard by Schales.
2. Barow, which springs att an [blank] and runns eastward by [Blank] till it meet with the river a little above Hause-house.

5. Can or Kent Flu

An other great river belonging to Westm'land, but peculiar to the Barony, as that which has its life and ending therein, is the River Kent. This Mr Camden, upon the 1ᵗ conjecture (being very willing to finde out a place for the old Concangij) would needs have named Can; and so Kendale to be falsely writt in steed of Candale; for Kendale (sayes hee) is nothing else but vallis ad Can. But he, having confuted himselfe \ long agoe / in that Early opinion about the Concongij. I must (tho unwillingly) oppose him so far, as to calle it Kent rather that Can; for Kent is the place from whence it springs; and Kendall I thinke may as well bee be derived from the ~~fountain~~ River Kent as the River Can; and so be writ Kent-dale, or rather Kendall, ut meliorem sonum[635]

[I.103]

which is easy and naturall, as well as Can-dale, or Kendale, which is \ more / harsh and ~~far-fetched~~ uncouth. Sed valeat (per me licet) Tanti viri Autoritas, quae omnibus omnium conjecturis præponderare videtur.[636]
This river takes it rise and originall att Kent-meere in the Barony. And runs along southwards, upon a craggy & uneven channell by [Blank] Colnhead-Parke, The Towne and Castle of Kendall, and so hurryes along towards Milthorpe, the onely ~~place~~ \ creek / where the sea touches Westm'land.

On the E. & Nor east it receves into it these riviletts:
1. Spritt (or [Blank])[637] which springs at ot near unto Sleddall in the Baronye, and runns S. East by [blank] till it come into the river near unto Burneshed.
2. Fawsett [blank] which springs in Fawsett Woods, runns S. East by [blank] till it comes just opposite to Selmire Parke, where it meets with ~~Grarigg Beck~~ Gra– {?}
3. Grarig-Beck, which springs in the fells above Grayrigg ~~Hall~~, runns South-west downe the gille by ~~it~~ \ Grarig Hall / till it meet with Fawsett, with which being united; they haist toward the river, and are receivd by it a mile above Kendal.

On the West it receives only one, which is [blank] Chappolon-Water. It springs at [Blank] and running directly East Enters the river over against Colon-Head Parke.

[I.105]

G. Winder or Windermer-Water

{?} The 6th Great River and receptacle of others, is Winder ~~Water~~ or Windermere Water, so calld from Its fountaine: or rather (may be) from the Lake which it makes. The spring head is near Dunbalrase-Stones, where there is a mere or broad plash of water (caled [Blank]) out of which there flows a quick running stream and hastens to Gresmere, where it makes a flood with an Ile in the midst caled [Blank]. Then agane it takes its course by [Blank] till it come in the great water flood (which is part in Westm'land & part in Lancashire) call'd Winender-mere, on the Bankes of which are [Blank] Hall [Blank] Then it contracts itelf againe att Newbridge in Lancashire, and with great strenth haistens to the sea.

This Wind[ermere]-Water receives on the East & Nor-E, 4 [becks]
1.}
2.} [Blank]
3.}
4.}

[I.106]

On the West it receives
1. Great Langdale f[lumen]
2 [Blank]; [both of] which meet together, and runn into Winder a mile above the meere.
There are 2 or 3 more \ which power themselves into it / but all in Lancashire.

7. Winster, is noe Great River

635 'As the better sound'. For Camden's understanding of the name, 'Can', see *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 759C. As Machell noted, Camden decided against naming it after the Congangii: *Britannia*, 759F.
636 'But the authority of so great a man should prevail (and I accept it) since it seems to have greater weight than all the conjectures of everyone [else].'
637 The river Sprint, springing above Sleddale. Historical forms include Sprate, Sprett, Spritt and Sprent: see *Westmorland Place-Names*.

Winster is butt a little river receiveing few or noe supplyes. It springs att [Blank] and runns Southwardly by [Blank] Wither-Slack Hall & allso by Meathop Hall, about which place it enters the sea. N[ote] It is a boundary 'twixt Westm'land & Lancashire.
So much for Rivers [in Volume 1]

[II.463]

[Fish and Otters]

There \ are / a multitude of rivers & brookes, the chief whereof is Eden, which Camden calls Nobilis Ituna.[638] It takes its Rise at Hugh Seat* hill ~~in Mallerstangdale~~.[639] (Note this hill in the litle mountanes for the rise of 3 great rivers) and so runs all along downe Westm'land & Cumberland to beyon Carlile, retaneing still its name, and discharges it selfe into the sea ~~at~~ \ near unto / Bownes in Itune Bay \ where it is called the Bay of Eden. / This river is abundantly stored with fish, especially trouts, which by reason of the clearness of the water & cleaness of the lands & channels whereon it runns \ glides, / have a \ more / sweet~~er~~ \ & delicate / ~~& more refined~~ taste ~~than any~~ \ than others elswhere / ~~we have in England beside~~s \ in so much that / an Eden trout ~~being~~ \ is / famous every where.

[II.463]

The trouts hereabouts \ are not / very large, but the greatest that I hear of was taken att Ormside by my father L.M. Esq. {who being a gentleman that loved all sports & recreations} and Brought to Mr Lowsons att Batleburrow att Apleby, where the lenth thereof is notched out upon the table and was 25 inches long.

[II.464]

I have seen 8 score taken att one draught in halfe an hore's space. It abounds also with salmon, ~~&~~ smelts, chevens or chubs, other sorts of fish, \ but ~~such~~ few salmons ~~in it as~~ beyond / ~~there are stop at~~ Arma. Bay'[640] & those that get through are apt to follow the strongest. /& co\habbit/ together; / And tis remarkeable that your trouts and chevens doe not consort, yett you shall have them \ chevens / in great sholes \ abounding / within a stone throw of those very dubs (for so they call ~~your~~ \ their / deeper & calmer places ~~of water~~) where the trouts are taken;[641] \ which, tho they be very full of bones, yett with bakeing & soakeing they become inoffensive.

{Golden Trout}

There is a one sort of trout eminent above \ all / the rest, of a yellow-ish or golden colour, whence they are termed golden trout \ which ~~they~~ cut as red and free as a salmon; / and these seldom [con]sort with the other, but have peculiar ~~places to themselves~~ / dubs of their own, / as that near the mill in Crakenthorpe Lordship calld Teald-Pike-Dubb \ as where it should seeme there have bin Pikes also, tho now I know of none hereabouts but in the forsaken channels of Eden, ~~in the lords~~ at a place calld Ellerkar in the lordship of Crakenthorpe.

[II.463]

{Otters Menald}[642]

In this & the other river are many otters which afford the gentlemen ~~som~~ fine recreation. They hunt

[638] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 760: 'Among these hills that notable river Eden which Ptolemee calleth Ituna, sheweing his head first in Yorkshire, carrying a small and faint streame in the beginning, but afterwards growing by little and bigger, with sundry beckes still augmenting it, seeketh a way North-west.'

[639] An interlineation gives the alternative spelling: 'Hew Seat as on west'.

[640] Armathwaite Bay, on the Eden in Cumberland, lies several miles downstream from Appleby; its weir now forms a salmon leap but it was formerly much higher, as seen in an etching by William Bellers, 'A View of Armathwaite Bay in Cumberland from the Road, to William Milbourne Esq. of Armathwaite Castle' (London, 17 Jan. 1774). See the print at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1869-0612-528.

[641] Machell's local derivation of dub – a deep & calm pool within a larger body of water – differs slightly from *OED* and *Dictionaries of the Scots Language*, Online, both of which offer the meaning, 'small and stagnant pools of water'; 'puddles'. On the river Eden today, a 'pool' has the same meaning as Machell's 'dub', as in 'Channel-Pool' at Armathwaite, where salmon and trout linger between rapid currents.

[642] 'Menald': menal'd, meneld, meneled, menelled, menild, described an animal which was spotted, speckled or dappled. *OED*.

em to great hounds & spears, or with water spaniels traned up for the purpose.[643] My Dear Father, ~~Sq' Machell of Crakenthorpe~~, being a great hunter of this and all other game, and that delighted in all sorts of activity, kild an otter once, 2 yards long. The skin was menald or spotted like to a leopard, and was so much esteemed of for the rarity \ of it / that he might have sold \ the same / for 10^{li}.

{Held by the Proder}
Miles Graham & Hugh, his son \ who is now liveing, / tooke a live otter by his prodder, or tac[k]le, & swunge him about till the dogs ~~& men came~~ came & killd him at the parke dub.

[Machell's Notes relating to II.464]

[II.463]
*Hewseat is in Westm'land, tho the maps seeme to show the contrary.[644]
{A trout 2 feet & 1inch long}
There are salmon in Leun, Eden & Kent. Plenty of fish, see A. p.7.

[II.466][645]

{Rivers in Westm'land}
The other rivers are Lowther, Blenkarne & Emote, whereof the two latter part Westm'land & Cumberland, those sister countys, ~~which disaggre onely in the map~~.

[The Tees. (a.)]
Besides these are Tees Water head springing out of Cross Fell (~~which has the peculiar)~~ 2 or 3 miles from Howgill Castle North, and has this peculiar, that it tans \ leather / ~~the~~ best of any in England, especially for boots ~~sadle~~ & bridles, whence it is that ~~Band~~ \ Bernard / Castle in Yorkshire, whose walls it washes, is so eminent above other place for these sort of utensels; and for their excellences the King him selfe has had bridells thence as presents. It is a boundary twix Westm'land and Cumberland on the north side west till it comes to a place calld the Caldron Snoute, and there 3 diocesses, 3 parishes & 4 lordships all meet together. The diocese[s] are Durham {Doun-holme}, Carlisle & Chester, and carrying its name to the sea, vid ubi (b.)[646]

[II.465]

[The Tees (b.)]
T.J.[647]
Tees Water head spring in Westm'land near \ Crosfell over topps & commons, all mountanes you may see from hence* / fells & parks Westm'land & Cumberland for 3 miles in K[endal]P[arish] (se the map) till it comes to a little brooke (it discharges it selfe into Tees.) And from that place it parts Westm'land & Bishoprig[648] for 3 miles til it comes to the Cauldron-Snout; and there the countys of Westmorland, ~~the county of~~ Durham & Yorkshire ~~doe all meet~~ \ & the / \ bishopric / Diocesses of Carlisle, Durham and Chester doe all meet ~~att the same place~~ \ together. / And the parishes of Rumacurke, Midleton, Dufton and Bongate doe all meet att the same place. The Lordship of Dufton, the Lordship of Barnard Castle and the Lordship of Midleton doe all meet at the said place, to wit: at the Cauldron Snout, & from thence the Tees parts Yorkshire and Bishoprick till it come into the sea ~~att Tine Mouth Shield below Newcastle~~ at Hartlepool near unto Stockton: per mappam.

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[643] Otter-hunting locally has a long history, see Lyn Murfin, *Popular Leisure in the Lake Counties* (Manchester, 1990), 95-98; see also, https://lakelandhuntingmemories.com/LostOtterhoundsNew.html.
[644] For the deficiencies of 17th-century maps, see Blake Tyson, 'John Adams's Cartographic Correspondence to Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall, Cumbria. 1676-1687', *Royal Geographical Society Journal*, 151, March 1985.
[645] Also numbered p.19.
[646] II.465 and II.466 are facing pages. On II.465 Machell indicated text (using the letter b.) belonging to a passage on II.466.
[647] Thomas Jackson senior, of Dufton. As one of Machell's trusted informants, his notes and initials appear frequently in the passages below.
[648] Bishoprick: diocese of Durham.

[Machell's Notes: II.465]
*{Over Skidday Pike far into Scotland &c. To Rose […] Toppin &c.[649] and yet L. Robinson sayes there is a spring ~~in the very~~ \ near the / top of it would drive a miln in Cumberland.}

[II.466]

[Tine Bogg]
There is a spring also, about a bow-shott from Tees Water head \ but not in Westm'land, / call'd the Tine Bogg, whence the River Tine, which is a boundary twixt Bishoprigg & Northumberland, & it beares its name from hence to the sea att Tinmouth \ Shields below / by Newcastle.

{Leun Flu}
An other river belonging to this county which takes its rise also ~~from the Bottom of~~ \ Barony ~~or Bot~~ of Westm'land / is Loyn or Leun, which ~~gives~~ takes its rise in Birbeck Fells {?} & thence runs Southw. into the Barony, where it gives name to the dale called Loansdale & Kirkby Loansdale, which stands upon it ~~so doth~~ \ & to / Lancaster also, ~~about~~ \ near to / which place~~s~~ it taketh the sea. This has salmon in as far as Tybea[650] in Orton parish.

{Kent}
An other river more proper & peculiar to the Barrony as that which hath its original there, is Kent, whence Kent-dale suie Kendal. This river Camden calls Can. And thereupon he would have ~~the would have~~ the place Candale or Kandale.[651] ~~But the thing is not materiall~~. It derives its name from Kentmere, of which hereafter*, and has 2 smale rivers which come into it ~~about~~ a mile above Kendall, viz Mint and Spritt. ~~And~~ In the river of Spritt there is a very great waterfall, which is call'd Garnett-Waterfall, by which the people doe ~~commonly take notice~~ \ prognosticate / (when as the sound thereof is h[e]ard downwards, i.e. towards Kendall, that it will be faire weather. And in Kent \ about 3 miles / beneath Kendall ~~about~~ [blank] ~~miles~~, there is another called The Force, where they take salmon

Machell's Notes: II.466]
*Se if it sprink there, & if that be in the Barony.

[II.468][652]
in the aer, & som shows them flying – T. Will. Clerke.[653] And when the noyse of this ~~the force~~ is heard up wards more loud than ordnary, they expect very fowle & rany weather. This River Kent retaines its name from the place whereof it springs \ se my Itinerary / till it falls into the sea ~~i.e. about~~ \ which is below / Millthrop, the only hav[e]n that is in Westm'land.

Brookes

{Of the Becks in W.}
Now beside these great rivers there are many brooks which the natives ab antique[654] doe still call

[649] Part of this phrase is unclear. Machell was perhaps referring to Roseberry Topping, a landmark in the Tees Valley in North Yorkshire.
[650] Tebay.
[651] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 759: 'The more Southerly part of this shire, contained in a narrow roome betweene the river Lone and Winander mere, is reputedly fruitfull enough in the vallies, although it can shew many felles, with rough and stony rocks, lying ever bare without grasse: and is all tearmed by one name, The Barony of Kendale and Candale, that is, the dale by Can: for it took the name of the river Can, which running rough upon stones, cutteth through it.'
[652] Also numbered p.22.
[653] The informant was 'T. Will.' If by 'clerke' Machell meant a clerk in holy orders, perhaps this informant was Thomas Wilson, schoolmaster, reader and curate in Brough and Warcop in 1667 and 1681, ordained at Carlisle in 1686. CCED. However, Wilson was from the barony of Westmorland, not Kendal. After the Reformation, the title, 'clerk' was often applied to laymen who performed offices in cathedrals, churches, or chapels. *OED*.
[654] 'From of old'.

burnes \ & becks, / ~~&~~ i.e. riviletts which together with the great ones are generally calld becks: as Milburne, which comes off the fell downe by Howgill. And the beckes usuall[y] have there names from the places they run through, & change their names frequently att every little village they goe by.[655] So Coupland or Ketland Beck at Hillton is called Hilton Beck; so Kirkby Thore Beck att Long Mertin[656] has the name of Mertinbeck. I must therefore call them by some one name, immitting the rest since there primitive names are washed out of rememberance ~~But if I were sure where there fountains were I would goe no further to baptise them anew~~ beside other Rivillets allmost att every Towne which convey themselves into the greater, as vaines in a man's body.

Add here the Cal[endar] Table.

Becks or Rivers Minors

[Becks]	[Rivers (flumen) Minor]	[Forces]
Kirkbythore B[eck]	Troutbeck flu	Morland B. and
Grange Beck	Brough B. flu	force
Murton B.}	Coupland B. flu	b. p 55![657]
Helton B.} the head I sup[pose] of Coupland	Soulby B. flu	
Brough B.	Langdale flu	
Ormside B.	Livennet flu	
Colby	Sleddall flu	
	Swin~~dal~~ flu	

[II.500]

[Machell's further notes on Rivers]

{Eden 1.+Below.[658] 2. Helbeck. 3. Helton b. 4. Trout b. 5. Dufton b. 6. ~~Milburne~~; ~~Mul~~ b. 7. Howgil b. 8. Blenkern.
On the east:
Mallerstang. Soulby b. Crosby b. Colby b. Ashby. Liven flu. Shap for[ce]. Wetsled. Flu.
On the West:
Burbeck obteines in the barrony the name o Leun? 1. Orton b. 2. Raise b. 3. [Blank]. 4. Dent.
on the E.
5. Skales. 6. Brother. 7. Barow.
On the west.
Kent. 1. Spur flu. 2. Fawcet b. 3. Graing[e] b. On the E.
4. Chappellon. 4. Winster on the W.
0 name in Camden}[659]

[Eden]

Eden spring at Huseat, Morvil Hil, runes downe by Pendraggon Castle, Wharton Hall, Hartley Castle, Musgrave, \ Kirkby Stephen, / Warcop Hall, Apleby & Castle, Colby Tower \ Buly Castle / Crakenthorp Hall, Kirkby Thure, Temple Sowerby, Hornby Hall.
In Westm'land into it run:
On its East side:[660]

[655] MS: '& ~~not seldome~~ change \ their names frequently / ~~name~~ att every \ little / village ~~where~~ they goe by a ~~call~~.'
[656] Long Marton.
[657] Machell's note refers to II.500, also numbered p.55.
[658] The Below or Belowe = the River Belah, which flows into the Eden. See Smith, *Place-Names 1*, 3.
[659] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 760: '… this region, which westward is bounded with the river Winster, and the spacious Lake Winandermere …'
[660] MS: 'In Westm'land ~~Kirkby Steph~~ into it run ~~from the~~ \ on its / E. side.'

1. Belowe, over which 1 bridge at Brugh Sowerby. Spring in Stanemore; discharge att Little Musgrave.
2. Helbeck Spring in Helbeck Fell; discharge att Great Musgrave. Allso it runs by Brough.
3. Helton beck, which take Eden. Twix Ormside & Apleby tis cald Coupland beck.
4. is Morton, calld Trout beck. Spring in the fells & com down twixt Meal Fell and the Pike; runs (cont.) by Flakeb[ridge] Wood.
5. So downe to Dufton Wood where it meet with Dufton beck. Soe they goe along by Merton[661] & Kirkbythet[662] where they take the river.
6. is Milburne or Milbeck, which comes from about X fell, goes along by Howgil Castel & Newbigin, where it meets with Benkerne, which runns into Eden att Eden Brigg.

On the West

{Parish of Ravenstonedale} 1[t] ~~Mallerstang~~ \ Ravenstond. / beck called Soulby beck springs in the Forrest \ of Mallerstang / (puto) and endes in Eden at Little Musgrave {p[arish] Ravingst.} about which place 4 rivers meet.

Viz.

Eden below Mallerstang & Helbeck.

1. Crosby beck begins at Crosby Gar[rett], endes at Orm[side] Mag[na].
2. Asby / Colby beck begins about Great Asby & enters Eden at Colby.
3. Livennant[663] begins near Orton at […][664] Parke and meets with Shap Water about Cleburne.
4. Shap Water, which has 2 heads: at Shap \ Midle rig Wel / & ~~Regill~~ Hardendale. It goes by Morland, Melkin & Cleborn, meets with Livennet & enters Eden a ~~little short of Kirkby Thr~~ about Temple Sowerby.

[Burbeck]

The next great river is Burbeck, which obteines in the Barrony the name of Leun. It springs in Birbeck Fells {?}, and enters the sea near the towne of Lancaster, tho some will, as Camden, have Leun to spring in Mallerstang Forrest & meet with Birbeck about a mile below the Hawse House.[665] Into it doe run on the E.

1. Orton beck. ~~Skales beck~~
2. Raisbeck
3. \ E. / Langdale beck with an other betwixt them & enter the river at ~~Tibah~~ \ Dent. / It has no more branches on the East excepting Yorkshire for from hence[666] to Midleton. It is a Bound on east S.W.
4. Ent[ers] on E[ast], Dent.

On the W.

5. Skales
6. Bretherdale & Bar\ow. /

[Kent]

The 3d is Kent. It springes at Kentmere & enters the sea about Milthorp. It has ther:

1. the river Spur\ or t / springing above Sled.[667]
2. Fawcet Wood beck.
3. Graing beck spring in Whinfell Hill.

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[661] Long Marton.
[662] Written as seen.
[663] The river Lyvennet.
[664] This word is unclear.
[665] Machell's source was probably Camden's map of Westmorland, see *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 758-59.
[666] Illegible interlineation.
[667] The river Sprint.

4. & after a while meeting with Fawcet beck they discharge themselves into Kent a mile above Kendal.

[II.501]

On the West 2.

1. Chapollon.
2. Winster flu.

{Draw a map but 1ᵗ comp[lete] names of places.}

[Lowther]

The 4. is Lowther, which springs at \ or about / Thornthwaite: enquire of Mr Mil. if there be a beck from Herberwen ~~or Wither Slack or Barton~~ which comes into Lowther there E[ast].[668] There is one head of Lowther called Sled \ from Wetsled[dale], / another from Thornthwaite, cald Hawater i.e. Hall. [Query] Enquire if neither of these be the same which is called Swindale flu ~~or Sleddall flu~~.
[Answer] No.
On the west, Hel\t/on Beck. It comes into Emot near B[rougham] Castle, where it loses its name in the other, an the other in Eden near Hornby Hall.

[Emote]

5. The next is Emote, which is ~~but~~ as a flue to that great mere cald Ulsewater, into rest [of] which there runs 1. Martendale beck; 2. Patterdale beck ~~&~~ Brother water which is the head of both Usl[water] & Emote.
On the west: Glenkerden & Glenewen rivers in Westm'land.
Downthwaite beck, Watermelak & Daker beck in Cumberland.
Emot.

1. Martindale beck
2. Patterdale
3. Glenkren } in Westm'land
4. Glenkwen }

5. Downthwaite beck }
6. Watermelak } Cumberland
7. Daker in }

[Windermere]

The 6. is Winendermere, the head of which is near Dunbalrase Stones, where it [is] a \ broad / plash of water, out of which there was a streeme downe to Gresmire, which mere continues hence to Langrig, where there is an Ile in the \ Windermere. / Thence agane it continues in a stre[am] to the great flue which is part in West[morland] part in Lancashire, & goes into the sea about Logbarrow. It has branch into it N.E. 4: Gresmere beck {?} Fell beck, Ambleside beck & to Troutbeck Hill flu. / On the west it has in West, Great Langdale & Litle Langdale which meet together[669] & run along into Wind[ermere] a little ~~below~~ behinde Ambleside beck. Quo m[odo] vocatur?[670]
Branches into Windermere

1. Greshmere beck }
2. Fel-beck } N. Est
3. Ambleside beck }
4. W. Troutbeck Hill flu }

[668] Dr John Mill, principal of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, born in 1644/5 in Hardendale in Shap Parish, son of Thomas Mill, a weaver. When the family moved to High Knipe, Bampton, Mill was educated at Bampton School. See S. Handley, 'Mill, John (1644/5-1707), Church of England clergyman and college head'. *ODNB*. For more on John Mill, see Part 1, Ch.4, Bampton, I.369-I.370B; see also Part 3, Chs 2. and 3.' This reference to 'Mr Mil' would seem to suggest that one of Machell's informants might have been a relative of Dr Mill.
[669] Some words here have perished.
[670] 'How' / 'In what manner?'

5. Great}
6. Little} Langdale becks

[II.468]

[Meres]

{Of the Meres in the Barony of W.}
{Brother Water, Ulfswater, Aweswater or Hawsewater i.e. the Halls water: aqua ad Aulam phlumens}
There are 3 standing meres ~~of ponds~~ belonging to the Bottom of Westm'land. Viz 1. Brother-Water, about a mile long & halfe a mile in bredth. 2. Ullwater about 7 miles in lenth and one in bredth. Both of these are in the head of the River Emote, which ~~should rather~~ may peradventure be derived as well from the mote or mere whence it descends as è montibus,[671] for tis also usually called Emote. The 3[d] is Ause \ or Hawse Water near Thornthwaite Hall in Bampton Parish (q. ubis) * 2 miles at least in lenth & 1mile bredth.

[Machell's Notes: II.467 & 468]

Method
Nec alia mihi comodior videtur ratio hanc partem, describendi quam si Itunæ Loderi Emoti W Loni fluenta ~~cum ceteris~~ persequar quae poti[o]ra sint flumina. Et locis potionibus affundantur.[672] See A. p. 14.
*Query: Where Haswater [673]
(His Answer:) Ha[we]s / springes out of the top of Kidsey Pike on the west side thereof. This mountain is above ½ mile in hight & picked on the top, whence tis called (as other hills of that forme) a pike. There is also a stone pike on the very top of it, and out of the midle of the stone isues out a little spring, wonderfull to see, for there stands not much above a q[uar]t of water in the top of the stone, & tis no greater, winter nor sommer. It descend by little grevets[674] in the stone downe the hill into Haswater. There are many brookes {but no spring save onely this, which is a memorable one.}
[II.468]
{Memorandum: query Eales.}

[II.470]

1. {Of meres in the Barony of Kendal}
   In the Barony are 4 meres or standing waters, viz.
   Windermere, in lenth 7 miles or ~~thereabouts~~ \ or rather xi / and about a \ 2 / mile broad; which water hath bin of late frozen over so strongly that the people hereabouts have led timber over it with draughts consisting of 8 beasts a piece.[675] In this as in the other are store of chars, scarce in any country except these northern one of England beside.
2. Kentmere Water, whence the river Kent & Kentdale had their names, in which is very great store of trouts. \ Yet that has 2 feeders. /
3. Langdale Water.
4. Greshmere Water in [both of] which also is plenty of fish.

[II.469]

[Tarns]

Lacus diffusiones nostra lingua Tarns vocamus. Camden.[676]
(a.) To the meres, ponds and standing waters may be referred those water plashes which commonly lay upon their mores and are called tarnes*, of which there are several, as:
Randale Tarne
Bongate Tarne
Crackenthorpe Tarne
Martin Tarne

[671] 'Out of the mountains.' The etymology of the name Eamont is now thought to be as follows: 'Originally the place was called æt Ea motum, 'at the river-conflu-ences'; ēa-mōt was replaced by á-mót. The confluence is that of the Lowther and the Eamont'. See *Westmorland Place-Names*.
[672] 'Nor does any method of describing this part seem to me to be more convenient than if I follow the streams flowing from Eden, Eamont and Lune, which are drunk. And in places they flow with drinking water.'
[673] Query to Machell's informant (on the location of Haweswater), with the answer.
[674] Trenches. In Old English, this word can appear as grafet(t) and explained as 'trench'. *OED*.
[675] This is one of several references to very cold weather at this time, see Part 2, Ch.9, Windermere, II.340.
[676] 'The overflow of a lake in our own language we call Tarns.'

Newmill Tarne
Winter Tarne?
Little Water Tarne? &
Lanton Tarne in which there are trouts, eeles and tenches.
But most of these either have noe fish, or are not taken withal, for fish in this country are not much regarded. Howbeit they are stored with wild foole[677] and geese which breed in this country at the season of the year.[678]

Gold Arke[679]
Concerneing Lancton Tarne, which I name last, there goe a strange fab[ulous][680] story of a golden Arke,[681] which was seen therein \ on a sun-shiny day, / and one man formerly attempted to draw it out with a yoake of oxon called Sprinke and Sparke.[682] But when he had almost got it out, instead of returneing \ thankes to / God ~~thankes he began to applaud his oxon in this rime~~ he presumptuously said:

> Up wêe'l Sprinke, and draw weel Sparke.
> Whether God will or not, wee'l ha' this gold Arke.

With that, his tackle broke \ all in pieces / ~~this~~ [and] the Gold Ark ~~& it retreated back againe in to the tarne~~ \ returned to its place, which som are so credu as to believe, & therefore goe on sun-shine dayes to try if they can see \ or discern / it. But they may looke long †.[683]

[Machell's Notes: II.469]

*(quare?)
†{q.} Sed facessant hujus modi fabulæ: x nolumus fabulæ licentia veritatem aliarum rerum vulnerare.[684] 295. Camden.

[II.501]

In all, 52 rivers.
In all, 7 meres. Tarnes severall; the greatest is Langton?

[II.470][685]

[Fish]
Hic piscium est tanta copia et præcipue soporis optimi Truttane, ut sit advenis miraculo, Indig[u]is pro corum admiration, Ludibrio nec minor carnis, utilitas, ut pro uno [blank] 10 homines non solum famem pellant sed ad satietatem se expleant. 227. [686]

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[677] Fowl.
[678] MS: 'But most of these either have noe fish, or are not ~~sought after~~ \ taken withal / for fish in this country [and] are ~~little~~ \ not much / regarded. Howbeit they are ~~very~~ stored with (2) geese and (1) wild foole ~~also~~…'
[679] MS.I.341 contains a shorter passage on the 'golden arke': not transcribed.
[680] Or 'fable'.
[681] In northern dialect an 'Ark' was a large wooden bin or hutch for storing meal, bread, fruit, etc. *OED*.
[682] Oxen were usually yoked in pairs and often given paired names. In southern England the near-side (left) ox of a pair was called by a single-syllable name and the off-side (right) ox by a longer one (for example: Lark and Linnet, Turk and Tiger). See Bob Copper, *A Song for Every Season: A Hundred Years of a Sussex Farming Family* (London, 1971), 95-100. See also the will of William Sisson of Waterside, Barton, 1592: CAC(C), PROB /1592/WINVX, 76: 'I give unto my sone Percivell two oxan one called Burgess another Spinke … and a great ark with all my husbandry geare…' The names of Machell's oxen do not appear to have quite conformed to this tradition, but there are similarities.
[683] Another version appears on the same page of the MS.
[684] 'But stories of this kind are fictions; we do not wish to injure the truth of other matters with the liberties taken by a story.'
[685] Also numbered p.23.
[686] Machell's handwriting is unclear, but the Latin appears to read: 'Here is so great an abundance of fish, and especially trout of excellent flavour, that the bounty of the flesh, which is almost ridiculous, is like a miracle to

{! Several sortes of troutes (a.) & fish}
In all of these are several sortes & great store of fish, as chars, skellyes,[687] brass trouts. Gray? Troutes & several others. In Elleker also near Kirkby thore in Crakenthorpe Lordship is a pond left by water turning its course, wherein are great stores of pikes, which fish is very rather in other parts the country, the waters there aboutes being not still and mody[688] enough for such sort of fish, but some now & then \ escape / out of this into the River Eden, tho very rarely.
Finally, all the rivers in Westm'land have great store of severall sorts of fishes: as salmon, pikes, chevens, trouts and others. And in Ullswater are troutes of an incredible bigness equivalent to salmons, which are called by the name of Gray Troutes: vid. pl. p. 55.

[I.106]

[J.] Of Highwayes[689]

{Roman Way from Bowes to Browham Castle \ and where thence; / Apleby Way – to Kendal from Apleby Maden Way; Kendall Way from Kendal to Penrith in the prospect and remarkeable things therein.}

[Notes on the Roman Way 1.]
The chiefest highway in this County is that great & fair casway by some called the Street, by others the Romain Way, in evidences since the Conquest Via Regia, which comes through the Roman Campe on the top of Staine [blank][690] \ a quarter of a mile distance from the castle / through Maden Castle & Underbrough, all in the parish of Brough. Thence by Brough Hill where a great fair is kept once every yere, lieveing Helbeck Hall (an old seat of the Helbecks & Blekinsopps, now of Arthur Scaife) on the right hand. Soe on towards Apleby by Warcop Hall (a seat of the Warkops, now of Mr Brathwate; Warcop Tower, now of Mr Fairer; & Warcop Castle, formerly of the Earles of Westm'land, but now demolished & turned into a Tenement.)
In the parish of Warcop all on the left hand soe it passeth \ through the forest of Kitland / by Sandford, and ancient seat of the Sandfords, but now quite demolished. On the left & opposite to that close by the Roman Way on the left hand allso, are 2 or 3 large Berryes or Tumuli, cast up there upon some great defeat, and a little of that on the right hand a \ large / Rotundo with round stones pitched much upon an equal distance. \ Here an Horse race &c. /
Then att Coupmanbeck bridge, where [blank] of Scotts was slane by one Coupman, & wher Clem Armestrong of Appleby with his ~~warfaring~~ \ quarter / staff beat 6 Scotts with their sword tho with the loss of his crowne.[691] Before you come att this bridge near the water side are the ruins of a large round castle the wall 10 yards thicke of lime and stone, & on the left an Hospital long since decayed. When you are over this bridge, the righthand way carryes you into Appleby & mettes the Romane Way near the gallows there of in, goe through St Nicollas upon Crakanthorpe More at Laine Head: But the Romain Way goe stright forward from the brid[ge] lieveing Appleby, the Castle whereof is fair in your view close on the left hand, Murton Hall.

[I.109]

[Notes on the Roman Way 2.]
The Romane Way which leads through this Countrey is commonly called by The Street quia lapidibus servitur[692] and the Hee-Street, i.e. The Hight \ Street / ~~it~~ from it[s] eminence, being somewhat raised above the level here in this Countrey (but much higher elsewher) and pitched with stones; it is allso called by some, the Geate, and it I belive* is the same which leadeth to London through ~~the place calld~~ Higate, which takes name from hence. So that I looke upon this as a Way of the greatest

visitors, as needy as they are amazed, so that for one catch [?] 10 men not only may stave off hunger but may fill themselves to the point of satiety.'
[687] The freshwater herring.
[688] Muddy.
[689] I.106 contains a scored-through draft on highways, completed elsewhere: see I.111-12.
[690] Stanemore. For a description of the Roman Way, see *N&B1*, 8.
[691] Repeated below, I.113.
[692] 'Because it is served [i.e. paved] with stones.'

eminence from whence all others may seeme to have borrowed the names of High-Ways \ (calld roads allsoe) by which is now signified Common Passages. / This being so they are calld roades, whether from the rideing, which is roade in the preterperfect tense: or from rod or rood – a measure of 16 feet ½ {? of attorneys and by measure} \ & sometimes more / which perhaps might be esteemed a sufficient breadth for an High[way] as now 8 yards is appointed by statute (14. Car. 2. C.6), [1662-1663], which is 24 foote. See *Surveyors Dial[ogue]*[693] About the rod {?}Which is the statutable breadth of a r., I shal not determin.

But now by use it hath so obtained, that a Bridleway is contra distinct from that of a road & signifyes a private way for a single horse &c. and not for Droves, Cartes or Carriages; & needs be no broader than a foot path, whereas a road must be sufficient for Carts & Carriages ~~passing~~ \ to pass & repas one / by one another. Query? in Blou[n]t's *Law Dictionary*.[694] And Haveing observd this of Highwayes, I should proceed to a more particular account concerneing them in the County of Westm'land of which there are many, but 3 more remarkable Sc. [blank][695]

[Machell's Notes: I.108, 110, 110A] [696]

Highgate village in Midlesex, so named from a kind of toll gate enterd there in early times – see Thorpe's *Survey of London & its Environs*.[697]

*(de hoc tamen queare)[698]

[I.110-I.110A]

{N.B.} This relation of Highways may doe well in Oglebye's Notes;[699] but in these the relation of the Gentlemen's houses as to their former owners may be omitted here becase it in som measure forestalles the particular relation.

{Note.} Bowes comes best to be treated on in the Limits; Because not absolutely determined whether in Westm'land or noe? This Bowes, (in Antonine's *Itinerarie*)[700] is called Lavatrae or Levatrae (both by the account of distance & \ site thereof by the / High Street of the Romans), the antiquitie whereof is allso confirmed by a large stone found in the Church somtimes used for an Aultar, with an Inscription upon it, in Honorem Hadriani Imperatoris. See Camden, Richmondshire.[701] N[ote] The Best for Bows is Camden upon the place.[702] And is allso remarkable for this, that the first Cohort of the Thracians lay here in garison whilst Virius Lupus lived as lieuetennant and proprietor of Briton under the Emperour Severus, as appear by this inscription.[703]

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693 John Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (London, 1607).

694 Thomas Blount (1618-1679), *Nomo-Lexikon, A Law-Dictionary and Glossary: Interpreting Such difficult and Obscure Words and Terms, as are Found either in Our Common Or Statute, Ancient Or Modern, Laws. With References to the Several Statutes, Records, Registers, Charters, Ancient Deeds, Manuscripts, and Law-books, Wherein the Words and Terms are Used* (London, 1670).

695 Continued on I.111, below.

696 The contents of I.110 and 110A comprise memoranda relating to Bowes and Stanemore, Roman antiquities on the Yorkshire border, and the Maiden Way.

697 This comment is in a hand resembling William Nicolson's. John Thorpe (1565-1655) was an architect who designed houses in and near Highgate: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol6/pp122-135. His book of plans c.1603 may be found in Sir John Soane's Museum: See John Summerson (ed.) 'The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum', *The Walpole Society, Vol. XL* (1964-66), 106. John Stow's more famous *A Survey of London* was published in 1603.

698 'However, check this.'

699 John Ogilby (1600-1676), see I.42, above.

700 The Antonine Itinerary (*Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* – 'The Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus') is a famous *Itinerarium*, a register of the stations and distances along various roads. Seemingly based on official documents, possibly from a survey carried out under Augustus, it describes the roads of the Roman Empire.

701 Here, Machell has drawn a small sketch of the stone. Camden gives the inscription: 'IMP. CÆSARI DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI. Max. filio / DIVI NERVÆ NEPOTI TRAIANO. Hadria/ NO AUG. PONT. MAXIM – / COS. I. – P. P. COH. IIII. F. – / 10. SEV', see Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 731E.

702 See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 731-32.

703 Here, Machell has drawn another small sketch of an altar. Camden gives the inscription:' DAE. i. FORTUNÆ / VIRIUS LUPUS / LEG. AUG. PR. PR. / BALINEUM VI / IGNIS EXUST- /UM. COH. I. THR- / ACUM REST- / ITUIT. CURANTE / VAL. FRON- / TONE PRÆF---- / EQ. ALÆ VETTO', Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 732B.

And here I thinke fitt to begin to trace \ the Great Roman Way / because that ~~Westmorland~~ \ Bowes Castle / notwithstanding the vulgar estimate to its relation of the Bounds of Westm'land begining att Rere Cross, has a relation to this County. For Mr Dugdall in his *Baronagium* coates[704] out of a Record in King Johns time, that Bowes Castle in Westmorland was given in custody to Robert de Veteripont, Anno ejus [blank]. Hence therefor it leads you to a place called Spittle (formerly an Hospitall belonging to the [blank]) as I have bin informed, but now a house of refreshment for passengers; and a little way hence, on the very topp of Stane More, it carryes you directly th\rough / the great Romane Camp in the rear of which, stands Rear Cross upon the very Cassway. & soe ~~over~~, through a little \ square / fort of Romane extraction called Maden Castle to Under Brough.[705]

ad Rere †: pag. 582. Here the King Westmer Slow the King Rothinger: Usher's *Antiq. Ecclesiæ Britanniæ* penes Mr Walker, Dublin 1639.[706] Burton *Upon Antoninus* for the limits.[707]

[I.111]

Of Highwayes in Westm'land and things remarkable in them

The chiefe high-wayes that I remember in this County are:
1. The Romain-Way \ from Bowes to Browham /[708]
2. Maiden-Way \ from Kirkbythore to Newc[astle]
3. Appleby-Way \ to Kendal /
4. Kendal Way \ from Kendal to Penrith /
which 4 wayes do coast in a manner the whole County of Westm'land[709]

Via \ Regia / Romana Sive strata

1. The Romain-Way is part of [blank] Street and fairer to be seen in this Country than any \ other / that \ I finde /of in England beside: for any stranger may travil by it through the Bottome of Westm'land without guide or direction. It continues very conspicuous from beyond Doncaster in Yorkshire till you come opposite to Carlile in Cumberland \ as I have observed / which it leves on the left hand att some miles distance, & thence (as I thinke) takes into Scotland. It is called by the inhabitant of this County The Street, and in ancient evidences since the Conquest, Via Regia, or the King's High way. It comes into Westm'land {from Bowes Castle} over the great mountaine Staine More, & strikes directly forward, through the Bottom ~~of Westm'land~~ \ thereof, which is the vail Country / from E. to west towards Penrith \ & Carlile / in Cumberland, but leaves this County / ~~upon som more~~ {att Browham Castle where it passing Emote it sinkes into Cumberland. Mr Dugdale in his visitation makes it to goe by Lowther Bridge: query.} ~~It goes through the great Roman Camp, which is cast up upon the very topp thereof, and soe goes along through Maden Castle and~~ Under Brough (a market Towne formerly), lieveing \ Brough Church & / Brough Castle (one of the chief seats of the \ Lords of Westm'land) att a quarter of a miles distance on the left hand; and Helbeck Hall (which is under the craggy mountaines) formerly the seat of a family of that \ name / and a long time after of the Blenkinsops, but now lately purchased by one Arthur Scaife) {Sold to Arthur Scaife, 1675} Just opposite to the Castle, halfe a mile distant on the right hand. Soe it goes on directly towards Appleby ~~through Kirkland Forrest (forsan pro Kirk land~~ by Warcop Hall (formerly a seat of the Warcops, now of Mr Brathwate), Warcop Tower (an other seat of the same family, but now Mr Fairer), & Warcop Castle, formerly of the Nevills Earles of Westm'land but now demolished & turned into a Tenement;[710] \ & Warcop Church / all these in Warcoop, which is on the left hand a quarter distant: \ and through which there is a roade frequently {made use of which metts with this again at the end of Sandford Field opposite to Sandford, wher was formerly a Hall, the seat &c. of[f] the ride up into the way.} & soe it goes a long through Kitland Forrest, leiveing Sandford Hall, the ancient seat of the Sandfords (but now quite demolished) on the left hand att about the same distance: & directly opposite to that 2 or 3 Tumuli or Berryes trenched about in memory of some slaughter committed

[704] 'Quotes'.
[705] Machell's description of Maiden Castle is quoted in *N&B1*, 8.
[706] Archbishop James Ussher (1581-1656) *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates* (The Antiquities of the British Churches) (1639), the most substantial history of Christianity in Britain to that date. *N&B1*.1, cites p. 303 of this volume on the same subject.
[707] William Burton, *Commentary on Antoninus, his Itinerary* (1658).
[708] Compare Machell's description of the Roman Way with *N&B1*, 8.
[709] *N&B1*, 8, lists 8 good turnpike roads in the county in 1777.
[710] I.e. land or real property, held of another by any tenure; a holding. *OED*.

there,[711] close by the way on the left hand allso \ and a little off that on the right hand is a large {rotundo or ring with round stones upon it, pitched much upon an equall distance.} Soe it passeth allong the moore called Sandford-More, where a \ free / plate is runn for every Thorsday

[Machell's Notes: I.111 & 112]

{See Burton *On Antoninus*}
White Burwins

[I.113]

before Whitsuntide att the sole cost and charges of the Major of Appleby \ then being, who / delivers ~~by~~ \ it / him selfe, to him that wins ~~it~~ upon the Towne Hall staires,[712] lieveing an old Hall ~~on the other side Sandford More~~, but called by the name of Newhall (a seat of the Warcops & where some of that name do yett reside) on the left hand beyond Sandford mire. Then it Brings you to Coupman Beck bridge,[713] where they say a King of the Scotts was slaine by one Coupman, whence it had that name; and ~~near to that place on the right hand~~ & where Clem Armstrong of Appleby did of late yeres defend the passage with his quarter staff against 6 armed Scotts, tho with the loss of \ a piece of / his crowne which one of them cutt of by an unlucky blow.

{de voc vide in Warcop or Bongate parish[714]

Clem. Armstrong
|
George Armstrong a Butcher
|
John Armstrong a Butcher, now liveing 1675.}

Before you \ come at / this bridge \ near the water side, / are the ruines of a large, round castle, the walls whereof (if the rubbige have not contributed thereto) are 10 of my passes[715] \ in bredth /: And (on the lefthand if I mistake not) an Hospitall, butt long since demolished.[716] Att this bridge a way branched out (since Appleby grew less & contracted it selfe) on the left hand, levein[g] Ormside Hall (a seat formerly of the Or[m]sides), after of the Burtons then of the Pickerings & now of Hiltons of Burton & Hilton; on the left hand beyond the river Eden, but within view both of this and the Romain Way, which it meetes with againe near Appleby Gallows if you Goe by Crakenthorpe (the ancient seat of the Machells, formerly called Ma Catuli ~~In the family it has ever~~ \ ~~for finde ever it belonged to any other family ther~~ / ~~ever contented~~, for the Crakenthorpes descended from them many hundreds of yeeres since, who have continued there since the Conquest {without interuption: ut è cartis putet.}[717] Then it meates near Kirkbythore in the Lordship of Crakanthorpe. But the Roman Way it selfe runns

[711] Berryes = barrows. Machell thought that the tumuli marked 'some great defeat'; see I.106.
[712] See I.106 for another reference to this horse race.
[713] Coupland Beck. An historical form of this name is, 'Coup(e)manebec', see *Westmorland Place-Names*; see also n.892, below.
[714] 'For the name, see', Part 1, Ch.23, Warcop, and Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby: Bongate.
[715] Passes: paces; rate of stepping. *OED*.
[716] See MSI.347: 'In a dead with boundary sans date wherein Thomas de Hellerton gives his halfe of the manner of Helton Bacon to his cosan Andre de Hellerton … Copland Beck is called Copmanbeck, where the same boundary testifies there was an Hospitale deinde: in Creskeld et sic descendit usque hospitalem apud Cupmanbeck.' See also, W.G. Wiseman, 'The Medieval Hospitals of Cumbria', *CW2*, 87 (1987), 83-100, at 89. 'There would appear to have been a small hospital, possibly a hospice for travellers using the route over Stainmoor, near to Coupland Bridge, two miles south-east of Appleby. Little is known of this house, but it is thought to have been founded by the Veteriponte family. When Robert de Veteriponte died in 1261 he left two infant daughters, Isabel and Idonea. When they came of age Isabel married Roger de Clifford and Idonea married Roger de Leyburne and at the Partition of Fees of Westmorland, made at Great Asby church in 1286, that portion allotted to Isabel included the advowson of the hospital of Coupmanbeck. In a slightly later gift, c.1290, the hospital is referred to in boundary details and would appear to have been situated at the confluence of Coupmanbeck and Creskeldbeck, but no trace can be found today.'
[717] 'As is plain from the family deeds.'

directly forward \ from the said Bridge, close / by Bongate Tarne, & soe on by Appleby on the left hand, haveing 3 or 4 ways out of it into the Towne. It gives then upon ~~Gallow Hill~~ a very fair view \ of the 2 churches in Appleby, and there upon the Hill / of Appleby Castle ~~there~~, the chiefe seat of the Lords of Westmorland & Barons of Appleby & Beauly Castle \ the seat of the Bishop of Carlile and Howgill Castle / {a seat of the Sandfords olim Lanc. / which ~~you have in view~~ is so finely situated that you have it in view all along in a manner.}
So on close by the Gallows till you come at a large \ round / fort with deep trenches & out works on the right hand allmost opposite to Crakanthorp Hall & Beauly Castle, or rather to St Giles his chapple, which belongs to Crakanthorpe & Colby Tower \ on the other side Eden / a seat of the Colbyes, but now of the Warcops; \ and on the right is Brampton Hall, built by [Blank]. / Soe on to Kirkbythore, where a little before you enter the Lane, it leads you close by a Roman Camp in the Lordship of Crackenthorp, one of the fairest & largest in England, a little beyond which is a square fort with ingress & egress which they call Maiden Hold. Here allso has bin an Horse course whence the place is called Speedy More. & opposite to this is Bolton chapple belonging to Morland, & Bolton Hall, a seat [of] the Wibers and branches

[I.115]

{on the left hand, but on the right [is] Long Merton church, & the parsonage hall.}
And so it brings you to Kirkbythore, which was Callatum or Gallatum with the Romans & looked upon by authors as the Chief place, of the Brigantes in this parte of Britane when the Romanes possesd them selves of it. (Here Maiden Way Branches out of the Romane [Way] on the right hand \ by the church, / but of it wee shall speake anon.)[718]

Here ~~the Rom. Way~~ is a woden Bridge, & Hence the Great Way caryes you close by ~~some grounde which they\ call /~~ Burwins Hall where formerly was Whellop Castle, a seat as some say of the Machells ~~formerly~~ \ & was called Whelp Castle, / but long since destroyd, out of the ruines of wh'ich (as appears by the stones) most of the Houses now in being are built. & Kirkbythore Hall, (which belongd to a family of that [name], after to the Whartons, and now to one lawyer Wharton who bought it lately) is a little remote on the left hand. Thence it carryes you over Kirkbythore More, commonly called Sowerby More,[719] where are races of men women & Horses ever[y] St James day,[720] with other active sports in the village of Sowerby, \ by the chapple / to Eden Bridge, lieveing Acorn-Banke, a sweet but late seat of the family of Dalstons, & Millnrigg, a pretty little House formerly belonging to a Branch of the Birkbecks out of the house of Hornby, but now to Mr Dalston of Acorn Banke, who bought it lately.[721] Thence all along by Whinfield forrest, \ where the 3 Bretheren are remark, / to Browham Castle \ an other seat of the Lords of Westm'land / {& an excellent house} directly forward; lieveing Winderwath Hall (a place which formerly belonged to the Clifford, Lords of Westm'land, afterwards to the Brathwate of Warcop and now to Mr Wivell who purchased it lately & has beautifyed it much) on the right hand a 4^{r} of a mile distant.[722] And Woodside an Hamlett belonging to Browham Castle on the right hand allso, a little further on: \ and about the same distance / where one Scott Jumped 24 foote (8 yards) att one single leap, in memory of which 2 posts are sett up there.

[Two narratives. 1. The 'history of the Harthorn Tree'. 2. Machell's father's hunting prowess]

Likewise on the right hand, but not very percieveble, is Hornby Hall att halfe a mile distance, the seat of the Birkbeckes a worthy family; opposite to which is a Great Tree \ called Harthorn Tree / in the

[718] Machell's description of the Maiden Way begins on I.119.
[719] Temple Sowerby Moor.
[720] 25 July.
[721] For John Dalston of Acorn Bank, see Michael A. Mullett, *Patronage, Power and Politics in Appleby in the Era of Lady Anne Clifford*, *1649-1689*, CWAAS Tract Series 25 (Kendal, 2015), 26-27.
[722] For Wivill/Wyvill, see *N&B1*, 400. Shortly before his death in 1658, William Wyvill of Johnby Hall, Greystoke, bought the Winderwath estate from Thomas Braithwaite of Burneside. Winderwath was sold to Edward Hasell of Dalemain in 1787. See *CFH*, 377.

Rome Way by the parke side where The hornes & head of a stagg & greyhound were naled up some hundreds of yeres since, part of which doe still reman; in a memory of an Hart that was coursed out of Scottland from the Red Kirke[723] hither by a single greyhound the one dyeing with the leape on one side the paile and the other on the other; whence this rithme:

> Hercules kild Harta grese.
> Hart a Grese killed Hercules.[724]

[I.117]

The \ most famous course tha ever was / {& the like of which has not} ~~like of which has not~~ bin heard of before or since. But som thing like it was lately performd by ~~Squire Machell of Crakenthorp~~ \ a gentleman of this Countrey; / who in Olivers time (alone for it was not permitted Cavaliers to meet upon any pretence) and with a single greyhound called Winfield \ ~~of which name they allwayes have a dog~~ / coursed a stag ~~upon~~ upon Dufton Murton & Cross Fell 4 or 5 hores,[725] and came in \ with him / att last att ~~Whinfield~~ \ Flakebrig / Parke Head, where he found the Buck & Dogg on their bellyes face to face, the Dogg snapping \ att his nose / the Buck ~~tho~~ sore wounded endevoreing to defend himselfe, but both soe weake, that the Dog could not kill nor ~~he fle from the dogg~~ \ the Buck escape. / Whereupon Mr Machell, \ He quitting, / quitting horse ~~for the horse was not in much better plight~~ (which was att that time, very weary of his burthen) ran up to them on foote & killed the stagg with his owne hands. ~~The dogg lept upon lapped a little blo[ood]~~. Upon which course this rime was made but noe trophie erected:

> Buck rann well so \ well / Winfield ran;
> Neither Buck nor Winfield wan.[726]

The dogg lapped ~~a little~~ \ some / of the blood, and layd him downe panting \ for breath / (whence, being not able to stir) he was left for ded: but recoverd ~~himself~~ again after a little rest, and missing his master, ran straight to Dufton, where he mett with his cloake att a little \ ale / house, being left there in the morning, & he would not part ~~from it~~ \ thence but layd downe upon it / till the Gentlemans man (which was three days' after) came for it home ...[727]

[II.476] [728]

Near to this place in the very High Way, I mean the Roman Way, is an old oake calld Hart Horn tree, to which were nailed a harts head and a greyhounds, som part whereof ~~may~~ \ is / yet to be seen. And

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[723] The Red Kirk, Gretna; see Fullerton's *Topographical, Statistical and Historical Gazetteer of Scotland, Volume 1* (Glasgow, 1842), 715.
[724] See *N&B1*, 398-99.
[725] Hours.
[726] The incident was recorded in verse by William Wordsworth:

> 'Here stood an oak, that long had borne affixed
> To his huge trunk, or, with more subtle art,
> Among its withering topmost branches mixed,
> The palmy antlers of a hunted hart,
> Whom the dog Hercules pursued, —his part
> Each desperately sustaining, till at last
> Both sank and died, the life-veins of the chased
> And chaser bursting here with one dire smart.
> Mutual the victory, mutual the defeat!
> High was the trophy hung with pitiless pride;
> Say, rather, with that generous sympathy
> That wants not, even in rudest breasts, a seat;
> And, for this feeling's sake, let no one chide
> Verse that would guard thy memory, HART'S-HORN TREE!'

See Jared Curtis (ed.), *Collected Reading Texts from the Cornell Wordsworth III* (HEB, 209,2014), *XXI*, 482.
[727] Machell's own punctuation.
[728] Also numbered p.29.

the Ho[nourable] the Countiss of Penbroke keeps a great piece of the horne \ which lately fell off / as a rarity \ for her. / The occasion of this memorial was that a grahound coursed a hart out of this parke to the Red Kirke in Scotland, & ~~returned again~~ \ pursued him back / to this tr[e]e, where he lept \ hurt / but / ~~&~~ dyed with the fall on the other side \ of the parke pale; / the dog lept \ after him / & fell backward and dyed on this \ side the pale. /
Nor may it seem uncredible to you, for a gentleman {My own father} coursed a stagg on Dufton fells with a greyhound of his \ own[729]

[II.478][730]

{for} 4 or 5 hors and at last ~~when they come~~ \ brought him at / to Flakebrig wood head ~~morning till evening & att last when they came to a close, they~~ \ where the dog, harte &c. \ were ~~also~~ so \ & tyerd \ & spent / ~~both horse, man, dog & stag~~ that they ~~could~~ not ~~tell which to whip~~ on \ thus he tell which stood most need the gentleman \ of his whip; / so lieveing ~~their~~ \ his / horse / cut him ~~dow~~ up \ ~~with their swords~~ / & the dog lapped some blood & ~~so~~ layd ~~him~~ \him down ~~to dye~~ / downe there \ ~~where~~ being left there / they <u>left him for</u> dead. But hee recoverd \ his strength / againe a[nd] came \ ran / ~~downe~~ to an alehouse to \ where my father had / had left his cloake, & <u>finding it there</u> lay downe upon it and would not stir from it till the cloake was sent for; which was 3 days after; and \ so came home with it. / But to returne from this ~~impertinent~~ dig[r]ession ~~which will be no way serviceable to your designe~~.

But to returne from this digression:

[I.117]

<u>And now to returne to the Romaine Way</u> out of which I have wandred ~~too far~~. The next thing[731] remarkable is \ Nine Church /{so called from [blank] on the right h[and]} {And a little farther on in the very High way} a fair pillar \ with dyalls & inscriptions upon, / erected by the Honourable Lady Ann Clifford Countiss Dowager &c. in memory of her parting with her dear mother Anno [blank], the last time that ever she saw her alive. Where allso is a Table of Stone with stairs upp to it for travailers to mount their horses withall; upon which is yerely payd a certaine sum of money to the poor,[732] by the charitable appointment of the said Countiss.[733] Near that place in the Demaine wall on the right hand which goes all along by the Roman Way are 2 figures, digged upp there in serching for stones when that wall was made, & besides them were many Inscriptions found, but beaten to peaces by the \ careless / work men, who regarded nothing but their owne advantage. {Item: a Roman Inscription upon a stone lying over a smoote[734] near the corner & not far from the piller; opposite side to Hornby & Nine Church.} These stone were of the ruines of old Brovacum, a great towne in the time of the Romaines, & the further off the figures as you goe to the castle is a Caesar's head: I drew them both soone after they were found & have them to show.

[I.119]

Then this Great Roman Way Brings you to the Castle,[735] near which was a Great Roman Campe as I have bin informed \ leven[736] on the left. / {Browham & Browham Hall the seat of the Browhams, & after severall conveyances passed to the foresaid Countess, who gave to Appleby Hospitall: & allso a fair house, newly built in Browham by James Bird an attorney att law.}[737] & close by this castle runns the River Emote, which the way crosses & so goes through Carleton by Penreth, which it leeves on

[729] MS: 'My own father. Nor may it seem uncredible to you, for ~~my own father~~ \ a gentleman ~~of my acquaintance~~ / coursed a stagg on Dufton fells, ~~till neither~~ \ ~~my father~~ / with a greyhound of his \ own / ~~from morn~~'.
[730] Also numbered p.31.
[731] MS: 'think'.
[732] MS: 'power.'
[733] See *N&B1*, 394.
[734] A hole or opening at the foot of a wall, the bottom of a fence or hedge, etc., esp. one allowing the passage of hares, rabbits or sheep. *OED*.
[735] Brougham Castle.
[736] Leaving.
[737] For Machell's true feelings concerning Bird, see Part 1, Ch.7, Brougham, I.447.

the left near to Carlile as I sayd before. From this castle you have the prospect Lowther Hall \ the chief & ancient seat of the L[owthers] / & Clifton Hall, which ~~are~~ \ is / to be referd to [in the description of] Kendall Way. & likewise of Penrith & Penrith Castle & Carleton Hall on the other side the water in the County of Cumberland. Likewise, of Browham Hall, \ Browham chapple / & Mr Birds house, which lye in the way if you goe by the Bridges from hence to Penrith, at the end of which Towne you come agane into the Romaine Way & in goeing meet with pretty divertisments, as King Arthur's Round Table & Mabrough Castle,[738] betwix the 2 Bridges of Lowther & Emote on the left hand, beside a fine prospect of the Countrye which lyes upon the bankes of the River Lowther or Sleddal \ wher you see Clifton Church & the Hall.

[III.261]

The Roman Way from Kirkbythore Bridge to Brough Town End

It goeth from Kirkbythore bridge in a streight line S.E.

	Miles & ½	Quarters & ½
1. To a Dikestead in Machel's Banke, where the Roman urnes & ashes were found	0	1 q.
To the know[739] or pitch of the hill	0	1 q.
To Maiden Hold, which stands directly like Appelby Tower E. W. N. & S.	0	1 q.
To the Roman camp which flankes the way at about 20 yards distant from it: the fower corner if I may so call them (being rebated), standing directly East, W. N. & S. And opposite to the West corner of it stands Boldton Chapel at ½ a mile distance; & Marton church som what more from the East corner. Near this place I measur'd the way to be 7 yards broad.		
The camp is about 11 score in length.	0	½ q.
Thence to the riseing of Owsley .	0	½ q.
Thence up the hill to over against Beacon on Owsley where you have a fair view of Crakenthorp Hall to the front; and at a distance, if you looke about, you may see Buly Castle, Howgil Castle & many other places.	0	½ q.
Thence to Annest Johny Close Neuke	0	½ q.
Thence down the hill to the turnpike	0	1 q.
Thence to the top of the Banke End (which is over against Crakenthorp Hall at ½ a mile distance)	0	1 q.
(Opposite to which on the other hand is the West end of Brampton, above ½ a mile distant.)		
Thence to white Burwens, an irregular fort on the North E. side of the way about 20 yards distant from it, where ye see Appelby, Buly, Hougil Castles, Crakenthorp Hall & many other places, being a stately prospect.	0	1 q.[740]

[I.119 Cont.]

Thus I have don with the Great Romaine Way, which in 18 miles rideing presents you with all the seats & rarityes whereof I have given you a brief account (& concerning which I shall speake more fully in their proper places) \ besides of / {5 Castle-Halls; 10 churches & 2 chaples: Brough church, Castle; Warcop Church; Browham Chap; St Lawrence & St Michaels at Appleby; Clifton Church; Marton Church; Kirkbythore Church; Temple Church; Nine Church}[741] the like of which will scarce be found in any other County; much less in soe little a spott of ground as this Bottom of Westm'land,

[738] Mayburgh.
[739] Variant of knowe or knoll; a mound, a hillock; an area of rising ground, a rise. *OED*.
[740] The page has partly perished here.
[741] The two chapels were Temple Sowerby and Brougham.

which former writers have quite overlooked & taken noe notice of \ which I thinke is a sufficient argument that Mr [Blank] (that great lover of Antiq.)/ {never saw this place indeed}[742] I proceed now to the 2nd High way, viz.

The Maiden Way

The Maiden Way goes not far in this County, ~~so that it may well be called~~ \ being as it were / a Branch of the ~~other which~~\ Roman / but it extends it selfe very farr into Northumberland \ directly North / viz. to Caervorran ~~directly south~~ \ near / by the Picts' Wall \ not far from ~~the wall~~, paved with stones all along (and as some have reported tho the scarcity of that sort of stone here will not ~~give~~ permitt mee to give credit unto them) with flinty pibles (vid. Camden, of Northumberland). ~~And~~ What the name of this Caervorran was formerly is nott knowne, but here ~~is~~ the ~~foundation~~ \ vestigia / of a Romane campe 140 paces square; with foundations of houses built there since that time (maybe when it tooke the name of Caervorran)† \ is / planely to be seen.[743]
And the Picts Wall here\a/bouts is more high firme & strong than in any other place;[744] for 2 furlonges hence upon a great hill, it doth still remaine 15 foote high & 9 Broade alltho Bedius[745] declares that

[Machell's Notes: I.119]

*{Caervorran, forsan quasi caer ar bhron, i.e. a Tower on the side of an Hill; for so this was situate. Or rather Cairveron: i.e. Veronis, the cit[adel] of Veron.}
†{Upon the recess of the Romans.}

[I.121]

the hight thereof was one 12 \ feet / and tis built of square stone on both sides the wall. Some are of opinion that this ~~Castle~~ Way ~~ex~~wended it selfe betwixt Maiden Castle & this Caervorran, and that there upon it was called Maiden Way. But the contrary appears from this; that the way which leads from Maiden Castle runns directly Nor-west, and is a larger casseway by much; And this from Kirkbythore to Caervarran runns directly North through the Lordship of Millnburne, lieveing Hougil Castle on the right hand, which was formerly a seat of the Lancasters & now of the Sandfords. Newbigin on the left, which was the Habitation of a family of that name extinct in an Heiress and married \ 10. Ed. 2. 1317 / to Robert de Crakenthorpe, descended from ~~the Machell~~ Alexander, Brother of William Ma[lus] Catulus (or Mauchael) Lord of Crakenthorpe; and so \ on / directly over Lower-Cross Fell, lieveing High Cross Fell on the right, upon the top of which is an aultar say some; but I rather thinke \ it / to have bin a Cross & that the mountaine (which is thought to be the Hiyest in this part of England) tooke it name from thence. But tho this way doe not lead directly from Caervorran to Maden Castle, yett it leads to Kirkbythore; & the great Romane Way will carry you thence by Maden Hold & the Campe ~~thence that place~~ \ upon the moore belonging to Crakenthorp / directly forwards to Maiden Castle which is upon Stainemore. Howbeit I dar[e] not determin, whence Maiden Way, Maden Hold & Maden Castle doe take their ~~names~~ originalls & denominations, but I know very well, that the Castle att Edenburrow is called by the name of Maiden Castle allso, but in Latin Alatum: & I make noe doubt that this Maden Way was made by the Romaines.[746]

[742] A reference to an earlier criticism of William Camden.
[743] Much of this paragraph, including the measurement of the camp, is taken from Camden. See *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 800; e.g. Camden refers to having heard of 'a great port-way, paved with flint and bigge stone' which, 'led from hence through wastes unto Maiden Castle in Stanemore. Certainly, it passed directly to Kirkby Thor'.
[744] The Picts' Wall = Hadrian's Wall.
[745] Bede.
[746] On MS.I.62, Machell wrote: 'Maden Castle. Endenburge. Castrum Alatum. Aden.' Nicolson and Burn also attempted to derive both the meaning of the name and its geographical spread, see *N&B1*, 8-9.

[III.66]

{A cohort is 500 \ men / the x part of a Roman legion; ergo, a legion is 5000 men: Coles' *English Dictionary*.[747] Yet I have seen (I thinke in Haywood *of Angels*)[748] that a legion is 6666.}
They had cohortes, which warded before their capites, (at what distance I know not). These gave notice to Cæsar of the skirmish which the British had with the VII legion ~~of Romanes~~ being surprised at harvest work. Query \ Speed, pg. 184. / Might these fortes calld Maden Hold & M. Castle be a station for the cohorts?

[I.121]

[Unpaved Highways]

I shall now proceed to the other highwayes, which are not paved, nor pretend to any thing of Antiquity in them. & those are Kendal Way, which leads Betwixt Penrith, where I left the Romaine, & the towne of Kendall, whence it takes its name; & Appleby Way, which leads from Kendall to Appleby, whence it has its name.

Kendall Way

It begins att Penrith a confirmd[749] market in the County of Cumberland, and enters Westm'land att Emote Bridge: wher on the right hand up the water, besides other places in Cumberland, you have

[I.123]

view of Yanewath Hall formerly a seat of the Dudley but now purchased by Sir John Lowther of Lowther, the family of the Dudley being quite extinct.[750] And a little higher, of Sockbridge, a seat of the Lancasters, which family (tho some of the name remane still alive) is quite extinct, and the Hall now belong Sir John Lowther of Cokermouth, a Branch of the other House: & soe it goes on directly south to Lowther Bridge so called from the river which runns through it lieveing att a little destance on the right behinde the towne of Emote[751] a round fortification with a spatious entrance & 4 huge stones pitched up in it, called Mabrough Castle; and a little further up a rou[n]d fortification close by the high way on the right hand call[ed] King Arthur's Castle, & by some, the Round Table, and supposed to be a place of Justing:[752] Soe from Lowther bridge to Shap, lieveing on the left Browham chaple & a fair house near to it built by James Bird, and likewise Browham Hall, & the Castle all which I spoke of before in the Romain Way: And in Clifton it goe through the village betwixt the church & Clifton Hall which was anciently the seat of the Engaynes, and after for many generation of the Wibers, a family not quite extinct but very much decayed; & now sold or mortgaged to Sir John Lowther of Lowther Hall{Sir John [Lowther] of Sokbridge I thinke has a share in it} a place near att hand and the ancient seat of that worthy family; but so covered with wood that tho it be a very ellegant building & hath 2 stately towers, yett they cannot be seen, neither can Ascome, which is over the water opposite unto it: a seat of the Askomes after of the Swinburnes & lastly of the Sandfords,

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[747] Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary, explaining the difficult terms that are used in divinity, husbandry, physick, phylosophy, law, navigation, mathematicks, and other arts and sciences. Containing many thousands of hard words (and proper names of places) more than are in any other English dictionary or expositor. Together with the etymological derivation of them from their proper fountains, whether Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, or any other language. In a method more comprehensive, than any that is extant* (London, 1676). This was the largest English dictionary of the late-17th century and was the first to recognise the importance of slang. In addition, it offered lists of dialect words and obsolete terms. It also discussed the proper names and histories of classical figures.

[748] Thomas Heywood (c.1573-1641), *The Hierarchie of the blessed Angells* (London, 1635).

[749] 'Confirmed market': a market 'established firmly'. *ODNB*. The market was confirmed in an order by Henry III in 1223. See Michael A. Mullett, *A New History of Penrith Book 1: From Pre-History to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Carlisle, 2017), 44-45.

[750] For Sir John Lowther, see Michael A. Mullett, *A New History of Penrith Book III: Penrith in the Stuart Century, 1603-1714* (Carlisle, 2018), 31.

[751] Eamont Bridge.

[752] Jousting.

who have continued ther since the [blank] yere of Edward the [blank].[753] Hence the way leads you directly to [Blank][754]

[I.134][755]

[K. Sheriffs of Westm'land]

I shall in the next place proceed to the particular description of Westm'land by parishes and manners and therein show you the ancient possessors of each Lordship together with the moderne with their armes & pedegrees. ~~But first give me lieve to speake a word or two in order thereunto concerneing of Heraldry~~. \ But before I doe this, let mee add what observations of I have other, concerneing the sheriffs of Westm'land. For though it was anciently called a County (as it is at this day), and there have bin of it severall Earles, in Latin calld Comites: as Nevils & Faines, whose pedegrees I have inserted (And Langdale, Lord Westm'land) which are all but titular. I find that anciently it has bin really under the Jurisdiction & Government of Barons, \ Lords & Signors Castelans. / and ~~if I may have leave for~~ the Hon[our] was united with the office of sheriff (which is very probable) vicountes of Westm'land. For, as to the execution of that office, the Cliffords had power \ derived / I doubt not from the Viponts & Morvills {& perhaps Ralph Meschines who at the least} to appoint their sheriffs, who were frequently ~~writ~~ \ called / vicecomites &c. See my MS. VI, p. 96; And were in those times of the best sort of Gentry for the greater honour the place & fam[ily].

[Machell's Notes: I.134]
And for this reason, I thought fit to insert a catalogue of Sherives here in this place e *Libro Rubro Scaccaris*[756] – with my own addition. And the manner & form of presenting them out of my MS VI.

[VI.593]

A Booke of Sheriffs
In order to the Antiquitye of the Countyes
of
Westmerland & Cumberland
1678

[Preliminary Notes]
N.B. by this som Deeds sans Date may be found to have bin in such a yeare, for the vicecomites are frequently witness. And allso by old deeds beareing Date this Catalogue of Sheriffs may be completed T.M.

[VI.584][757]

Dacre: The famous Treaty which followed upon King Athelstans victory over Constantine, King of Scots (so loftily described by the *Saxon Chronicle* A.D. 938),[758] is said to be ad locum qui Dacor vocatur:[759] W. Malmesbury *de Gest, Reg. Angl.* p.50.[760] Hoveden saies it was in 921 and in loco qui dicitur Eamotum,[761] p.422. Vid.*Chron.* A.S. ad an. 924.[762]

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[753] Robert Sandford of Askham is reported to have been Acting Sheriff, 16-17 Edward II (1322-23). *CFH*, 294.
[754] … to Askham.
[755] For Machell's information on sheriffs of Westmorland, see Sir G. Duckett, 'The Sheriffs of Westmorland, with the early Sheriffs of Cumberland', *CW1*, 4 (1880), 285-305.
[756] 'From the red book of Scaccaris.' *Dialogus de Scaccario*, or 'Dialogue concerning the Exchequer', is a mediaeval treatise on the practice of the English Exchequer, written by Richard Fitzneal in the late 12th century. Machell also used it to research 'the booke of Knights fees …given in temp. Ed. I', see Part 3, Ch.1, VI.432.
[757] Text on this page appears to be in Bishop Nicolson's hand.
[758] '*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is an annual record of events, first compiled around 890 during the reign of King Alfred the Great. It was the first attempt to give a systematic year-by-year account of English history, and it was later maintained and added to by generations of anonymous scribes until the middle of the 1100s.' BL.
[759] '…at a place which is called Dacre.'
[760] William of Malmesbury (c.1090-c.1142), *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (1125-34).
[761] 'In the place which is said to be Eamont.'
[762] Roger of Hoveden or Howden (d.1202), *Gesta Henrici II et Gesta Regis Ricardi* ('Deeds of Henry II and King Richard'); revised in *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hoveden* ('Chronicles of Master Roger of Howden'): the story of England before Henry II's reign, continuing until 1201.

[VI.585]

{? Query how it comes to pass that the catalogues of Sheriffs begin at Henry 2: ?Mr Dugdall}

A Catalogue of Sheriffs of Westmorland & Cumberland
ab anno 1^0 Henry 2 and ad anno 1^{um} Jacob

Memorandum
In the Catalogue of Westm'land (where the Shrievalty has bin hereditary) that I leave an column for the Provicecomites (for those that serv'd under the Viponts & Cliffords were properly soe; however, frequently writ vicecomites, and as other sheriffs had their deputyes under them, call'd undersheriffs) And it is to be noted that N.B. {~~Note that there was one Robert Veteriponte anno 80 Richard 1, which was the reign before King John~~.}

1. Robert de Veteri-ponte was Sheriff of Westmorland anno Kg John 4^0 [1202-03]. And in the next year following it was granted to him & his heires forever by the said King. To the Viponts succeeded the Cliffords by maryage of an heiress \ Query if not by Royal Grant? Sc. Dugdal, *Baron[age]* in Vipont & Clifford, p.349. /
To them, the Tuftons, by the same means, who now enjoy it by virtue of the said King's grant in the 5^{th} year of his reigne.
Wherefore (tho the office was executed by gentlemen whom they employed) wee must not looke upon Adam Deppedal and the rest inn the following catalogue as vicecomites, ~~but~~ \ tho they be stiled so; but in reality / pro-vicecomites.

2. The Viponts continued Lords of the Honour of Apelby & Sheriffs of Westmorland (for 5 generations) till the line was extinct in 2 coheirres: Isabella & Idonea, daughters of Robert, son of Robert, son of John, son of Robert, to whom King John gave the said Honour with the office of Sheriff & \ the / old-rents of Westm'land. Robert de Veteriponte (the last of that name) tooke part with the Barons against King Henry III, and dyed of a wound receiv'd in the wars, about the 43 of his reign [1258-1259], so that his Estate, with the former-grants ~~with all his estste~~ became forfæct, and were seis'd upon for the Kings use, who made his daughters (Isabel and Idonea) wards to 2 noble-men: Roger de Clifford & Roger de Leybourn, who maryed them afterwards to their owne sons, the king having granted them all their Estate about the 50^{th} year of his reigne. And Clifford, being guardian to the elder daughter, is said to have executed the office of Sheriff dureing their wardship. Idonea, the

[VI.586]

second daughter, dyed without any isue surviveing so that the whol Estate with all the profits & perquisites thereof came to Robert de Clifford in the 8^{th} year of Edward III [1334-35]; which Robert was brother & heire of Roger, son & heire of Robert, son & heire of Roger who maryed Isabella de Veteriponte: sister of Idonea de Leybourne; so that it should seeme:
1. Roger de Clifford (her husband's father) was Sheriff of Westmorland from her owne fathers death, who was Robert de Veteriponte, till the time that she maryed; Sc. from about the 49 of Henry III till the 54^{th} (or then about) of the said king's reign [1264-70]. To him succeeded her husband, Sc.
2. Roger de Clifford (son of Roger) in right of his wife, Isabella de Veteriponte. Hee dyed the 11^{th} of Edward the 1^{t} [1282-83], & to him succeeded
3. Isabella de Clifford, widow of Robert. She sate (as is said) in person at Apelby, as Sheriff of the countye, and dyed about the 20 of Edward 1 [1291-92]. To her suc[ceded]
4. Robert de Clifford (son of Roger & Isabella). He was slain in Scotland (at a place call'd Strivelings) the 4^{th} of June 1314. And to him succeded
5. Roger de Clifford, son of Robert. To him:
6. Robert de Clifford (brother of Roger & son of Robert, in whose Isue male it hath continued until this very time.
Ann, Countess Dowager of Dorsett, Penbrooke and Montgomery, daughter & sole heire to George, Earle of Cumberland, was the last of the Cliffords that held this office (Mr Thomas Gabettas being

pro-vice-comes).[763] She departed this life March 22 1676/7, and left the shrievalty (with then Barony of Westmorland &c.) to the family of the Tuftons, into which the first daughter (the Lady Margaret Sackvil) was matched, and had Isue: sons & daughters. The second daughter was maryed to [Blank] Compton, Earl of Northampton, & had Isue, the Lady Alethea, who dyed unmaryed temp. Car. 2 {The honourable John Tufton Esq., 2 brother to the Earl of Thanet, is at this time High Sheriff of Westm. & Lord of all that ancient esate which belong'd to his ancestours. T. Gabetis, vice-com.}[764]

[VI.587]

Sheriffs of Westmorland {Ad Tract Ge. de Westmorland}
A Catalogue of the Sheriffs of Westmorland from the 1^{t} years of King Henry 2
E lib. MS in folio: cajus tit. of Sheriffs, fig. 47, penes Mr Sheldon

Anno: Henry 2^{t} Reg^{s} Ang.
18.[765] Elias de Appelbi
23. Randulphus de Glanvill
24-25. Idem

Anno Richardus 1^{t} Reges Ang.
1-4. Osbertus di Longo-Campo {No one of this name came in with the Conqueror: se Batle Abby in *Hollinshed*. And another Sc. W.? Longchamp was Bishop of Ely and Chancellour of England in the time of Roger Machel being at the same time keper of the Great Seale & Vice-chancellour to the King in his expedition to the Holy War.}
5. Hugo Bardulpha
6. Idem
7. Hugo Bardulphe & Richard de Cartrai
8-9. Hugo Bardulphe
10. Idem & Johes Laleman {There are yet upon Stanemore tenants belonging to Brough Castle of the name of Lademan. Quere whether the same name.}

Anno Regis Johannis
1. Hugo Bardulphe & Richard de Carterai (v^{c} Carthenat) {Hale Charter}[766]
2. Galfr. fil Petre; Rogerus de Bello Campo; Willielmus de Stutevill & Johannes Lealeman
3-4. Willielmus de Stutevill & Ph. Escrop.
5-9. Adam Deppedal
10-12. Robert de Veteriponte
N.B. This catalogue must be false, for Robert de Veteriponte had the shrivealty {q. ideo} 4^{0} Johannis [1202-1203], & the same was settled upon him & his heires forever by the said king in the next year following; so that I take Deppedal & all that follow except the Veteriponts & Cliffords to [be] sub-vice-comityes under those familyes. T.M.

[VI.588]

Johannis
Pro-vic.
13. Eudo de Bello-Campo vice-com Westmorland. Testis apud cartam Confirm. Abbey de Hep[768] by Robert de Veteripont. T.M.

Vice-com[767]
sub Roberto de Veteriponte

[763] The tomb of Thomas Gabetis (d. 1694) is in Brough church, where there is an epitaph on a monument on the wall. See Nicolson, *Misc. Accts*, 46-47.
[764] Acting sheriff.
[765] MS numbers 1-17, 19-22 and 26-35 are blank.
[766] Hale Charter Roll: a cartulary of three membranes containing the claims of the Ireland family of Hale to its lands, from the time of King John into the early 15th century: Michael Johnson, *Romance and the Gentry in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2014), 217.
[767] A scored-through line of text here, is illegible.
[768] Shap Abbey.

[VI.589]

Westmorland Nom[in]a vicecom[itum], tem[pore] Regis Hen[rici] Tertis F. Rot.
1. ~~d~~
2. n~~l~~
3. ~~d~~
4. Ebor non Westm'land.
5. n~~l~~ de Westm'land.
6. Ebor n~~l~~ de Westm'land.
7. Galfrus de Neovil Symon de Hal pro eovic Ebor. Westm'land non norat?
8. Symon de Hal reddit comput[um] Ebor &c. nl de Westmorland.
9. Ewflacius de Ladhm ut Custos Everwikesir nl de Westmorland.
10. Idem ut custos p[ro] se et Robert de Cokefeld pro Eo red[dit] comput[um].
11-12. Robertus de Kokefeld firmar[ius] Ebor nl de Westmorland.
13. Rob. De Kokefeld ut firmar[ius] pro dim[idio] Anni W. de Stutevill .
14. ~~d~~
15-16. Will. de Stutevill [blank] et Philip de Ascillis pro eo r[eddit] co[mputum] Ebor nl de Westm'land.
17. Petrus de Ryval [blank] Johes Bonot pro eo pro dimidio anni. Brian de Insula pro Altero Dimidio Anni de Westm'land18. Brian de Insula r. c. p. Ebor n~~l~~ de Westm'land.
19. Johes fil Galf. & dim An^{t} et Brian fil Alari Ragus de Stapleton ut custos & Eo Ebor.

Sic in Res[ponsionibu]s de Ev[er]vic
Idem Joh[ann]es r[eddidit] computum de sexies XX et viij^{li} ij^{d} et ob - de Catallis Hugonis de Burgo, et de XX ij^{li} de Equirio patris sui, sicut continetur in Rotulo quem Willielmus Ruffus lib[er]auit in Tho[mam]. Sic[769] non debet sumoniri quia recordatu[m] coram rege quod Catalla prædicta fuere patris sui et not Hug[on]is de Burgo. Sic [forsan pro sed][770] H. de Burgo seisierat Catalla ista post mortem Roberti de Veteriponte tanquam custos Comitatus Westmorland per regem, et ea ante captionem suam reddiderat

[VI.590]

Joh[ann]i de Veteri-Ponte tanquam catalla Patris sui.[771]

Res[ponsione]s de Everwit Rot R[otul]^{o} 20 Regis Hen[rici] III^{i}
1. Robertus de Veteriponte debet m.^{li} ix$^{c.}$ iiij^{xx} xvij^{li} xi^{s} vj^{d} et v dextr[rarios][772] de precio pro v tonellis vini (sicut continetur in Rotulo principali.) De Quibus Idonea de Veterip[on]te filia et haeres Joh[anni]s de Builli debet lxiiij^{li} xix^{s} de debit[is] Aaron[i] [forsan Arearagys],[773] pro predicto Joh[ann]e de Buyilly, sicut continetur in Rotulo xiij$^{c[es]i[m]o}$ Regis Joh[anni]s; et xx mar[cas] pro eodem Jo[]h[ann]e ne transfretet; et xx marcas pro eodem J[o]h[ann]e pro habenda Terra patris sui; et cl^{s}[?]

[769] Machell underlined and copied various unusual symbols and letter-forms that he found in this document. His list of abbreviations, taken from Dugdale and Pettit, can be found on MS.V.97-102.
[770] The Latin word was perhaps originally 'se'.
[771] 'Thus, in the Returns of Yorkshire: The same John rendered an account of six score and eight pounds two and a half pence for the cattle of Hugo de Burgo, and of twenty-two pounds for his father's title of squire, as is included in the Roll which William Rufus delivered to Thomas. Thus he should not be summoned because it was recorded in the presence of the king that the aforesaid cattle were his father's and did not belong to Hugo de Burgo. Thus [perhaps for himself] Hugo de Burgo had become possessed of those cattle after the death of Robert de Veteripont as Guardian of the County of Westmorland for the king, and had restored them to John de Veteripont as being his father's cattle.'
[772] 'Dexter': Middle English 'destrer'; late Latin 'dextrārius'; in full, 'equus dextrārius'. dextra = right hand: so-called from being led by the squire with his right hand. See J. Saunders *Cabinet Pictures of English Life*: Chaucer (London, 1845), 76. See also, 'The war horses were led by the squires, who always keeping them in their right hand, they were called dextriers.' *OED*.
[773] Machell possibly misread the phrase 'de claro', meaning 'net', as 'Aaron', and then tried to make sense of the name.

pro eodem Joh[ann]e de vij scut[agijs][774] Reg[is] Joh[ann]is sicut continetur in Rot[ulo] iiij Regis Henrici nunc, inter debita predicti Roberti. S[um]m[a] quatuor xx & xvj^{li} xij^{s} iiij^{d}, de qua sum[m]a predicta Idonea respo[n]d[et] infra. Et deb[et] Robertus iij^{li} et ix^{li} xix^{s} et v dext[rarios] pro v dolijs vini. De quibus Joh[ann]es de Veteriponte r[espondet] infra.[775]
Idonea de Veteriponte fil]i]a et heres Joh[ann]is de Builly quatuor xx et vj^{li} xij^{s} iiij^{d} de quatuor deb[itis] sicut supra continetur.
Joh[ann]es de Veteriponte fli[ius] et heres Roberti de Veteriponte deb[et] m.^{li} ix.^{li} xix^{s} et v dextr[arios] pro v tonellis vini sicut supra continetur. R[espondet] infra.
Idem Joh[ann]es deb[et] xv^{li} ix^{s} et ij^{d} de padnagio de pluribus annis, qui requir[untur] et cl mrc[?] in R[e]s[ponsione] precedenti. Sic r[espondet] infra.[776]
Idem Joh[annes] […][777] {respondet forsan} de cl[?] etiam lxiiij^{li} xviij^{s} x^{d} de duobus Itineribus Insti[tutis] in Westmorland sicut continetur in Rot[ulo] principali {T[a]ll[ag]ij]} pro Henrico de [T[i]rello] sicut continetur in Rotulo principali; et de xxviij m^{a}rc[is] iij^{s} de pluribus p[re]stit[is] sicut continetur ibidem; et de xv^{li} ix^{s} ij^{d} de Padnagio de pluribus annis sicut supra continetur; et de m^{li} ix^{li} xix^{s} et v dextr[arios] pro v dolijs vini sicut continetur ibidem.[778]
In Thelonium – Thelonio talles – {i.e. R. Comp. reddit comput[um]}et xlj^{li} et j m[a]rc in viij taill[ijs] et debet m^{li} et viij^{s} et lxij^{li} et x^{s} et v dextr[arios] pro v dolijs vini ; et xx^{s} qui requiruntur in Rot[ulo] Principali sup[ra].[779]
{Thomam filiu[m] Joh[ann]is de (verbum deesse videtur, forsan Veteriponte. vide cat.) prestit[um] sicut contin[etur] ibidem.} p[er] ann[um] q$^{[uatuor]}$xx m^{a}rc[as] p[er] bre[vem] Regis.[780]
2. ut infra:
Rot^{o} xiij^{cio} R[e]g[is] Joh[ann]is Ev[er]wicshir.
Robertus de Veteriponte deb[et] vij m^{a}zc. de vj^{o} scut[agijs] de feod[o] Hugonis de Gernegan [nomen idem alibi occurrit.][781]
Robertus de Veteriponte. Simo clericus suus pro eo r[eddit] comp[utum] etc.[782]

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[774] 'Scutage': tax paid by the holder for a knight's fee, usually in lieu of feudal military service.
[775] 'Returns of Yorkshire. Roll 20 of King Henry III: 1. Robert of Veteripont owes £1,980, and £17 11s 6d and 5 warhorses at the value of 5 casks of wine (as is included in the principal Roll). Of which Idonea de Veteripont, daughter and heir of John de Builly owes £64 19s of the debits of Aaron [perhaps Arearagys] on behalf of the aforesaid John de Buyilly, as is included in Roll 13 of King John; and 20 marks on behalf of the same John so he shall not alienate; and 20 marks on behalf of the same John to keep his father's land; and 150s on behalf of the same John concerning 7 shield moneys of King John, as is contained in the 5th roll of King John. Which are, indeed, now included in the 4th roll of King Henry, among the debits of the aforesaid Robert. The sum is 4 score and £16 12s 4d, about which sum the aforesaid Idonea answers below. And Robert owes £1,000 and £9 19s and 5 warhorses at the value of 5 casks of wine. Concerning which John de Veteripont answers below.'
[776] 'Idonea de Veteripont daughter and heir of John de Builly: 4 score and £16 12s 4d of the four debits, as included above. John de Veteripont son and heir of Robert de Veteripont owes £1,009 19s, and 5 warhorses at the value of 5 casks of wine, as is included above. Thus, he answers below: The same John owes £15 9s 2d concerning the pannage of several years which are required in the previous return. Thus, he answers below.'
[777] The text here is unclear.
[778] 'The same John [...]{answers, perhaps} concerning 150 also £64 18s 10d concerning two journeys undertaken in Westmorland, as is included in the Principal Roll, for Henry [of Tirell] {of tax} as is included in the principal Roll; and concerning 28 marks 3s relating to several payments, as is included in the same place; and concerning £15 9s 2d concerning the pannage of several years, as is included above; and concerning £1,009 19s and 5 warhorses for 5 casks of wine, as is included in the same place.'
[779] 'To The[lonius] {taxes to Thelonius} {i.e. he is answerable for an account} also £41 and 1 mark in 8 tax payments and he owes £1,008 and £62 10s, and 5 warhorses at the value of 5 casks of wine; and 20s which are required in the Principal Roll above.'
[780] 'Thomas son of John (a word is missing, perhaps Veteripont; see the catalogue.) Payment as included in the same place. 4 score marks yearly by the king's writ.'
[781] '2. As below. In the 13th Roll of the Returns of John of Yorkshire. Robert de Veteripont owes 7 marks in respect of 6 shield-moneys in fee of Hugo de Gernegan (the same name occurs elsewhere).'
[782] 'Robert de Veteripont … Simo the clerk answers the account for him etc.'

[VI.590A]

Pro-Vicecomites

[1.] Simo Clericus suus anno è Rotulo 20 Regis Hen. III. Rested Everwickshir.[783]

[VI.591]

Of Westmorland: Pro-vicomites

Anno Regis Henry 3[i].
1. Rob[ertus] de Veteriponte T.M.
12. Joh[ann]es de Veteriponte circa 12 vel 13m T.M.
26. Robert[us] de Veteriponte infra aetatem Gardin[o] reg[e] sub custodia prioris Carliolensis T.M.[784]
49. Hoc anno objit Robert[us] de Veteriponte et omnes possesiones suae una cum Baliva de Westmorland fisco Regi[?] redierunt. Ei successit Rogerus de Clifford.[785]
54. Rogerus de Clifford Junior qui hoc an[no] matrimoniam contraxerit cum Isabella filia & cohær[ede] Roberti de Vet[eriponte].[786]

Anno Regis Edvardi 1[i].
1-11. John Kirkeby.
12-13. Isabella de Clifford vidua.[787]
14. Richardus de Medborne.
15-16. Robertus de Morevil.
17. Robertus de Parick.
18-19. Gilb[ertus] de Brimulneshend.
20. (obijt Isab[ella] n[ulla] fal[lonia]) Thomas Hellebeck.[788]
21-23. Idem.
24-26. Rad[ulph]us de Manby.
27-28. Robertus de Clifford; P[one] Idonea Leyburne.[789]
29-33. Rob[ertus] De Clifford.

Anno Regis Ed. 1[i].
1-5. John Kirkeby.
6. Idem. Ds Mich. de Harclay.
7. Idem. Carte Crac[kenthorpe] 25. Gilbertus de Kirketon.[790]
8-11. Idem.
12-13. Idem (Isabella de Clifford vidua).
14. Ricardus de Medborne.

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[783] 'Everwickshir': The earldom of Northumberland was not divided into counties until the time of Edward the Confessor, when it was divided into six or seven shires with a chief town at the head of each, the whole of which Domes-day Book calls Everwickshire. I.e. Yorkshire, Richmondshire, Lancashire and Durham (styled Copland), Westmorland, Northumberland and Cumberland. The city of York under the Romans was called Eboracum; under the Saxons, Everwick; and under the Danes, Jorvik. See Francis Drake, *Eboracum or the History and Antiquities of York* (London, 1736), 85. Drake took much of this information from Hoveden.
[784] 'Robert de Veteripont in his minority a ward of the king in the care of the prior of Carlisle T.M.'
[785] 'In this year Robert de Veteripont died and all his possessions along with the Bailliwick of Westmorland reverted to the King's treasury. Roger de Clifford succeeded him.'
[786] 'Under Sheriffs of King Henry 3rd. 1. Robert de Veteripont T.M. 12. John de Veteripont, about the 12th or 13th year T.M. 26. Robert de Veteripont, under age, ward of the King, in the custody of the Prior of Carlisle T.M. 49. In this year Robert de Veteripont died and all his possessions along with the Bailiwick of Westmorland, reverted to the King as tax. He was succeeded by Roger de Clifford. 54. Roger de Clifford Junior, who in this year contracted a marriage with Isabella, daughter and co-heir of Robert de Veteripont.'
[787] 'Isabella de Clifford, widow.'
[788] '(Isabella died with no forfeiture) Thomas Hellebeck.'
[789] 'Robert de Clifford; alongside Idonea Leyburne.'
[790] 'The same. Charters of Crackenthorpe 25. Gilbert of Kirketon.'

15-16. Robertus de Morevil.
17. Robertus de Paunwick.
18. Gilbertus de Brimulsneshend.
19. Idem. Obijt circa 20 Rob[erto] De Clifford filio Rogeri infra aetatem existente.[791]
20-23. Thomas Hellebeck [sub eo].[792]
24-26. Rad[ulph]us de Manby.
27-28. Robertus de Clifford; pone de Leighburne {forsan pro Idonea de}.[793]
29-34. Robertus de Clifford.
{Gilb. de Crak. Will[ielm]o fra[tre] *in castra Ellene et Agnetis fil[iarum] Galfrid[i] de Crakathorp Walt[ero] filio Walt[eri] de Meburn}.[794]

[VI.592]

Regis Ed 2[i].
1-7. Robertus de Clifford.
8-9. Idem (Rogerus de Clif[ford] fil[ius] Rob[erti]).
10-18. Henricus de Warthecop (Warc\o/p) Henry de Warthecop. e cart[a] Barforth Mauchell) Rogerus de Clifford obijt innuptus a[nno] 10 Ed. 3i ade[o] ut ei Robertus frater et haeres successit in vicec[omitatu].[795]
{Rob[ertus] trucidatus apud Stiriveling in Scotia 24 Junij 1314.}[796]

Anno Regis Ed 3[i].
1. Henricus de Threlkeld.
2. Tho[mas] de Clifford.
3. Robertus de Clifford.
4-15. Robertus de Clifford (frater Rogeri fil[ij] Rob[ert]i).[797]
16. Idem Tho[mas] de Musgrave 1342 in cart[a] Machell Valeri Sc. Raiour.[798]
17. Idem T. de Mus[grave] (Machell cart[a]).
18-19. Idem (RC. obijt hoc an[no]: ex Gen. Clifford).[799]
20. Idem Will[ielmus] de Langwathby. Cista Mac. Sc. Ad[am] de Apelby.
21-24. Rad[ulph]us de Nevill (forsan pro tunc infra aetat[atem] nupt[iarum] Sc. aetat[atem] 13) Will[ilelmi] de Langwathy cista.[800]
25-29. Thomas de Bello-Campo. Comes Warwick. forsa[n] pro Roger[o] de Clifford frat[re] et h[erede] Roberti fil[ij] Roberti tunc temporis in bello contra Franciam vel Scotiam.[801]
30-51. Rogerus de Clifford.

[VI.593]

Anno Regis Richard 2[i].
1-10. Rogerus de Clifford.
11-12. Rogerus de Clifford et Walt[erus] Strickland Chr. N.B. per ipsum Rogerum præsentatus.[802]

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[791] 'The same. He died about 20, Robert de Clifford the son of Roger being under age.'
[792] 'Thomas Hellebeck (under him).'
[793] 'Robert de Clifford; alongside de Leighburne {perhaps on behalf of Idonea de}.'
[794] '{Gilbert of Crakenthorp, William his brother, in the castle of Ellen and Agnes, daughters of Galfrid of Crakenthorp. Walter, son of Walter de Meburn.}'
[795] 'Roger de Clifford died unmarried in the first year of Edward 3rd, with the result that Robert his brother and heir succeeded in the shrievalty.'
[796] '{Robert [was] slain at Stirling in Scotland 24 June 1314.}'
[797] 'Robert de Clifford (brother of Robert son of Robert).'
[798] 'The same. Thomas de Musgrave 1342, in a document of Machell Valerius Sc. Raiour.'
[799] 'The same. (RC died this year: from Gen. Clifford.)'
[800] 'Radulph de Nevill. Perhaps on behalf of […] then below the age of marriage, Sc. age 13. From the chest of William de Langwathby.'
[801] 'Thomas de Bello-Campo. Earl of Warwick. Perhaps on behalf of Roger de Clifford, brother and heir of Robert son of Robert, at that time engaged in war against France or Scotland.'
[802] 'N.B. presented by Roger himself.'

13. Idem obij[t] Rogerus et successit fil[ius].[803]
14. Thomas de Clifford.
15.Walterus Strickland chr.
16. Elizabetha d[o]m[in]a de Clifford nup[er] uxor Thomae domini de Clifford.[804]
17-22. Eadem (Il[lorum] fil[ius] ejus erat infra aetatem).[805]

[A[n]no] Regis Hen[rici] 4ti
1-12. Elizabetha domina Clifford prædicta.

Anno Hen[rici] 5ti
1-2. Willielmus de Lancaster (pro Joh[ann]e de Clifford iam plenae aetatis).[806]
3. Christopher Moresby.
3-8. Willielmus de Lancaster.
9. Idem (ultimo H.5i trucidatus).[807]

Anno Regis Hen[rici] 6ti
1. Joh[ann]es de Lancaster.
2. Willielmus de Lancaster.
3-5. Idem (pro Elixabetha nuper uxor[e] Johannis de Clifford, postea uxore Rad[ulphi] de Nevil, Com[itis] Westm'land).[808]
6-15. Tho[mas] Par: Chr; Subvic[ecomes].[809]
16-23. Thomas nunc d[o]m[inu]s de Clifford (plenae aetatis).[810]
24-32. Thomas nunc Dominus de Clifford.
33-38. Obijt in bello idem Thomas Dominus Clifford anno 1455. Successit ei Joh[hann]es de Clifford fil[ius] et haeres, plenae aetat[is] a[nn]o sequenti qui obijt in bello contra Ed. 4um pro Reg[e] Hen[rico] 60 a[nn]o 1461.[811]

Anno Regis Ed[wardi] 4ti
1-14. Johannes Par ae[tatis] (Cliffordiorum familia ab officio expulsa tanquam laesae majestatis reâ.)[812]
15-22. Will[iel]mus Par miles.

Anno Regis Richard 3ti
1. Will[iel]mus Par miles.

Anno Regis Hen[rici] 7mi
1-2. Henricus Clifford (fil et haeres Johes Dominus Clifford […] restitutus).[813]

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[803] 'The same Roger died and his son succeeded.'
[804] 'Lady Elizabeth de Clifford late wife of Lord Thomas de Clifford.'
[805] 'The same (their/her son was under age).'
[806] 'William de Lancaster (for John de Clifford, now of age).'
[807] 'The same. (Slain in the last year of Henry 5th).'
[808] 'The same (on behalf of Elizabeth late wife of John de Clifford, subsequently wife of Radulph de Nevil, Earl of Westmorland.)'
[809] 'Thomas Par […]; under-sheriff.'
[810] 'Thomas now Lord de Clifford (of age).'
[811] 'The same Thomas Lord Clifford died in war in the year 1455. He was succeeded by John de Clifford his son and heir, of age, in the following year. He died in war against Edward 4th fighting for King Henry 6th in the year 1461.'
[812] 'John Par, of age (the family of the Cliffords had been exiled as being guilty of lese-majesty).' Lèse majesté: a crime committed against a monarch or other ruler; insult of or affront to a monarch or other ruler, especially when constituting a crime; treason. *OED*.
[813] 'Henry Clifford (son and heir of John, Lord Clifford, [...] restored.)'

3. Henricus Dominus Clifford.[814]
6. Henricus Clifford miles.
8-13. Rogerus Bellingham miles subvic[ecomes].[815]
14-15. John Fleminge ar[miger] subvic[ecomes].
16-20. Henricus Dominus Clifford.

[VI.594]

21-24. Hen. Dominus Clifford.

Anno Regis Hen 8^{vt}
1-6. Henricus Dominus Clifford.
7. Henricus Clifford.[816]
10. Henricus Dominus Clifford.
11-13. Hen. Clifford.
14. Hen. Clifford miles Dominus Clifford.
15. Obijt Henry Dominus Clifford 20 Aprilis.
16. cui successit Hen. Dominus Clifford fil & h.
17-20. Henry Comes Cumbrae.
21. Idem. John Lowder Esq. Provic.
22-38. Idem. Obijt 22 April 1542 ei successit Henry Dominus Clifford f & h comes Cumb. Id nominus 29.

Anno Regis Ed. 6^{ti}.
1-6. Henricus Comes Cumb.

Anno Philip & Maria R.
1-6. Henricus Comes Cumberland.

Anno Elizabeth Regina
1-2. Henricus Comes Cumb.
3-9. Henricus Comes Cumb.
11. Lancelot Pickering ar.[817]
12. Henry Crakenthorpe ar. (ab hoc ad temp. anno 21 Elizabeth sub custodioet gard fuit comitis de Bedford Anno 1570 Jan^{ri} et obijt Hen. 2^{0} cuj successit Georgius Co. Cumb. Infra aetatis).
13. Allunus Bellingham ar.
14. Humf. Musgrave ar.
15. Edward Lancaster ar.
16. John Midleton ar.
17-20. Simon Musgrave miles.
21-43. Georgius Comes Cumb. (ia' plaenae aetatis vicecom. Westmorland).

Anno Jacobi Regis 1^{i}.[818.]
3. (Obijt Georg comes Cumbriae vicecom. Westmorland 13 Octob. 1605.

[VI.595]

Temp Car. 1. Temp. Car. 2.
Anna Comitiss[a] Pembrokiæ, Dorsett et Montgom[erie] cujus vicom[es] Tho[mas] Gabetis.[819]

[814] Nos 4, 5 and 7 are blank.
[815] 'Roger Bellingham, Knight, under-sheriff.'
[816] Nos 8 and 9 are blank.
[817] No.10 is blank.
[818] Nos 1-2, 5-15 are blank.
[819] 'Anne, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery, whose sheriff [was] Thomas Gabetis.'

Joha[nn]es Tufton Arm[iger], Filius 2d honorabilis viri [blank] Tufton, comitis Thanet, cujus vicom[es] Tho[mas] Gabetis.[820]
Obijt Johannes Tufton comes Thanet apud Skipton in Craven com[itatu] Ebor[aci] 27^0 Aprilis 1680 circa horam 3am pomer[i]d[iani] cenotaphio commiss[o] per Thoma[m] Machell et alios 12^0 Maij tempore multo mane circa hora[m] 3am et Honorifice sepultus apud Ranham in Com[itatu] Kantis inter majores suos die martis 18^0 Maij An[n]o supradicto cuj successit.[821]
Richard Tufton (frater Joh[ann]is) comes Thanet ~~cujus vice~~ cujus vice Tho[mas] Gabetis[822]
cui successit. Thomas Tufton comes Thanet, frater prædicti Johan[n]is et Rich.[823]

Cujus vice
Thomas Gabetis.
Jacobus Bird.
Joh[annes Hall.

[II.449]

[Mace Towns][824]

There are 2 mace towns in West[morland] – Apleby & Kendall – whereof Apleby is the County Towne, where the Assises and Sessions have bin kept and holden, even since the reigne of King John. The officers whereby it is governed or that belong thereto, are a Major & Recorder, a court of aldermen, the Towne Clerke & Common Council Men, 2 Chamberlins & Sergeant att Mace, 2 \ Baliffes or / Halberteners, a Coroner, & other officers. Apalby was allwayes for the King in the late wars, and so was the most part of the country, especially the gentry, amongst whome, I may speake it to their & the countryes glory, there was ~~not~~ \ scarce / one round-head, now (as I take it); ~~in Cumberland neither except that [blank] Sir William Lawson~~[825]

[II.450][826]

[Notes on] Cityes, townes, corporate markett & fair {se p.37}

{3.} Peculiars or priviledged places. I know not \ well / what is meant by them. \ Russendall a peculiar & priviledge; Sowerby a priviledge. Sowerby priviledged, being peculiar. / ~~But Apleby is a place of great priviledge, as appears from its charter.~~ Cartes were \ all forfeit by the interposing of Olivers, but renewed by King Ch[arles] 2. /

{4} Cityes ~~wh~~ they have none at present in Westm'land, Carlile being the see for all this county ~~& great part of Cumberland, tho som belong to the Bishop of Chester~~ \ except Kendal Barony. / D[urham]? {Pag. 37} But Apleby is the primarie opidum (ad the commend of Apleby)[827] and is called in Stephanus (e *Liber Notitiarum*)[828] Urbs Westmariæ Antiq. Tis a towne corporate, govern'd by a

[820] 'John Tufton Esquire, 2nd son of the honourable [...] Tufton Earl of Thanet, whose sheriff [was] Thomas Gabetis.'
[821] 'John Tufton, Earl of Thanet, died at Skipton in Craven in the county of York on the 27th of April 1680 about the 3rd hour of the afternoon, the funeral monument being unveiled by Thomas Machell and others on the 12th of May early in the morning at the third hour. He was buried with honour at Ranham in the County of Kent among his ancestors on Tuesday the 18th of May in the year given above and succeeded by…'
[822] 'Richard Tufton (brother of John Earl of Thanet) whose sheriff [was] Thomas Gabetis.'
[823] '… who was succeeded by Thomas Tufton, Earl of Thanet, brother of the aforesaid John and Richard.'
[824] Machell first named this section, 'Government of Apleby'. A mace is a sceptre or staff of office, resembling an ornamental version of the weapon of war, which is borne before (or was formerly carried by) certain officials. The sergeant at mace was an inferior executive officer carrying the mace as a badge of office. *OED*.
[825] Two words in the margin here have perished. For more on the 'perfidious' Roundhead, Lawson, see I.76, above.
[826] Also numbered p.13.
[827] 'To the credit of Apleby.'
[828] The *Notitia Dignitatum* ('The List of Offices') or *Liber Notitiarum* is a document of the late Roman Empire, detailing the administrative organisation of the Eastern and Western Empires. It describes several thousand offices from the imperial court to provincial governments, diplomatic missions and army units.

Maior &c. Vid. p. \ 2, / and send[s] out to the House of Parliament, 2 Burgesses \ sub finem. /[829] Here in this parish* about a mile and ½ from Apleby, is a pleasant seat belonging to the Diocess of Carlile cal'd Buly Castle, on the other side of Eden opposite to Crakentho[r]pe Hall
{*No. Buly Castle was formerly contriverted but now is reputed to be in Morland.}

\ Apulby / Its situation. How many churches? \ 2 / Castle, schoole, hospital &c. Apleby was allwayes for the King \ in the late wars / & so was the most part of this country, especially the gentry, there being not one who tooke armes aganst, but many for him, & sufferd, \ even / without hopes of reward [though] neither ever \ had or sought for any. /[830]

{A Corporation, p. 8}
Kendall also is an other market. I wish I could say \ not / so famous for loyalty, but ~~I hope hereafter they will wipe of that filth &c.; se its description pes~~. It was so unhappy! & which now I hope is engaged there unto, since the towne was honoured with a Prince of the Blood \ query of Mr King / for better so than to have it staned with their Prince's blood.[831]
{non possu[m] enim non fateri hoc nostram Kendal recentioris esse memoriae, licet non procul ab hinc, magna invenitur romanorum numismatum subinde effossata copia Sc. ad loca ...}[832]

1. A Bottome are 5 market townes: Apleby – Saturday; Kirkby – Munday; Brough – Thorsday; Orton – Wednesday; ~~market on Wednesdays fair~~ Shap.
Fare Townes
Att Apleby, 2 \ Whitmunday & 10 Aug. / beside a f[air] every fortnight from Whits[unday] till Mic[haelmas].
Att Kirkby St[ephen], 2: both towne & beasts. Whitsuntide & St Luke.
Att Brough ~~Thorsday~~ Fairs 19 & 21 of September.

2. In the Barony ~~besides Kendall~~ are 4 market townes.
\ Kendall, / Ambleside, Burton & Kirkby Loansdall.

Fare townes, 5.
Att Kendall, 2 }
Ambleside, 2 } in the yeare.
Burton, 2 }
Kirkby Loansdall, 2 }
{q.} Millthrop, 1. } May 1ˢᵗ perpet. It is no mark[et]

Orton: query? ~~Market on Wed.~~ A f[air] Friday before Whitsuntide.
Shap [blank]

[II.451][833]

(a.) Note ad (a) that here wants a catalogue of the names of the petty constablewicks \ of each Hundred / in the relation of the Bottome of W.
(b.) Which are compleat in the other relation of the Barony of Kendal, but that is not a thing very considerable.

[829] A scored-through addition here reads, MS: '(~~whereof the one is the Honorable Mr [?] & the other~~ {Dub?})'; the name is difficult to decipher.
[830] One word has been damaged here.
[831] See Part 2, Ch.1, Barony of Kendal, II.11.
[832] '{For I cannot but admit this, that our Kendal is of fairly recent memory, although not far from here is found an abundance of Roman coins that have been dug out from there, that is, at places ...}' Some of the Latin text is obscured by the binding.
[833] Also numbered p.4.

c. The names of the parishes are awanting, not so in the Barony of Kendall (sed porru[s] forsan ref)[834] yet tis to be noted that in the Barony in generall are sett downe 7 parishes where 5 onely are nominated, with one chaple to make 6. Query de Burton ~~chap.~~ if it be a parish \ as / there are 18 chaples ~~& churches of ease in the Barony~~ beside.
{ad \ fig. / 2.} Note that the Bottom of West[morland] is both more fertile & populous as may be gatherd from there [they] have more Hundreds, more parishes in those Hundreds, & fewer ~~churches~~ ~~&~~ chaples of ease, notwithstanding any thing that former wr[i]ters from falce suggestions have presented to the contrary. More Castles, gentlemen's seats, market townes, more Constablewicks – yet the other [has] richer rood[835] trade.
{c.} Vid. in map of W. He sayes we have 33 parish churches, & here T.J. he sayes we have 33 in the Bottom of W. Query: in Speed & Camden.[836]

[II.452][837]

Houses of the Nobility & Gentry [and other places] ad general

{Vid. imprimiss 5. Do this by col[umn]}
Wharton Hall, the seat of Lord Wharton; Howgill Castle, of Sir Richard Sandford; Lowther, of Sir John Lowther; Sokbrige, of Sir John Lowther; & houses of nobility and gentry.
Apleby, Brough, Browham & Pendragon Castles, the seates formerly of the Viponts, after of the Cliffords by marr[riage] & now, given by K.J., the habitation the Right Hon. Ann, Countiss of Pen[broke], Dowager of Dorset & Montgomery. Noble by nature as well as birth, the north star in whome that family is now ~~about~~ most gloriously ~~to expire~~ \ about to set. /[838] {Se Appendix p.3, par 6. Li[bro] tit[ulo] Haius.}[839]
Hartley Castle, formerly of that famous war[rior] Sir Andrew Har[cla] \ comm end melior ad Kendal Castle, seat of the Pars / who &c., now the seat of Sir Philip Musgrave, that worthy \ gentleman / who onely had the \ good / fortune to be rewarded or taken notice of.
Howgill Castle, the seat of the ~~Sandfords~~ Sir Richard Sandford, Baronet.
Buly Castle, the seat proper of the Bishop of Carlile, but let to Sir Christopher Musgrave, 2[d] son to Sir Phillip.
Crakenthorpe &c. whsoe Armes &c. are \ Sable 3 greyhound & de omnibus. /
Bolton, Kirkbythore, & vid. in my description of the gentry of Westm'land.
So on to the Barrony \ so S. back N. /

Castles
They have Apleby, Browham, Brough, Pen-dragon, Hartley, Howgill, Buly \ & Kendal in the Barony [of Kendal] / to which may be [added] those ancient ruines which still bear the names of castle, tho som of 'em are more properly ~~to be~~ castra: viz. Maiden-Castle on the top of Stanemore (vid. map; note sub finem)[840] & Maybrough Castle, near that noble fortification called the Round Table. {Vid. pag. prae prim.}[841]
Ad Kendall Castle \ & Whellop Castle of the Catuli, whence Machell / are ancient & noble ruine, the seat of Lord Par; the ancestors of Lord Parr of Rayland in Wales were borne here: vid. plu p.8 et ineo libello de Westm'land. ~~Get the names the parishes~~.

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[834] '… but perhaps research [this] for definite.'
[835] 'Rood': a variant of 'road' in this context. *OED*.
[836] Westmorland was then divided between the dioceses of Carlisle and Chester; Camden calculated that there were 93 churches in Carlisle diocese, 256 in Chester diocese, and 26 parishes in the whole of Westmorland: see *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 162, 763.
[837] Also numbered p.5.
[838] Lady Anne Clifford died in 1676.
[839] Book with the title 'Haius'. Perhaps Machell was referring to Dr Hay: See Part 2, Ch.2, Kendal Town, II.41, Dr Haius (Hay).
[840] 'See the map, note, towards the end.'
[841] 'See the page before the first.'

{Places of Note}
Monastryes, one fryeredge att Apleby of the Order of White Fryers.[842] Vid libelo tract de Apleby; Shapp Monastery, vid. Speed; St Nicholas dub, vid. not de Apleby School; vid etiam in the Barony of Kendal but I thinke there are none.
{Se p. 66. Query} Hospitalls at Apleby, one. Its foundation; when endowed.[843] Kendal query?[844]
{Query?} Schooles: Apleby, & vid. Mr Wases, his note.[845] Some free, some private. Colleges, none.[846]

[II.454][847]

[Mills]
{Water mills, not numbered}
A country of river of water so plentifull that you can not place your selfe, I believe, a mile from a corne mill. There are great store of water mills in the bottome of Westmorland, almost at every village, by reason that this part of the country is so \ very / well watered. You can scarce to [be] placed \ at / a mile distance from one in any part of the country*? Such like in the Barrony there is no want ~~or scarcity~~ of them, for I doe not remember that I ever se a winde-mill in the county ~~of Westm'land~~, notwithstanding the advantage there hills would ~~give~~ \ afford / them ~~for such con~~ above other places. Se the particular number, p.8. Se upon Kent: 11 milnes†.

{Beacons}
There are 5 or 6 beacons in Westm'land; to witt, Apleby beacon, \ Owseley beacon neare unto Crakenthorp, / Orton beacon, Hayfel beacon, Farrleton Knot or Knok beacon, & Kendall beacon; and an other, I thinke, on Whinfell. They give or take warning from Penereth beacon in Cumberland or from Engleburrow Top in Yorkeshire‡.

{Bridges named in Kendal} ⸸
Viz. over Kent: 9. viz Barly-bridge, Boulston bridge, Burneshed bridge, Strammongate Brigg in Kendal, Nether bridge, Mill-brig, Haws-brig, Force-brig & Leaven bridge.
Over Leun: ~~7 over &~~ Streight-brig, Higland br, Marwith b., Kirkby brigg & Lancaster brigg, but that bridge is ~~in~~ \out of / the County of Lancaster \ Westm'land. /

{Mountaines not numbered}
The mountains are so numerous there, where they are commonly calld by the name of fells, that it would be tediouse to give accompt of them, the barony of Kendall for the most part consisting of hills & dales, and the Bottom of Westm'land being so invironed with a rainge of montaines that, when you are att Apleby or any part of the midle of that vaile, you would thinke your selfe incirckled by them as with a round bulwerke.

{Crosfell}
But the most remarkeable are Crosfell \ in Cumberland / which commonly gives us the first signe of the winters approach by putting on its snowy cap.

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[842] Carmelites.
[843] See Wiseman, 'Medieval Hospitals of Cumbria', 88-89.
[844] Kendal: The hospital of St Leonard, founded by the Lancaster family, barons of Kendal, was primarily a leper hospital; it occupied a site in Scalthwaiterigg, north-east of the town, now known as Spital farm, Wiseman, 'Medieval Hospitals of Cumbria', 90-91.
[845] Christopher Wase's Survey, see II.10, above.
[846] II.453 contains brief notes as follows, MS: '3. Whinfell, Kendall, Farleton Knot near Haverigg. 4. Apleby, Orton Hay f. Farleton & Kendal an upon [obscured by the binding]. Fertill in the general description. Brig. the waters. Morton Pike, Knock Pike, Dufton Pike, Roman Fell, Cross Fell a Emoe forsan. Hugh Seat Hill for 3 rivers.'
[847] Also numbered p.7.

[Machell's Notes: II.454]
*If it be necessary to have the number & names, enquire of T.J. how many stand upon each severall river, with the bridges also.
†It were a better method to treat 1[t] of rivers, then of bridges & mills, then of mountains & beacons. Nay. 1[t] mountaines, then rivers, bridges & milnes.
‡Ep. 5 ad fin.[848]
⸸There are many bridges also in the ~~Bottom of W~~; to witt on Eden [blank], on [blank], on [blank] besides other lesser waters & brookes: as Colby &c. Vid. answer to the last query into the north.
Hascat Hill. 3 river.
Stanemore: Roman works.
Se my Booke de Altari[bus][849] at furrowes.[850]

[II.455][851]
{8} Warrens &c. Hornby to Birbeck; Woodside, Whinfel \ & Browham / to the Countiss; Lowther to Sir John Lowther; \ Cliburn, Crakenthorpe / Dalan Banke to Mr Dalston.

{8} Commons. \ Every towne & village has one. / There is one which belongs to Mouls Meaburne (alias Mauds Meaburne) which is remarkeble for a rare prospect; for att an uppinstone upon the midle thereof, ~~whence~~ you may see 5 castles: \ to wit, Apleby &c., / beside many gentlemens houses, and this ~~is~~ in the way twixt Kendall and Apleby. There is an other such like place at Husheat.

{8}[852] [Woods.] \ Woods lately destroyed. /
Dufton Wood flourished very lately, out which were cut above 6,000 oakes. And in this wood a strange sort of foole,[853] which they called an Osper\eay / (which was a great devourer of fish) used to build (se its nat.) Musgrave, Hartley, Morland ~~Parke~~ \ Wood / also, which belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Carlile, was quite cut downe since the King came in, & so was part of Lownthwaite which belongs to Howgill.
But there is yet standing these very remarkeble ones {all Oake} to witt Lownthwate, which belongs to Sir Richard Sandford; Bankwood, to Mr Robert Hilton; & other 2 greater than the rest: to wit Whinfeld & Flakebrigg, both which belong to the Countiss of Penbrooke. {And beside these there are many others.} And in Flakebrig tis observeable that great store of cranes build in the north end thereof towards Brampton, and no place I know of in England beside.

[II.456][854]
Staine More, where Maden Castle the Romane fort &c. Se my booke & the map of the Bot. of W. ad finem. & Knock Pike. 3 round hills ascending \ piked / in manner of a pyramid unde pikes appellatur.[855]

{Martindale M[ountain]s Fells}
The vast fells twix Shap & Kendall, which are [blank] miles over, barren ~~of corne & & wood~~, utterly unarable & destitute all over, both of trees & corne ~~whence is that Westm'land for the most part~~ \ inagistament peete[856] / is accompted barren; ~~for I thinke \ allmost / the greater halfe is taken up in mountains~~. But other partes, especially in the Bottom of Westmorland on the fertill bankes of the noble River Eden, are so plentifully stored with corne of all sorts, woods, meadows & pasturage, that it \ ever / hath ~~ever had~~ enough to supply its owne ~~wants & the~~ necessityes \ & / often times \ to supply the wants / of the neighbouring \ people / ~~countyes~~ in Yorkeshire & bishopric with corne & hay.-But notwithstanding the fells being un-arable and unfit for husbandry, yet they bring their

[848] 'Epistle 5, towards the end.'
[849] 'Book concerning altars.'
[850] The transcribed text here is accurate, but the meaning is unclear.
[851] This note-page also contains the margin comment, MS: '{Pike: why}'.
[852] All three '{8}' have been transcribed as seen.
[853] I.e. fowl.
[854] Also numbered p.9.
[855] 'From which it is called pike.'
[856] 'Without agistament and peats.'

commodity along with them. They are a great defence against winde & cold, which is a reason why the \ lower / places is so fertill, notwithstanding the clime, which other men having \ only / respect to, & not knowing the advantage of its situation, have forthwith concluded that it must of necessity be a barren place.[857]

[II.471]

Of Quarries & mines in W[estmorland]

{Several for free stone}
Apleby – bad – r[ed][858]
Dufton – good – r[ed]
Howgill – good – r[ed]
Bolton More – w[hite]
Heights (Hoff Linn) – w[hite]

Limestone
Bramton More
Nuby & Morland
And in all places, both of East & Westward, & such like in the Barony
Stanemore

Slates
Dufton & Stainemoore

Millstone & Grindstone
~~Hornby~~ near Udfoot Boote at Hornby[859]
Whinfield
Meldon
Meaburne

Coal
Stanemore
Regill, Slegill
Helton & som at ~~Howgill~~ Milburn

Lead
Helbeck, Dufton
Murton, Harkley
~~forsan Howgill~~ sed de hoc q?[860]
Milburn
{Applethwate, a Paper Mill ~~near~~ \ in / a little above Troutbeck brege}

[II.472]

{Lead mines}[861]
~~We~~ \ they / have great store of lead all up & downe our fells. They digg it in great plenty att Dufton, Murton & Helbeck in the Bottom of Westm'land.

{Iron Mines}
There are iron mines also in the said place at Buly Castle near Apleby.[862]

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[857] This paragraph has been lightly scored through.
[858] An interlineated phrase here is partly illegible; the place-name has a query after it and 'Ind' for 'indifferent'.
[859] Udford boat ferry?
[860] 'But I query this'.
[861] MS.II.465 also references lead mines: '{Lead mines; also Murton & Helton Lordship.} For lead mines. Helbeck, Harcley & \ Milburn Fell / Dufton lordship present them with great plenty.'
[862] This is mentioned briefly on MS.II.471.

{Lime v. p.9}
Lime at Newby, Morland, Brampton & severall other places.

{Freestone}[863]
Freestone att Apleby \ bad, / Dufton, & Read {?}[864]
Bolton More; white & where Colby Tower stone came from,
Hoflun Heightes, White.
Slates or tiles at Kings Meaburne, Dufton, Warcop Fell, Brough.
Plaster of Paris:[865] K[irkby Thore] Murton.
Allabaster? \ or plaster / att [Blank]
Milston & grindston at Meaburne, Udfoote & Whinfell &c.
Silver, gold & copper. \ At Silveray – none but Lead. /

[II.456]

{Stone of the fells: coale, limestone, slate, ore}[866]
There is allso in these fells, which are no smale commodityes: great store of cole & freestone, grindstone, milston and lyme. (Particular upon Stainemore where / ~~the best coals diged, which we have in England~~ they \ have excellent coal / the best in the country, which / burne like pitch yet free from any unpleasant \ savour / ~~sulfurious smell~~; and they leve behind them a sort of sinder after they are burn'd, which will make a \ 2^{d} / fire as bright as charcoal \ and which is used for drying of malt. / Att Regill \ and Slegill / also they have coles, but not ~~comparable to these~~ so good, which ~~this~~ plenty of coal makes ~~your~~ wooden fewell ~~hereabouts as cheep that you may have there~~ \ of less account, being seldom sold but for gryves[867] & smelt mills / in copses for cutting them up, for they serve them in noe steed save only for hedging.
For limestone. Brampton \ Meaburne, Lowther & all or most of the west side /of Eden, ~~Mor~~ Morland & Newby, which stand upon rockes of that sort, & severall other places. See pag.24, infra.

[II.455]

{Cristall}
Also a sort of X'all, which if might be of ~~some~~ use if there were ~~stone cutters or~~ lapidaryes to dress \ & cut / them: Sc. Artem[is]. Sir Phi[lip][868] had one put in a ring.[869]

[II.456]

{Forrests; Parkes}

~~Valley dayles~~ Chases, forests, woods, groves, parkes, commons, warrens. Heaths: \ none but Cleburne, tho Whinfell & Woodside be very lingey[870] / se the collums.
The inhabitants of Westm'land have bin (and are) great lovers of hunting, & therefore this place hath very much abounded with forests & parkes, tho the greatest part be destroy'd att this day

[863] MS.II.456 also references free stone: 'Free stone: Apleby, Dufton, Bolton More, Howgill and severall other places.'
[864] Written as seen. Perhaps Machell meant to write, '& Dufton read'. Read = red.
[865] Gypsum.
[866] MS.II.472 also references coal: 'Coales att Stanemore Pitts & Regill \ & Slegill / and same to be found on Milburn fell.'
[867] 'Greaves': brushwood, branches, twigs. *OED*.
[868] Musgrave.
[869] The amethyst was named after Amethystos, a female follower of Artemis, who was turned into crystal to save her from attack by tigers loosed by Dionysus. His wine-stained tears of remorse turned the crystal purple. See E.L. Abel, *Intoxication in Mythology: A Worldwide Dictionary of Gods, Rites, Intoxicants and Places* (Jefferson, NC, 2006), 16-17.
[870] 'Ling' is the northern English name for heather, and also for heathland; therefore, 'lingey' is 'heathery'. *OED*. See II.460 below.

[II.457]

by incurtions of the Scotts – & wars, so that most of em now retaine onely the name of parkes or forests.

[IV.28]

{Great plenty of wood in the N[orth]}

I thinke the County of Westmorland and Cumberland has bin all clad with wood from the top of Stanemore to Carlile as it may thus be traced; the Forest of Stanemore, the forest of Ketland or Sandford (Owsley), the forest of Oglewood or Whinfell out of which [blank] were given away every yere to [Blank] which extend near to Brough Castle. Then the forest of [Inglewood] in Cumberland, all over the Penrith fell to beyond Hutton which is Hutton in the Forest, I think that I have heard say that it appeard from old evidence that the country people petitioned King J. that it might be cutt downe in several places to the end that [persons] might goe to markets with more securitye, many wolves being shelterd in those woods. Besides these, the forest of Mallerstang, Morland W[ood], Gilshuelin, Low Paneworth, Hornby, Acorn Banke, Lownt[hwaite], Howgill, Dufton, Marton, Flakebridge, Burthwate, Burton &c.

[IV.29]

But then it was as cheap as plentifull, for all that of Sandford was sold for [Blank] markes and an horse; And I heard my [blank] telling that his great grandfather bought in Lownthwate since Henry the 8th time, 100 large Oackes for 5li that then belonged to the Salkelds; & with this his grandmother B[r]ougham Hadd was, so that her husband made this jeast of her 'that \ she / carryed on her head an 100 Oake trees all att once.'[871]

[III.321]

Carta Antiqua [Forests and Wastes]

{Cart[a] Gilb[er]ti fil[ij] Rog[eri] fil[ij] Reinfr[edi]}

Richardus dei gratia Rex Anglie, Dux Norman[norum]. xc. Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justi[ciarij]s, Senescall[i]s, viris Com[itatus] Forestar[um], et omnib[u]s balijs, et fidelibus: Salutem. voluimus et concedimus, et p[re]senti Carta confirmavimus:

Quod Gilb[e]r[t]us fil[ius] Rogeri, fil[ij] Reinf[redi], et heredes sui post eum h[ab]eant et teneant ita integre libere et quiete totam forestam suam de Westmerland, et de Kendall, et de Furneissus [?], sicut Will[ielmu]s de Lancaster filius Gilb[ert]i ea[m] umqu[am] melius, et integrius, liberius et quietius tenuit, et h[ab]uit et per ea[sdem] divisas et quod h[ab]eant Forestam illam, quam dedi[mu]s eidem Gilb[ert]o et heredibus suis in Kendall cum 6 librat[a] terr[e], ita bene, integre, lib[er]e, et quiete, sicut Nigell de Albin[..] eam umqua[m] melius, integrius, liberius, et quietius h[ab]uit et tenuit : volu[imu]s et co[n]cedimus quod, id quod wast[um] fuit in boscis de Westmerland, et de Kendale, t[em]p[or]e p[re]fati W[illielm]i de Lancaster fili[j] Gilb[ert]i, totum id adhuc wastum sit, excepta purp[re]stura facta p[er] licencia[m], et Consens[um] d[omi]noru[m] feodi de Kendall et de Westmerland : Quare vol[uimu]s, et firmiter p[re]cipimus quod nullus iniustus forisfacere p[re]sumat ipsi Gilb[ert]o vel heredibus suis de suprano[m]i[na]t[i]s sup[er] forifactura[m] mea[m] 10 librarum.

Testibus W[illiel]mo Comit[e] de Arundell, W[illiel]mo Marescall, W[illiel]mo de H[?] Constabulario, Rogero de Pratell Dap[ifer], Stephano de Turnham. Datum p[er] manu[m] Joh[ann]is de Alencu[m] Archiadiacon[i] vicecancellarij Lexon[i]. xvo die Aprilis regni mei Anno primo apud Lvenes.[872]

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[871] This extract can be found in a transcript of ancient Vipont deeds; see MS.IV.29-31.

[872] 'Ancient Charter {Charter of Gilbert son of Roger son of Reinfred.} Richard by the grace of God King of England and Commander of the Normans, etc., sends greetings to the Archbishops, the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Judges, Stewards, men of the Forest Court, and all the bailiffs and loyal men. We have willed and granted and by this present Charter have confirmed: That Gilbert son of Roger son of Reinfred and his heirs after him should have and hold his whole forest of Westmorland and of Kendall and of Furness as completely, freely and peaceably as William of Lancaster son of Gilbert ever held and possessed it, better, more completely and peaceably and along the same boundaries; and that they should have that Forest which I gave to the same Gilbert and his heirs in Kendall along with 6 pounds worth of land, completely, freely and peaceably as well as Nigell of Albin ever had and held it, better, more completely, freely and peaceably. We have willed and granted

[II.458][873]

{Forrests}
Mallerstang Forest. Bar. W.[874]
Iu/EuBank For. On Stainmore. Bar. W.
Kitland Forrest. Belonging to Apleby. Bar. W.
Meldon For. Belonging to Dufton
Ogglebird Forrest: antiq, or Whinfell. Bar. W.
Martindale Forrest. Bar. W. R[eplenished]
Naddel Forrest. Bar. W.
Raflen Forrest. Bar. W.

[Parks]

All these in the Barony of Westm'land.

Whinfield parke, Bott. West.[875]	Replenished
Barton pk., Bott. West.	
Lowther pk, Bott. West.	Replenished
Sattera pk.	
Thornthwaite pk., Bott. W.	
Ravenstondale pk, Bott. W.	Replenished
Wharton pk, Bott. W.	Replenished
Harcley pk, Bott. W.	Replenished
~~Hutton park~~	
Crosby Gill pk. Bott. W.	
Apleby Castle park. Bott. W.	Demolished
Crakenthorp Hall pk. Bott. W.	Demolished.
Buly Castle Pk.	Demolished.
Martin pk. Bott. W.	
Hack Thorp, Bar[ony] W.	

[Barony of Kendal]

Kentmere pk	
Standley pk	? an for Standley
Troutbeck pk	
Conswick pk	?
Witherslack pk.	Replenished
Syzer pk	?
Brigstere pk	
Lakerig pk	An pro Loughrig
Natland pk	
Leavins pk.	? Replenished
Cowhunhead pk	belongs to Bu[r]neshead
Skelsmergh pk	?
Docker pk	
Lamrig pk	?

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that the waste which was in the woods of Westmerland and of Kendall, in the time of the aforesaid William of Lancaster son of Gilbert, all this still be waste, excepting the encroachment made by licence and consent of the lords of the fee of Kendall and of Westmerland: wherefore we have willed and strictly ordered that none unjustly presume to exact forfeiture from Gilbert himself or his heirs concerning the above mentioned, on pain of a penalty to me of 10 pounds. Witnesses: William Earl of Arundel; William the Marshal; William of H[...], Constable; Roger of Pratell, Steward; Stephen of Turnham. Given by the hand of John of Alencum, Archdeacon; vice-chancellor of Lexon[?] XVth day of April, in the first year of my reign, at Levens.'

[873] Also numbered p.11.

[874] Barony of Westmorland.

[875] Bottom of Westmorland (Barony of Westmorland).

Killington Hall pk R??
Midleton Hall pk ?
Holme pk

[Addenda]
Grayrigg Forrest
Forresthall Forrest
Hutton parke
Sattera parke

Putt them both together
Parkes – 31. Forrests –10.

It is well wooded, both in the Barrony & Bottom of Westm'land, both with timber trees & underwood. Theire upper wood is gennerally okes or ashes or birches. For okes: Whinfell, Flake brigg and Lownthwaite are famous; \ but / Crakenthorp is so strong & tenatious, that a[ll] pale in c[ompariso]n.[876] Allso Dufton & Morland Wood, lately cut downe. For ashes, Crakenthorpe parke has been famous, & so for the generall are all the bankes of Eden. For birches, the forrest of Ogglebird, ut puto[877] in Whinfel.[878]

[II.460][879]
In Whinfell Parke att Julian Bower, is a very pleasant and stately grove of trees; so att Howgill Lordship.[880]

Warrens[881]
There are many warrens also, the best whereof are ~~Birbeck of~~ (2) Hornby & (1) Whinfield Woodside belonging to the Cliffords \ ~~de Apleby & Browham Cast[les]~~ / Ea[r]les of Cumberland ~~& High Sherifs of Westm'land~~, now to the Hon. the Countiss of Penbrooke, ~~in whome the family is extinct~~. ~~And att Lowther~~. \ No. /

[Horse and Foot Racing on Heaths, Moors and Commons]

{Act of Parliament} {Hence called Westmoreland: a natural reason}
Now this co/un/tryt ~~being~~ \ of old being the seat of war & / perpetually infested with the Scotts, even till of late yeares, could not husband there ground, & \ so well / improve it, so much as remoter places \ which lye further from Scotland; / so that theire fields were \ therefore fewer, & non so large as those in the south, / but ~~little and there~~ moores ~~great~~ in ~~their~~ commons \ were more large & more frequent / ~~great whence the more southerly people in Bishopric & some parts of Yorke called the place Westmoreland & / as they doe to this day~~, whence the people of Yorkshire & Bishoprick, which lyes east from hence & made better improvement of their part of the country, calld this \ Westmoreland. / And the ~~people of this country &~~ inhabitants ~~of Cumber~~, west country men, as they doe to this day.

{! Cliburn Ling}
Heaths also, there are not a few, commonly called in that country Lings, but the place which beares the name more especially is Cliburne Ling, a fine plane moore where theres a horse course, formerly

[876] Severely truncated words, squeezed onto the end of a line.
[877] 'As I think', see the Latin Glossary.
[878] II.459 contains the note: MS: 'se Surveyors dialog. about mannors': John Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue*.
[879] Also numbered p.13.
[880] Most of this word has perished.
[881] Machell occasionally noted rabbit warrens (see Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, I.161); for rabbit husbandry in Westmorland, see Jeremy R. Robinson and Kevin Grice, 'Cunswick Hall: An archaeological and historical survey of a Lakeland manor', *CW3*, 18 (2018), 149-68, at 153-56, particularly Figure 6, an illustration of a medieval warren from Queen Mary's Psalter, BL, Royal MS, 2B, VII.

so famous that when they would commend a good horse, indeed they usually say, he's as good an horse as ever run over Cleberne Ling.[882]
{Memorandum: the[y] kill fat sheep of Crakenthorp & Kirkby Thore moors}

[II.462][883]

{Asby Maske; Sowerby – Games}
Now these mores or commons for the generallyty are not ruff & stony, but ~~very~~ plane & champion ~~ground~~, in so much that there is scarce one that has not an horse course ~~att some Holy Day or other yearly~~ upon it the people of Sowerby: as Sandford-More, Bram[p]ton-More, Speedy-More formerly ~~but now improvd to a better use~~ Kirkby Thore-Moore\ Sowerby More, / where on St James Daye[884] are Races for great horse & little; men & boyes & women; with pitching, throwing of the ham,[885] shooting with the bow, bowling, leaping, dancing and such like active exercises are constantly perform'd. \ Her[e] the proverb, now you lowse quoth Lance Machell, had its beginning. / [886]

{Foote Race at Shap Thorne}
So Strikland-Head, Shap Thorne, where a famous race was, twixt one \ Clousdall – a famous runner or footman / supposed to be the best, ~~runner in the country~~, & ~~a neighbouring gentleman who in his mirth, offerd to run with~~ \ my own father, LM of C Esq., who, one time, boasting of his agility was undertaken, ~~this country fell~~ by a country gentleman, a relation of mine, ~~who~~, upon some advantage given before, with the biggest & heavyest man in the county \ one Robert Pattison of Woodside: [on] his back, / ~~the proposal being accepted on~~ & he won the race; and afterwards bett him on even termes.

{Foote race at Apulby buts}
The same gentleman \ in a frolike / being at bowles att Apleby with a minister of the towne \ one Mr Rowland, a nauble gentle man / & som other gentlemen, bett him there with an ~~horse~~ \ colt / on his back. And this instance may serve to show they are hefty & active men in these northern parts.[887]

Vales & Dales

There are many dales I have formerly intimated: Bretherdale, Hegdale \ Hicabdale: a gill not inhabited but with eagles, / Hardendale, Langdale, Mardale, Martindale, Mallerstangdale? Odendaile, Patterdale,[888] \ Matterdale, Ravenstonedale, \ Russendale, / Swindale, Smardale, Stainmoredale, ~~in the~~ about the ~~Bottom~~ Barony of Westmorland. All the Barony \ of Kendall / consists of dales, and is generally called, as ~~I said~~ before, by the name of Kendall.
{Dales. Bretherdale; Hicabdale is a gill where non in-habit.}

[II.470]

[Notes on] places where battle have been fought

See my Itinerary &c. (This query must be sent to T. Jackson & have recourse to Camden & Speed) \ Brough. / Bring in there that of Orton; that of Martin Parke as supposed, Jock Green & Battleburrow. Clifton rutra et Low\ther/ Brig, Sandford More, a[nd] probably Bowton Owse-fould, description of this! The neighbouring people report an Horation battle twix 3 M.[889] & 3 other bro[thers] (th[is] had almost hapned at Brampton tue them & thre Craken.[890] But the Crak. declined it.

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[882] MS: '… they usually say ~~doe it proverbially thus~~, \ say / he's \ as good an / ~~the best~~ horse \ as / ~~that~~ ever run over Cleberne Ling.'
[883] Also numbered p.15.
[884] 25 July.
[885] Hammer?
[886] For this proverb's meaning, see II.353, below.
[887] Machell scored through most of this paragraph's final sentence. The minister, 'Mr Rowland', does not appear in Carlisle Diocese in CCED.
[888] 2cm of illegible text is scored through here.
[889] 'Machells'.
[890] 'Crackenthorpes'.

[II.472][891]

Lodges. Arable Ground

{(a.)} I am so much a stranger to the forests in Westm'land that I know but one Lodge, i.e. in Whinfell parke calld Julian Bower.[892]

[The Sea]

The Sea doth not touch on any part Westm'land save on the South West where a little creeke comes upp at Milthorpe; & at Meathope over aganst the said place, they make salt. {Query: Haver in W. Salt made at Meathop.}

[Wells]

{Clifton Wells}
~~We~~ They have severall springs but few here will make use of 'em by way of medicine. Clifton Wells were once much celebrated, but are now layd aside; for the people commonly when they are not well will rather chuse to drink ~~fast than~~ \ a good posset than a cup of / cold water. There was a report \ said to be removed / that these wells were first discovered in a misers ground, who grudched[893] that the country should have access to them without paying him money \ for treading his ground; / after which they dryed up there & broke out ~~agane att another place~~. \ of a rock in another place where they now are. /
{New Well, Lady Well and Keld-Skell […][894] Chapel-Well}
~~The well at~~ Shap Well is a great rarity. The Lady Well at Apalby near which [was] a medicine well di[scovered] 1693 cures stigh wormes.[895]
Caud Kell att Apleby & the Chaple Well att Crakenthorpe, which sprinkes out on the top of an hill, ~~have bin much frequented of old~~ \ have known – [been] resorted to, with an opinion of once medicinal qualities. / But the wells of Clifton were in great repute non about 20 years since, concerneing them it was then reported.

[Notes on soil, crops and husbandry]

{Soyle in the Bottom of W.}
All the Bottom of Westm'land is ground fitt for all sort of husbandry, having plenty of pasture: arable & meadow ground. And the fells afford very good pasturage for them in sommer, of which this county breads ~~great~~ store \ of all sortes / both large & little.

[II.473][896]

All the Bottome of W. hath great store of arable and meadow ground & groweth great store of corn of all sorts. (And great improvements have bin made by industriouse husbandry but especially with lime, wherewith they usually manure their grounds.) T.J.

{Fells & Commons}
Upon the mountains & commons are kept great store of sheep; and likewise, great plenty of cattle in the country. {But the little sheep are here the greatest & most dilicate mutton.}

{Soyle of the Barony [of Kendal]}
And in the Barony, about Langdale, Loug[h]rigg, Ambleside, Troutbeck, Ridall & there about it is mountaineouse, in which places they keep very many sheepe. {P.10 Notes} About Kendall they have good store of arable ground, & in Loansdall Ward there is more, for the most part there is pasture &

[891] Also numbered p.25, a continuation of II.470.
[892] II.471 originally contained: MS: '(a.) Besides Julian Boors, there is Lammersed Hall lodge near my Lord Wharton's Parke (vid. if it have such a parke) and Wharton Hall'.
[893] 'grudged'.
[894] Four words are illegible here.
[895] Sty worm: an eye infection caused by an eye parasite. *OED*.
[896] MS.II.473-480, contains descriptions of the Roman road from Stanemore to Brougham, alluding to Roman finds, Whelp Castle, the Hartshorn tree and the leap by Michael Scott: all given fuller treatment elsewhere.

arable, and there they bread very good cattle. In this country they breed excellent horses, both for sadle & race.

[Notes on]Roman Wayes and Antiquities

{The Roman Way}
There is one which strike through the \ Bottom / of Westmerland. ~~I mean~~ the Bottom from Roy † eastwards to Browham Castle westwards. {P.5 Appendix. Maden Castle}
It is reported to goe twix Carlile & Yorke. It passes through the ruines of a \ [square][897] fort or / building (~~or fortification~~) called Maiden Castle, which is on the ~~top~~ \ edge / of ~~that huge mountaine~~ \ of Stanemore Fell and about / 2 miles distant from ~~Roy~~ Rere Cross ~~And~~ \ most of which lyes / on the North E. side of the cross, is a large Romane worke or fortification which is about 500 yards square with 3 or 4 enterances on each side. \ There are many old Romane workes.[898] /

{Brough Castle fall: a Tradition.}
This Romane Way carryes you through Burgh (or \ olim / Verteræ, a Romane station) where there is an old castle, som part thereof, the inhabitants ~~will~~ tell you, fell on that Friday which Our Saviour was crucifyed; and \ there is / ancient tower called Cæsars not long since repaird […][899] but lately demolished. […][900] Soe it goes along down the Bottom of Westm'land by Sandford More, where tis [II.474][901]
very fair & conspic[uous].[902] & here is a Thorne & a Mire or Bo[g] on the east side \ of which moss. / So it leads by Apleby or Aballaby, a Roman station ~~allso~~ of the Aurelian Moaures, & so along on the same side Crakenthorpe (in which Lordship on Speedy More near Kirkbythore lane) till you com \ ponte sublicio[903] / at Kirkbythore, a plaice of great antiquity. And if it be indeed Gallatus, the principle station of the Brigantes, there has bin a very large castle*. Twas calld Whelp Castle, the seat of, they \ say, / Catuli, who gave \ William Ma. Cat. Sic dictum of Malo;[904] / gave Crak[enthorpe] to his brother Alexander \ hostibus illatum[905] / as appear's from that deed; & it continues in the family to this day, there names being changed into Machell. Here have been digg'd up severall coynes, whereof I have som†.

(On Speedy More is a place called Maden-hold; an other little [blank] called Whores Bound.) 216. Here was [a] Chayce.

[Maiden Bower, Dunstable]
Juxta Du[n]stable in Agro Bedfordiensi. Sic Camden.
In campis ad Austre[m] munitionem quandam castrorum quasi tumultuaria[m] Rotunda forma sed perexigua[m], Maiden Bowre vocita[n]t, ad ipsum chilternicoru[m] colliu[m] descensum vidim[u]s / Aniles de virgine bellatrice ejus incolae fabellas quas deca[n]tant vicinis ipsis relinquo / Romanis omn[ibus] Temporibus floruisse via consularis Romanoru[m], quae suo aggere hic conspicua, docet.[906]

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[897] Machell has drawn a square shape here.
[898] MS. margin heading: '{Campe at Rere Cross: its dimention}'.
[899] There is an illegible word here.
[900] Initials placed here are partly obscured by the binding.
[901] Also numbered p.27.
[902] Insecure transcription of a blotted word.
[903] The bridge's name comes from the Volscian word 'sublica', meaning 'wood planks'. Ponte sublicio is also an ancient bridge in Rome.
[904] 'Thus, it is said of Malus.'
[905] 'Inflicted on the enemy.'
[906] 'Near Dunstable in the Bedfordshire countryside. Thus Camden: In the country to the south, we have seen a certain camp fortification, seemingly hastily constructed, in the form of a rotunda but very small - they name it Maiden Bowre - at the very descent of the Chiltern hills. I leave to the locals themselves the old wives' tales of its inhabitant which they repeat, concerning a warrior maiden. The consular road, which is evident here from its embankment, shows that it was in existence throughout the Roman period.' Camden's Latin translates

[Machell's Notes: II.474]
*Se my little b[ook] on Alters dig'd up; se my misselanyes.
†Se my cabinet.

[II.476]

{Madon Hold; Madon Way}*
Here also is a Way, which goes from Burwinhall, where Whelp Castle formerly stood, called the Maiden Way {vid p. præprim}.[907] And on Speedy More ~~near Kirkbythore~~ which is about ¼ of a mile hence \ in Crakenthorp / is a ~~round~~ \ square / fortification, with egress & regress, called Maiden Hold. This Maden Way goes from the said Whelp Castle or Burwin Hall directly northwards through \ Milburn Field How gill / ~~Sir Richard Sandford Lordship near Stourgill Castle formerly; now~~ the seat ~~of the Sandfords~~ and takes the \ Cross / Fell through the grounds att Kirkland, streight over the moss and more into Northumberland \ so to Cærvorran by the Picts Wall. /

{Roman Way}
\ But much less than this. / It is called by some the Maiden-Way-over-the-fell, & by som the Roman Way; but ~~not~~ to returne againe and not follow this trail too much out of my way.

{Roman Fell} Sed script[um][908] Rutman Fell
{c} They say thers an aultar {I can finde none} upon this Crosfell \ where is an other camp that has had a towne in it, / but I never had an opportunity to goe & see it.[909]

{Woodside Leap 8 yards}
{d} The other {Roman Way} or casway carryes you a long from Kirkbythore through Temple Sowerby and so by Winfell Parke, where on your right ha[n]d, att a place cald Woodside, there is a leap of one Michaell Scott \ no / which is 9 \ 8 / yards.
(d) The leap is 24 foote, T.J.; which is 8 yards, T.M.[910]

[Machell's Notes: II.476]
*{Som will have this paird with Flint: see Mr Speed: *Pocketbook of the Maps of England*.}[911]

[II.475]

[Cross Fell]
(c) It is thought there hath bin an aultar on Crossfell, but there not any stones which have characters upon them, T.J.[912]*
Cross Fell a †!!! I rather suppose that it is a cross and that the fell had thence its name, T.M.
Its plane for a great space, and furrow'd now, as tho it had bin plow'd in former dayes; yet it is one of the highest hills & consequently of the coldest places they have in this county. But even in barren

differently: 'That this Dunstable was the verie same Station which the Emperour Antonine in his Itinerarie calleth Magioninium, Magiovinium, and Magintum, no man needs to make doubt or to seeke it else where. For besides that it is situat upon the Romanes high way, there are peeces of the Roman Emperors monies found otherwhiles in the fields adjoining round about by the swine-heards, which as yet they terme Madning money, and within a little of the verie descent of the Chiltern hils there is a militarie modell raised up round with a rampier and ditch, such as Strabo writeth the Britans townes were, conteining nine acres of ground, which the people use to call Madning-boure and Madin-boure, in which verie name with a little change Magintum most plainly sheweth it selfe.' See Camden, *Britannia* (1607, Dana Sutton online edn), Bedfordshire, 6.
[907] 'See the page before the first.'
[908] 'But written as'.
[909] The reference, 'c', is to II.475 (c), below; see comments made by Thomas Jackson (T.J.) and Machell (T.M.).
[910] This sentence was placed originally on MS.II.475.
[911] In 1619 George Humble published a small (10cm x 17cm) cartographic pocket book of Speed's maps entitled*, England Wales and Ireland: their severall counties. Abridged from a farr larger volume: by John Speed and are to be sold by George Humble in pops head alley*. This became known as the 'Miniature Speed': see Katarzyna Lecky, *Pocket Maps and Public Poetry in the English Renaissance* (Oxford, 2019), 66.
[912] Note from Thomas Jackson, Machell's informant.

places, by the industry of husbandmen, great plenty is procured, which brings to my minde that of the psalmes (Psalme 70.16.) An handful of corne shal be sowne upon the top of the mountaine & the fruite thereof shall shake like the trees of Lebanon.[913]

Machell's Notes: II.475]

*No none. T.M.; nor alters neither.

[II.474]

[Notes on] Monuments of Antiquity

Kirkbythore & its Antiquities

Will. Ma[l]icatulus sic dictus forse quia malu[m] hostibus Intulu[i]t. gave Crak[enthorpe] to his bro Alexa[n]d[e]r (in aplogie for) […][914] Se Append. p.5. Se the other montill descriptio[n] ibid si qua[n]ta Romanorum numismatum copia quot imagines ex auro et Argento conflatae, quot vasa, quot colonae marmoriae, quot epullilia, quot antiqui operis miracula hic eruta fuerunt ex val[or]is relatione percensere velim vereor sane ne omnem fidem superaret […][915] […] 1221 hereabouts, the greatest of which is this and that other in Speedy More in the Lordship of Crackenthorpe, which [is] the seat of that ancient ~~and loyall~~ family of the Machells.

[II.477]

[Brougham and its Antiquities]

{The [Countess] Pillar}

Every year 5^{li} on the 2^{d} of Aprill att 9 a clock, about which hore the Countiss parted with her mother there, and never see her after. Draw the piller & write inscriptions if there be any.

[II.478]

The [Roman] way carryes to Browham Castle demane, which was lately walled about by the Countiss. At the riseing of the hill where this wall meets you, is a pillar sett up which serves passengers by the dyalls there upon to know the time of the day; but it is a memoriall of last parting of the Countiss of Penbrooke and her dear mother Margaret ~~Clifford~~ \ Russell, / Countesse to George Clifford, Earl of Cumb'land. And a table of stone where money is yearly payd to the pooer: query, queiu[n]t?[916] {and 5^{li} payd yearly, but I want the Inscription.}[917]

{Browham Castle Demesne: when walled about [?]}[918]

A little beyond this you have a monument {2 figures in stone} let in the wall which I have sent you, and shall lieve you to the interpr[etation], and an other in the lane which goes to the castle, se lib. Par. V.

{The 2 Towers}

Here are 2 Towers ~~Cæsar &~~ \ the Tower of League & ~~Cæsaris~~ / Paga. The rain has worn it in very deep by its drops. The most beside these was built by Roger Clifford. Tis a princely & noble house.

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[913] This is from Psalm 72:16, *AVB*, 'There shall be an handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains; The fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon: And they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth.'

[914] The following few words are obscured by the binding.

[915] 'If I wished to enumerate how great an abundance of Roman coins how many statues cast from gold and silver, jars, marble columns, little epics, how many marvels of ancient workmanship have been dug out here with an account of their value, I fear, indeed, that the telling would pass all belief […]'. Blots on this paragraph make it almost illegible.

[916] Machell seems to have written 'quieunt' ('are they able'), but the meaning is unclear; if he had meant 'how much' he would have written, 'quantum'.

[917] See II.477 for more on the Countess Pillar.

[918] These pages are in Machell's hand with some information supplied by his informant, Thomas Jackson, whose words Machell might have copied, but, although not specified as such (but the style of this particular passage suggests it) it is probably a draft passage from a series of reports sent by Machell to Dr John Mill of Oxford University: see Part 3, Ch.3. Roman Antiquities.

[II.477]

{This Roger.}
The inscription over the door when you are in the Court concerneing Rodger is onely this ~~RODGER CLIFFORD DID THIS~~ \ 'This made Roger', in old Text, / for he added much to the castle, that part, I suppose, betwixt the enterance and Pagan Tower. Here the Roman Way crosses the water towards Carlile. Over the enterance of the Pagan Tower att the top of the castle are places for powering downe stones, such as we may suppose were in the tower of Tebez,[919] through which a certane woman cast a piece of a milstone and ~~slew Abim~~ & broke Abimelecks[920] braine peind,[921] so that in great gallantry, least he should be slaine by a woman, he caused his paige to run him through: Judges 9. 53 & 54.[922] Pagan forsan from a man call'd Paganus, a name not unusuall in the Conquer'rs time (se Index of *Warwickshire*),[923] since whose arrivall most of our castles are thought to have bin built. But see elsewhere I have an account that this castle was probably built since the Conquest, [Blank] de Browham having granted ½ of his demesne.[924]

[II.477]

[Knock Antiquities]
Patri \ suo / honoratissimo Lancelot Machel de Crakenthorp Armigero, tertio pretori opidi hujus Antiquissimi T.M. tertio pretori T.M. filius p[atri] D.D.[925]
I enq[uired] of T.J. whether there was not a gill about Knock where the[re] were some ruines of an old Hall, in order to the discovery of Jone Armestrong who is said to have lived in Knockgill Hall. And he returned me this answer, that there is a plattforme of an old Hallstead att Knock, & 4 tenements called Demaine Tenement and a gill \ ~~not far of~~ / at the towne end. But this does not well square with Jonyes condition; for hee had there neither lands nor leveings of his owne, yet 8 score men dyned in his Hall.[926]

[III.246A][927]

Knock
There is a place in Ireland \ of this name / where a plae is kept the 1^{t} day of June, Com. Longford; and the English n[ame] of it explaines the word, for it is Knock aliis Mons-town \ mestown / i.e. the hill or mountains.[928]

[II.479][929]

{Round Table}
And over the Bridge Att ~~Yeanworth~~ Towne End is a very large Bulworke which they call the Round Table, & not far from that on the right hand as you goe to Yeanworth is an other, where trees are growne up from amongst the stones, & this the Inhabitants call Mabrough Castle \ vid Camden. Opus Vandalorum absim[ile]…[930] 275. /

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[919] Thebez.
[920] Abimelech.
[921] Peind: peak or apex; an arched or vaulted roof or canopy; a covered passage or entry. *OED*. Thus, 'the top of his head'.
[922] Judges 9.53-54, *AVB*, 'And a certain woman cast a piece of a millstone upon Abimelech's head, and all to brake his skull. Then he called hastily unto the young man his armourbearer, and said unto him, draw thy sword, and slay me, that men say not of me, a woman slew him. And his young man thrust him through, and he died.'
[923] 'Pain (alias Pagan)', See Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, Index of Men's Names, P.
[924] The fraction is blotted; it could be a third rather than a half.
[925] 'To his most honoured father, Lancelot Machel of Crakenthorp Esquire, third mayor of this most ancient town, his son T.M gives this gift.'
[926] MS: 'Yet 8 score men dyned in his Hall. This lordship belon'd of old …'
[927] A torn scrap of paper (6cm x 11cm) pasted onto the page at a later date. This edition places it here because of the association with Knock on II.477. MS.III.246B also contains text with marginalia, but the scrap is too small to read accurately
[928] Knock is an Irish word meaning 'hill': P.W. Joyce, *Local Irish Names Explained* (Dublin, 1870), 59.
[929] A stray line on II.479 is as follows, 'Here you may take in there such like allso but more fare; at Dufton and the like was in Orton parish.'
[930] 'Work quite different from that of the Vandals'. See Camden: 'the ruines of a Romane fort thereby called Maburg.' Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 776.

The Round Table by some Arthur's castle (sayes Leiland),[931] In vertice montis acclivis et assensu difficilis, vocati Camalot, in Comitatu Somerset, iuxta Evel opidum visuntur intermotui castri expressa vestigia, et egestae Terrae vallum triplex, quod suo ambitu xx jugera includit. Inde Arthuri palatiu[m] dicu[n]t Romanoru[m] autem opus fuisse numismata rom[anorum] docent .99. Mabrough. huic forsan non absimile est sepime[n]tu[m] Illud militare juxta Heilston in Cornwall. Cuius meminit Cambdenus: Illud emin[entia], e congestis sine cemento saxis magno ambitu constructa Garth [forsan yard vel gard] patria lingua vocat[a] Cuiusmodi et alia hinc ... currunt Danico Bello et credimus posita. Nec dissimile e munitionibus illis Brit[anorum], quas rudes et informes saxoru[m] compages vocat Tacitus. Vid. Camd. de Cornwall, p.73.[932] Se whether he build Verulamium in Hartfordshire.[933] Camd. p.222.[934]
{Som say that Winsor Castle was the most peculiar place where a Round Table was erected for the meetings of King Arthur's knights. Winchester, sometimes Carleon, and sometimes in the north. p. 96 […][935] out of Geoffrey of Monmoth.}

{Maybrough or Arthurs Castle} {a Druid Temple}[936]
I should think it an abbreviation of Maden brough the name (mabe) formerly of this vilage, and may have som relation to those other places mentiond before; to witt Maden-way – Maden-Castle & Maiden hold: But what this Maiden was God knows – Hence it carryes ore[937] Emot Br[i]d[ge] into Cumberland – & so to Carlile.

{No disgrace}[938]
Edenbrough Castle is allso calld Maden castle – in Latin "puellaru[m] castru[m]". Enquire [...] when & by whome that was built & why so calld. Their dominions some[time] extended thus far. No disgrace, fore whatever they be now they were then gens bellicosissima et eodem de sanguine. Se. p.35. Gentis fortissimae. Gens praeclarissima 42. sed cave ne sint alterius generis. Hiber pict vel Saxon.[939]

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[931] Quoted by Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1587, Latin edn), 94.
[932] 'On the summit of a hill, steep and difficult of ascent, called Camalot, in the county of Somerset, near the town of Evel, are seen the marked traces of a marching camp, and a triple rampart of banked earth which encloses xx jugera in its circuit. Hence Arthur's palace, they say. But Roman coins tell it was a work of the Romans. Perhaps not dissimilar to this is that military enclosure near Heilston in Cornwall, which Cambdenus recalls. That eminence, constructed in a great circuit out of rocks piled up without mortar, is called Garth [perhaps yard or gard] in the native tongue. Other ... of this kind run from here, put up, as we believe, in the Danish War. This is not dissimilar to those fortifications of the Britons which Tacitus calls crude and shapeless structures of rocks. See Camd. on Cornwall, p.73.' Here Machell uses a Latin quotation from Camden concerning 'giants' work' nearby, i.e. stones of great antiquity. Other Latin extracts are from Leland and Camden, citing monuments comparable to the Round Table in Camelot (near Yeovil in Somerset), Cornwall and Verulamium in Hertfordshire See Camden, *Britannia* (1587), 91, 94. See also Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), Cornwall, 186.
[933] The text is difficult to decipher here; what can be made out is, MS: '(ut p [....] et the bo [...] of Brough [...] another name).'
[934] For 'Verulamium in Hartfordshire', see Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 408E: 'From Hertford twelve miles westward, stood Verolamium, a City in times past very much renowned, and as greatly frequented: Tacitus calleth it Verulamium; Ptolomee, Urolanium and Verolamium, well knowne this is in these dayes, neere unto St Albans in Caistho Hundred, which the Cassii of whom Cæsar maketh mention, in all probability, held and inhabited'.
[935] There is an illegible word here, before the page-number.
[936] This margin comment is not in Machell's hand.
[937] 'Over'.
[938] The rest of this margin comment is obscured by the binding.
[939] 'No disgrace fore whatever they be now they were then a most warlike race and from the same blood. Se. p.35: Of a most valiant race. A most illustrious nation: 42. But be careful lest they be of another race. Irish Pictish or Saxon.'

{Pendragon [Castle] the Inscription}
But by following the road I have missed of som things worthy observation to which I returne. Pendragon Castle tho it stand in obscure betwixt 2 great mountaines must not be omitted. It is supposed to have bin built in or before the time of Uter Pendragon. And is for those timed a very elegant and well-

[II.481]

-contrived piece, being tower in castle and having a gallery ~~quite~~ \ all along / about the top of the castle. The window[s] are so contrived on the highest romes, ~~as that you may escape~~ \ as to prevent / the danger of arrows; and the walls are att least 4 thicke, whose forme & plat is here represented*

[Machell's Notes: II.481]

{Tumuli or Berryes what they are & import see Dugd[ale] *Warwick*, at hic infra.}
Apleby is reported to have bin 3^{cc} burnd downe. By the certaine, twas destroyd By [blank] king of Scotts, and here was a great plague: anno [blank] as appears from a stone in the school garden house, inscribed thus: Aballaba &c.
Apud Barklow in com[itatu] Essex. Non procul a Stourifonte, sunt 3 tumuli aggesti: cuiusmodi defunctis militibus, quorum reliquiae non faciles erant repertu, extruxit antiquitas: verum cum quartus ex his jam pridem defoderetur, tria ut accepimus e saxo sepulchara, et in illis confracta hominum ossa sunt inventa. 248.[940]
The forme & plat of P.D. Castle
*~~You must~~ see my oblong pocket booke. The forme & plat of P.D. Castle in Morton Parke also \ Whiteacre in K. lordship / &c. libello meo.[941]
In Morton Parke also, which is placed in K. Lordship &c. libello meo Lowther Brigg & so near Orton. Which brings mee on my way to the Barrony where there are not so many Ancients mon[uments]

[II.483] [942]

[Kendal Antiquities]
Kendall does not much boast of antiquities. Yett there are som. Yett here has bin a noble castle, the seat of &c. And hereabouts, to witt at \ Watercrooke / many Roman coyness have bine digged & some presented mee by Mr Harry Guy of Water Creake, ~~former master of Arts~~ in Queen's College.[943] Se Camden & Speed.[944]

[Storms and Accidents]

[Violent Wind] {Whinfell Trees: the 7 Bretheren}
{16} In Aprill 1624: but I cannot learne upon which day of the moneth, happened a great and violent winde, which blew downe an infinite number of trees in severall places here aboutes, and in Whinfell, tis more remarkable that all the rest which grew one by another, and were called the 7 brethren, the least of which was twixt 7 & 8 fathom in compasse; & an other hollowe tree, which grew hard by, was left standing, in which a woman with child lodged. {That then I had heard of more [than] once.}[945]

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[940] 'At Barklow in the county of Essex. Not far from Stourfont there are 3 elevated mounds: of the kind which antiquity built for dead soldiers, whose remains were not easy to find: but just when the fourth of these was being dug out, we came on three graves in the rock, and in those were found the fragmented bones of men.'
[941] 'My little booklet': probably one of Machell's pocketbooks.
[942] Also numbered p.35. The page contains an unrelated note. MS: 'This calld Conjers Blast, a Scotch horse running of Lancelot Machell.' '{Whinfell Trees: the 7 Bretheren}'
[943] William Guy of Watercrook, thrice mayor of Kendal, died in 1683 aged 84: Edward Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes: Heraldry, Epitaphs, and other Inscriptions, in the Thirty-two Ancient Parish Churches and Churchyards of that County*, Vol. II (Kendal, 1889), 27; see also *N&BI*, 78-9. William's son, Henry Guy, matriculated at Queen's College in 1664 aged 17; BA 1667; MA 1670; incorporated at Cambridge, 1671: *OAD*.
[944] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 760; this sentence is a continuation of a short paragraph on II.481, above.
[945] MS: '{That ~~had heard~~ then I had heard of more once}'; this sentence is partly obscured by the binding. MS I.341 contains another allusion to the Brethren: 'Memorandum – the Brethrener – ~~Rabt~~'.

{Dufton accident 1.}
August 17, 1665, on a very clear sunshine day, that m[orning] about 11 a clock in the fore noone, there happened a terrible thunder-clapp and a great showre of raine; so that it made all aboute Dufton, Martin, Brampton & Apleby overflow with water, especially att Dufton, in a little brooke att the towne head, which is so smale of itselfe that for the most part a man may stop it with his foote. Yett it happened by this shower that 2 people, a man and a woman, (viz. Rowland Clarke and Annas Clarke his mother) with an horse and cart (into which they loading som flax which had layd to steep there, were all driven downe the water, & drowned, being not able (so sudden was the surprise) to help themselves. The horse was carried downe halfe a mile, the woman a whole mile, & the young man near 2 miles, on such a ruff, chinky and chraggy channell with wood and rocks, that a man would thinke it neere utterly impossible for anything to be carryd that way.[946]

{Brampton}
Like wise att Brampton Field Yeat there was a great stone sunke att the same time upon dry ground, and never seen after. The stone was so large that 24 yoake of oxen could not have drawne it, and 16 men were imploy the next day in filling up the hole \ which it made / vid etiam fig. (12) supræ, de Clifton wells.[947] It tore up the earth allso after a wonderfull manner in ~~Esqs M.~~ \ my father's / pastur called the high grounds \ at Crakenthorp / & yet his servants at the same time made hay in Elikar, which is a mead not halfe a mile distant from Brampton Field Gate, and had not one drop.

[Snow Storm, 1673]
A strange Storme happened in this county in 1673, whereof I had this account from my kinde friend Thomas Jackson of Dufton, senior.[948]
Sir
I should in some measure have answered your desire before this time, but that I have wanted my health often this winter and allso by reason of the great \ snow / winde & drift we had for 9 or 10 weekes together, the like whereof \ here / hath not bin knowne nor heard by any man living; both which together would not give me leave to stir abroad. There hath bin divers people in severall parts of this country lost with the drift. A very great death of sheep all overe these countryes; corne risen to a great rate; wheat 16s per bush[el] (note their bush[el]). Big, 7s; & oats, 4[s]. And 'tis thought will be dearer. The storme began the 14 of Jan. & held unto the 21 or 22 of this instant March. All the dailes people were driven into the country with their goods […][949]

{Memorandum: to tell what hapned hereabouts; man stealing at Winchester? Boy dying in Oxon streets, severall in hedges. Corn & meat & butter [blank] This storm was the only thing that ever prevented the Countiss in her determination, and so may be concluded a great one, yet she went to Pendraggon from Apleby on the 20. [Noted on] March 25 1674.}[950]

[II.484][951]
Accidents, calamities or casualtyes: \ Mr Branthwaites death in ~~1 by 6 at~~ Pendragon Castle by he leaping of the battlements there in a mel[ancholy] moode /.

[Dufton Accident 2.]
There hapned a shower of raine in the Year of Our Lord ~~1665~~ \ see on the opposite page / which made such a sudden flood that it drownd a man & his wife at Dufton, before they could move out of that little brooke which runs by the towne. {!!!} It tore up the ground on severall places by the fierceness

[946] Extreme weather is no stranger to Westmorland, see Jane Gregg, *Ploughing in Latin: a History of Bampton* (Bampton, 2nd edn, 2012), 126.
[947] 'See also the above Figure (12) of Clifton wells.'
[948] One Thomas Jackson was schoolmaster at Newbiggin from 1680 (CCED); this might have been Thomas Jackson junior, although the name was common, locally.
[949] Four words have perished here at the page foot; the last legible word is possibly 'goods'.
[950] Lady Anne Clifford died in 1676; she would have been aged c.84 when 'prevented'.
[951] Also numbered p.35.

of the torrents, and particularly att Brampton Field Yeat as you goe from \ thence ine to / Kirkbythure ~~to~~ \ not far from / the church. It sanke a stone so deep \ how big / in the ground that [blank] men were kept working a whole day to fill it up with earth. And within ¼ of a mile in Elekar they were making hay at the very same instant & had no raine. These the[y] call commonly, planet showers. But this was the greatest that ever was heart of in that country – Yes, one with thunder when Ketlewell suffered an inundation.[952]

[Dialect]

{17.} They speak in this ~~county~~ \ Bottom of Westm'land without any tone / the Anglo Saxon in great purity, and tho they can doe otherwise, yet they thinke it pride and therefore will not be induced to correct it. And it is remakeble that aboute Apleby they are neither speake according to the Lancashire, Yorkeshire or Scottish tone \ dialect / which some of which their neiburs are infected, who live in the compass of 6 miles round. This give their voice their full & proper sound.

[II.485]

Peculiar Customs

{18.} {Oxgangs & plowing}
They plow here always with oxon \ till about 1693*? / haveing but 2 leading horses att the most, which is the old way; whence we have the word Oxgan for a plowland, which according to comp[utation] is {?}† (4 of which) make a Knights fee. They knew noe teams of horses, useing them only for single burthens, single carts or the sadle, which is the reason the gentry here doe not soe often ride in their coaches, as in the south. Yet they will carry greater burthen by their single ~~burthens~~ \ cartes / than they doe in the south with their waggins \ & teams, / considering how many horses they use.

{Customs of West[morland}
They have some customs which I dow not finde practised in the south: to witt, on X^{t}mas Day to shout Yeule, Yeule, Yeule when they come out of the church and such like. The tenants at Crakenthorpe Hall, whome the Lord feasts allwayes on St Stephen's Day, they cry Ule after dinner is done, and if any man or woman stay in the house, they are to undergo a penalty, the woman swil'd, i.e. carried out in a bucket \ or swill, / & the men stang'd, i.e. caryed out upon a stang or colt staff. This may also be a custome att other great houses where I am not so well acquainted, but for stanging tis the custom for all the country at X^{t}mas time if one neighbour can catch an other in bed att any time of day or night […][953] On the 12 Eve they have bonefires, which they call hollyes in.

[Machell's Notes: II.485]
*See my horseb[ook]. I had this in K. parish, cost 30^{s} of 7.
†? Ord[er] surv[ey].

[II.486][954]

[Speech and Disposition of the People]

{Memorandum: this was transcribed into the Description General}[955]
They sooner speake in the southern dialect and therefore doe sooner accord with the P. than any other pla[ce]. They have this advantage over southern people, & that [they] can both speake to and understand them, whereas you southern[ers] in many words ~~are put to~~ \ cannot. / ~~stand~~. They haply attaine to the knowledge [of] the Saxon tongue, and have more prope[n]sity to pronounce French righ[t] than other English men.
{Latin in no place worse spoke than in Latin \ at Roome / nor English in no place worse spoke than at ~~England~~ London, the chief place of England, for as England had its name from the Saxons[956] so

[952] A second version of the storm on the previous page.
[953] This is followed by an illegible sentence relating to the 'stang'.
[954] Also numbered p.37.
[955] The hand here is probably not Machell's.
[956] Some text has perished here.

English too. But the conflux of forainers and the French humour of the court has debauched the language in so much that, setting aside the tone of the English tongue, tis better spoke at Edenbrough in Scotland. But I thinke in most purity in the Barony of Westm'land.}[957]

The generality of them are not affected with novelty, either in speech or clothes; & therefore new words & new fashions are \ equally / here exploded, being no way tollerable excepting in gentlemen.

{At p.18}[958]
They are of a kinde & courteous disposition so long as they are not affronted or abused; and wonderfully hospitable to stranges or others; fathfull to their friends, but ~~very bitter cruel & bitter to ther enemyes~~ \ much addicted to revenge on their enemyes. / They love any man that dare fight, so that a stout rober \ when he is in prison / shall be company for a gentleman, and if he have vallor, that's enough to wipe of the other disgrace. \ indignityes abstulit vertus[959] / A scholler, or soljer, is the only man they ~~pay~~ \ have / true respect for \ to / and a thief or a coward, the only men they hate & abhor. {I.e. pilfering theefe, for those only they call them.}
Gens pervalida pro loco et tempore nunc ad aratra, nunc ad arma promptissima. / [I.e.] They are people ~~strong~~ \ stout / active & hardy, fitt for labour and ~~hardy very~~ \ no less / industriouse, yet very ~~affected~~ \ much addict / {to such} \ with those / masculine recreations as \ of / hunting & horse courseing, for which kinde of sports they will oft leave their ~~worke~~ more serious \ necessary / imployments.
They are great lover of musique, especally the pipes. They ~~Scots~~ cannot yet have affection for a Scot.[960]

Their Gentry are men of \ very / great gallantry, & loyall to Envy.[961] Witness their behaviour in the late wars, & their un-daunted suffering in Tyranny of Ollover. I thinke this county may say it with glory, that there was not one gentleman a tratour in it. & for matter of education the \ very / commonnally ~~of Westm'land~~ bring up there children in a great deale of subjection & obedience to their superiors, putting them to schoole in their minority, where \ they learn to read and /many of them to understand Latin before they lieve ~~schoole~~ off, they being very much helped by the number of freschole which are in the county: viz.

[II.10][962]
{Note. Free Schools in the Bottom of Westmorland. 8. Apleby. Brough. Bampton? Kirkby Stephen. Barton. Lother. Crosby Rave. Stanemore. Tybah. Vid plur. in Wases collecti[on].}[963]

[957] A margin comment, partly obscured, provides, MS: '{Saxons Scotts, Irish, H.L.S. Scots Coward.}' Part of this paragraph is repeated in Part 1, Ch.1, Appleby, II.510.
[958] Machell's numbering. Another draft relating to manners and customs is found on MS.I.75-86.
[959] 'Bravery removes (the barrier of) inferior station.'
[960] A partly obscured phrase here might read, 'most merth in meting', but this is uncertain.
[961] Envy: to seek to rival. *OED*.
[962] II.10 is part of a tabulated page in another hand but annotated by Machell. Measuring 35cm x 30cm, it consists of a large folded sheet, inserted vertically and read crossways. Its contents are numbered II.9 and II.10A-10D.
[963] See P.J. Wallis, '…Christopher Wases's Survey', 168-85. The first educational questionnaire was circulated by Christopher Wase. His dislike of post-Restoration attacks on grammar schools led him to ascertain real facts by collecting replies to such queries as: 1. Who Founder? 2. When Founded? 3. How Endowed? 4. What School-Master and succession of Masters? etc. Wase's complete *Considerations Concerning Free Schools as Settled in England* was published in Oxford in 1678. See also R. Hodges, 'Wase, Christopher (1627-1690), schoolmaster and classical scholar.' *ODNB*.

[II.486]

{Westm'land ancient families}[964]

Vid. Map of the Bottom.

{Ad Tit. 3} It is peculiar to this county to have the sherif's office in one family, which was formerly so all England, but now remanes onely here in the noble family of the Cliffords, Westm'land, of whome the former Countiss of Penbrooke is the last. Apleby is the county town & has priviledges. In omnibus sicut Ebor & ergo the major takes place of the judges & sit betwixt them.[965]

[II.487]

We looke upon these in the Bottom:

Wharton of Wharton		Lord
Lowther of Lowther		Baronet
Machell of Crakenthorpe	}	Gentlemen
Crackenthorpe of Newbigin	}	2[966] of Bol.
Sandford of Askham	}	1 Crakenthorpe of Strickland
x Wibergh of Clifton	}	Hiltons of Morton
Cliburn of Cliburn	}	Musgrave of Asby G.
x Blenkinsop of Helbeck	}	
Hiltons of Barton	}	
Barton of Breek	}	
Birlocks of Hornby	}	
Musgrave of Musgrave	}	

We looke upon these to be the ancientest in the Barony {Thom. Jac. Account.}[967]

Midleton of Midleton \ gen /
Laburne of Skelsmergh
Strickland of Sizar
\ Thornburrough /
Gilpin of Kentmere, which is now g[…] nom[968]
Bellingham of Forrest gen
Phillipson of Calgarth
~~Brathwat of Burnished~~

{These families in Westm'land I mete with ~~sans date~~ in cartis s.d.[969] T.M}

Machael or Mauchael, sans date of Crakenthorpe, now Machell
de Crackenthorpe now Crackenthorpe of Newbigin
de Musgrave now Musgrave of Musgrave
de Barwyse
de Hellebeck, now extinct
de Sulleby, extinct
de Bellocampe sive Beauchamp, extinct
\ de Lowther /
de Askeby }
de Morevilla } both extinct
de Sandeford now Sandford (Askham of Howgill) 2 families
de Querton now Wharton, Lor Wharton of Wharton
de Hartley }
de Smerdale } extinct

[964] This heading (moved from II.48) is placed here as a section heading.
[965] 'In all things just like York, and therefore …'
[966] The word after '2' is blotted.
[967] Thomas Jackson.
[968] Words blotted.
[969] Undated charters.

de Wateby }
de Helton, now Hilton of Helton & Ormside \~~Strickland,~~ Laborne /
{of which onely 3: Sc. the 2. Machells, the Lowthers 3. & Whartons, have had the honour to continue the antient seates of their ancestors unto this.}[970]

[II.488][971]

{19.} Places of birth or habitation of eminent persons in all aiges: \ Se Fathers Worth /
Gilpin[972]
Dr Langbane, Provost of Queen's College Oxon, born at Barton
Dr Crakenthorp – a famous author & chaplain to King James 1^{t}, Little Strickland
Mr Airay \ fellow of Queen's College / author of *Fasciculus Lag*[973] while Tab[arder] there, [born] Clifton
Bishop Strickland
Barlow – at Lang gill in Orton parish
Smith – see our Obit. Booke – at Whitwall in Ashby parish
Sir John Machell, Sheriff of London – at Crack[en]thorp?
Rogerus Malus-Catulus, keper of the broad seal – Ibid
Lord Wharton of the Marches \ at Wharton Hall /
H. Machell
Sir John Lowther P. C.
Sir ~~John~~ \? / Buckle – Lord Mayor of London – at Stanemore
Dr Joh. Mill at Shap
Dixon at Orrest Head[974]

[II.490]

Ad Westm'land in General et diversa loca ibidem, speciatim de Appelby Referenda[975]

Index: see 43.

Bottom of Westm'land

Places

O	Orton ph
O	Overclagill
L	Langdale
L	Langdale flu
E	Ellergill
R	Rounthwat
B	Bretherdaile
L	Loyn Flu
B	Birbeck Fells
G	Garegill
K	Killat, Rain \ Rain a Brooke /
T	Tegah
C	Colflatt

[970] MS: '{of which onely 3: Sc. the 2. Machells, the Lowthers 3. & Whartons (which I [illeg.] you in alphabetical order to [illeg.] Emulatio) have had the honour to continue the antient seates of their ancestors unto this.}'
[971] Also numbered p.39.
[972] Machell gives no information on Gilpin here, but see above, II.487.
[973] Christopher Airay, *Fasciculus praeceptorum logicalium in gratiam Juventutis Academicae compositus* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1633).
[974] Father of Thomas Dixon, see below.
[975] 'With reference to Westmorland in General and various places, especially concerning Appleby: Things to be referred'. All the entry letters have been crossed through individually, and the pages themselves also crossed through, probably to demonstrate that Machell no longer needed this information.

LS	Lowscales
OS	Overscales
P	[Blank] Park d.
R	Crosby
G	Greenholm
B	Bousfield
G	Gill
O	Orton
S	Sunbigin
L	Little Asby
AS	Great Asby
BH	Blatern Hight
B	Breeks/Rutter
M	Mardale
T	Tothman
T	Thorntwait Hall
N	Naddell Forrest
T	Talebert
G	Goodcrost
W	Walrighte
B	Bonby
W	Wetsleddale
R	Forrrest of Ruslen
SA	Shapp Abbay
K	Keld
ST	Thornshapp
M	Milbeck
S	Sleddall Flu
R	Riggshole
S	Sumdale Flu
R	Raysid
B	Bampton
B	Bampton Grang
R	Rosgill Hall
B	BamptonHall
R	Rosgill
B	Butterwick
K	Knipe
H	Hegdale
H	Helton Fleccat
A	Ascam
A	Askam Hall \Eamot and / Lowther flu joyne
W	Whale Moore
O	Odendale
HBH	Bottom oth Hause
N	Newintake Inclosure
G	Gaud Busk?
K	Kirkstone
H	Hartsope & Hall
B	Brother Water
U	Ulswater
P	Patterdale & Hall
M	Martindale Forrest: what sort of wild beast were here formerly?

H Whick Winder
P Powley
Stanck
B Low Barton
W Winder Hall
S Sockbridge & Hall
Y Yeanwath & Hall
E Emot bridge
Emot
Emot Flu
H Hardendale
T Thrumby
S Little Strickland & Hall
S Great Strickland ~~& Hall~~
L Lother & Hall
C Clifton & Hall
H Hackthorp & Halls
M Melkinthorp Hall
M Ma\u/ls Meaburn
K Kings Meaburn
C Clearburne

[II.491]

Dale	R	Ravenstonedale
	C	Crosby Hill
	S	Soulby
Flu	SS	Soulby Beck
Mons	W	Willbert Fell
	W	Weatby
Flu	U	Une Flu
	S	Swall Flu
Pons	H	Hellgill Bridge
Flu	E	Eden flu
Dale	M	Mallerstang Dale
Cas	P	Pendragon Castle
	W	Wharton Hall & Parke
	N	Neatby
Pons	S	Strenkthret Bridge
	H	Hartly & Hall 2 Castle 2 parke
	K	Kirkby Stephen
	N	New Bridge
	M	Musbridge
	M	Litle Musgrave
	M	Great Musgrave
	W	Warkop & Bridge
	S	Sanforth
	O	Little Ormside
	G	Great Ormside
	B	Bongate
	S	Scattergate
	B	Burells
	A	Appleby & Castle
	A	Appleby Bridge
	B	Battlebar

C Crekenthrop & Hall & P.
C Colby
H Upper Hoff
R Raw
B Buly Castle
B Bolton
K Kirby thure
J Gillian Bower in
W Whinfield park
O Forrest of Oggle in Whinfell
B Bird dub an Oglebird
Hart horn tree
M Moorra Houses
B Browham
B Browham Castle
T Temple Sowerby
A Accaran banke
N Nubygin
M Milnerigg
W Woodside
H Hornby Hall
E Eamo~~nt~~
S Smardale Hall
B Brough Beck f.
S Stanemore Pale
B Brough 2 castles
R Ray Cross on Stanemore
C Couplin Bridge
E Eden Bridge
S Sanforth Moore
K Fforrest of Kitland
H Hellbeck
B Burton
B Burtergill
B Breckenber
H Hilton
M Murton
L Lanton
K Keisley
M Meldon Forrest
D Dufton
B Brampton
K Knock
LM Long Martin & Parke
C Closehouses
G HG Howgill Grang
HC Howgill Castle
M Milburne
K Kirkhouse
G Gullham Holme
B Blenkerne Flu
H Hughseat Hill

[Machell's Notes: II.490]
{ad Oglebys Quer[ies] which are Annex'd to Part 2.}
{Memorandum: I have 3 halfe crownes of Mr [?] 2 to buy Plaster of Paris, to pay car[riage]}
{[…] of Mr Mill in op o. flu.}[976]

[II.492][977]

An Alphabetical Table[978] of all the Townes, rivers and memorable places mentiond in Westm'land

{Names of places I thinke out of Speed}

Rivers, Bridges, Forrests &c. Names of places

	Town	Seats	Dema[sne]	Parke	Forrest
A.	Apleby	Castle	0	1	0

[Key to Machell's alphabetical table: br. bridge; c. castle; d. dale; flu: river; h. hall; p. park; t. tower]

In the Bottom of Westm'land

A.	c. p. br.	Apleby
		Asby, Great
		Asby, Little
	h.	Askham
		Akern Banke
	mere	Ause Water
		~~Ambleside~~
B.		Bretherdale Head Foot
		Burkbeck Fells
		Bousfield
		Blatarn (Hight)
		Breeks
		Bonby
		Bampton
		Bampton Grang
	h.	Bampton
		Butterwick
		Bottom oth Hause vel haus
		West Barton
	flu.[979]	Brother Water
		Low Barton
	At	Bongate
	Apleby	Burells
		Battlebar
	c.	Buly Castle
		Bolton
	h. for.	~~Bird & cham~~ Oglebird Forrest
	c. h.	Browham
		~~Brough Beck flu~~
	c.	Brugh
		Brough Sowerby
		Burton
		Burtergill

[976] The first words of this sentence are obscured by the binding.
[977] Also numbered p.47.
[978] MS: 'Alphabetical table… Alphabetically disposed'.
[979] Flumen = river.

		Breckenber
		Brampton
	flu.	Blenkerne
		[II.493]
C.		Caber
		Colflat Cotesflat
		Crosby Ravensworth Wath
	h.	Clifton
		Crosby Garrett
		Clearburne
		Crosby Hill
		Crekenthrop ~~Hall~~
	h. t. p.	Colby
	br.	Couplin Bridge
		Close House
		~~Clapergate~~
		~~Howgill Castle~~
		Crostermind
D.		Deepdale
		Dufton Dales
		Drive Evers; Dribeck
E.		Ellergill
	flu. br.	Emot, bridge
F.	for.	The Forrest of Naddell
		Forrest of Raflen
		Forrest of Ogglebird
		Forrest of Kitland
		Forrest of Meldon
		of Whinfell forsan
G	flu.	Glenkrodden & Glenkrowen
		Gresmere
		Gaze-gill
		Green-holme
		Gill
		Gils(e) (a cops ut puto)
		Goodcroft
		Gaudbuske
		G\r/ainge juxt Hougill
		Gullham Holme
		Gillian Bower v. Julian
H.		Hight
	d.	Hegdale
		Helton Fleccat
		Hause Bottom
	h.	Hartsope
		Hick-winder
	d.	Hardendale
	h.	Hakthorp
		II.494[980]
		Heltondale w.
		Hoff
	h.	Hackthrop
	b.	Helgil
		Harberwen
	c. h. p.	Harcley
		Hoff-superior

[980] Also numbered p.49.

		Hoff Lun
	h. c.	Hornby-Hall
	h.	Helbeck, query an opidum
		Ht Hilton
	c.	Howgill
		Hugh leat Hill
		West Hilton
		Heeght
J		Julian alias Gillian Bower Lodge
K		Kellath
		Keld a. Shap
		Knipe
		Kirkstone
		Kirkby Stephen
	h. c.	Kirkbythor
	for.	Kittland
		Keesley
	Q. a single if a towne that cald Kirkland	Kirkland forsan Kirkhouse
		Knock
		Kirkehouse
		Kings-Meaburne
		Kentmere
L.		Langanby (fors in Cumberland)
	flu.	Langdale Great
	flu.	Leun or Loyn
		Low-Skales
	h. flu.	Lowther
		Langton
		Long Mertin v. Merton
		~~Langrige~~
M.	d.	Mardale
		Meason
	flu.	Mill-beck
	d. for.	Martindale
	h.	Morland
	h.	Milkin[thorpe]
	c.	Maiden Castle, Hold & Way
	c.	Maybrough Castle
	h.	Milkinthorpe voc. Strickland Parva
		II.495
		Mauls-Meaburne
	d.	Mallerstangdale[981]
	br.	Musbridge pons
		Musgrave Magna
		[Musgrave] Parva
		~~Warcop Hall Tower Bridge~~
	More puto[982]	Moore-Houses
		Milnerigg, an house
		Murton
	for.	Meldon v. for.

[981] Machell has included a partially obscured phrase here: 'è gr…'?
[982] 'A moor, perhaps.'

	parke	Martin v. Long
		Milburne
N.	for.	Naddell Forrest vid. forrest
	for.	New Intack Inclos.
		Neatby
	br.	New-Bridge pons E.
	h.	New-bygin or Biggin
	h.	Newby
		Nine Churches
		Newbiggin \ south / east
O.		Orton
		Over-clay Gill
		Overscales or Sh[ales] opposed to Low Shales
		Odendale, Oddeldale neare \ to Low / Orton
	h.	Ormside Magni
		Ormside Parvi
	for.	Ogle \ Bird / vid. forrest
P.	p.	Parke (forsan Overskales P)
	h.	Patterdale
		Powley-stank where Ulswater breakes into a river
	c.	Pendragon Castle
	Parkes	Wharton Park
		Crakenthorpe Parke dud[um][983]
		Whinfield Parke
		Martin Parke
		Lother
		II.496[984]
Q.		
R.		Roun-thwaite
		Raise: a brooke
		Reagill
		Rosswood memorandum St Michael
		Rutter
	for.	Raflen Forest vid forests
		Rigg-Hole
		Raysid
	h.	Rosgill or Raisgill
		Rosgill or Raisgill
		Ravenstone-dale
		Raw
		Runthwate
		Roy Cross on Stainmore
		Raisbeck
S.		S\k/ales super, subter v. Low over
		Sunebiggin
		Swindale
	abby	Shapp
		Shap-thorne
	flu.	Sledall vid. Wet-Sleddall
		Slegall
	flu.	Swindall
	h.	Sockbridge
	h.	Strikland Magna
	h.	Strikland Parva
		Soulby & beck

[983] 'A park formerly.'
[984] Also numbered p.51.

	flu.	Swale
	br.	Strenkthret Bridge
	moore	Sandforth
		Sowerby {v. Brough Sowerby v. Temple}
	h.	Smardell
		Stainmore
	dale	Stainmore
		Smardall
T.		Tebah or Tibay
		Tothman Thornthwaite
	h.	Thornthwate-Hall

[II.497]

		Talebert
		Thremby
		Temple Sowerby
		Troutbeck
U.		Uls Water
	flu.	Ure flu ubi
W.	c.	Whelp
		~~Woodend~~
		Wastelhead
		Walmgate
		Wastlefoot
		Wetsleddaile
		Wick Wickerslack
		Whalemoore
		Willbertfell
		Winderworth
		Weatby
	h.	Winder
	h. t. br.	Warcop
		Winton
	p.	Whinfield
		Woodside
	h. p.	Wharton,
Y.	h.	Yeanwath

[II.498]

In the Barony

G.		Gresmire
	h.	Grarigg
H.		Hugill
		Hutton ith-Hay
		Hutton Nov. vel New
		Hutton Vet. vel Old
		Holmscales
		Heversham
		Han'brack
		Hincaster
		Helsington
		Hutton Roof
		Holme
		Helston laith
I.		
K.	c.	Kendal
		Kentmire
		Kirkland (in Kendal puto)
		Killington
	Kent flu.	Kirkby Loansdale

~~Kettle~~
L. ~~Lyth~~
Langdale
Long Sleddall
Lamb-Rigg or Lan rig
br. Leavens brigg
Loansdale
Lupton
Loughrigg
M. Meathopp or Methop
Milthropp
Midleton
Mansergh

[II.499]

N. Neather Stanely
New Hutton
Natland
O. Over Stanley
Ova
Underbarrow
P Parkes
Patton
Preston-Patrick
Preston-Richard
Preston chappell
Q.
R. Rydall
S. Sleddall
Sleddall Over Long v. Lo
Stanley Nether v. O v. N
h. Selside
Skelmergh
Strikland Roger
Skalthwaite Rigg
\ Steelmire /
Stanton
Sidgwick or Seggeswick
Siserghe
St Catherins v. C
T. Troutbeck
U. Under Milbeck
Under barrow
W. Witherslack
Whinfell
Windermere
Winstar chappell
Watland

{Culgith in Cumberland}

[II.502][985]

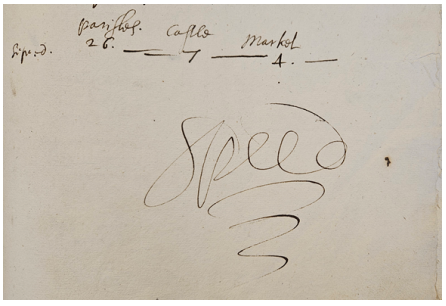


Figure 9. 'Speed'. II.502.

Forrests & Parkes marked out of Speed, in Speeds Map

In the Barony [of Westmorland]
Whinfield Forrest Out Parke nov.[986]
Lowther
Crosbyravenswith
Har[t]ley
Wharton
Mallerstang Forrest
To which add Martendale Forrest &c. in the Barony.

[In the Barony of Kendal]
Colnhead
Sheelmere
Firbanke
Midleton
Camswick
Barborne Chap
Preston Chap
Bethan
Sedgewick vel Croscrak parish
Watland
Sisergh
Brigster
Witherslack

Rivers.
Barrow
Below
Burbeck
Eden
Glenkroden
Glenkwen
Lune
Sprint
Raine

[985] Also numbered p.57.
[986] 'nov' = 'new'.

Speed [totals]

Parishes	Castle	Market
26	7	4

[II.505]

Rivers in the Bottom of W.
Bridges, Castles, Halls, Towers [987]

These must be tryed by my Booke & the maps of Westm'land.
These castles, halls & towers are the houses of their nobility & gentry.

	Rivers	Bridges	Castles	Halls	Towers
1.	Brotherwater	Apelby Bridge	Apleby C.	Askham Hall	Cæs. at Apleby
2.	Ulswater	Copelin Bridge	Buly C.	Acorn Bank H.	Cæs. at Browham
3.	Brough beck	Emote B. q. Emote	Browham C.	Barton H. de	Paga[n] at Browham
4.	Ble[n]kern flu.	Eden Bridge	Brough C.	Browham H.	Cæs. at Brough
5.	Emot f.	Hellgill b.	Howgil C.	Barhouse H. Dufton demolished	Warcop T.
6.	Eden f.	Musgrave b.	Harclay C.	Brampton H. & one demolished	Colby T. d[emolished]
7.	Langdale f.	Strenket b.	Maiden C.	Crakenthorp H.	For at Crakenthorpe
8.	Leun f.	Warcop b.	Maburg C.	Dufton H. demolished	Cæs. at Apleby
9.	Lowther f.	Kirkby \ th / Bridge	Pendragon C.	Hathop H.	Cæs. at Browham
10	Raine a broke[988]	~~Copeland Bridge~~	Whelp C.	Hercley H.	Paga[n] at Browham
11.	Swindale f.	Martindale	Apleby C.	Hornby H.	
12.	Sleddall f.	Cleburne B.		Helbeck Hall	(2 at Low[ther] Hall)
13.	Soulby Beck	Newbridge W.		Hilton H. demolished (2 at Howgill Castle) ~~Burton H.~~	(2 at Howg[ill] Castle)
14.	Swale flu.	Apelby Bridge		Kirkby Thor H.	Wharton Low
15.	Ure flu.	Copelin Bridge		Lowther H.	Lowther
16.	Uls water	Emote B. q. Emote		Long Marton demolished	
17.	d. Coup[land] beck Beside a great many brookes Torrents and riviletts			Murton H.	
18.				Melkinthorpe H	Fallaf[ield]
19.	Brotherwater			X Musgrave H. par 2	Musgrave
20.	Ulswater				
21.				Morland H[igh] H.	
22.				Newbiggin H.	Crakenthorp
23.				Newby H.	Nevinson

[987] MS: 'D. ~~Whether Milbeck near Shap be a Brooke. Colby beck, Morland beck et force in Livernett. At Milburne a beck, Milkrig a beck. At Martin.~~ Rivers in the Bottom of Westmorland. Bridges, Castles, hall, tower Askham hal. & Acorn bank h'.'
[988] A brook.

24.		Ormside H.	Now Heltons
25.		Patterdale H.	
26		Rosgill H.	
27.		Smardale H.	
		\Sokbridge H. /	In the Barony
28.		Thornthwaite Hall	
29.		Winder Hall	
		Bampton Hall	
30.		Warcop H.	
31.		Yeanwath H.	
32.		Sokbridge	
		Askham	
	Ap Cast. parke	Besides those in	
	q. parroke	the Barony	
	a παραetock[989]		

[Queries, Instructions and Narrative involving Machell's Informants][990]

[II.154A]

A. Orders & Q. given to Mr Dixon 19. II^r^ 1676[991]

{Kirkby Loansdale Kendal Mr Stuartson. Burton Bethom Heversham. Mr Lodge.}
{Mr Fleming (if writ to) will answer the rest & help in Cumberland.}

1. Remember to get information of these Parishes Sc. Burton, Bethom, Heversham, & Kirkby Loansdal: if all or part of them be in Westmorland.
{!!} 2. The \ names & / course of every River & Beck in the Barony; with all its heads where it springs \ at least the Principal, / what way it Runns E.W.N. or South & the Parishes or Lordships It Runns by or Through, allso the Towns, Halls or Gentlemens houses which it visits by the way; & how far it lieves them (or any of them) on East, W. North or S: The number of mills & bridges upon it; the sorts of fish in it; & (lastly) where it taketh the Sea, or looseth it selfe in som other River or lake?
3. The High (or great) Roads traced through the Barony. To what great place do they wend, with the Parishes Lordships &c. & Gentlemens houses, And notable Antiquityes which occur in or near them.

<u>In Grosmer Parish</u>
{Raise beck at the Head – & Rothey at the foote.}
X1. The Name of the River which Runns by the church.
X The Annual Stipend of Ambleside Chappel.
The Boundaries (on the South Side) of Grosmer Lordship: with the known marks from which divided from Ridal.

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[989] 'Ap[pleby} Cast[le] parke q[uery] parroke from πα∴ρ and ock.' Machell is mixing languages here. He seems to suggest that 'parke' is from 'parrocke' and that 'parrocke' is derived from the Greek preposition παρα/ (meaning: 'by, alongside, next to'), with the English 'oke' (meaning oak).

[990] For more of Machell's queries and their answers, see his correspondence with Rev. Richard Singleton of Melmerby, Cumberland: MS.VI, 699-722.

[991] Two Thomas Dixons, father and son, collaborated with Machell in his research. The family came from Orresthead near Applethwaite, where the father had made a large sum of money out of his tenement (see Part 2, Chapter 8, Windermere, II.329, §43). The son matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in1664/5 aged 15; BA 1669; MA 1672/3; fellow in 1673; BD 1682; was rector of Weyhill, Hants, 1682-1708; DD 1685, see *OAD*; see also CCED. At Oxford, Dixon junior corresponded with Sir Daniel Fleming, occasionally including comments about Machell, see See Maxwell Lyte, Stanley Hughes Le Fleming, James Arthur Bennett and Richard Ward (eds), *The Manuscripts of S.H. le Fleming Esq. of Rydal Hall* (London, 1890), 141: Dixon to D.F., 5 November 1677.

2. Lough Rig. What sort of Tenure, Sc – Richmond or Marquess, & what is meant by those foes. How are the Tenants of Grosmere Lordship admitted, & how do they pass away their estates. Baise brown – Lordship.[992]

[II.154B]

Ambleside fields on the South. Of whom is it held, & by what Tenure – Sc. soc~~e~~age, cornage or Knights Service? What Quit Rent doth it pay & to whom? What Mr Flemings uncles name who left him the Estate, & the names of his uncle['s] sons who dyed, & his 2 daughters who were marryed; together with their Husbands names, Arms & the place & County in which they lived
The \ Annual / prices of Land per Acre. Best, worst, & midlesort, excluding commons, Fells &c. And that of Arable, pasture, meadow.

In Windermer Parish
2. The Arms, X ~~Inscriptions &c.~~ – in or about the Church. Terrior of Glebe belonging to the Parson with the worth of Land per acre as above. How the Lordship came to the Crown? What the Ruines are of the Castle Att Ambleside? Whether it was not made a Market by Olivers Charter,[993] what the priviledges Granted them?
2. Calgarth Inscriptions there &c.[994]

[I.41A]

[B.] [Fragment of an] Alphabeticall table of Townes, Rivers & other memorable places in Westm'land[995]

[Key]
II⊙II a Towne
⊙ a Village
an Hamlet
0 a Single house
r a River

In the Bot[tom]
II⊙II Appleby – Castle
⊙ Ashby – great
⊙ Ashby – little[996]
⊙ Askham Hall
⊙ Brampton – Hall
r. Blenkern – River

[II.530][997]

[C.] {Mr Mill}
{1} Write to Mr Bellingham query History \ or Dr Smith / whether Robert Lancaster & Miles Spen. Were LL.Ds.

[II.532]

{Mr Mill} If ther be a beck from Kerberwen, ~~Witherslack or Benton~~, which comes into Lowther on the E[ast]. What tarnes; there names & \ with / fishing \ in. /
{M. Mill} Negat Sir William Sanderson whether Millbeck near Shap be a brooke or village or both?[998] A cloth mill.

[992] The page here has been cut; the rest of the text is missing.
[993] Oliver Cromwell's Charter.
[994] The page here has been cut; the rest of the text is missing.
[995] The table of towns, rivers etc. using this formula, seems to have been left unfinished but Machell clearly used it when communicating with his informants, see below, II.432.
[996] The remaining part of the page has been torn away at this point.
[997] Also numbered p.85.
[998] 'William Sanderson says not.'

[D.] [T.J.][999]
{Parishes in Westm'land}
{2} The names of the Constablewickes & \ of the / parishes in the Bottom of Westm'land, with the value if you can of the parish or vicar*.
{3} You send me parish in the Bottom of W. 33. But I suppose there but so many in the whole cou[n]ty. Se Speed, se Camden, for Camden gives us 26 parishes,[1000] Speed 26. {?}
{4} So to satisfy me, sett me downe how many parishes in the Bottom of Westm'land‡ with there particular names; how many Churches of Ease, with their particular names; how many Chaples of Ease with their particular names? And so in the Barony.
{5} Whether Barton be a church or a chaple, for I finde 18 Churches & Chaples of Ease besides Barton, & if it be a church. It make but 6 in the Barony, whereas my information was 7†.
{7} {Fortnight Day} When the Fortnight Day begins att Apleby and how long that faire lasts.
{8} How governed? Bid them get a sword.
Whether Brough be a market towne. Fare at Brough. How many & when.
{9} Att Kirkby Stephan; at Orton.
{10} Who live \? / at these Halls, viz. Bottom & Barony.
{11} The names of churches.
{12} Helbeck \ What know you to the Cont. of Blenkinsops of Helbeck, Hiltons of Burton. What are the families Barton of Breekes and Birbeckes of Hornby. Enquire if you finde whether they & Brathwates of Warcop have had any knights?

[Machell's Notes: II.530]

*{T.J. send & received.}[1001]
†{He putt downe the new chaple for a church.}
‡{vid. Collect[ion] p.4.}

[II.531]

{ad T.J. [of] Knock}
\ Whether a Gill besides Knok where a great house has bin. Jone Armstrong. Se the aulter on Roman Fell \ there is a Gill at the Towne End. There is a platforme of an old Hall & 4 tenements called the Demaine Tenements /

{Ewebanke} {T.J.}
Whether there be not a towne or Hall upon Stan[emore] late Eubanke Hall. There is an hamlet & Hall with 2 places called High & Low Ewbanke belong to the Countess \ of Pmb.[1002] / The demanes with their names col. wise. Woods: there names, with sorts of trees which grow in em.

[II.532]

{Teas Head in Westm'land} {T.J.} Whether Teas\ Head / be in Westm'land ita.
{T.J.} Whether these places unmarked in the alphabeticall table be villages or hamlets. Send the names of the waters & enquire of mills & bridges upon every water.
{T.J.} {Midlerig Well by Shap about Hardendale}
Send the names of those places which are not marked ⊙[1003] to T.J. to know whether they are villages or hamlets.[1004] Send a map also that he may place right if he can, according to their situation on, rivers & distance from such & such places as are mentioned in the map.
T.J. Whether any Corporaco' pro libita may carry a sword {Ius gladij}[1005]

[II.533]

[999] T.J. = Thomas Jackson (senior) of Dufton.
[1000] Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 763.
[1001] Reference to the questionnaire sent to Thomas Jackson. For the general subjects of this questionnaire, see Machell's list taken from Camden's *Britannia*, on I.42A, and the Editor's Introduction.
[1002] Pembroke.
[1003] Circled, with a dot in the centre.
[1004] 'village', see Machell's key: I.41A.
[1005] 'Whether any Corporation at will…the right to carry a sword.'

{T.J.} {I had this from Mr Jackson.}
Enquire for that inscription over the cockloft dore, and for that over the Garden House window with that at Clifton.
{T.J.} For the inscription in the Tower. Over the Hospitall gate with the endowment. And dedication if there be any, with the manner of the letter the inscriptions are writ in. Get the best writer in the schoole. Se of Kendal. Hoff. Endowment. And found where?

[II.504][1006]

What mill upon every river?
There be great store of mills in the Bottom of Westm'land by reason that it is so well waterd, there being no place thereabouts where can be a mile distant from one, every viledge almost having one. But of this \ & bridges / send to Tom Jackson.[1007]

[E.] [Machell's Relatives]
{H.M. Regill T.J.}
Bid my bro[ther] collect all he can of antiquity, whether coals at Regil: yes. Where quarryes of frestone or limestone & [blank]

[II.530]

{Father or Brother}
What the prophecy concern Sandford More & Rear✝.
Draw[1008] the fort on Stainmore \ when you goe that way. / I have Maden Castle. & measure also the bredth of the bulworke which you may pace at any entrance as twix a. & b.

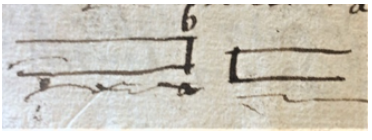


Figure 10. 'Father or brother … you may pace at any entrance as twix a. & b.' II.530.

{6} What time of the year my father putts his cattle into Eliker, & when taken out agane; what rent he payes, & what he payes not.

[II.504][1009]

Remember gray troutes as bigg as salmon in Ulswater and the dimention of the trout my father tooke & where. Great store of otters.

[II.532]

{Father or brother Hugh} What the bigness of gray-troutes & wher they are taken.
{Father or Brother: Hugh Seat, Mr Lowson} What the places, wher & what distance of the gray-trouts, & that trout taken by my father: the dimensions.

X The aultar on Cross Fell
{T.J. or Brother} Michell Scot's leap? How long; by whome: 24 feet.[1010]

[II.529]

Ad Howgil Castle
The oate stalke that was shown me att Howgill Castle was 2 yards & ½ long.

[II.532][1011]

[1006] Also numbered p.59.
[1007] This paragraph is scored through lightly
[1008] MS: 'Dray'.
[1009] Also numbered p.59.
[1010] See III.475.
[1011] Also numbered p.87.

{Increase of corne – see before ut Howgil}
{2 yd ½ v. Hugh or Bro.}What highness their oat or haver groeth. I have taken up a pea stem in Crakenthorp Field when I walked that way for recreation sake among the harvest, which because it seemed very well clad I had the curiosity to observe the increase, & there was from that single stalke besides had bin lost or cropped off – 8 score & 8 i.e. 168.

[II.535]

[F.] [Mr Sanderson]
{Wharton} I
\ Enquire of Mr Sanderson in what King's Reign: an Henry 8? one Lord Wharton was Keeper of the Marches and got many signall victories over them insomuch that he was calld in a by-name Lord Fortune \ by them. / One time upon a surprise, when his party was very inconsiderable to make them appear more numerous, he caused his men to run towards them on foot leeding their horses whereby they appeard to be twice as great a company as anded they were. & so putt them to flight. Mr R. Sanderson.

[II.533]

[G.] {**Mr Dixon**}[1012]
{The Great Planet Shower}
An account of accidents & calam[i]tyes by earth quakes, thunder and light[ning]. On flowing of rivers, great windes or sudden shower. Particular[ly] an accompt of that last great shower which drownd the people at Dufton, sunke the stone at Merton Field Yeat, and how many men were imployd to fill it. What year, month, & day it hapnd on. \ This answered at p.235 / The great trees[1013] in Whinfell: a description of them and conquering blast. In the end.

[II.534]

Mr Dixon.
Concerneing the val[e] between the River Leune & Windermere, which Speed sayes is fertill, tho conteined in a narrow compass.

You tell me of Demanes. Lett me have there names as

At	Dem.	Halls	Parkes	Forrest
Craken.	1	1	1	0
Apleb	1	Cast.	1	[Ruttlan]
Colby	1	Tower	0	0
Bar		1	0	0
Buly	1	Cast.	1	0
Bramp	0 dem	1 dem	1	

{A Table of Houses and Castles, Demesne Parkes formerly ad Crakenthorp.}
{I suppose it con[tained] all the ground calld the Parke & the Hagg Brow, so that it came up to the garden walls on the back side of the house, for the millrace was not there in former times, for the corne mill stood in Millough till it was carryd away by a flood. The cloth mill was in the parke.}

II.488]

[H.] [William Hutchinson]
Young lads grow, trees grow & hemp grows, and they may \ all / meet together att the last.
This was spoke by way of retort by an old virginal master who was twitted concer[n]ing his aige by a young ~~fell~~ fool boy {Will Hutchinson. V.M. att Howgil Castle}

[II.488]

{Hutchinsons Story ad Acorn bank}
A pleasant story of Christopher Dalston, nephew of John, who used to dream & walk in his sleepe; & one night gave a great disturbance by crying out Theeves & falling down the stares; upon which the House riss & made sea[r]ch with such armes as they had. Hutchinson for fear hid himselfe behind a

[1012] And see above, II.154A-B.
[1013] The word 'trees' is an editorial substitute for an illegible word.

courtain, haveing no shirt, and one of the people, seing somthing hid, tooke it for the theife, so they descended upon him, pulled him out of the courtain & exposed his nakedness* […].[1014]
*Rome infer the Booke ad AcornBanke.[1015]

[II.533]

[I.] [Equals and Experts]
{X Mr Guy}[1016]
Send to know where the coynes were found.

{X Mr Musgrave}
Enquire of Ninianus in Mr Musgrave's letter. Mr Savage informes what dedication the church bears now.[1017]

{Mr Wood}[1018]
How Bishop were desposed as to theire seas befor William Rufus, who made Carlile a Bishop Sea.
{Authors for Westm'land} Enquire for books necess[ary] for the discovery of the History of Westm'land. As for:
Saxon Dictionary
Poetical Dictionary Edit. Super. Scotch antiq. for Edenbr[ough]: Why Maden Castle
William of Newburrow
Speed's *Cron*[1019] for King John & William King of Scots, de recuperat Aballabae
Ptolom[y][1020] }
Beda[1021] } One in the Study de Bor.
Mat[eria] Parish }
Materia Westm. }
Liber Notiti?[1022] } It is in the library D1 9 Artib[us]
Dugdale *Monasticon* } for Apleby Fryory, Shap Abby, Schol, Wythyrall Priory
Dugdale, *Of W[arwickshire]*

[J.] [Anonymous Informants]
Whether moneys be not yearly payed to the poore upon that table of stone besides the Countiss Piller? And if so, how much & upon what day? Answered after.[1023]

Much of Browham Castle was built by Roger Clifford. Send me the inscription over the Hall dore and the inscription on Pendraggon.

{Ad Ab. Church & Scholl}
{House & land given to cort priest for singing pro def[functis] & vive[ntibus.]}[1024]
What a Chantry? The Major &c. of Apleby gave to one Gibson for to teach schoole & serv at the aultar, the Chantry of St Mary & of St Nicholas, with all lands &c.

[1014] The last two words have largely perished.
[1015] 'For the room, see the book at Acorn Bank.'
[1016] Henry Guy of Watercrook.
[1017] Arthur Savage BA, Rector of Brougham, 1643-62. CCED.
[1018] Anthony Wood, Oxford Scholar.
[1019] Speed's *Chronology*. Machell probably meant, *The historie of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans ... from Julius Cæsar to our most gracious soveraigne King James* (London, 1611).
[1020] Ptolemy, *Geographia*.
[1021] *An Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (c.731).
[1022] Stephanus, *Liber Notitiarum/Notarum* (Book of lists).
[1023] This sentence is written in different ink.
[1024] '… For singing for the dead and the living.'

Whether hence may be gatherd any light of a monestry at St Nicholas Apleby, or a church. The house was the dwelling house of the Chantry of St Mary, & ground where the schoole stands belonged formerly to the Prior of Wetherall. Se if that Priory be in Cumberland and aske what a Priory is. It is [blank]

[II.531]

{Parkes in the Barony of Kendal}
Whether these in the Barony be parkes or forests: Sc. ~~Kentmere~~, Stanley, Conswick, Syzer, Leavens, Skelsmergh \ Great Staveley / Killington, Midleton. \? all parkes / & what is become of the Halls and demesns, severall places mentioned in the catalogue.

{Warrens in West[morland] – none in the Barony}
Warrens and there names. Low Horn Woods ~~How many lings, for that we mean by~~ heaths. Whether these be all dales or you can thinke of any more. B[r]etherdale &c. se p. 15. If you know any more let me have their names; whether a place cald Mat[…][1025] with the lenth & brea[d]th of the vale which is called the Bottom of West[morland]. The particular names of the 3 parishes and 4 lordships at the Caldron Snout.

{Kentmer}
Whether True-Bog be in Westm'land; whether Leun springs in Birbeck Fells or in ~~Maller~~ \ Raving / Stangdale? Or where. Whether there be a mere at Kentmere. If so, mark it up.

{Awsewater}
X where Aus-water is &c.[1026] What part of the country; \ marke it in the map. /

Places where battle have bin fought, either certane or supposed.
Whether any lodges beside Whinfell.
Whence came the stones which built Colby Tower.

[II.535]

Ad Shap
Shap Abbey had a graingе, i.e. an ~~place~~ \ house / where the monks had their dary.
{vid. *Survey[or's] Dialogue* + p.3}[1027] There are severall grainges in Westm'land: Shap Grainge, Asby Grainge, Regill Grainge. Lord of Shap was improp[riator] ~~Howgill Grainge~~ Sold to Sir John Lowther. Bamton Grange – enquire what more?

{Crosby Ravensworth}
Monks at Crosby Ravensworth.[1028] There are places bearing these names: Monks-garth, Mo[n]ks[barnes, Monks Bridges. Now in the possession of Bellingham of Garthorn (& Levins). He is impropriator.

{Mauds Meaburn!}
Meaburne: Kings. Mauds. From Maud, Queene of England, who kept Green Castl against her son, & made her es\ca/pe in a snow, being attired in the white habit of a nun. She would have Meaburne (where there is \ yet / a fine cross) a market towne, & would have brought which runs through on the west side, but I know not how prevented. Idem.

[1025] The rest of this word is obscured by the binding.
[1026] Repeated on MS. II.532.
[1027] John Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue*.
[1028] An unclear word here seems to read, 'few'.

Proverbs

[I.654A]

Take a Cow to the Hau and shel runn to the Bier.[1029]

[II.502]

Lang Streas are nae motes coth[1030] woman when she plug'd th'Tether out o'th curne.[1031]

[II.488]

Ill trusting to great men.
Its Sharp – ing o th' plane.[1032]
Its sharp mellin with edgeleams ~~o the dub by his sp. when he brakt ore a fe~~[1033]
Its parlish mellin with edge teules, co' the Devil when he brack his […] over a saw.[1034]
Lett ower send ~~the river~~ Eden [blank]
Never winter till ware enter: Sc. January.[1035]
Skill's a rare thing ~~to Kitte Keakson when he maide the wholl he left~~.
Slape hauding by the Haw Binkes.[1036]
That which is got over the devils back – or Ill-gotten ill gone.
When the wind's i'th west,[1037] the weather's at best.

[II.352]

There Proverbs
Heams[1038] heamely. i.e. Home is homely.
Sorrows Geud a frust. Sorrow Good upon trust.

[1029] 'Take a cow to the hall and she'll run to the byre.' A Scottish proverb: see Andrew Cheviot, *Proverbs, Proverbial Expressions, and Popular Rhymes of Scotland, collected and arranged with Introduction, Notes and Parallel Phrases* (Paisley and London, 1896), 71.
[1030] 'quoth'.
[1031] Taken literally, the words mean as follows, 'Streas'= straws; 'mote' = a single straw or stalk of hay; see Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary 5*., 807, and *4.*, 171. Wright quotes, 'lang straes are nae motes', as a proverb but gives no meaning. 'Plug'd' = plucked; see Wright *4*, 558; 'th'tether' = the tangle; see Wright *6*, 68. Thus, literally: 'Long pieces of straw are not small things, said the woman, when she plucked the tangle out of the churn.'
[1032] Whether this really means, 'It's cold sitting on the plain', as Adam Fox suggests, is debateable. See Fox, 'Vernacular Culture and Popular Customs in Early Modern England: Evidence from Thomas Machell's Westmorland', *Cultural and Social History* 3 (2012), 329-47, at 335. Compared with some of the other proverbs this meaning seems tame. Alternatively, it would indeed be sharp to sit on a [carpenter's] plane!
[1033] The last word is illegible.
[1034] 'Parlish'= dangerous. 'Melling'= hammering, pounding or meddling with. 'Edgeleam'= an edge-tool (sharp cutting tool). *OED*. This and the previous phrase appear to say, '"It's dangerous hammering/meddling with edge tools," quoth the devil when he broke his […] over a saw.'
[1035] 'Ware', is Scottish and northern dialect for the season of spring (*OED*), though the meaning is doubtful in this context. In 1674, John Ray used a similar word, 'to wear the pot' i.e. 'to cool it', which might fit this proverb, as in, 'It's never winter till the cold enters: i.e. January.' See 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* (London, 1674), 52.
[1036] MS: This saying appears twice on the page. 'Binks' = banks of earth or rock; 'haw' = a hedge or encompassing fence. *OED*. Thus, 'It's slippery holding by the hedge banks.' See also, 'Hall binks are sliddery', in John Ray (1627-1705*), A collection of English proverbs digested into a convenient method for the speedy finding any one upon occasion: with short annotations: whereunto are added local proverbs with their explications, old proverbial rhythmes, less known or exotick proverbial sentences, and Scottish proverbs* (Cambridge, 1678), 369.
[1037] MS: '~~when the weathers~~ When the wind's i'th west,'
[1038] Home, pronounced 'h'yam'.

[II. 353][1039]

(Northern Proverbs [1040]
{See the *Dictionary of Northcountry Words*.}[1041]

Dicere quæ puduit Scribere – justu[m][1042]

A wifes Geud Company be she never so bad.[1043]
Begg a [blank] of and old whore: Endeavour Impossibilityes.
Big to build.
Clow a clown oth' a[…] and hel Sh[…] in thy neafe.[1044]
Heams heamly gin't be never so bad.[1045]
Ill may the kill[n] caw th' mill Burnt arse.
Its ill beggin o' beggars.
Now or never qo'[1046] Bell when he hounded the Bitch.
Now thy Lowse![1047] Quo L. Machell when they would have man show the best he can doe in a Race.[1048]
Sorrow's Geud a frust.[1049]
Better threatned & upon trust than present.
Turn Gods Lether to Gods wether.[1050]
Wesh i th' tea hand & shite ith to'ther & by whilk'll be farst ful.[1051]
Whore'l ye sitt on yeüle euen?[1052]
Yee bread o' few of my Loards Tenna[n]ts.

[1039] Also numbered 'p.41.'
[1040] In the MS., this section is numbered '72'.
[1041] It is probable that Machell was referring to William Nicolson's *Glossarium Brigantinum:* see CAC(C), DCHA/11/10/1: 'Nicolson's dictionary of northern English (compiled while Nicolson was at Queen's College, Oxford, 1677)'. At Machell's behest, Nicolson, then acting as Machell's research assistant, collected a list of north-country words; see Part 3, Ch.1, Correspondence, Nicolson to Machell, (I.479), possibly referencing this list. An alternative suggestion is that Machell was referring here to Ray's *A Collection of English words, not generally used* (1674).
[1042] 'It's alright to say what it was shameful to write.'
[1043] 'A wife is good company; however bad she might be.'
[1044] 'Clow' = to wound with a nail; to spike; 'clown' = a mere rustic, a peasant; 'neafe' = a clenched hand or fist. *OED*. Thus, according to Adam Fox, 'Scratch a country-man on the arse and he'll shit in your hand', see Fox, 'Vernacular Culture, Westmorland', 334. John Ray is more refined: 'Give a clown your finger and he will take your whole hand.' Ray, *A Collection of English Words, not generally used*, 6.
[1045] 'Home's homely, be it never so bad.'
[1046] 'Quoth'.
[1047] 'Lowse': free from bonds, fetters, or physical restraint. *OED*.
[1048] Lancelot Machell: Thomas Machell's father, who appears often in the volumes as a keen sportsman and brave rider, among other attributes.
[1049] See II.352, above, where Machell gives the meaning as 'sorrow good upon trust'. Another version of this proverb is 'All ills are good a frist', see J. Jamieson, *Etymological Dictionary of Scottish Language*, where 'frist' means 'for a space of time'. *OED*. Adam Fox also suggests that the meaning of 'frist' is, 'to trust for a time'. See Fox, 'Vernacular Culture, Westmorland', 335. See also Ray *A Collection of English words, not generally used*, 19.
[1050] This is reminiscent of Adam and Eve leaving the Garden of Eden after eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil: 'And the Lord God made cootis of skynnys to Adam and Eve his wijf, and clothide hem; and seide, Lo! Adam is maad as oon of vs, and knowith good and yuel': Genesis 3.20-22 (Wycliffe version). It quite possibly means, 'Wear leather to combat the weather'.
[1051] 'Wesh' = urine; 'Tea' = 'the one', as opposed to the other; 'whilk' = a variant of 'which'; 'farst' = the furthest. *OED*. Therefore, 'Urine in one hand and shite in the other and by which he will be stuffed full'.
[1052] Literally, 'Where will you sit on Christmas Eve?'

[74.] Strange words
To Leather } a mans hide; i.e. to stesh, lash with a leasl; beat Bacill.
Leashe }
Bensell }
A wandell; i.e. a bushell Windermer.
A Martindale potle: 8 quarts.[1053]
To Daker; i.e. to strive or contend, taken from men of that name; used also in Scotland. Testibus Mr Lawson.
To Spang-whew.[1054] Sc. to beat, they say it is takeing a spelke (i.e. a plyable stick) & bending it till both ends almost mete, & so letting it goe with all its spring & force upon a man, so that one end thereof may hurt him; but is commonly used for bating Leverets.

[1053] 'Potle' or 'potel': a unit of capacity used chiefly for liquids (but also for corn and other dry goods, and, rarely, for butter), equal to half a gallon. *OED*. At two gallons, clearly the Martindale potle had an enviable capacity.
[1054] To 'spanghew' or 'spangwhew': to throw or jerk violently; to cause an object to fly into the air; to toss with violence. *OED*.

Part 1. Barony of Westmorland

[Chapter 1]

[Town of Appleby and its Parishes]



Figure 1.1.1. Appleby Castle. I.57.

[Machell's Research Method: Appleby]

[I.57]

1st of Apelby: In respect to the Town, which is the County Town & hath in 2 Parish Churches: St Michael & St Lawrance; but 1st of St Lawrence in regard of the Castle which is the capital or chief house of Westm'land. The Parish of St Lawrence commonly Apelby, lyes on the west side the River Eden, and is a vicaridge rated &c.
Show when a parsonage, how & when changed, taxed for the vicar; what chaple pertaneing \ domestic or / parochichiæl. Describe the church; school; hospital; castle. Is St Michael in the Town of Apleby.
The chappels in the lordships?
In Barwis Lordship speake of chappells one for all, out of [blank] & confirm it by the writeing in our evidence chest.

[I.171]

1. The church with what observable in it: patrone.
2. How many hamlets & vilages.
3. How many lordships & manner houses & in them; \ each / one. 1. What fam[ily].
4. What things remarkable; as antique quarries, wood, wells, waters.

[I.172]

Method for Apelby
Because it is not wholy in one Parish but has 2 Parish Churches in it I must of necessity speake the Towne 1st & the Court in it \ & / then of the churches.
Abalby is the Countie Towne & chief place of Westmorland, haveing in it 2 Parish Churches. I will first speake of it in particular with the remarkable places there in; and then of the Churches with the villages & Lordships thereunto belonging, with other things which are worthy remarke;[1] Which is the method I propose to my selfe (the particular and previous account only excepted) in the other parishes of the County of Westm'land.

[1] MS: 'belonging ~~together~~ with other thinkes ~~& places~~ which are worthy remarke.'

[I.172A][2]

[Notes on Tottenham High Cross] [3]
Two parts.
2ly: Civil. Sc. into 4 wards with their names & boundaries.
3ly: into two unequal parts by the highway with an History of it.
5ly: by Lordships with an account of great Tenants, calld in the parsonage Court-Baron: & the other five Courts are joynd all in one & belong to my Lord Colerane.[4]
6: Of the Woods
7. Of the church: for a country village a reasonable large & fair one with a pleasant tuneable ring of 5 Bells standeth upon an hill envyroned on the West, North and East with by the River Mose[elle]. How accommodated to the Towne for distance.
8. The new river & History of it.
So much in general.

The second booke treateth in particular of diverse memorable historical things which doe sort themselves by Ternaryes or Threes. 1st Ternary are 3 Countreyes. The 2. Cross, Hermitage, Altar; the 3. Three proverbs; the 4th 3 Fountanes; the 5. three Bridges; 6. 3 Wonders; 7th 3 Characters &.[5]

[I.172B][6]

ad lib Fam Machell et Lib West…[7]
Nomen (.... ...) quasi .... quod notitiam facit. Nam per id quo quidquid nominamus, illu[d] agnoscitur:[8] i.e. & therefore divine [Providence] do willeth that names doe agree [to] things signified. That is, that such names be imposed, or given unto them which may express them (if it be possible) to the full. And that name or word which is not such, the same Author termeth o)/νομα γελοι~ον: a ridiculous & foolish name.

{Method}
Bedwells definition of Tottenham,[9] which he doth \ begin / by showing:
1. In the Definition (as he calls it): In what Hundred & County; how far from London; what Antiquities; what Quantity; How bounded; the Extent or Dime[nsion]; in Breth from N. to S.; in Lenth from [E. to W.][10] In the whol circuit or compo[sition] The forme.
2. The etymology
3. Longitude & Latitude
4. Soyle & aire
5. Division: 1. Natural by a River in 2 parts.[11]

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[2] A small note-page, bound in at a later date.
[3] This page consists of Machell's notes on William Bedwell's research on Tottenham, Middlesex. An Arabist and mathematician, Bedwell was part of a circle of scholars at Pembroke College, Cambridge, concerned with biblical studies and Semitic languages. He was vicar of Tottenham High Cross from 1607. See Alastair Hamilton, 'Bedwell, William (bap. 1563, d. 1632)'. *ODNB*; and see below, I.172B.
[4] The 1st Lord Coleraine purchased the manor of Tottenham in 1625: see Jean Pegram, Jean (1987), 'From Manor House... to Museum', *Haringey History Bulletin, vol. 28*, Hornsey Historical Society (London, 1987); his son, the 2nd Lord Coleraine, lived in Tottenham for most of his life: see Nicholas Doggett, ' Hare, Henry, second Baron Coleraine (bap. 1636, d. 1708), antiquary and architect'. *ODNB*.
[5] The rest of the page has perished.
[6] Half of this small note page has been scored through, and the right-hand part lost in a later binding operation. The Latin is given with parts missing; much of the first line is illegible.
[7] The rest of this line is obscured by the binding.
[8] 'For something is recognised through that by which we name it.'
[9] William Bedwell (bap. 1563, d. 1632), *A Brief Description of the town of Tottenham High Crosse Middlesex, together with an historical narration of such memorable things as there are to be seen and observed* (London, 1631).
[10] Words in square brackets tentatively replace text obscured by rebinding.
[11] A margin comment placed here has perished and now reads, '{This Lordship was […] the Midle Ward when a great tow[n]}.'

[I.176]

[Of the more remarkable places in Apleby]

The most remarkable places are:
1. The 2 Churches I must speake of hereafter distinctly by themselves as the General heads of their respective parishes.
2. The Castle, 3. ~~The St Nicol~~ The Fryory; 4. St Nichol & St George; 5. the Hospitall; 6. the Schoole; 7. The Towne hall; 8. the Jaol; 9. the Bridge; 10. The House of Correction.

The Castle
It is situated [blank] & consists of 2 parts: viz. the Romane Tower, & the body of the castle. The tower is supposed to be build by the Romanes and has indeed bin a distinct thing of it selfe, moted & walled about circular wise {ut res est dic[tum] opidum est situ amoe[no], suaque semper in principem fide, et in exteros humanitate inter celeberrimas Britaniae urbes commemorandum.}[12]

[Machell's Notes: I.176]

(vid. when Yorke Charter granted? If it was in Henry I time) When London &c.
They are a Barony in themselves {Quaere?}
They have a Towne hall & Prison & House of Correction & the assises have bin kept here since before date se … ante parochias.[13] The Townes armes are 3 lyons passant gardant
{1. Situation; 2. Description, with relation of accidents in pa …[14] and repares; 4. Inhabitants with their descents}[15]

[B.]
Notes, [Charters and Documents] concerning the shreivalty of Westm'land and other liberties and rights in the same county[16]

[I.160]

{Sheriff}
The Shrivealty of Westm'land was of old a great regality & ever esteemed the most noble jewell in the cabinet till they re[n]derd it vile by putting it \ this jewel into a / ~~into~~ mean mens, which before was execute by the best of the gentry. A jewel, be it never so rich, is but sordid in a swines snout.

[I.161]

Inter Placita de Assis[is] & Iuratis &c.[17] De warranto[18] Anno 20 Ed. 1. [1291-92]
Idonea de Leybourne was impleaded in a quo warranto, for useing of free chases, free warren, amends for the breaking of the Assise of Ale;[19] wafes[20] in certaine townes there sett downe to the number of 20. She sayeth that she clameth free chace and free warren in Apleby and Marton, Kings Meburne, Kirkby Stephen & Lancton, and not anywhere else; and she clameth amends for the Assise of Ale broken; and waifes in Marton, Kings Meburne & Kirkby Stephen, and in the moyity[21] of the towne of Overton &c. And she sayeth that she clameth the premises as parcell of the inheritance of Robert de Veteripont, her father, whose coheire she is together with Robert the son of Isabell her sister, which

[12] 'As the matter is, the said fortress is in a delightful situation, maintaining loyalty always to the Crown, and to be marked among the most famous cities of Britain for its civilised attitude to foreigners.'
[13] 'Before the parishes.'
[14] Indistinct word.
[15] Much of the margin comment at the page foot is obscured by the binding or has perished.
[16] This title originally appeared on MS. I.161.
[17] 'Among the pleas of the assizes and jurors etc.'
[18] 'By what authority'.
[19] For the Assize of Bread and Ale, see I.S. Hornsey, *A History of Beer and Brewing* (Cambridge, 2003), 292.
[20] Waifs: see the English Glossary.
[21] Moiety: see the English Glossary.

Robert is within aige; and the jury testify this clayme to be true, and say that Robert of Vepount died seased of the said libertyes. De warranto Ed. I.[22] {Robert Clifford son of Rodger and Isabell Vipont.}

§1. In placito de quo warranto et Rayman anno 20^0 Ed. I. Rot 2.0.[23]
The king demands by William Ing against Idonea ~~of~~ \ de / Leyburn, 1600 acres of wood, & 1000 acres of pasture in Kirkby Stephen and Brougham, & the Castle of Brough under Stanemore, and the mannours of Apleby, Kings Meburne, Browham & Kirkby Stephan. She sayeth that she clameth in cop[ar]tnary[24] with Robert of Clifford, the sonn of Isabell, her sister, & because Robert is within aige it is adjudged that the plea shall demur or stay.\ placita de Juratis &c: 6 Ed. 1. [1277-78]. /

§3. \ Placita de Juratis &c. 6. Ed. 3 [1332-1333] / Jurat et Assis Anno 7^o Ed. 1. [1278-79] / in Rot ultimo {Jurati presentant quod Henricus Senex i.e. Henry I}[25]
Burgus de Apleby venit per 12.[26] {Henricus Senex i.e. Henry 1. [1111-1112]}
The jury present that where \ as / Old Henry, granted to the Burgesses of Apleby such libertyes as the citizens of Yorke have, and King John confirmed the same, and they say that King John gave the Shrivaltye of Westmorland to Robert of Vipount and his heirs, who first hindred the said burgesses to use returne of writts and pleas of Wither~~m~~ \n/an.

II. An inquisition Munday after midlent Sunday: {Anno 3^0 Ed. I. [1274-75]}
Coram rege Ed. I. / Paschae Anno 3^0 [1275] majus et minus.[27]
Westmorland Rot. 12. Placitum Inter &c[28] {Entered}[29]
§ I. A plea betwene the Burgesses of Apleby, plantiffs, and Roger \ de / Clifford younger & Isabell his wife, & Roger \ de / Leyburne and Idonia his wife, defendants, for that the defendants exact of those Burgesses other services than they ought. The defendants say that King John gave to one Robert ~~of Vipont~~ \ de Veteripont / their ancestor Appleby & Brough [~~an Inq. upon this III^0 Ed. 1~~] see p. 48 Lib. 5 {Entered in Ap[pleby]}

§ 2. Paschae[30] 4^0 Ed. 1. [1276] Maius et minus.[31] Westmorland Rot. 30. Judgment is given for the defendants sherifes.

§ 4. Paschae 8^0 Ed. I. [1280] majus.[32] Westmorland Kendall Rot. 25.
An order made by the king and his councell how many servants the Shireue of Westmorland in Kendall ought to have for service of the king, and also an Inquisition lecta digna.[33] {Entered in Ap[pleby].}

[I.162]

{vide post Anno 13. Ed. 1.}[34]
Coram Rege Ed. I. Paschae, 14 Maius. Westmorland. Rot. 25.
A judgment given for the shrieue of Westmorland against the Burgesses of Appleby: For that the Burgesses clame to have retorne of writts & other libertyes; because the Burgesses appear not, Ideo

[22] From a warrant of Edward I. Crossed-through text here repeats the paragraph's title: '~~inter placita de Assisi & Iur &c~~.'
[23] 'Rotulus': roll.
[24] 'Copartnery': from 'coparceners' or 'coparticipates': 'those who are to have equal portion in the inheritance of an ancestor and by law are the issue female in default of heirs male, come in equality to the lands of their ancestors and make partition of the lands.' See Giles Jacob, *A New Law Dictionary* (2nd edn, 1732), C.
[25] 'In the last roll the jurors present that the old Henry (Henry I).'
[26] 'The Burgesses of Appleby came.'
[27] 'In the presence of Edward I., at Easter, in the third year of Edward I.: more or less.'
[28] 'Plea between.'
[29] 'Plea entered.'
[30] 'Easter.'
[31] 'More or less.'
[32] 'At Easter in May 1280.'
[33] 'Duly recited.'
[34] 'After November 1284.'

vicecomes sine die.[35] {Entered inter Cart no 1.}

Anno 15. Ed. 1. [1287] Coram Rege Ed. I. Pasch: 15. Westmorland Rot. 10.
§6. \ Williesmus de Goldrington & / William of Goldrington & others were attached to answer Isabell, who was the wife of Roger Clifford the Younger and Idonia, her sister, for causeing John of Apleby and others to be appealed in the towne of Apleby for the death of Nicholas Strange &c. Whereas appeales of Death of man ought not to be holden before any but the King or his justices de Banco,[36] Justices Itinerant in the shire or shires in their countries,

{§7. Ed. 1. [1287-88] confirm[atum] Antiquae cartae de Apeby vide post}[37]

{§8. 18. Ed. 1. [1289-90] carta libertatis pro diversis clameis Term Retro in Tur.}[38]
Whereupon the said Isabell Shrieuess complaneth. Judgment is given that the defendants shall forfaite to the said Isabell, and the Liberties of the towne of Apleby seised unto the Kings hands, and are in the same plea repleiaed.
{Entered in Cart de Appleby} Communia de Term Michs. Anno 23 finente & Incipiente 24 Ed. I Ro. 9 in dorso.[39]

Collections Henrie
Villa de Apelby sesita in manum Regis quia homines ejusdem villae tenuerunt formifica placita in villa sua sine warranto socii. Anno 24 Rol. 14. e Tur.[40]
That Appleby was a Corporation in the time of Henry 3., haveing liberties equall with Yorke, which privaledges wer confirmed by King John. And Robert de Veteripont, the first of that name and first hereditarie Shireve, was the first allso who hindered the said Burgesses to use returne of writts and pleas of Witherman.
Ranulfus de Langeton and Alicia, his wife, who was daughter of Thomas, son of Patritius, whose heire she was, had sute of c\l/ame coram jus warijs domini Regis apud Apleby, with Thomas de Hellebeck for 2 oxgangs of land in Hellebeck, which they released to Thomas & \ his / heires. His testibus Domino Willielmo de Bampton, tunc Vicecomite Westmarie, Domino Roberto de Askeby Domino Johanne de Montvile Domino Richard de Suleby, Thomas de Musgrave tunc senescallo Westmariæ,[41] Willelmo de Warthecop, Johe de Barton,[42] Hugo Carpenter, Richardo filio Beatricie, Willielmo de Sowerby et alys.[43]

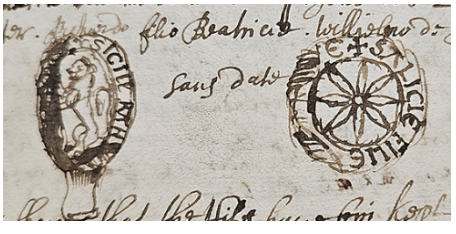


Figure. 1.1.2. Seals 'sans date'. I.62.

[35] 'Therefore, the sheriff at a later date.'
[36] Justices in the Court of Common Pleas.
[37] 'Checked at an old document at Appleby: see below.'
[38] 'A charter of liberty for various claimants in the Term Return Day, in the Tower of London.'
[39] 'The commons [court of common pleas] of the Michaelmas term at the end of year 23 and the beginning of year 24 of Edward I. [1295-96], in Roll 9 in the back.'
[40] 'Town of Appleby taken into the hand of the king because men of that town held [?] pleas in his town without warrant.'
[41] 'At that time Lord of Westmorland.'
[42] Or Burton; here there is an indistinguishable letter: a/u.
[43] 'And with others.'

This shows that the Asises have bin kept at Apleby anciently ever before the time of usuall dateing. I suppose it was in the I of Henry 3[d] [1216-1217] that this writeing was made. And it may be seen amongst the sine date[44] writeing of Hellebeck, upon the dorse of which I have writ: T.D.[45] & Lanheton, 6ost.

[I.163]

St Lawrence Appleby
Vid plura[46] in the Common Place Rolls, Booke of Pedegrees, Notes General

[I.164]

Mr Dugdall has drawn these without crownes, & I have seen a draught at an instrument of John Marshall, vicar of St Michaels,[47] to Thomas Lord Clif[ford] 4° November XXXI. of Henry 6. [1452] where the lyons in the flag are plane without crownes; the other in the shield seemd crowned: Sc. 2 upermost, the lower not. They appear'd to mee, when I saw the impression, to be crowned, & I have writ to be farther inform'd. Mr Dugdal was mistaken in Machells armes in Aple[by] church window (Sc. St Lawrence), putting the dogs without collers where as they are collerd, & several other things in that Visitation 1654, & he may possibly be out in this, sed quaere.[48] This in the reverse is better drawn than any I have seen.

[I.165]



Figure: I.1.3. Appleby Seal. I.165.

[I.167]

Inter Recepta Domini Regis Caroli in Curia Recepte scaear[ij] Sub custod[odia] Thesararij et camerarionis ibidem resident[ium]. Inter alia continetur ut sequitur. Placita Coram Domino Rege apud Westm'land a die pasche in quindecim dies. Anno Ed.1. 13[0] Rotul. 26 Preceptum fuit vicecomiti quod esset hic &c.[49] i.e. The Shireue was commanded to be present here, to an[swer] this day to the Kinges Burgers of the Towne of Appleby, concerning a plea. Whereas the wellbeloved the Kinges Burgers of Appleby by theire Charters of the Kings progenitours, Kings of England, ought to have returne of all the Kings writts concerneing themselves in their towne aforesaid, and there to make Summons and Attachments according to the Tennure of the said Brieves, and to Answer to the Kings writts which concerne themselves, before the King or his justices whomsoever, to be impleaded; by which our Lord the King might otherwise command[50] his Shireue to returne to the said Burgesses such like writts of the king, in due and accustomed forme, and in the same words that they are directed unto the

[44] 'Without a date.'
[45] An indistinct word follows.
[46] 'See further' [or 'several'].
[47] Bongate.
[48] 'But query'. According to Edward Bellasis, this window had stained glass (put in wrongly, thus making the dogs run inaccurately to the sinister) of Thornburgh quartering Machell. It was seen as late as 1855, though it has since disappeared, E. Bellasis, 'Machell of Crackenthorpe', *CW1*, 8 (1886), 419 footnote.
[49] 'Received in the Court of His Majesty, King Charles. Receipts of the Treasury under the custody of the Treasurer and Steward resident there. Among other things, the contents are as follows: Pleas before His Majesty the King in Westmorland from Easter Day for fifteen days. In the 13th year of Edward I. [1284-85], Roll 26. It was enjoined on the sheriff that he should be here etc.'
[50] MS: '{alias whereby our Lord the King might formally command}by which our Lord the King might otherwise command'.

Shireue; & the Shireue should permit them to answer to the Kings writts before the King or his Justices, to be impleaded and to make Summons & Attachments in the Kings Towne aforesaid. The Shrieve, contemneing or setting att nought the Kings command aforesaid, hath don nothing of this kinde there to the manifest prejudice or wrong of the said Burgesses and their Libertyes, as is showne to the King in behalf of those Burgesses by their [~~long~~]complaint. Att which the King wondereth, and therefore doth recommand and firmly injoyne the said Shriue that he permitt and suffer the foresaid Burgesses to have such retornes in forme aforesaid, and to answer to the Kings writts before the King or the Kings justices, to be impleaded and to make their Summons & Attachmentes there without any difficulty, according to the tenore of the forsaid Charters, & the tenore allso of the Kings mandamus directed to the Shriue. And the foresaid Shrieue came & was ready to show & verify that the forsaid Baliues never had retorne of writts, sommons or attachments; and the Baliues aforesaid did not appear. Ideo dictum est vicecomiti quod eat inde sine die; et predicti Baluis et plegis {pledges or suretye} Ideo dictum est vicecomiti quod eat sine die, et predicti Balivi et plegij Sui {pledges or suretye} de prosequendo in mi[sur]a. Queratur nomina plegiorum.[51]
II Placita Coram R. de Heng\g/ham (Ibid reservata) de Anno 15º Regis Ed. Proximo die post med Quardragess. Rott. XIII.[52] {N.B. Entered in Cart. De Ap.}
Willielmus de Goldrington &c.: William de Goldrington, John his brother, Thomas de Breton, Hugh de Granger, William Le Tayler, John de Karliol, Will Berewys – Amicia the daughter of Mr Goldrington, Simon Kemp (and others I omit) in mia pro plur defaultis.[53]

[I.168]

{Nicholas de Hastigmont \ Alice vx /
Amicia – T. Goldrington
Christian = W. de Goldrington
Isabell = William Thrilkeld
Emma = Gilbert Wherton}

The same William Goldrington and others were attached to an answer to Isabell, who was wife of Roger de Clifford, the young Idonea, the sister of the same Isabell, touching a plea. Why and when an Appeale concerning the death and killing of a man & other fellonyes committed in the Kingdome) if the King may or ought or hath bin accustomed (according to the law and custom of same kingdome) to be instituted, pleaded or held before the King or his Justices of the bench, or before his itinerary justices by the kings writs, or before the Kings shrieves in his countyes & keepers of the pleas of his Crowne in the same Countyes without the Kings writts, & in no other court of the said King. The forsaid William de Goldrington and others, have by Amice, the wife of Thomas de Goldrington, Christian the wife of William de Goldrington, Isabel, the wife of William Threlkeld, and Emma, the wife of Gilbert Wherton, without the Kings writt & without any reasonable cause, procured Robert de Appelby, John le Fraunces & Robert the son of Alexander, to be appealed in the Kings Court of the Burrow of Appleby, touching the death of Nicholas de Hasting, the brother of the said Amice, Christian, Isabel & Emme, & plead & hold that Appeal in the same court. Although Alice, who was wife of the foresed Nicholas de Hastings, doth Appeal to the foresaid Robert de Appleby touching the death of the foresaid Nicholas her som times husband, in the county as the manner is. \ But they have taken by force & armes & / have[54] the forsaid John le Fraunces, & & Robert, fil Alexandri, soe appealed with in the Liberty of the forsaid Isabel & Idonea (~~taken by force Armes & have imprisoned~~) to the prejudice of the King and the said Isabel & Idonea, and the noe small hurt of their own libertyes, to the manifest contempt of the King, against the Laws and Customes of the Kingdom, and against the peace &c. Whereupon they complane that whereas all attachments of Appeal touching the death of a man ought to belong to the Shirieve, nor may the said Appeales be determined, nor indeed are they accustomed soe to be, without Justices (supplying the Kings place, otherwise called the)

[51] 'Therefore, it was declared to the Sheriff that he should depart without a date of return, also the aforesaid Bailiffs and their sureties to prosecute [matters] in due measure. He should inquire the names of the sureties.'
[52] 'II pleas before R. de Hengham (reserved at the same place) in the 15th year of Edward. On the day following mid-Lent. Roll XIII.'
[53] '.... in due measure according to a greater number of defaults.'
[54] A word here is obscured by the binding but the crossed-through passage following it suggests its meaning.

Lieutenants of the King, or Justices of the Bench, or Itinerary Justices, or Shirieves in their Countyes, or keepers of the pleas of the Crowne in some Countyes. The foresaid William de Goldrington & others, on Wednesday next before the Nativity of St John Baptist, in the 14 of our now Kings Reigne, held an Appeal touching the death of Nicholas de Hastings, at the sute of Amice, the wife of Thomas de Goldrington, Christian, the wife of William de Goldrington, Isabel, the wife of William de Thrilkeld, & Emme, the wife of Gilbert de Querton, which Amice or in truth, & others, appealed the foresaid John le Fraunces & others, touching the death aforesaid; by whose Appeale the foresaid John & others were attached and detayned in prison, and had a day given them, until Wednesday next after the feast of the Appostles Peter & Paul in the same yere at which they prolonged their Court of Appleby until Thorsday, the feast of St James the Apostle, att which day appeared personally the foresaid Isabel as shiruess of Westmorland, & brought the Kings Writt to the aforesaid Baliues of the Court foresaid, that they should not any further hold that Appeal or the like, in the Court aforesaid contra prohibitum Regis;[55] & allso an other Writ to the foresaid Amice & others, that they should not follow their Appeal &c. Notwithstanding the foresaid Baliffs held their Court touching the Appeal aforesaid, i.e. on Wednesday next before the Feast of St Lawrence; and afterwards came one John Cromwell & brought the Kings Writt to deliver the foresaid John & Robert, whome the Baliffs indeed delivered; & after, the same Baliffs at the sute of one Adam, being under aige, who appealed the foresaid John & Robert touching the death aforesaid, tooke the same John & Robert agane and held their Court concerning the same Appeale. Whereupon, they say that they are damnifyed to the value of 1000 li & theirupon bring their Sute. And ergo William & others appeared by their attorney, and could not gainsay or contradict it {Entered in Ap. Charters}. Therefore it is adjudged that the foresaid William de Goldrington & others should make satisfaction to the foresaid Isabell & Idonea, & the Liberty of the foresaid Towne of Appleby should be into the Kings hands et William et alij mia'.[56] Afterward appeared before the Lieutenants or Deputyes of Our Lord the King at Westminster, John de Goldrington, with the Baliues of Appleby, & desired the forsaid Liberty by Plevine,[57] & it was granted &c. until a moneth after Michaelmas Day, wheresoever &c. And that they might have a writt to repleuie &c.

[I.169]

Iter[um] Carta de An[no] 14. Ed 1. No. 21.
In Tur. London.
Confirmatio Antiquae Cartae de Appleby in Com[i]t[atu] Westmorland per Hen[ricum] 2 Johan[em] & Hen[ricum] 3rd.[58]

Rex Archiepiscopis etc. Salutem; Inspeximus Cartam Confirmationis quam D[ominus] Henric[us] Rex Pater Noster fecit Burgensibus de Appelby in Hec Verba ... Henr[icus] D[e]i gratia Rex Anglie Dom[inus] Hib[er]n[ie] & Dux Norman[ie] et Aquitaniae, et comes Andeg[avie] Archiespisc[opis], Episcopis, Abbibus, Prioribus, comit[atibus], Baronibus, Just[iciari]is, Forestariis, vicecom[itibus], Prepositis, Ministris, et Omnibus Balivis et fidelibus suis, salutem; Inspeximus cartam D[omi]ni I Regis patris nostri, quam fieri fecit Burgensibus nostris de Appelby in hec verba. Johannes D[e]i Gratia Rex Angl[ie], Dom[inus] Hib[er]n[i]e, Dux Normanie Aquitan[ie] et Comes Andeg[avie], Archiepisc[opis], Abbibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iust[iciari]is, Vicecom[itibus], et Omnibus Ministris et fidelibus suis salutem: Sciatis nos concessisse et p[re]senti carta confirmasse Burgensibus nostris de Appleby omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines, quas Burgenses nostri de Ebor[aco] habent. Quare volumus et firmiter p[re]cipimus quod p[re]dicti Burgenses nostri de Appleby h[ab]eant bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plenarie et integre et honorifice omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines quas Burgenses nostri de Eborac[o] habent sicut Rex Henricus Pater noster eas illis concessit, et carta sua rationabiliter confirmavit, et prohibemus ne quis eas inde disturbet. Preterea dedimus et concessimus eisdem Burgensibus nostris de Appleby, Libertates et Quietantias, de

[55] 'Against the king's prohibition.'
[56] Mia = misericordia, i.e. acquitted. 'Should be into hands of the King, and both William and the others acquitted.'
[57] Plevin or (French) Plevine: 'A pledge, assurance, or warrant; surety. Also, through plevin: on bail'. *OED*.
[58] 'Another Charter of the year 14. Ed 1. No. 21. in the Tower of London. Confirmation of the Ancient Charter of Appleby in the County of Westmorland, by Henry II, John, and Henry III.'

Theolonio et stallagio et pontagio, et lestagio per Totam Terram nostram Anglie qu[ae] ad nos pertinet p[re]ter quam in civitate London nisi forte cives Ebor[aci] quietantias inde habeant, per libertates suas, in civitate London. Concessimus eis Burgen[sibus] de Appleby, tenend[o] in manu sua; reddendo inde firmam quam debe[n]t vicecom[iti] nostro de Westm[or]land apud Appleby; sc[ilicet] medietatem ad fest[um] S[anc]t[i] Michael[is] et Alteram medietatem ad Pascha.
Testibus Gaufro fil[io] Petri com[itis] Essex, Will[iam]o Briweir, Hugone Bard, Will[iam]o Stutevill, Ric[ard]o constabulario castri, Hugone de Nevil, Simon de Patteshall. Dat p[er] manum Simonis Archid[iaconi] Wallen[sis] et Johan[n]is de Gray. Apud Ebor[acum] xxvj Marc[ij] regni nostri Anno 1o ... Nos igitur concessionem donatione[m] et confirmationem p[re]dictam gratam et ratam habentes, pro nobis et Heredibus nostris, eam p[re]dictis Burgensibus nostris de Appleby p]re]senti carta nostra concedimus et confirmavimus.
His testibus, venerabil[i]b[us] patribus P. Winton[ensi], J. Bathon[ensi], et W. Carliolen[si] episc[opis], H. de Burgo com[ite] cant[uarie] Justi[ciari]o nostro, R comite castr[i] et Lind[i], Johan[ne] de Lacy constab[ulario] castri, Stephano de Segrave, Rad[olf]o fil[io] Nicholai, Godefro de Gaucrum, Rich[ard]o fil[io] Hugonis et Alyis.
Dat[a] p[er] manum venerabilis patris A. Cicestr[ensis] epi[scopi], Cancellar[ij] nostr[i]: apud Westm[inste]r 5º Maij Anno r[egni] nostri 16º
Entered Inter Cartas de Burgo de Appleby. [59]
{H. 3d.[60] Henry the 3rd confirmed onely the charte of Appleby ergo they had it before.}
{1. John [1199-1200]}
{Henry 2. confirmed the charter}
{stallagio = toll, stallage}
{lastage}[61]
{The Burrow}
{Constable of Chester}

[59] 'The King to the Archbishops etc. Greetings. We have viewed the Charter of Confirmation which Lord Henry the King, our father, made for the townsfolk of Appelby, in these words ... Henry, by Grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland & Ruler of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, sends greetings to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Justices, Foresters, Sheriffs, Reeves, Ministers, and to all the Bailiffs and his loyal people. We have viewed the charter of the Lord King the First, our father, which he caused to be made for our townsfolk of Appelby, in these words. John by Grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Ruler of Normandy and Aquitania and Earl of Anjou, sends greetings to the Archbishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, and to all his ministers and faithful people: Know ye that we have conceded and by this present Charter have confirmed to our townsfolk of Appleby all the liberties and free customs which our townsfolk of York hold. Wherefore we will it and we strongly enjoin that our aforesaid townsfolk of Appleby hold well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and wholly and honourably, all the liberties and free customs which our townsfolk of York hold, just as King Henry our father granted them to them and duly confirmed them by his charter, and we forbid that anyone should alter them from this. Moreover, we have given and granted to the same our townsfolk of Appleby the liberties and immunities of toll and stallage and pontage and lastage throughout our whole land of England which we govern except that in the city of London, unless perchance the townsfolk of York hold immunities, through their liberties, in the city of London. We have made grant to those townsfolk of Appleby, by holding in their own hand [and] by returning thence the payment which is due to our sheriff of Westmorland at Appleby; viz. a moiety at the feast of Saint Michael and the other at Easter.
Witnesses: Gaufrus son of Peter, Earl of Essex; William Briweir; Hugo Bard; William Stutevill; Richard warden of the castle; Hugo de Nevil; Simon of Patteshall. Handed over by Simon Archdeacon of Wales and John de Gray. At York the 26th of March in the 1st year of our reign ...
We, therefore, holding the grant, gift and confirmation aforesaid agreeable and valid, for us and our heirs, do grant and have confirmed it to the aforesaid our townsfolk of Appleby by our present charter.
Witnesses: The venerable fathers P. Bishop of Winchester, J. Bishop of Bath, and W. Bishop of Carlisle; Henry of the Borough [and] earl of Canterbury, our Justice; R. earl of the castle and of Lincoln; John of Lacy, warden of the castle; Stephen of Segrave; Radolfus son of Nicholaus; Godefry of Gaucrum; Richard son of Hugo; and others. Handed over by the venerable father A. Bishop of Chichester, our Chancellor. At Westminster, the 5th of May in the 16th year of our reign. Entered among the charters of the Town of Appleby'.
[60] Superimposed on '2nd'.
[61] See the English Glossary.

{16. Ed. I. [1287-88]}

[Machell's Notes: I.171] [62]

Se Appleby treated on per vicos Ogleb. Notes.[63]
Se the Charter pag[e] praecedent.
The County Court was kept in Apleby Castle, as by a verdict to Mr Elmore Machell 30th December Annis ~~Phill~~ et Mariae 4^0 et 5^0.[64]
Abbotts of Shap
Rich. Abbat 1426: 4. Hen.
Bishops of Carlisle: see at Buly: John, Bishop of Carlisle, 1426. 4. Henry 6.

[I.232]

[Charter] (occurit in Castro de Skipton)[65]
Apelby and Bur[66] cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, together with all the balifship (or Shriuealty) ~~of~~ and the rent of the county of Westmorland, and with the services of all our tenents there, who hold not of us by Knights Service: to have & to hold of us and our heires, to him and his heires who shal issue from him and his now espoused wife, by the service of 4 Knights for all service, reserveing to us and our heires all pleas which belong to the Crowne with our regal dignatie and saveing also that the said Robert nor his, shall not make any waste or distruction in Brullis de Winefeld {see a booke called *Forest Laws* which sayes no purlues till after his reign}[67] i.e. in the Purlews of Whinfeld, nor hunt in them so long as wee live, unlesse the said Robert be corporally present \ i.e. personally present / wherefore wee will and firmely command, that the said Robert and his heires, after him, have and injoy all the premises of us and our heires as is aforesaid: in woods & in planes, in wa[rrens][68] and in paths, in medows and pastures, in mores & in marshes (in stagnis et vivarijs) {In stanks & fish ponds} in ponds and in rivers, in waters & mills, and in all places with their libertyes and free customes, as is aforesaid. Test. Bald: Comite Albimer. William de Broos, Richard de Torneham, Petro de Stock, Allano Basset, Eudon de Bellocamp, Colino Clerico. Dat per manus Hugonis de Well, apud Troare 28 Octob. Anno R. nostri $5^{0.}$

From this Charter it appeares that Brough and Whinfell doe both belong to Apelby as Apendices thereof: and I suppose that Browham Castle is allso included*, tho not mentioned there:[69] For I finde not an particular grant of it to the Viponts, and yett in the partition of the 2 sisters which came to be coheres (as hereafter shall be showne) it is sufficiently manyfest that the Viponts were possessed of ~~this~~ that allso, & the Castle of Mallerstang which is called Pendragon.

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[62] MS: '~~Apperby. Ascome. Akaby Windw. Askeby Mag. Askby Urb~~ [….] ~~Robert Swinburn 8 Ed. 2. Robert de~~ […] ~~8 Ed. 2. 8 Ed 2 p. 5~~ [...] ~~8 Ed 2. John D. Robert Bradewood R. 1. 2. 6. 2 6 8 acres 1 Ed 2 Hors Walteri de Somer o~~' In the MS; placed at the foot of the page upside down and scored-through.
[63] 'See Appleby treated on by small towns [in] Ogilby notes': John Ogilby, *Britannia … an illustration of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales: by a geographical and historical description of the principal roads thereof* (1675, 1698). See C. Withers, 'Ogilby, John (1600-1676), publisher and geographer'. *ODNB*.
[64] The early regnal years of Mary I were 1: Alone, 1553-1554. 2: After her marriage to Philip of Spain, 1554-1558. As these periods were often calculated separately and 'Phill' is scored through, Machell's wording is opaque.
[65] 'Occurs in Skipton Castle.'
[66] Word blotted; presumably Brough.
[67] The book is probably by John Manwood: *A Treatise of the lawes of the forest ... also a treatise of the pourallee ... whereunto are added the statutes of the forest* (1615). During the reign of Henry II [1154-89] about 30 per cent of the country was set aside for royal sport. The forest laws were enacted to protect 'the beasts of the forest' (red, roe, and fallow deer, and wild boar) and the trees and undergrowth which sheltered them. The Assize of the Forest (also known as the Assize of Woodstock) in 1184, resulted in definitive forest laws. None could carry bows and arrows in the royal forest, and dogs' toes were clipped to prevent them pursuing game. Savage penalties for infringements (blinding, mutilation, and castration) were imposed. The forest laws became a major political issue in King John's reign, culminating in the Charter of the Forest (1217), but only in the 14th century, when large areas were disafforested, did the political issue subside. See John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft, 'Forest Laws', in, *A Dictionary of British History* (3rd edn, 2015). Online.
[68] The word is partially obscured by the binding.
[69] MS: 'tho not mentiond ~~made of it~~ \ there:' /

And the foresaid gift is confirmed to Robert de Veteripont† by the Kings discharge to the Barons of the Exchequer sans date (clause 6^0 Johs memb. 4^{th}), which tho placed there in the Tower yet should be referd in my opinion to the king for the \ very first / grant in these words.[70]
Rex &c. Baronibus de Scaccario &c. Sciatis quod dedimus dilecto et fideli nostro Roberto de Veteriponte.Westm'land‡ ad se sustentandum in servitio nostro, et ideo mandamus quod nihil ab eo exigatis, de preterito tempore nec de futuro \ T.G. filio Petri & apud London 14 April &c.[71] /
Which semes to me to be nothing else but a Certificate under the Kings hand, to satisfy his Barons of his grant & to prohibit theire exacting or demanding of any profits from that time forth out of the said County. Yet some are of opinion that this was meant of Custody & Wardship of Hellenisia daughter & heir of William Lancaster, Baron of Kendall.

[Machell's Notes: I.232]
*{See how they come to Browham by quit A. de Browham of Drengage}
†{He had it first in farme onely, which being given afor, the king here discharges the accounting for it}
‡{The bottom of Westm'land; called Westm'land in a peculiar manner.}

[IV.35]

In the Pipe Roll of 23 Hen III [1239-40]
They say that waste is made in the wood of Flakebrigg and two vaccaries or cowhouses carried away thence by the said Prior [of Wetheral], eleven bulls, nine cows and five woodcalves or wild calves 'calves of the woods' were taken thence by him. It seems there were wild cattle in Flakebrig then.
The Manor of Appleby. Concerning it they say: That the Tower there is much impaired and decayed, and the main timber (marennium) much rotted or decayed by default of the Prior because he would not distrain the pledges of the carpenters who ought to re-edify the Tower, who took of Lord John de Veteripont 22 marks for the reparation of the said Tower, and the Soldiers Room (the Barons Chamber) (Camera Item Militum) also, which was weak and decayed much in time of the said John, fell quite down in the time of the Prior and the main timber is annihilated and utterly wasted or destroyed; and of the 50 marks which our Lady the Queen assigned for the repair of the Castle there is not allowed above £10 as they believe.
It seems this was in the time of Henry IIIs Queen; that the Castle and Tower were both very much decayed then, and the Knights or Barons Chamber, as it was called, new fell at that time even to the ground: all which I understand to be meant of the timber, not of the walls. That the Queen did especially concern herself for the reparations of Appleby.

It seems in the 19^{th} of Edward II the Castle of Appleby was escheated into the hands of the King, for he writes to his Constable of his Castle of Appleby for to pay four marks yearly out of his cornage or horngeld to Shap Abbey (which Abbey was endowed therewith by Robert the son of John de Veteripont) due to him from these his tenants.

West of the Church, scarce a stone cast distant, stands the Free School founded by the Burgesses long ago to which were added the benefactions of 2 Queens one of sacred memory and the other of late, as I have more fully shown in my Notes concerning it, given Mr Wase: see his *History of Free Schools*.[72] It is a fair building 3 storeys high and a fair Dwelling house lately added thereto of 2 storeys.

[70] MS: 'And the foresaid gift is confirmed to Robert de Veteripont, by the Kings discharge ~~of~~ \ to / the Barons of the Exchequer sans date (clause 6^0 Johs memb. 4^{th}) ~~which tho~~ placed there in the Tower ~~yet should be referd in my opinion to the king for the \ very first~~ / grant in these words.'
[71] 'King etc. To the barons concerning the treasury etc. Let it be known that we have given to our beloved and faithful Robert de Veteriponte, Westmorland, to maintain himself in our service; and therefore, we decree that you exact nothing from him from time past nor in the future. To T.G. Son of Peter at London 14 April etc.'
[72] Christopher Wase, *Considerations concerning free-schools as settled in England* (Oxford, 1678). Christopher Wase (1627-1690) was a headmaster and classical scholar who conducted a national free-school survey, 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's survey of free-schools can be found throughout Machell's notes; for example, Part 2, Ch.7, Heversham, II.170; Part 2, Ch.9, Windermere, II.346.

In Dugdales Visitation.
Prospect of Appleby and Castle; Arms in and about C[astle]; Arms in and about the Hospital; Arms in and about the Church. Query if he drew the monuments, else I must. If Addison have not [drawn] the North-west Castle I must draw it and the Cross.[73]

[I.304]

[Inquisition 1314-1315]
Concerning Appleby, take this account out of the Inquisition in the 8. of Edward the 2nd [1314-15], taken att Appleby upon the death of Robert de Clifford of Apleby, that famouse warrior & most loyall subject*. He held of the king in capite,[74] the Barony of Westmorland by the service of 4 knights fees; that is to say, the Castle of Apleby with its precincts of trenches†, of the trenches of the said Castle, the herbage whereof is worth by the yere Xs.[75] And there are 200 & 10 acres of demane land ~~of which an 100 at the least is~~ \ per minus centum, i.e. by the lesser hundred[76] / worth 4d per annum and amounteth to 3li 10.[77] There are allso 25 acres of demane medow, each acres whereof is worth by the yere 16d, and they amount to xxxiiijs‡.[78] There are allso xii free tenents who pay by the yere xxxiiijs & a 1d,[79] viz.: at the feast of St Martin & Pentecost. There are allso 25 tenents who hold diverse tenements in fee, which are burned by the Scotts; and they pay per annum att the same termes 4li⸸.[80] There are allso there 28 oxgangs of land whereof each is worth per annum 4s and amounted to the sum of cl xijs.[81] \ 36. Edward 3. [1362-63] pay 41 shill.[82] / Allso there are there 24 messuages cottarales bur[n]t,[83] each whereof is worth 6d per annum, and amounteth to the sum of xs 6d.[84] Allso there is there one water mill, & is worth yerely 6li 13s 4d. Allso there is there 2 petena {quid ?}[85] et valent per annum 6s 8d.[86] There is allso there 1 parke which is called Flakebrig, and is worth by the yere in prato agistamentis et alijs exitibus,+ Cs.[87] There are also there 2 vivaries,[88] which are worth by the year 2s. Allso the pleas & perquisits of the court are worth there 2s & 8d.
The sum is xxixli xix, iij.[89]

I cannot say this is an account of the whole demane & perquisites of Appleby, because I know well that the ancient estate of the Viponts was \ at this time / under a division, & this Robert seised only of his purpart[90] \ and tho he had the Castle yet [his share was] so much contracted that he had not anything of the Castle Park, / only of his purpart. Howsoever this renders ann undeniable proof of Flakebrig being in the Libertyes of Apleby; of land being then at 4d an acre, medow att 16d; that there were above 25 tenements (for there were 25 tenents which held diverse tenements and they all destroyd and burn'd by the Scotts, as allso 24 messuages. So that tis evident 59 houses were destroyd att the least. And by this allso it appears 235 acres of land belonged att that time unto the demane. And yett I take it to be only ½, for in the 11. of Edward, Roger Cliffords halfe of the demane was

[73] For Edward Addison, see Part 1. Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.539.
[74] ' in chief.'
[75] 10s.
[76] 'Of which a hundred at least.'
[77] £3 10s.
[78] 34s.
[79] 34s 1d.
[80] Terms are rent days.
[81] 112s 0d.
[82] 41s 0d.
[83] Cottars' homes, burned down.
[84] 10s 6d.
[85] 'Quid': what are they? Petena = peat mosses.
[86] 'And are worth 6s 8d per annum.'
[87] 'And is worth annually in its meadows, grazing and other assets, 100s 0d.'
[88] Fishponds. See IV.36, below.
[89] £29 19s 3¼d; 'the court' is the manor court.
[90] Purpart = a share; a part in a division; that part of an estate formerly held in common, which is by partition allotted to any one of the parties. The word was anciently applied to the shares falling separately upon a division or partition of the estate: *Black's Law Dictionary*, http://thelawdictionary.org/purpart/.

valued att xxvii^{li} v^{s} iii. Qu.[91] The Scotts also burned several other places, as hereafter I shall show; & Burgh for one.

Demane of Apleby, given in to be Anno 8. Edward 2. [1314-1315]
\ 4d per acre / 210 \ per minus centum / & 25 medow: 16d per acre. I Edward 3. [1327-1328]
402 arable: 5d acre & 43 acre of medow 10d per acre: 19. Edward 3. [1345-1346]
Tot[al], 188 acre: 6d acre – 21 of medow:1s 6d an acre.
Wilde beast or deer in the parke of Flakebrig: Anno Edward 3. 1^{0} [1327-28]. St Laurence Parish in Apleby: see p.40 ubi plura.[92]

[Machell's Notes: I.304]

{I finde it called vicus de Scytergatt s.d. T. Tho. fil quondam magistri Willielmi de Goldryngton, majoris, puto temp. Henry 3.}[93]
*{8. Ed. 2. È Tur. Lond. Eiscaetria[94] Anno 8. Edward 2. n.62.
†1. Edward 3. 8 acres of waste within trenches herb[age] worth iiij^{s}}
‡{Arable 4d an acre; medow 16 per acres.}[95]
⸸{10. of Henry 5., the Castle & Ma[jor] of Apleby cont. in it selfe v. pag.)

[I.172]

[C.]
[Description of Appleby, primarily taken from Volume I.]
Apelbeya eo Conquestoris[96]

Abalby (for so I thinke fitt to write it) from Aballaba its ancient and Romane name,[97] is now called Apleby, Apulby or Apeby promiscuously and so I finde it writt from the ~~time of the~~ Conquest. A Towne it is of very great antiquity, being a station of Aurelian Moors, \ but of considerable[98] / yeres since then called Aballaba, and the antiquity thereof has bin confirmed, as former writers have testified, by British brickes and ancient inscriptions and of later yeres but Roman Coynes found there, whereof these are 2.

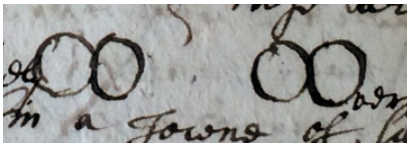


Figure 1.1.4. Sketch of Roman coins. I.172.

It has ~~probably~~ \ not unlikely / bin a Towne of \ very great & / large extent as may be discoverd from the tofts & garden platts which they call gards and which in old evidences \ are called […][99] Gardmae,

[91] £27 5s 3¼d. Query. Machell is here referring to a major raid by the Scots in 1314-15.
[92] 'Where there is more.' See IV.35, above; see also MS IV.36.
[93] 'I find it called the town of Scytergatt (without date, perhaps in the time of Henry 3.). Testator, Thomas, son of one-time magistrate William Goldrington, mayor.'
[94] Escheats from the Tower of London.
[95] 34s.
[96] 'Appleby up to the time of the Conqueror.' For a description of the development of Appleby and its castle during this period, see W. Douglas Simpson, 'The town and castle of Appleby: a morphological study', *CW2*, 49 (1949), 118-33.
[97] This information is repeated on MS II.512. For an alternative view relating to the site of Aballaba and the meaning of Appleby, see Michael Waistell Taylor, *The Old Manorial Halls of Westmorland and Cumberland* (Kendal, 1892), 123-25. For example, 'There is no evidence that Appleby was ever a Roman station at all.' (123); 'The word now written Appleby finds utterance in the folk-speech of the country in a form which may be expressed in letters as "Yæpllbi," which in sound is as close as can be to Hiálpeby.' 'Hiálp was spelled by the monks, and ever after, as Whelp.' At this point, Taylor agrees with some of Machell's 'Malus Catulus or mischievous whelp' theories, but shears them of Roman ancestry (125).
[98] This word is partly obstructed by the binding; 'considerable' has been substituted.
[99] Two words following are indistinct.

\ which are / yet to be seen in many places adjoyneing. Besides that, Stephanus in his *Poeticall Dictionaræ* declares that it was of old Britaniae Insulae Urbs.[100] A city not of England – for that is a later name – but of Britania which was the old name of England in & before the time of the Romens, and \ that / tho there \ be no vestigia of walls, they are nott att all essential to a city; for wee read that Lacedemonia[101] the most beautifull & populous city in all Greece, had noe walls att all./ {Lacedaemonia sic dicit[ur] Lacedaemone Lege et fundatore: Sparta, a Sparto Rege et res – aurata – re eiusdem.}[102]
How be it, afterwards (as most old things doe) it lost much of that grandure and lustre \ which it formerly had / partly by the Romanes recess; who left it to the merciless mercy of the Picts \ & Scots / and partly afterwards as by the Danes? After that by the Saxons, who so much obliterated all that was Romane that excepting the Tower (yet call Ceesars) they left not anything that bere that name; changeing the names not only of the streets but the towne it selfe, calleing it Appleby; ~~partl~~ not so much in regard of its \ most / ancient \ Romane / name as of the plenty of orchards \ here / whereof every messuage or house had one as may yett be discovered; so that Apleby in the \ E[nglish] moder[n] / language, was as much as to say a place of apples.[103]

[I.173]

But to come near our present Aige in which writeing \ & letters / has bin more practissed \ in, / I mean since the time of the \ Norman / Conquest; for before excep by Saxons little was writt and even that they writt (att least concerneing these northern partes) had bin lost and destroyed by the Danish Incurtions; who burned all the Monastryes in which they were kep[t] and raged most furiously in these northern Counties. It has bin a Towne of good note and repute ever since then, the Castle there being ~~the~~ Domus Capitalis totius Westmariae: the chief house of the Countre of Westm'land, and Apleby \ Capitalis Burgus ejusdem comitati: / the Chiefe or Shire Town \ of the said County; / in so much that I finde in ancient evidence amongst the records of Mr Sandford of Ascome dated Anno Regni Joh 4^0 [1202-03] that Westm'land was called the County of Apleby {??} in a peculiar mannor, so that then it should seme it was be in a florishing condition; howbeit afterwards in the yere [blank] it was utterly destroyed[104] and burned it downe by the \ plundring / Scots, whereof this inscription remaines a monument, to be seen at the schoole house ~~set up by that worth learned man Mr Regnald Bainbrig schoolmaster there.~~

ABA LLAB
Q. CC. I J

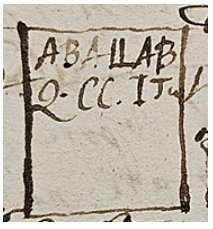


Figure 1.1.5. ABALLABA Inscription. I.173.

[100] Charles Stephanus, *Dictionarium historicum, geographicum, poeticum* (1553). This popular work was reissued throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. Stephanus was the chief source of information on proper names: historical, mythological, geographical, in Latin/English dictionaries from about 1570. See DeWitt T. Starnes, and Gertrude E. Noyes, *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson*, 1604-1755 (Amsterdam, Philadelphia, 1991), 49.
[101] Sparta.
[102] 'It is thus called Lacedaemonia by Lacedaemonian law and from its founder: Sparta, from King Spartus, and a glorious thing by reason of the same.'
[103] Marginalia on the right of the page are partly obscured by the binding. What can be seen is noted here: MS: '3. Building. 4. Ornament within doores. 5. Streets. 6 Government. 7. Habit natural & artificial of the people.'
[104] This word has been superimposed over another; the word underneath appears to be 'demolished'.

And if tradition be of any authority this was not the first time they had served it soe; for the Scotts are said to have burned it doone thrice (~~for all which it doth~~)and yet it was rased up agane out of those ashes, I cannot say soe gloriouse & \ splendid, / but still to remane the shire Towne of Westmorland retaneing still its ancient priviledges which were never ~~as twere~~ forfeit by rebellion or called in question. ~~For Apleby~~ It was loyall even to the last in the late Civil Warrs and the Grand Usurpation of Oliver Cromell. One influence whereof \ amongst many others / is that the soljers could not prevale with the officers their upon any terme to proclame the King a tratour, so that they hired a stranger ~~to doe it, which they picked~~ picked up in the market ~~place~~ to doe that horrid & execrable act, to the great discontent & grief of ~~most~~ the people, who could not hear it but with tears in ther eyes, all the way they had left to express their indignation […][105] and dislike thereof.

It […] still what it is now. Apleby is now (as it ever was) the chief towne of Westmorland in which the asises […][106] have ever bin kept except by some accident prevented since befor the time that writeings have bin dated. It is most pleasantly situate upon the bankes of noble river Eden which gives vitall spirits to ever place which it toucheth upon; part on one side

[I.174]

and part on another joined together with a fair stone bridge of 3 Arches at one end \ near the Church / and at the other with the mill frames under the \ Castle / which in sommer time serve as a foot ~~passage~~ \ bridge / where allso formerly there was a Boate.[107] But by reason of the water seperateing one part from the other and the streets being att some distance ~~by reason~~ \ because / of the uniteing lanes being long since depopulated and the houses destroyd, their Gardens & Orchards stubled up & plowed or turned into grassing,[108] it has bin by some late writers – who knew not the place so well as they should have don – represented to the world as a village or little better; those places which are indeed Vici not Villae, streets not villages \ as I can prove by re\c/ord being by them / taken for distinct and different places, as Skattergate Bongate Howgate & Battlebarrow: And it has so much prevaled of late that tho no longer since that Henry the 8 dayes, they used to write Bongate-in-Apleby Skatergate-in-Apleby, & Batlebar-in-Apleby: into all which places Liberty of their Mace doth extend it selfe and the Sheriffs Liberty a great deal much further); yett they looke upon Apleby as a distinct thing, confineing the Generall name to one ~~single~~ street; which is indeed the chief street \ of all / and Anciently called, as I thinke [they] doe still in their writeings; at the Highe End of which is the Castle, & at the Low end the Church and Free Grammar Schoole near unto it, and the Market place with the Towne hall. But I shall present that \ compared by Dugdal to a Noblemans Table, the Lord at the upper end, The Chaplain and Schoole at the lower end / with a map of whole, a kinde of immaginarie prospect \ thereof as it is now / ~~taken from Thornbur hill~~, wherein what is hid from the ey is supplied by judgment.[109]

[105] 3cm of text are illegible here.
[106] Here, there are 2cm of illegible text.
[107] A ferryboat.
[108] Grazing.
[109] See a rough sketch on 1.176A.

[I.176A][110]

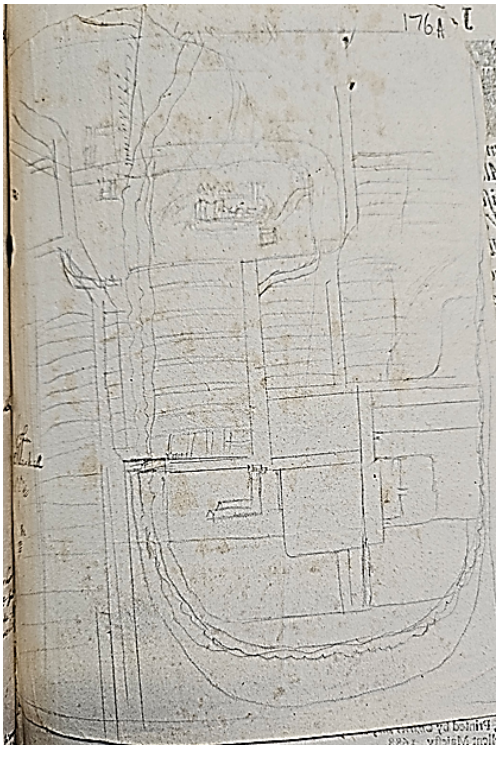


Figure 1.1.6. 'Platforme' of Appleby. 1.176A.

[I.174]

In this platforme you have [blank] number [of] streets*.
1. High Street because it is the chief and mounts allso on the top of the banke.
2. Dungate, because it is low downe betweene the 2 Bankes.
3. Skattergate – which is indeed a part of the Towne – consisting of many streets; but their names being lost is so called because the houses are sparsim[111] scattered as it were here & there; and this never came to be holy redefyned for I finde it so caled [blank]. It is allso caled Fincle Street.
4. The Windes wer litle lanes turneing or windeing from one street to another, whereof ther are 3.

[Machell's Notes: I.174 & 174A]

[I.174]
*{See in Lib. Fam. Machell ad Phil. Ma. de Batleburg in Ap.}[112]
[I.174A]

[110] This is the only draft plan of Appleby in Machell's six volumes. On II.506 he refers to a more elaborate draft, which was then in use.
[111] 'Sparsely'.
[112] Much of this sentence is obscured by the binding.

Burtons *Itinerarium*.[113] Blatum Burgu[m] \ p. 114. / is taken by Josias Simler[114] for Abalaba, a station in Cumberland, of which see more out of the *Notitia* of the Western Empire.[115] Mr Pattison at the Read Hart in Fetter Lane.
! Quaere de serv[itio] forinseco.[116]
? Serv[itium] secular.[117]
? Lib-ab omni Serv. Secul.
Quid ne Blatum-Burgum nomen daret – loco in Apeby vulgo vocato Battleburgh. Per mea […] Literarum. T.M. Ibi enim est vetus A[pleby]?[118]

[II.506][119]

In the draught these faults are to be corrected in graving. Viz.
Brigg Street & High Street are to be made longer: Brigg Street in the midle, & High Street att the upper end of the Towne Hall. Soe Skattergate is to be sett of further from the Castle, that the near row of houses may answer to the far row in Dungate. The [Castle] stables allso are to be set off to the utmost corner of the tower. That ~~place~~ lane twixt Nansons & the school Weend is to be sett of farther. Scattergate also ought to be lengthened.
In the 3 [e]s[c]utch[eons. 1. Clifford & Vipont; 2. The townes; 3. Machell cuj dedicatat.[120]
And in the table. Ab[allaba] olim fuit Britaniæ Insulæ hæc quantilla nunc olim extitit Britaniæ urbes (vide. *Poet Dict* Step.)[121] Nunc vero primarium est Westmariæ opidum, non muris, antiquis tamen munitum privilegijs.[122]

[I.175]

[Streets]
5. Bongate is many streets together, and as it were a little Towne of it selfe, haveing the name from the streete which leads \ from Ba[t]leburge / toward Coupland brigge; which is caled Bongate, \ either 1. / because seated upon an Hil, for Bon a Saxon sig[nifies] a Hil \ because / as if you should say, Bangate Bankgate. / Or 2. from the French word, pleasanse, which signifyes a beautifull good street;[123] \ or [3.] the Saxon word, bond, in opposition to the free burgh – and this may accord with Mr Camden who tells us that &c. or from / {the Saxon Bond, which signifyes a tenant or villager; these being tenants to the Castle of Apleby in opposition to the free Burgers; which interpretation has som

[113] William Burton, (1609-1657), *A Commentary on Antoninus, his Itinerary, or, Journies of the Romane Empire, so far as it concerneth Britain wherein the first foundation of our cities, lawes, and government, according to the Roman policy, are clearly discovered ... with a chorographicall map of the severall stations, and index's to the whole work* (1658).
[114] Josias Simler was a Swiss theologian who published an annotated edition of the *Itinerary of Antoninus* in 1575. P.5 of Burton's *Commentary* remarks, 'We make use of Simler's Edition, which we conceive the best, as bad as it is.' Page 114 comments, 'Josias Simler mistakes it for Aballaba, a Station also in Cumberland: of which see more out of the *Notitia* of the Western Empire. As I know not what Blatum means; so I know that to read it Blotum, with Holyoke, is against the Authority of all Copies. This and the like is noted for Schooles, that young men there may not be deceived, what ever the word Blatum stands for.'
[115] 'Notitae' were Roman lists or catalogues. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (List of Offices) details the administrative organisation of the Eastern and Western Roman Empires. It lists several thousand offices, from the imperial court to offices in the provinces: see Jeremy Norman, https://www.historyofinformation.com/.
[116] 'Ask about foreign service': i.e. service not due to an immediate overlord.
[117] 'Irregular service.'
[118] 'Does Blatum Burgum give its name to the place in Appleby commonly called Battleburgh? T.M.' The text at this point contains one illegible word, thus making a translation of it unsafe, but the text continues, 'For that is where old Appleby is.'
[119] Also numbered p.61.
[120] 'To whom it is dedicated.'
[121] Machell was referring to Charles Stephanus, see above. I.172.
[122] 'And in the Table of Appleby it was once [capital] of the island of Britain. How small now this town has long been among British cities! (See Stephanus.) Now indeed it is the principal town of Westmorland, fortified not by its walls but by its ancient priviledges.'
[123] MS: 'for Bon a Saxon sig[nifies] a Hil ~~and corruptly writ, Bangate for Bankgate~~.\ because / as if you should say, Bangate ~~or~~ Bankgate. or 2. from the French word, pleasanse It~~ / may be because formerly it has bin a very fore & well builded place & from the French Boone & gate~~ which signifyes a beautifull good street.'

authority – for – vetus Apleby ubi villani non ubi Burgenses habitant.}[124]

Here is a Carfax, Quadriaia, or a place where 4 streets meet together, near to the church. One leading from thence South E. toward Coupmanbeck.[125] An other Norwest toward Batlebar to Hougate. Another from the said place toward the Romane way which may [be] called Romane Street – a very spatiouse, but (as a Grove without trees) has never an house in it.

The 4th \ is Milstrees / opposite – extending Westward towards the Mill & Castle. And there is a Bak-lane all along the 2nd street to Howgate head, where an other lane called Stone lane comes in: being a Back passage from the Romane Street & allso from the Romane way as it layes along opposite to the place at the end of the field.

6. Howgate – So called because of \ an how / a \ hollow / passedge there hollowed betwixt ~~the~~ Rocks. {Here was a Milne in dayes of old.} And that has continued as far as Batle-bar on one side and to the Bridge on the other, and is ca[pa]ble of being made a very fine place by building their Houses \ close up to the Banke, & have[ing] Courts or garden before them. /

7. Batlebar – So called \ as som thinke from a batle / {!! Blatum Burgum} because of some Batle being fought in that place: I suppose against the Scotts upon some invasion; who pitcheing their tents upon the Common at the head thereof might give to it the denomination of Jockyes Gate, for there is a place at the head thereof called Joke green,[126] where probable they musterd & drew up there forces; and the inhabitants comeing out against them, the skermish and fight being here begun, it might give name to the place; for they calle the Scotts there Jockeys to this day – by way of derision.
{I take Burrow to signifye a brou anciently (forsan) writ Brugh. So through, thurrow this. And maybe Castleles, which are commonly upon an hil haveing a steep descent or brou, might thence be cald Burghs and not the Towns from Castles; as Spelman.[127] Hence Burgh-under-Stainmore; Burgham Castellum ad Burham. Batlebrough or Batlebrow? But if wee goe higher wee must looke upon it as Blatum Burgum.}[128]

Though I am not ignorant that I might derive the name from burrow as well as brow which signifies [blank] and by that means in Thornburrow and Gallowburrow; all anciently places inhabited belonging to the Town; but I am not vainly curious in etymology; and besides I know many places are corruptly called Burrow for Brow where it is not likely houses ever stood, as Whiteburrow, BLATUM BURGUM. Blat = Burg. \ There is Queens Street which leads in by Jock Street. The street therein conteines Saxon naimes. /[129] And thus have I perfected you a platforme & a relation. T.M.

But that what seemeth most likely to me is that this Place is part of the ancient and beautiful Street which Camden speaks of that leads by Appleby towards Brovonacum – which may well be, haveing so rare an advantage of water into their houses from the Lady Well.[130]

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[124] 'Old Appleby, where the villagers, not where the burgesses live.'
[125] Coupland Beck.
[126] See Jock Green, II.508, below.
[127] Henry Spelman's works include *Villare Anglicum: or a view of the townes of England* (London, 1656); *Concilia Ecclesiastica Orbis Britannici* (1639), and *Glossarium Archaiologicum* (completed by William Dugdale in 1664). His papers were collected by Edmund Gibson after his death, and later (1698) published as *Reliquiae Spelmannianae*. See S. Handley, 'Spelman, Sir Henry (1563/4-1641), historian, antiquary.' *ODNB.*
[128] Essentially, this margin note derives 'bur' from 'burg'.
[129] The following indistinct margin comment has been omitted: '{The chief H. is – T.M. From the fam[ily] T.M. who … were q. fiefes in Q. \ E / th}'.
[130] As the text in this paragraph is closely written and highly interlineated, I am indebted to Jeremy Godwin's MS for part of the version offered here. Nevertheless, scholars may query it, as there is now an apparently superfluous phrase in the MS: 'And if I were not to [indistinct word]', which leaves the transcription of the paragraph open to question. See Jeremy Godwin, Machell MS: CAC(C) DX1974, Appleby.

[I.174]

\ & now / Haveing presented you with the platforme I shall in the next place acquainte you with the privileges of it – & charters - and then speak som thing of those places which are most remarkeable.[131] The places remarkeable in Apleby are the 2 Churches, ~~Castle~~ Schoole, hospital,[132] Towne Hall, Jayoll, St Nich. St George, the Friory.

[Machell's Notes on Appleby Streets: I.307]

I read of 2 street in Apleby, the one writt Bur\o/hgate, the other Borrigate (i.e. High Street?) in a lease of a burgage there, w[itnesses] Robert Warcopp tunc majore;[133] Willi[elm]o Vi'as tunc Ballio.[134] Johane Marshal Capellano Cantariæ Beatæ Mariæ in eam Ecclesia,[135] 1442: 21 Henry 6.

I found witnesses at an other lease of 2 burgages in Fynkilstrett: John Wherton tunc majore, Thoma Marshall & Johe Gifford, Baliuis dicti Burgi Will' Smyth &c. [blank] Burgensibus &c: 31 Henry 6. Inter Record Machellorum de Crakanthorp. {31 Hen. 6} [1452-53]

[D.]
[Narratives relating to places and 'things remarkable' in Appleby, in Volumes II. & III.]

[II.511]

Describe Appleby

[II.512][136]

1. Its situation in general.
2. The antiquity of the towne.
3. Of the corporation & privileges.
4. The streets & places remarkable.

Of Apleby in Westm'land

Apleby in Westm'land is the primary Westmarie regionis opidum, goverd by a m[ayor] having 2 baliefes to attend him, who with other officers usually rise[137] to the prætorian office, & lends 2 Burgess to the House of Parliament.

[1. Situation in General]

Apleby, the chief towne of Westm'land, is most pleasantly situated upon the \ ~~far &~~ / famous[138] bankes of the noble river Eden, which doth almost incircle the towne. The chiefe street that (which) \ now does / arrogate~~s to it selfe~~ the name of Apleby, as peculiar to it selfe, is long and large, having at the Low End a beatifull church, & att the High End \ is a free gramer shoole & garden, / a noble castle with stately ~~& glorious Tower~~ \ tow[er] so[me]what resembling the T. of L[ondon] / calld Cæsars \ Tower / ~~and now inhabited by the Countiss of Penbroke~~.[139]

At the Low End: Church, Schoole & a place for exercise – booles,[140] cock pits & butts environed with high bankes a[nd] a C[atadupe][141] of water.

[131] Machell in fact begins his narrative by describing the streets, then moves to the Corporation.
[132] MS: 'hospital ~~hospital St Nic St George~~'.
[133] 'Then mayor.'
[134] Possibly: 'William Vicars, then Bailiff.'
[135] 'John Marshall, chaplain of the Chantry of the blessed Mary in that same church'.
[136] Also numbered p.67. Two versions of Machell's description of Appleby appear between MS II.512 and II.525. In this edition they have been conjoined.
[137] The word 'rise' is insecure; the word it has replaced is illegible.
[138] The world 'famous' has been overwritten, but the substituted word is illegible.
[139] Originally written in or before 1676 (the year in which the countess died) but then scored through.
[140] Bowles.
[141] Cataract or waterfall.

[Machell's Notes: II.512]

{Formerly Roman Abalaba, contracte Apela, mut[ata] med[io] in tem[pore] Teu[tonum].[142] Apalby inde[143] Applebyd or by. An Italian who came into these partes declared that it was the most pleasant situation naturally that his eyes had beheld.

{Here Grass m[a]y be cut 2 in anno.}[144]

[II.511]

At the Low End is a Bridge; att the High End was formerly a large Boate to conveye corne from the mills & transport passengers, the reliqs of which are yet in the Castle. The[y] use to ride upon the warren.[145]

[II.507]

[2.] Its Antiquity[146]

ABALLABA. BRIT[ANNIÆ] INSUL. Urbs. Steph[anus]. E lib[ro] prev[iso]
Aballaba quam CC[147] fluit Ituna statio fuit. Ro[mana] temp[ore] Ma[rci] Aur[elij]. Hanc vastavit FF.[148] Guil[ielmus] R[ex] Scot[orum] 1176.
Hic pestis sævit 1598. Opp[ido] desert[o] Mercatus ad Gilshaughlin.
Quot mil[ia] hom[inum] sust[inebantur] Ab. Casst[ello] Q?[149]

[II.509]

{There never came any of the Emperours in[150] land from the time of Julius Cæsar to Claudius, who came to aid his lieutenant who was in danger to be vanquish[ed], and the reason for this vo[y]age said to be that he might win glory by fight[ing] against so warlike and so famous a people. Se Speed Vol. 2 Cap. 6 & 9.}

[II.510]

[Inhabitants]

The ancient inhabitants were the Brigantes* who were the greatest nation of this iland at the enterance of the Romaines inhabiting the northern parts (Yorkshire, Westmorland, Cumberland, cou[n]ty part of Lancashire and the Bishoprig of Durham). {All the northern tribes except Northumberland that has the Ottadini, whose chiefe towne was Bremuntium,[151] thought now [to] be Ribchester [in] Rydsdale.}†. Their principall towne in Westmorland was Galatum, now Whellop Castle.

[Modern Inhabitants]

Latin is no place worse spoke than is Latin \ at Roome, / nor English is no place worse spoke than att London. The conflux of foreigners has debauched the language insomuch that, setting aside the tone, the English tonge is better spoke at Endenbrough in Scotland, but I thinke in most purity in the county of Westm'land.

[Woodland]

In our island, as som ancient writers doe tell us, Westm'land, Cumberland and all the Northern parts of England were full of woods, trees & bushes, especially upon the mountains, where scarce any wood is now to be seen‡.

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[142] 'Formerly Abalaba; contracted to Apela; changed during the time of the Teutons to Apalby.'The word 'time' is partly perished.
[143] 'thence.'
[144] The grass may be cut twice in the year.
[145] 'Warren': a mill dam in a stream: see Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary 6* (London, 1898-1905), 389.
[146] This heading has been taken from MS.II.511.
[147] 'Circum.'
[148] 'Funditus'.
[149] 'Aballaba, a city of the island of Britain (As Stephanus, in the book previously cited), Aballaba around which flows the River Eden was a Roman Station in the time of Marcus Aurelius. William King of Scots completely destroyed it in 1176. Here the plague raged in 1598; the town being deserted, the market moved to to Gilshaughlin. How many thousands of people were supported by the castle. Query?'
[150] A word here has perished.
[151] Brematennacum, now Ribchester, Lancashire.

[Machell's Notes: II.510]

*Speed.
†Heilms *Cosmog*[*raphie*] p.226, Col. 3.[152] Brigantum Yorke dub ver[um] Camden 40?[153]
‡e lib. voc \ *the adven[tures] of Mr J. Smith*, putt forth by 4 Robbers, printe at London[154] pag. 114.[155]

[II.524][156]

[3.] {Government} [Corporation and Priviledges][157]
It is a very ancient corporation & of great priviledges; for I finde it had a charter granted by Henry the 1t \ xa / called Henricus Senex 1, confirmed afterwards by the succeeding kings of England, with fredome from [blank]*.
Here the Assises have antiently bin kept, as I have observed in severall evidences*. Nor do I finde that ever the judges satt elswhere†, excepting once over in the time of King Charles the First, when my Lord Clifford, upon a disgust taken at the towne, for one year removed them to Kendall. But Kendall was never the chief towne of Westmorland, except for traideing, & in that deed it has far exceed Appleby of late yeres; for in Kendall is now a good trade of cottons, but in Appleby, none. The ancient government of this place was & is still, by a Mayor & 2 Balifves, or (Shireves) formerly called Provost, for such kinde of officers were under the Mayor, anno [blank] and I can not immagin them any thing else.

[Machell's Notes II.524]

*{in libro – collect[arum] chartarum familiæ Vipont & Clifford penes Commitissis.}[158]
†{Yes sometimes. See the mon[ument] in Kendal church in my collections.}

[II. 525]

{Baliffs; Provosts}
The Balives were formerly so considerable that noe Publique Act \ or Deed / of the towne was passed without them, their deeds running thus: Wee, the Major, Balives & Burgesses of Appleby &c. But since the towne became poor[159] and des[t]itute of traide, the office & dignity of these Balives or Shireves hath bin so farr forgot \ neglected that they now / serve only as attendants upon Mr Mayor, & carry 2 halbards or fasses[160] before him and follow the Mace.

{Mace Liberty; Staff Liberty}
There is also a record: a court of Aldermen, most of Gentlemen of the Country for the greater honour of the Corporation, who in time of majoralty keep proprætor there a Common Councill, 2 Chamberlans & one Sergeant att Mace. The Liberty of the Corporation is 2: Staff Liberty & Mace Liberty. The Mace Liberty goes no further than the 4 Crosses, but the Staff Liberty, farther. So to Flakebrig, where the Coroner of the towne has acted in the time of the old & honourable Countess of Penbrooke, who would never have suffered it, if it had not antiently belonged unto them.

The Places of Chief Remarke.

[II.511]

The Streets
In order & where the most remarkable house or places onely mentioned.

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[152] Peter Heylin (1600-1662), *Cosmographie in four bookes: containing the chorographie and historie of the whole world, and all the principall kingdomes, provinces, seas and isles thereof* (London, 1652).
[153] 'Was York of the Brigantes? I doubt it, yet Camden p.40?'
[154] The rest of the page here has perished.
[155] John Smyth (Smith), *England's improvement revived; plainly discovering the several ways of improving all sorts of waste and barren ground and of enriching all earths, with the natural quality of all lands; and the several weeds and plants which naturally thrive therein observed &c.; together with the manner of planting all sorts of timber trees and underwoods experienced in 30 years' practice.* 6 vols (London, 1670).
[156] Also numbered p.79.
[157] Appleby's charters are described in W. Hewitson, 'TheAppleby Charters', *CW1*, 11 (1891), 279-85.
[158] 'In the book of the collected charters of the family of the Viponts and Cliffords, in the possession of the Countess.'
[159] MS: 'power.'
[160] 'Fasces': rods carried by lictors before the superior magistrates at Rome as an emblem of their power. *OED*.

This is by an account of the most remarkable places: 1. Churches; 2. Castle; 3. Schoole; 4. Hospital; 5. Town Hall; 6. St Nicholas & St George; 7. the Fryaredge; 8. the Gaol; 9. The House of Correction; 10. The Crosses & Butter House.[161]

[II.508][162]

Apleby Streets
1. High Street
3. 3 Weends[163] (High, Midle, Low) query Windes
2. B\r/igg Street
[~~Nansons Casway~~]
4. Loain; Casway
5. Wath Way & Green
6. Dungate i.e. Downegate
Skattergate; Finkel Street
Hoffe Way
Colby Way
Millbanke
Howgate Foote
Howgate
~~St Michaels~~
Banngate[164]
Mill Green
An other street leading toward Roman Fell
The Sands or Horse Fair
Battle Barrow past [blank] which joynes to [blank]*

Places Remakeble
Jock Gree[n]
Gallow Burrow
Thorn Burrow
St Nichol[as]
The Ruin in St Nicholas: George, Nicholas
White Fryers & Ladywell
St Laurence Church
The \ Queens / Free Schoole
The Hospitell
The Castle & Cæsars Tower
The \ Castle / Stables
The Mill
St George Dub[165]
Nobilis Ituna[166]
The Prison
The House of Correction
The \ Moote / Towne Hall
The Shambles
The Crosses
Caud Kell & the Bps[167] Exchange, now a building.

[161] The final MS sentence here: 'The government \ both / ancient & modern as hereafter,' has been omitted as irrelevant to this section, but see Section F. Government, below.
[162] Also numbered p.63.
[163] Wynds.
[164] Bongate.
[165] Dub = pool.
[166] 'The noble Eden.'
[167] Bps = Bishops.

[Machell's Notes: II.508]
*Query: what they call the Gards over the bridge
~~What Nansons Causway~~
What the towne seal?
What first charter & what extent?[168]
Whose seat? What benefactors?
Nullo hactenus Titulo Abal. inclaruere.[169]

[II.512]

[High Gate]
The chief bea[u]ty thereof now consists in one large faire and broad street, called Hi-Gate by the inhabitants. Argeait alias Hi Street. ~~And one end~~ It strecheth out it selfe from N. to south up a pretty high assent whence it is so called. At the High End, in the midst of a little parke, is the Castle, with stately Tower, in the area the roof exactly answering to the midle of this street [thus][170] sc. of the Castle. Stables & gard[en]. In the midle side the west of this street is a neat built Hosspitall, quadrangular wise. The founder hereof was […][171] & on each side at every dore is a Coate of Armes of som of her

[II.513]
Ancestors. Att the Low End is a fine large church, lately reparred – I may almost say re edified, by the said Countiss but made somewhat less than it was formerly, there being taken away on the south side a quire which butted towards the towne, called Warcops Quire,[172] & in the diging away the foundations hereof were found severall allabaster images & plaster roundells with figures thereupon, well gilded and polished, which were given away to children for to play withall, some whereof I my selfe got to give my little sister. But I have sufficient repented my ignorance since and am sorry there was none to preserve these things for curiouse posterity.
There was a vestry also, as I remember, on the N. side the quire.[173] Noe doubt att the reperation hereof, many things worthy noting were utterly lost. In the glass and other places some Coats of Arms yet remaining, which I shall sett downe to paper their like nature.
That glaseing & building with stone was nott knowne in England till Bennit the monke brought along with him an Italian builder 1004 years since †.

[Machell's Notes: II.513]
*{Remember the Crosses, Towne Hall, Market Place & the Cloister supported by co[lumn]s adorn'd with Arms of Gentlemen, on some of which was ingraved these letters: Stane Morie. Query: why. Her[e] now ar built the smiths shops because the slates were brought gratis by Stane Moore men.}
†Cannot be true because we had Roman building, Castles &c. Picts wall.[174]
Then the monuments. Then pat[ron] &c. incumb[ent].

[II.512]

{Higstreet with its branches: High X Weend Winde; Low X Wend \ Winde /}
On \ each / side this street, which extends it selfe longwayes from north to south, is a great descent on the east side, downe to the River Eden, which make the towne sweet & cle[an].

168 See Hewitson, 'Appleby Charters', *CW1*, 11 (1891), 279-85, at 279-80.
169 'So far, they have not made Aballaba famous with any title.'
170 Here Machell sketched a rhombus shape.
171 Two words are illegible here but Lady Anne Clifford was the founder (see above, II.509) in 1651 (Hyde & Pevsner, 211).
172 A transept.
173 The Chancel.
174 St Benedict (Benet) Biscop founded Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in 674 and 682. He is said to have introduced glazing to England: F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 2005), 185.

On the west \ another, / to the street called Dungate, which is scowred by a torrent {riseing opposite to the Castle on the other side of Skattergate}[175] which scowers the street clean & carryes away with it all dirt and filth and discharges it selfe into the River at the place cald the Wath: i.e. a riding place.[176]

[II.515]

{Dungate}[177]
{A street in London beares that name from its descent.}
That street so destitute of houses, which runs upon of the west side Higstreet, was formerly as tradition informes ~~mee~~ us, the finest street which was in the ~~Burrow~~ \ Towne; / for here men might walke dry on the wettest day, there being cloisters leaded over from one end to the other. Whether soe or noe, twas possible enough that there might be shelter against the raine, because the street is not broad as others ~~are~~. However it was, I doe conjecture it had its name Dungate, quasi Downgate, in opposition to High Street or He-Gate, for as that is placd on the top of a banke

[II.516][178]

high betwixt 2 descents \ on an hill, / so this is placed in the bottom \ before the hill / or betwixt 2 ascents \ in a vaile; / notwithstanding which, the situation (excepting for prospect) is equally pleasant & very commodious, being warme,[179] and there gardens here {now calld gards} will a-ford them that pleasure which theire houses deny, so that one thing an another will render it comly & very delicious.

Such a place as this a tradesman would choose; where a shop might be equally[180] with the street – a kitchen, cellar &c. on the same flore but under ground by reason of the hill; then hall & lodging romes on the next flore where the hall or parlour might open upon a levell into garden or orchard. The riseing ba[n]ke on the west side this street, tho scarce an house be remaining thereon, yet retaines the name of Dungate Gards; & that with tradition compared together, ~~the places~~ & samples of hedges here & there, which formerly have separated one ~~tenement~~ \ burgage / from another, which now are joyned ~~the~~ of the rest \ in the Sand & Howgate Foot the best information that I get to give me \ light / in this little descover of so ancient & long since ruined a place. For it is \ has / reported from father to son; that beside other accidents that might conduce to impoverish this towne, that i[t] has bin 3^{c}[181] burn'd downe [by the] Scotts. The last attempt was 500 years since, and \ then / they gave it an utter Oher,[182] as appears by a stone which bears this memorial: ABALLABA QUA[M] C.C. ITVNA STATIO FVIT &c. HANC VASTAVIT F.F. WILL. REX SCOTT[ORUM] ANNO 1176.[183]
But there is little light to be

[II.517]

drawne from history, since the ignorance in learning in that part England, which for the most delight[t] in the pike more than the pen* is sufficient discouragement to deter any man from ransaking history ~~or ancient records.~~
However, to one ~~that~~ acquainted with the language of former aiges, espieciall the A[nglo S[axon], which [is] here yet spoke in ~~very~~ much ~~purity~~ \ perfection, / the names of the places near adjacent will contribute something†. For here wee may reed, tho writ upon the dust, that it has bin a towne of large \ extent / territories, \ I doe / not \ say / in the Roman times tho Stephanus declares that twas then a city‡. Brit. Insulae Urbs. For I doe not pretend to goe so far, since little is left – not the name of a street nor anything else to bespeak it Romaine except the Tower. All which places \ in it / had those names which ~~now~~ \ then / they bear from \ the / Saxons ~~imposition~~, as Batle Barrow, Thorne Barrow,

[175] The margin comment replaces more than 20 scored-through words in the body text.
[176] MS: 'which washes ~~away all dert & filthines in~~ \ which scowers the street clean & / carryes away with it all dirt and filth ~~mess which may thence arise & powers it into the Great River att the wath to St Nicholas~~ and discharges It selfe into the River at the place cald The Wath \ i.e. a riding place. /' A wath is a fordable part of a stream. *OED*.
[177] Doomgate.
[178] Also numbered p.71.
[179] Here Machell continued with, '& low there', but placed the phrase within a box, as if to remove it.
[180] Flush with the street.
[181] Thrice.
[182] The second letter is unclear. Possibly the word is, 'Ohen' or 'ohern', meaning 'over', see Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary* 4, 334. Equally, Machell might well have written 'over' with a malformed 'v'.
[183] For a description of the full inscription, see I.507.

Gallow~~s~~ Barrow, Howgate, Bongate &c.; each whereof carry something observable in their very names, as I shall show in due time and place.

[The Wath]

Att the Low End of Dungate, this torrent turns of[f] westward[184] and towards the place which is called the Wath, a voce Teuto[nica], Wadt idem significans & for smoother pronunciation, watt;[185] for wath is a place passable in the water, where one may wade: in Latin, vadum; ~~which possible~~/ whence possibly all these

[Machell's Notes: II.517]

*{Se Dugd[ale] Preface to *Warwickshire*.}[186]
†{*Poetical Dict*[*ionary.*]}[187]
‡Stephanus quotes[188] e *Liber Notitiarum*.[189] {Its name sound Romane}

[p. 518][190]

words are derived. The broad piece \ of ground / on this side the water is called the Wath Green, and the end of which ~~is~~ by the waterside is ~~a pleasant fountaine~~ \ a very cold spring, which is therefore called the /Caud Kell, i.e. Cold Well, ~~from the coolness of the water~~. On the opposite part, beyond the water whither you have access by helpe stepp stones, is a farme house which the[y] call St Nicholas \ where lately were r[ui]nes of a church or ~~monastery~~ chaple; for there had bin an Hospitall in King Johns time. / All the grounds & woods, vaile & pasturage on that side the water till you come att the ~~Chief~~ territoryes of the Machells de Crakenthorpe, i.e. Halfe Mile Yate, ~~retaneing in general the name of St Nicholas and as you returne~~ from which of old it may seem to be taken / with which it is bounded on the north. ~~And the place~~ On the east, with the same. Jock Green \ & Battlebarrow /& Gallobar[row] Lane on the west with the River Eden. All this surface is general calld by the name of St Nicholas, notwithstanding 1 place thereof, i.e. the hill on west side the lane which brings you to Apleby from Crakenthorpe, has the name of Thorneburrow Hills.[191] I dar[e] not ~~swear~~ \ say / that some part of the towne has ~~extended hither~~ not come hither, for Burrow, a German voce Borgo \ quo / suburbicum denotat, a suburbe;[192] and many of our words being thence derived {Sc. Verstegan}[193] tis not ~~impossible~~ \ improbable / that both Thor, Gal & Burrow, being the suburbs of Apleby, were thence denominated – tho he evuds[194] Apleby so far as not to allow it that miserum fuisse: to have bin once great – may deduce from Brow, all of em being situate on rising hills. But if so, why were not others of like situation called Burrow too.

[II.519][195]

From of this hill you have a fair prospect of most part of Apleby. The way leads thence by Gallobar \ Fields / over a piece of common which is calld Jock Green, from the Scotts I suppose {the Scotts; in dirision we call Jockey} who possesd them selfes of it in ~~there last~~ assalting the towne, and the inhabitants coming out to give them battle*, have mett them in Battle \ B[ar]row, / which is not

[184] This word has been overwritten. 'Northward' appears to have been covered by 'westward', though the superimposed letters are unclear. For the 'torrent', see II.212.
[185] 'From the Saxon language, 'wadt', from the same thing' [i.e. also meaning 'wath'].
[186] Dugdale, *Warwickshire*: The first page of the Preface remarks on the warlike nature of the English and their lack of learning before the Norman Conquest.
[187] Charles Stephanus, *Dictionarium historicum, geographicum, poeticum* (1553).
[188] MS: 'coat.'
[189] Stephanus quotes from the *Liber Notitiarum* (Book of Remembrances).
[190] Also numbered p.73.
[191] This passage is so impossible to read that even Machell realised the difficulty, helpfully rewriting it in another column; hence, it appears twice in the MS.
[192] 'Burrow, German: 'borgo', denotes a suburb.'
[193] Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the most noble and renowned English Nation* (1605; reprinted 1628, 1634, 1652, 1655, 1673). See also Part 3. Chapter 3, Concerning Heraldry, VI.394.
[194] Possibly from 'evoid' or 'evode': from French 'evuider': to remove. *OED*.
[195] A sentence written vertically down the right-hand margin of this page reads, 'Blounts *Dictionary* for Villares.' In 1656, Thomas Blount published the largest English dictionary up to that date, his *Glossographia*.

improbable called so a Bello ibi Commisso;[196] so Stamford Bridge in Yorkeshire is called Battlebridge†. This street is seated upon a declineing [hill] from north to south. On the east side tis watered with ~~flu~~ a delicate springe issuing out from the Laday Well \ & so runing through the scarce visible ruines of that friery which was built by Lord Cliffor[d] Percy & Vescy of the Order of White Fryers‡, dedicated, as I conjecture from the well, to Our Lady Mary, & vallued⸸.[197] Thence it takes its course directly

[Machell's Notes: II.519]

*Mr [blank] reports that there was great amity formerly betwixt the Scotts and the neighbouring countryes, till the Romanes broke covenant & incroached upon them, since which time? Se Uescher.[198]
†Se my Appendix, p.6. Eadem de causa[199] (vid. Camden). As that worthy antiquary relates: I fear this place was never to have [been] so happy as to lodge such a guest, for that quick sighted \ ancient / would have left nothing for me to descover. Reasons: because of his posting the fruitfulness of the countery, which about this place exceed all the rest & may compare, if it doe not exceed, with his so much cele[brated] Barony of Kendal.)
‡{Query: an idem nomen cum Perci?[200] Will. de Perci ten. in Lincolnshire, temp Conquest. *Domesday Booke.*}[201]
⸸Se Dugdale.

[II.520][202]

towards Battelebarrow,[203] glideing downe on the Back Side (where which it flourish [where] there Gardens have bin) sporting it selfe through the mids[t] of them.

{Battlebur}
Afterwards it enters into the street \ Cow Makett / which in that part has a rock for its naturall pavement, upon which, it slideing, ~~doth~~ tis rendered slippery & for this reason called the Slape Stanes, i.e. Slippery Stones. So it hastes on the east side the street towards the river, & turne of a sudden into its imbraces. The other side, this wants not its delight, for being placed on the top of a banke, it has a prospect no way contempteble, with a full view of the chefe street in Ableby, & att the bottem of the descent a pureling streme goes murmuring along in a glide, as they call it,[204] \ worne to that descent by force of the water / which parts ther inclosures & the bankes of St Nicholas. I am not certane whether this be [the] street which Camden would have formerly the chiefe, for, says he, it heads by Apleby towards Brovonacum, which we now call Brooham.[205] If this be it*, I suppose it continued to the farthest end of Gallobar Lane, elese I doe not se how it could

[Machell's Notes: II.520]

*Which make [what] I formerly deliverd more probable.

[II.521]

{Battleburg Street}
[be] the chiefe in any respect, having neither the large nor pleasant situation of the broad street. May be he take in the Sands to the Bargen, which if rebuilt after the manner described in Dung[at]e[206] with Courts before it to the Gards wall, I doe not se how any place could be more delightfull to live in or looke upon. But now there is scarce one house to be seen from the end of Batle Barrow, i.e. where the torrent turns of to the river to Howgate Foote.

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[196] 'From the war committed there.'
[197] The sentence ends abruptly here.
[198] Probably a reference to James Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (1639).
[199] 'From the same reason.'
[200] 'Query whether the same name as Percy?'
[201] See E. Cownie, 'Percy, William de (d. 1096, 99?), baron and administrator.' *ODNB*.
[202] Also numbered p.75.
[203] The route of the beck is correct according to the 1754 Appleby map: CAC(C) Ca; DLONS/L/5/3/1/1/1, 1754. My thanks to Jeremy Godwin for this observation.
[204] 'Glide': 'a stream; also, the gliding portion of a stream – a shallow.' *OED*.
[205] MS: 'for sayes \ he / it heads ~~from~~ \ by / ~~the place called~~ Apleby to\ wards / ~~the place~~ Brovonacum, which we now call Brooham.'
[206] See II.516.

[Battlebrow]
The street now calld Battlebrow or Battle-Burugh (vide) begins att the North End the Sands, where the purling streme of Lady Well runns, sporting it selfe into the river. I suppose it make its name from som great scuffle or skirmish there, and being situate upon a steep hill \ or from its being part of […][207] / may be thence called Battle Brough. And that which gives a great probability to this conjecture is that this street ends att Jock Green, which I thinke has borrow that denomination from the Scotts, by us still call'd Jockyes, they having come here unexpectedly and sett themselves in battle array. It is not unlikely that the native inhabitants came out upon them, and, to stop their entran[c]e, gave them battle in this street. ~~Few inh g~~
That the Scotts have often attacked it, there is no controver-sie, it being a generally receivd tradition by the inhabitants that they burn'd it downe 3 times to ground, the last where I finde on record a mill at Howgate – I have read of – and being destitute of History, which unless [it] be where the mill now standes was also so called!!! I am glad to read from writeings in The Sand; to take conjectures from the names of places so by comparing with received traditions, grose out the truth.[208]

[II.519]

On Wednesday Sep. 10, it came in my head that Bondgate signifies that streat of Bondmen, in opposition to the other places where the free Burgers inhabit. Vetus Appleby vel villam habitant.[209]

On the east ~~ripo~~ \ banke of / Eden, much of the towne has bin demolished, as it clear from those place which are yet called the Gards, to every of which, one house att least (if not more) has belong'd. That which goes southwards towards Houg[ate] Foote has bin a faire brod streght stret. When you are through Howgate you come into Bongate, which has bin built crosswise, 4 streets meeting together \ or 2 thwarting each other. 1 from the Castle, / but what they were formerly called, I can not tell. They now in general have the name of Bon Gate, which I thinke is peculiar to the street up the hill which carryes you on your way towards Warcop & Brough, for Bongate is as much as a street on a hill. The other part from the bridge, which runs along northwards to the

[II.520]

Low End of Batlebrow, is called The Sands, & has ~~lately~~ been a single row of houses fronting to the water. Except the river, which I cannot conjecture has bin ~~wall'd~~ \ hem'd / in by the walls and foundations of the houses there. But the soyle, being sandy, will give no ground for such a conjecture. Notwithstanding, Camden makes the principle street on this side the water leading by Apleby to a place calld Brovonacum*, which, whether it should be some part of Bongate or that space twixt Hogate and Batlebrow, & Batlebrow also taken in unto, I cannot ~~imagin~~ \ determin. / But if I could have discovered any vestigia of an Ancient Bridge, I should [believe], as some have, that wel might he then say that, It agro non inamoeno.[210] That High Street, which is now the principle, & together with the lanes & fragm[en]ts of Scattergate, peculiarly called by the name of Apleby, had full bin the chiefe.

[Machell's Notes: II.520]

*{Dub?}
{Henche.[211] If you looke through the high arches of the bridges, the towne stands so lofty, it seems to be advanced into the clouds. This I often delighted to take special notice of.}

[II.515]

{Scattergate}
The other streets which lay westward about the Tower are generally calld by the name of Scattergate, because till of late, and in some measure yet, the houses, being demolish ~~in that~~ \ by that / Influx of the Skott~~s~~\ish incursion / which I speake of annon, lay skatterd here & there. Both those streets which

[207] Words here have been obscured by the binding.
[208] The last paragraph is written across II.521 and II.522 but the direction taken by the text is unclear. This transcription is therefore unsafe.
[209] 'They live in Old Appleby or vill.'
[210] 'It passes through a not unpleasant landscape.'
[211] Probably 'Haunche': 'the side of an arch between the crown and the piers.' *OED*.

goe out of Finkel Street – the chiefe in Scattergate to the right northwards – are so demolished that they will now hardly wear the names of street.[212] I therefore call em Wayes, and together with the houses, the names \ of the streets / ~~&~~ demolish[ed] & gon. That \ part of a / street att the upper end of Skattergate is called Mill Banke because tis situate of the side of \ the / banke which goes downe to the mills.

Schoole.
Thence ~~a stone~~ \ the Schoole lane / extends it selfe \ more / north; & south is a p[l]ane piece of ground to a considerable lenth on the [blank] ~~all most~~ with water environd in a ~~Bow or~~ \ semy circle / arch.[213] This is calld The Butts because of butts being placed thereon. It serves also for a bowlingree[n] and here are 2 cockpitts dig'd in the ground towards each end; one, that which layes southward, being very deep & cut in seats lik[e] to those which they have in theatres. Here L.M. beat \ out ran vicec…[214] / the Parson.

Hence you returne up a lane directly southwards towards Dungate, in which are remane no houses excepting the schoole on the east side thereof, with 2 or three houses more adjoyning; and the Ushers house was lately pulld down. Further you have a ~~cott~~ back house or barne belonging to Mr Thwates, Alderman of the towne, to whome belonges all the houses on the south side the Schoole Winde, there bein none on the other but the Vicars barne & Mrs Hose, which stands of in the court. On the west side the Schoole lane are no houses remaneing excepting the Masters kitchyn & Garden House, which stand of from the

[II.516]

lane. Howbeit, there have bin others, as you may se by the Gardes over aganst it.[215]

[Carfax]
Here agane is Carfax, or meeting of 4 streets: as School Lane, Dungate, Wate & Winde. & then the returne to the east ripe,[216] or else begin with it.

[II.506][217]

[Appleby place-names]

{Batleborough}

[II.507]

(A Battle, suerly)

[II.506]

Battle Brough, Burrow/Battlebrow. Battlebrow – from its situation, and som battle fought there. So Standford Bridge[218] in Yorkshire is calld Battlebridge a Bello ibi commisso[219] but Camden, 331 Col. 1. alijs a Battle et Brough, a Borgo Germa[norum] Quod suburbium significat. Skin[ner], in voc[e] Borrough; sed a colle potius dictum puto, quia alia sunt loca ejusdem nominis ubi vix poss[u]mus Cog[noscere] suburbium fuisse &c. Galloburrow, Thornburrow. Sed ad suburbium vertatur[220] cum hac apel[latione]. Nisi potius dictum puto a usitat[o], Brow, quae declinationem coll[is] ibi vulgo

[212] MS: 'are so demolish that they will \ now / hardly ware the names \ ~~notions~~ / of street.'
[213] Jeremy Godwin gives a free interpretation of this difficult passage: 'Thence the School lane extends itself north and south to a plane piece of ground almost level with the water, to a considerable length, in a semi-circle or arch.' See Godwin, Machell MSS Research Notes, CAC(C), DX 1974/H9410.
[214] The text here is obscured by the margin.
[215] MS: '…as you may se by the Gardes over aganst ~~Jo~~. It ~~Nansons~~ house.'
[216] 'Ripa': riverbank.
[217] A margin note on this page consists of, MS: '~~Michel Scotts leap. Lang. Shap. Stenke head. Brampton~~ \ Temple Sowerby / Sandford Moore, Drybeck & other places where horse coursing is used.' Two lines concerning 'Things Remarkeable' have been scored through.
[218] Stamford Bridge.
[219] 'From warfare there.'
[220] MS: 'ver~~te~~te \oa/atur.'

significat ad supercil[i]um. Vero est reus Skinieras;[221] dedu\c/it enim ab Anglo-Saxon, Bræpe, palpebra supercilium.[222]

{Bongate villanor[um]}[223]
Query. Bangate, a Camb' *Britannia* Ban Altus excelsus (unde Banke etiam Anglo-Saxon deduci videatur) Et gate vicus platea via quod ab Anglo-Saxon gan Ire, which wee call Gang – vicus – villanorum.[224]

{Howgate}
Gate prius habuimus. How, autem apud nostrates, significat an Hollow \ depe / place,[225] & may peradventure be a contract[ion] of it, and the demin[utive] hereof may be the word Hovel, which notwithstanding Skin[ieras], would have to discend from Caveola, casting away C. & ad.

{Hoff}
Anglo-Saxon: Hofe, hoƿe; domus speluncæ.[226]
Belgian: hofi hoeve
Teuton: hoff prædium, villa item, item aula principis. Ergo non Jurabo (inquit Skin[ieras]) omnia ista vocata a Latino caveo ortum ducere, et nostram hovel a caveola. Est vox more Teutonica. Hoff, Lunn or Lum is a depe plow[227] of water in the northern language quam puto esse Anglo Saxon[228] i.e. Old English neutra occurrit apud Skin[ieras].[229]

{Colby}
Coldby, Cowby, Coltby.
If Colt by, ab Anglo-Saxon Cold: pullus equinus; et By: habitatio.[230] So Audby in York. Saxoni: Antiquae Habitationes.[231] If Cowby, a vaccarum frequentia; Cow autem Anglo-Saxon vocatur Cu; Dan[ish] ko. Non potest a Cole, nulla etenim ibi invenitur, sed forsan a Cold abjiciendo d., ut nos Coole: Anglo-Saxon Cole; Belgian, Koel; Teutonic, K\e/ul frigidus subfrigidus; Danish, kold & ko\a/ld; Belgian, kaud; forsan a Latin gelu. Sic Colby or Coldby erat locus frigidus. Habitatio frigida.[232]

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[221] 'Skinieras': a latinised form of Skinner. Stephen Skinner (bap. 1623, d. 1667) was a physician and philologist who wrote philological treatises in manuscript, enumerated by Anthony Wood, edited by Thomas Henshaw, and published in London in 1671 under the title, *Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanae*. Samuel Johnson acknowledged his indebtedness to Skinner in the preface to his *Dictionary* (1755). See B. Porter & M. Beva, 'Skinner, Stephen (bap. 1623, d. 1667)'. *ODNB*.
[222] 'From the German word Borg, which means a suburb. Skinner, in his writing, says Borough; but I think it is so called rather from a hill, because there are other places of the same name where we can hardly recognise there to have been a suburb etc. – Gallowburrow, Thornburrow. But it was turned to suburb with this name. Unless rather I think it so called from the usage Brow, which there commonly means the slope of a hill toward the brow. Indeed, Skinner is of the same mind, for he derives Brow from the Anglo-Saxon, Bræpe, an eyelid.'
[223] 'Bongate: of the country people.'
[224] 'Query Bangate in Camden's *Britannia*, Ban means 'high lofty', whence also the Anglo-Saxon 'Bank' may seem to be derived. Also 'gate': a village, an open street, because from Anglo-Saxon 'gan', 'ire' [Latin: to go], which we call 'gang'; a village – of the villagers.'
[225] 'Gate, we have had before. How, however, among our country folk, signifies a hollow [or] deep place.'
[226] 'Anglo-Saxon Hofe or hoƿe: a tunnel house' [possibly, a Saxon long-house].
[227] Pool.
[228] 'Saxon. Hoff: an estate, likewise a villa, likewise the hall of a chieftain. Therefore, I will not swear (says Skinner) that all these derive their origin from Latin 'caveo', and our 'hovel' from 'caveola'. It is a word of Saxon type. Hoff, Lunn or Lum is a depe plow of water in the northern language, which I think to be Anglo-Saxon i.e. Old English. Neither term occurs in Skinner.'
[229] 'Skinner says nothing on this.'
[230] 'If Colt-by', from Anglo-Saxon Cold, a foal; a young horse [colt]; and 'By: dwellings.'
[231] 'So Audby in York: so-called by the Saxons, meaning in Latin, ancient dwellings.'
[232] 'Cowby, from a place where cows were regularly kept. Moreover, a cow in Anglo Saxon is called 'Cu'; in Danish, 'ko'. It cannot be from 'Cole' [coal], for indeed none is found there. But perhaps it is from 'cold', by losing the letter 'd', as 'coole' with us; Anglo Saxon, 'cole'; Belgian, 'koel'; Teutonic, 'k\e/ul', meaning 'cold'

{St George Dub}
Dub signifyeth a deep place in the water. De hoc nihil loquitur Skin[ieras]. Dan[ish] & Teutonick frequently aupud Boreal[es].[233]

βύβλϑ ıι papyrus[234]

[II. 507]

{Dungate}
Forsan, ita appellabatur, \ a Tulliano, Dungeon / quia platea fuit a sole et caelo ut ferunt munita.[235] Tis reported that this was the finest street imediately before the last ~~desolation~~ \ devastation, / for here you might walk fre from raine att any season: forsan a Dung,[236] for here runs a leat to car[ry] of the stench.

{Wi\e/nd}
A turning out of ~~one~~ \ a / street. A winding, which is commonly pronounced E, which most nations – certe a venella Nome lat[i]ne.[237]

{Burrells} Non possum diricte.[238]

{Names of Places}
1. Stony Lane
2. Bon-gate
3. Mill Green
4. Castle Shewgh[239]
5. The Warren

[II.524][240]

Places remarkable

Castle, hospital, Church, School & Towne Hall, Gaol & house of Correction. The description of the situation of each & what remarkable [in] them.

[II.513]

{The Castle}
The Castle, as I sayd and so to the upper part of ~~towne~~ \ High Street / likewise, have Advantage of prospect, but lower ~~part~~, being environd [in] an a[m]phitheatre of Hills as well as water, is more warme & close. The Castle stands yet somewhat higher then all the rest, so that it doth easily command all the Towne. Tis built upon a rocky hill, being very steep on that side nex the water, & a low dissent on all other sides. It is stren[gthened] and fortified with wall, dich and bulworke.

{Castle Mantle}
On the banke twixt the mote & wall ~~are~~ \ were / planted frute trees of several sorts \ [and] have firs / which place they call the Castle Mantle, it being both of ornament & use. On the west side of the

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or 'coldish'; Danish, 'kold' and 'ko\a/ld'. Belgian, 'Kaud'; perhaps from Latin 'gelu' [meaning cold]. Thus, Colby or Coldby was a place that was cold. A cold habitation.'

[233] 'Skinieras has nothing to say about this. Danish and Teutonick frequent among northerners.'

[234] This Greek text has been placed upside down at the foot of the page; it is possibly an abbreviation of 'Bibliotheke': library. Machell could well have have been referring to a papyrus in a library but exactly why is not known.

[235] 'Possibly it was so called from the Tullianum, a dungeon, because it was an open space blocked, so they say, from the sun and sky.'

[236] 'Perhaps Dungate is from Dung.'

[237] 'In Latin this name is certainly from venella: a vennel or narrow alley.'

[238] 'I cannot immediately give its derivation.'

[239] Castle Scua: older forms = Castle scugh, 1649; Castle skews, 1740. See *Westmorland Place-Names*, Appleby.

[240] Also numbered p.79 and p.53.

Castle within the wall is Cæsars Tower, a most stately & lofty ~~build~~ and ~~indeed elegant~~ \ magnificent / building, rather one thinke for habitation than war, tho serviceable for both.

[II.509]

The Tower Inscription

There is this inscription in the lowest roome thereof (which is a vault) written in small Romane hand upon a plate of brass to shew the reparer:

> This Caesars Tower was began to bee repaired in and this midle wall (i.e. the wall athwart the tower wherein there are 2 chimes[241] on a brest in every roome: ~~to bee bu~~ nota merginaly) And this midle wall to bee built from the foundation in 1651, by Ann Baroness Clifford &c. Westmorland e Vesc, Lady of Honour of Scipton in Craven, & Countess Dowager of Penbroke, Dorsett and Montgomery, after it had layn ruinous & uncovered from the year 1569 \ untill now /

This as I remember in \ new / Romaine hand.

[II.513]

This tower no d[oubt] is of great antiquity, as the name doth import; and being more large & eligent than that of Brough or other of Browham, all which are called by same name & supposed to be of Romane original. It make me thinke that

[II.514][242]

Apleby to them was a place more select & of great accompt; yett there is a Tower at Browham Castle beside that of Cæsars \ caled Pagans / of venerable antiquity, supported by a single columne in the midle there, but of Roman order.[243] \ May be from Paganus. /

This tower att Apleby was so defaced ~~by the passage of time~~ that nothing thereof was left but a karkess, baire walls, which, ~~bid defiance~~ obdurate with suffering so many batteryes, became to hard for the teeth of time, and so remained a glorious tho useless monument of antient architecture till the Countiss of Penbroke repaired it againe, & made a habitation worthy of Cæsar, building a wall through the midle of it & divideing each 2 flores into 2 roomes, & each roome 2 chimneys apiece.[244] My father had a mare driven up the stares, which eat grass upon the walls in Olivers time*.
Here also in the Castle Parke ~~she built a fine~~ \ are stately / stables quadrangular, with a court in the midle. Here she chused to live rather than att court, he[re] to injoye the delicacie of nature \ luxuries / rather that elsewhere the \ apperances / of Art. And here she designes to end her dayes, and to be buried in St Laurence X^ch^ which att her owne cost and of her owne motion \ she was pleased to / repair ~~the same~~ together with St Michaels:[245] formerly they say a larger church than now it is, having a tower of bells, and Great Tom of Kirkbythore was translated thence; and several other places: castle and churches, which either built anew or repaired sufficient, her great designe being to sett people aworke, that they might have money, which yet she would give them for nothing – that be a charity which encourages idleness, debauchery &c. – and partly out of a respect to Antiquity, which would not ~~permit~~ \ suffer / her to se those ancient monuments lye grovelling in the dust. And her ~~great~~ care was not to \ so much / make neat building, as we doe now adayes & is highly commendable, but to make according to that owne Ancient forme, which upon

[Machell's Notes: II.514]

*Query an true.
Monument: a figure sett up in the wall with this inscription: Hic ja[cet] Ant[iquorum] Mac[hellorum] familia.[246] I must have the monuments in the church and Arms.

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[241] Chimneys.
[242] Also numbered p.69.
[243] MS: 'supported by a \ single / columne \ in the midle there / ~~therein the midle~~, but ~~I cannot say tis~~ of Roman order.'
[244] MS: '& divideing each ~~rooms into 2~~ \ 2 / into 2 flores\ 2 / into 2 roomes & each roome haveing 2 chimneys apiece.'
[245] 'Here she designes' suggests that Lady Anne Clifford was still living (she died in 1676).
[246] 'Here lies the family of the Ancient Machells.'

[II.515]

that accompt is noe less ~~laudable~~ praiseworthy, in order whereto she had not recourse to the most expert Architects, but experiencd old men who mightest reforme, not how they should be, but how they were formerly.[247]

[II.512]

{Hospitall}

On the east side the ~~towne~~ \ street[248] / towards the upper \ side, / is a Hospital, built quadrangular wise, not high, \ tho placed [on] high ground / {Tho so well placed by the mun[ificence] of that noble Countess} but an Neat[249] building, which may teach the almes folke this lesson: to be neat not proud, humble not lofty.}[250]

On the bake side this Hospitall, which doeth containe 12 widdows & a Mother or Governess who have co[m]petent allowance, is a garden, where everyone have a particular platt[251] or portion to the[m] selves; & then in the ~~descent~~ \ on the plane op[posite] of the Banke / of the hill, which here made easy by stares, is an orchard planted, & then againe a little garden platt on the plane to the river, out of which the widows make considerable advantage

[II.513]

by selling there frute. Nor has the Hospitall this advantage alone: Nature has provided as well for every messuage, there being ~~not~~ \ scarce / one housesteed in the towne which has not an incloser for garden and orchard belonging to it, and most of em with water; and the Lower Ends especially in this street, so that, if Industry \ & Art / would midwife to Nature, which has labourd abundantly to make it delightfull, it would produce a most delicate habitation and ~~make~~ \ render / it againe which it hath bin formerly: A Princely Hold*.

[II.509]

The hospital att Apleby is for 12 Sisters who have 6^{li} per annum allowed them, and they have a Mother over them, or Governess, whose allowance is 8^{li} per annum, and a Reader or Chaplain, whose allowance is the same. They have a Chaple and Common Hall and a bell to ring them to prayers. They live much after the manner of schollers in college saveing that every one provides their owne victuals & that they eat apart, except att som certaine times. For they are to be all within doors att 8 in winter & 9 in summer, after which time the gates are locked up. (The \ Baren /Inscription over the gate \ sheweth when & by whom i[t] was founded, ~~followeth~~ being in these words)

> This Almeshouse was founded & begunne in the year 1651, and was finished and endowed with lands, for the yearly maintenance of a Reader and 12 Sisters for ever (in 1653) by Ann Baroness Clifford, Westmerland and Vescy, Lady of the Honor of Scipton in Craven and Countiss Dowager of Penbrooke Dorsett & Montgomery.

But tis dedicated to none.[252]

The lands wherewith it was indowed were

1. St Nicholas, on the northside of Eden from which it is divided by Appelby. This was bough[t] of [Blank] Fielding of Stamford by Barnard Castle & sent to Mr Jackson for the Highest Inscription in the Garden House. Answers: younger eyes than his cannot read it.[253]
2. The Hall & manor of Browham.

[247] MS: 'not how they should be, but how they ~~ough to~~ \ had be[e]n / were formerly.'
[248] High Street.
[249] This word is superimposed upon another which is possibly,'Eleg[ant]'.
[250] MS: 'but an Neat building, which may teach the almes folke ~~this lesson~~ \ this lesson: / ~~a lesson~~ \ of / ~~humil~~ to be neat not proud, humble not lofty.'
[251] Platt = plot.
[252] It is now known as St Anne's Hospital.
[253] This references an answer to Machell's questionnaire, see Editor's Introduction.

[II.507]

At the Schoole

Here is a house which they call the Garden House, 3 stories high, all the front of which is adorned with Romain Inscriptions, the collections, I suppose, of Reg[inald] Bainbridge, whom I take to have built it,[254] and putt the north end thereof in the orchard [where there is] a little hole or setting of earth, occasioned, they say, by 3 boyes who came to digg her[e] for moneys which he had hid: one holding the lanthorn & other 2 digging. But just when they came to descover the coffer, there rose up 3 little creatures like ratts, and with a puf of wind issuing out of the hole. they were all 3 blowne severall ways a 4^{r} of a mile distant from the place. Viz.: One to The Gards, an other to St Nic. Backs and an other to [the] Vicar[age]. {I doe not vouch for the truth of this storie, which I thinke to be in some measure ground upon the opp[inion] some have to this day of his being a conjurer[255] & raiseing dobbies[256] which danced about the schoole. But I take him to have bin a very good man who hid his money in the wall of the schoole and the house which he had built for bon. pub.[257]} He is said allsoe to have buried a purse of silver under the foundations said schoole, which I take in the same sense.[258]

[II.509]

The Inscriptions att the Schoole over the cockloft[259] doore:

DE SCHOLA. B.M.
FRANCISCUS NOB[ILIS] COMES CVMBRIÆ
LIGNA DEDIT
MARGARITA COMITISSA CUMBRIÆ CL. F.
DEDIT SAXA[260]

{Memorandum: the Countess of Penbrooke oaked the Schoole & Tables}[261]

Over the new dwelling house doore:[262]

FUND~~AMENTVM~~ IACT.
JUN.[263] 10. 1671.
IN PERPETVVM VSVM
ARCHIDIDASCALI[264]

[III.57]

[Appleby Gaol: A Tale]

March 6 1688/9

One Joseph Thomson, born at Cow-Brow in Loansdal ward; was imprison'd here upon suspicion of steeling a mear,[265] and Tryed and Acquitted at the Lammas 'sise[266] last: yet continued in Jaol for want of suerties for his good behaviour, till he tooke occasion to set himselfe (and another fellon) one day at Liberty after a bold and unwonted manner; for he opned the doers \ by som art which he had / at

[254] MS.II.514 contains similar text, not transcribed.
[255] Conjuror: One who practises conjuration; one who conjures spirits and pretends to perform miracles by their aid; a magician, wizard'. *OED*. Machell infers that Bainbridge's intelligence was thought by some to suggest occult practices.
[256] Local fairies.
[257] 'Public good.'
[258] The ways in which wise and educated men, often schoolmasters, could be seen by local people in terms of sorcery and superstition during the seventeenth century and beyond, is discussed by Ian D. Hodkinson, 'Science, Superstition and Sorcery: "Wise Men" in Westmorland during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries', *CW3*, 18 (2018), 223-44. This should be borne in mind when reading Machell's 'Appleby Gaol: a Tale: III.57, below.
[259] A garret.
[260] 'Francis the noble Earl of Cumberland gave the timber and Margaret the Countess of Cumberland gave the stone.'
[261] I.e. gave the oak wood for the school furniture.
[262] Reginald Bainbridge's 1671 building.
[263] An illegible letter has been crossed through here.
[264] 'Foundation stone laid 10 June 1671, for the perpetual use of the headmaster.'
[265] Mare.
[266] Assizes. Lammas = 1 August.

noone time of the day, & tooke leave of the Debtors in the upper Jaol, askeing them if they would com out; & promising (upon their refusal,) that he would com & set them at liberty when ever they pleased ~~to require it of him~~; And so went his way, shakeing hands with som that he met. The other Fellon made his escape, & was heard of no more: But Thomson was taken in the Barony of Kendal, & sent to a Place in the Town of Kendal where they keep their prisners till they can be transmitted to Appelby Jaol; where they locked his hands behinde his back with Iron Manickles, Gives or fetters; & chaned him \ by the neck / to a great clogg of wood with a chain of Iron, thinkeing thereby to hold him fast. But before the morning, he had got himselfe free; & taken up an huge Oaken planke out of the floore by which he let himselfe into a shop that was under neath, & throwing the doer quite of the hinges, made his second escape.[267] He was taken agane in a short time after, & recommitted to his former lodgings, where to secure him by another method, they bough[t][268] about 20 yards of Rope, & tyed & trussed him up like a Pack, with his hands behinde him; & \ so laid him in straw & /set a watch over him, which was indeed their only security, for he had got himselfe loose the next morning, & but for That, might have made an Escape. Hereupon the Deputy Jaoler thought fit to Transmitt him (with all possible speed) to Appelby Jaol; & coming to Colby; while som were enquireing for Mr Warcop, \ the Jalour who liv'd in that place / the Prisoner asked one of his keepers to play a game at cards for Diversion, and playing with him, call'd him a Bungler & told him every

[III.58]

card in his hand, which the other, admireing, bless'd him selfe \ from him / and threw up the cards.[269] But the prisoner wishd him to fall on agane & minde his business better than before, in order to which he gave him liberty to shufle & cutt and deale the cards; & when that was don told him agane every card in his hand by name & suit; upon which the other calld him a witch & would play no more. And while Mr Warcop was carrying him thence to Appelby Jaol; he wishd him to be kinde & civil to him, or it should be worse for him; which ~~the Jaoler~~ he, considering &[270] recollecting what Prankes he \ had / playd, fed him with possets or any thinge that he had a minde \ to. / And in the conclusion, opened the Jaol, set him at Liberty, and gave him a Treat at his departure, for fear of receiveing a further mischiefe.

This story, however strange it may seeme, I take to be a most Certaine Truith, haveing received the substance of it from the Pro-mayor of Apleby Mr John Atkinson; & afterwards from Mr Thomas Warcop the Jaoler ~~of Appelby~~ there, from whose report I thought fit to record it this 6th day of March, 1688/9.

[II.521]

{House of Correction}
The House of Correction is placed upon the end of the bridge opposite to the prison, with this inscription: (Porta[2] Patens[3] esto[1] nulli Claudatur honesto)[271] and then is destitute of building on both sides ~~till~~ \ to / Howgate Foote, where some houses on both sides \ with a few on the end / ~~some lately built, some of older continuance~~; and here a little torrent divides it selfe {it comes out of Stony Lane} one part running of on the right hand to[w]ards the river, the other seeking a smo[o]ther path. tho farther about, runs along the gards to beyond the bridge, where tis received into Edens imbraces. But to follow it higher

[II.522][272]

and to let that pass which is all already gon by us:

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[267] MS: '&, throw~~gh~~ing the doer quite of the […] hinges, made his second escape.'
[268] Or 'brough[t].'
[269] MS: '\ from him / out of his company and ny, and threw up the cards.'
[270] Two crossed-through words here are illegible.
[271] 'Let the door stand open; let it not be closed to any honourable man,' See *N&B1*, 319, which gives the same inscription, though Machell appears to correct the order of it to read 'esto Porta Patens': '2,3,1.' But there is more to this inscription than meets the eye: see the chapter on Roman Antiquities, VI.199.
[272] Also numbered p.77.

[Howgate]
If wee pass a little further we come to [H]owgate, ~~so called~~ being a way or passage cut through a rock & overshaded with trees, which ~~peradventure~~ doubtless is named from the hollow-ness thereof, how being a contract[ion] of hollow and hovel, the diminutive, which may be deduced from the Latin Caveola, casting away C & adding the aspirate.
Att the end of this Howgate* there is a Catadupe,[273] which partes from Bongate, the general name of the tow Cross Streets in that part of the towne, tho I am perswaded it formerly belonged to the South Street onely,[274] being situate on a very high assent which leades towards Brough and ought to be writ non Bon-gate, but Bangate, it being derived from the British word, Ban – altus excelsus – high, lofty; whence unde Banke etiam. A[nglo S[axon] Or not to truble you with so far a feth,[275] it is enough to derive it quasi Banke-Gate, i.e. the street upon the Ba[n]ke†. The other Cross Street goes from the Mill, or att least has don so, towards Roman Fell. {The other part is waterd on one side with this sike f[r]om Sto[ny] Lane.[276] On the other, benea[th] a great rock of good huw stone runnes the River Eden. But the descent by the church to the mill is ~~more~~ facill & easy.}

[Machell's Notes: II.522]
*The place where (if I mistake [not] ancient evidence) was formerly a mill. /
†{Bongate vide supra p. 74, an non potius Bond-gate villanorum pagus. And so it is vetus Apleby ubi villani habitant.}[277] May be this was the Best part of the Towne, and Anciently the Chiefe street, called Bongate since the Norman Conquest (Camden Britannia) from the French word bien, or Latin bona. Query Bona platea, the Good Street.

[II.523]

[Conclusion]
And so I have don with its description, which is in every[278] place so very commodious for carying of[f] any thing which may be noysome, that I wonder such a pestilence should ever rage in this place as it did in the yeare \ 1598. / Witness this inscription:

Hic Pestis Sævit 1598 Oppid desert Mercatus ad Gilshaughlin F[uit]*.[279]

But when God is pleased to visit to sin, where can we be saif?

{Jardine of Eden}.
The aire \ of it self / is most healthfull, ther being no fens near, nor any places for water to stagnise[280] about this towne. And as for the coldness, this part of the country is so well fenced with the towering mounta[n]es which enci[r]cle this part, cald the Bottom of Westmorland, with the Borders of Cumberland, that looke[ing] from Apleby round about, you would think your selfe in a spatiouse cock pitt. And if some men had there description, they would \ not / feare to give the title of, The Garden of Eden; but I shall content my selfe without any flourish thus, to present you with naked truth.[281]

[Machell's Notes: II.523]
*{Gilshaugh est locus juxta part[em] Stric[kland] \ Magna / quondam sed Fallafeildorum, quorum aliquis prætorem Abullabæ tunc temporis fuisse existimo; id autem in C.F.}[282]

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[273] Cataract; a waterfall.
[274] MS: 'tho I am perswaded it formerly belonged to the ~~High Street former~~ South Street ~~former~~ onely.'
[275] Probably from 'feith': belief, trust, confidence. *OED*.
[276] Sike: 'A small stream of water, a rill or streamlet, especially one flowing through flat or marshy ground, and often dry in summer; a ditch or channel through which a tiny stream flows. In former times frequently used as a boundary between lands, fields, etc. *OED*.
[277] 'Bongate see above p.74, whether rather Bondgate, was the centre of the country folk. And so it is Old Appleby where the villagers live.'
[278] Part of this sentence has been removed from the foot of MS.II.522.
[279] 'Here the plague raged in 1598: the market fled the town to Gilshaughlin Forest.'
[280] 'Stagnize': 'to render stagnant.' *OED*.
[281] Two short headings have been removed from this page. Viz. MS: 'The places of chief remarks. ~~As to its government~~.'
[282] 'Gilshaugh is a place once next to a part of Great Strickland, but belongs to the Fallowfields, one of whom I think was mayor of Appleby at that time; and this is in C.F.' [Charter of the Fallowfields]

[II.507]

{[**Things] Remarkeable to be writte**.}

[Loyalty to the King]
~~Lancelot Machell of Crakenthorpe Esq.~~ \ A Gentleman of this county, / when chosen Mayor, would not accept of the prætoriall dignity till Olivers Charter, ~~which had bin~~ formerly ~~procurrd~~ imposed upon the Towne (\ to the /which Aldermen ~~& Major~~ of his owne gang), was brought before him, which he tore in presence in the open court.

[II.508]

Tanta fuit hujus loci honestas ~~et regiæ majest[at]i reverentia ut edita Oliveri contra regem nec \ et parliamenti infidelis~~ /{illegitimique} ~~praetor nec ipsius Balivi quorum~~ officium erant {se my little booke.}[283]
So great was the honesty of this towne and \ so great / theire reverence to ~~kingly~~ \ regal / majesty, that when a proclamation was issued out by Oliver Cromwell, absurdly pro-clameing the King to be a tratour, nor Major nor Baileves (whose office it was), could ~~by faire or foule means~~ be brought ~~to have my hand in so horrid~~, nor any of this towne, could be prevailed upon to pronounce such a tre[ason].

[II.510]

The fidelity of this place, which it hath ever borne to the kings of England, deserves very well to be had in remembrance and to be transfer'd as an honourable example ~~to all posterity~~ \ in future ages. / In the late civil wars it was allwayes for the king, and a smale garrison of {?} men defended the castle against [blank].

{Jock-Green}
Here, the Parliament Party, being in chase, had utterly been overthrowne, but thes[e] country gentlemen could not persuade the general – I thinke it was (Lashley)[284] to fall on: for his Answer to them was, When the hares kild, the game di[es]. But after Oliver \ Cromwell / had vanquished the Royall Party ~~and~~ & settled all changes to his owne likeing, the loyalty was such that many of the inhabitants suffered \ frequent / imprisonment & sequestration, together with the neighboring gentry, most of which were Aldermen of the Towne. But its Loyalty was chiefly remarke in those dismal times for 2 circumstances:
1. That no man, no, not the inferiour officers to whome it belonged to publish proclamations, would by any means proclaime the King a Traytor. So that soljer were constreyned to gett a vagabond fellow &c;
2. Tering Oliver Charter in pieces.

[II.511]

How much also & how worthy are they to be commended for their faithfull proceeding in election of a major in Olivers time, when Captaine Atkinsons[285] (afterwards hang'd, drawne & quartered there, his head being pitched upon the towne hale, the very place where offered that violence) could not \ over / aw them into an Election, according to his pleasure & Olivers intrest, notwithstanding he layd his hand upon his sword, saying, he would choose him by that, & was also backed with a gard of

[283] Machell translates and adds to this passage immediately below; i.e. 'so great was the honesty' etc.
[284] Lashley could be a variant of Leslie (i.e. General Leslie) but the parliamentary army commander here was Major General John Lambert. Viz. 'In May 1648 the northern royalists took up arms again, and at the beginning of July the Scottish army [of 'engagers, i.e. supporters of the monarchy] under Hamilton invaded England. Against the former, Lambert more than held his own, driving Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with the bulk of his forces, into Carlisle, and recapturing Appleby and other castles. But the advance of Hamilton's Scottish army … obliged Lambert to fall back. Lambert led an organized retreat of his forces to Bowes and Barnard Castle, aiming to hold Stainmore Pass against Hamilton. From there he had to retire further to Richmond and then Knaresborough… On 13 August, Cromwell arrived, and their combined forces defeated the Scots at Preston (17-19 August 1648).' D. Farr, 'Lambert [Lambart], John (bap. 1619, d. 1684), parliamentary soldier and politician.' *ODNB*.
[285] Captain Robert Atkinson from Mallerstang, of Kaber Rigg Plot fame, was hanged 1 September, 1664, according to Lady Anne Clifford's diary: see Nightingale *Ejected of 1662,* 1, 116-17; see also Peter D. Clarke, 'The Sectarian "Threat" and its Impact in Restoration Cumbria', *CW2*, 88 (1988), 161-76.

soljers. And tho Apleby be little regarded (the unhappy faite of mos[t] that were loyal) yet this may truly be sayd of it: tho if other townes have received honour, this has deserv'd it. Nor must Carlile by me be forgot: the head of Cumb'land, as this is of Westm'land. For the Loyalty of these 2 places may very well expiate for ~~the desloyalty of all the little townes, tho there had bin more of~~ all other places, if there had bin more (as thankes be to God there were very few in both the countyes.)

[Extract from Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, Volume I (London, 1777), pages 315 to 316.][286]

[315]

'In the time of Oliver Cromwell, they seem to have had a charter imposed upon them , restrictive probably of their former privileges ; for they had been firm in their attachment to the royal cause. To which purpose the reverend Thomas Machel, speaking of the plunderings and devastacions which Appleby had sustained in former ages, adds,'

"And if you seek for a later instance, you may find one in the height of Cromwells tyranny; for when those bloody regicides, which made the very name of an Englishman odious in the world, were not content to bury their malice with that most pious and innocent king whom they most barbarously murdered, but would farther proceed to proscribe his son and proclaim their lord and sovereign a traytor, no man there (either by reward or threatning) could be induced to act or to appear in so horrid a villainy. The mayor withdrew himself, and the bailiffs (whose office it was) threw up their commissions, though but poor men, insomuch that the soldiers were glad to have recourse unto a fellow in the market, an unclean bird, hatched at Kirkby Stephen, the nest of all traytors,[287] who proclaimed it aloud, whilst the people stopped their ears and hearts, having nothing open but their eyes, and those even filled with tears. What should I speak of those perpetual persecutions which the neighbouring gentlemen, who are aldermen of the town, underwent for their loyalty to the king? I think I need no other argument both for their acting for the king and their faithful perseverance than their constant sufferings, sequestrations, and imprisonments; from which they were never free one fortnight together, during the unhappy usurpation of that cruel tyrant. And the townsmen were not far behind this gallant example of their noble leaders; who when captain Atkinson came down from the castle with his musketeers to chuse a Roundhead mayor, and clapped his hand on his sword , saying, *I'll do it by this**, yet made resistance; for they then conferred the office (to

[316]

prevent bloodshed) on a moderate man, who had acted on neither side, except in bearing that office before; and so he was mayor two years together. And though Oliver, through captain Atkinson's means, in order to make himself more absolute, gave a charter to this ancient corporation, which was rather imposed than accepted of, yet they preserved their old one to the last. And when the first gentleman, whose name I neither need nor am willing to mention†; after his many refusals in Oliver's time, accepted the place on the king's return, he would not handle the staff of authority, nor suffer the oath of office to be administred unto him, till he had sent for Olivers charter, and in the face of the court cut it in pieces with his own hands, and then looking about he espied some taylors, and cast it to them, saying it should never be a measure unto him.[288] What should I speak of those great acclamations and expressions of joy which the people could not smother, at the news of the king's return? What, of that wonderful pomp and solemnity (the like whereof was never seen in those parts) upon his coronation, when there were almost as many bonefires as houses, and two stately high

[286] This highly important part of Machell's text can no longer be found within his bound MSS; for an analysis of how and why this might be so, see the Editor's Introduction.

[287] The label seems to have stuck. In 2009, while contesting the Penrith and the Border parliamentary constituency, Rory Stewart was told ' in five separate conversations that the people of Kirkby [Stephen] were Roundheads, and still hated Appleby for being on the Royalist side in the civil war.' See Rory Stewart, *Politics on the Edge* (London, 2023), 43.

[288] 'What the poor taylors had done to have this flung in their faces is not clear': a pertinent comment made by Lionel Cresswell, in 'Crackenthorpe: its Manor, Hall and the Machell Family', *CW2*, 33 (1933), 113-32, at 121. Part of Machell's passage is also quoted by Hewitson in 'Appleby Charters', *CW1*, 11 (1891), 283, but with no attribution. Presumably it was gleaned from *N&BI*, 316.

scaffolds at each end of the town, hung with cloth of arras and gold; whither, after service done at the church, the countess of Pembroke, with the mayor, aldermen, and all the other gentry of the county ascended, with I know not how many trumpets, and an imperial crown carried before them, where they proclaimed, prayed for, and drank the health of the king upon their knees ; the aged countess seeming young again to grace the solemnity. The expences of that day were very considerable. For throughout the town was kept open house, after the example of that noble countess, who thought not her gates then wide enough to receive her guests, which before had been too wide for receiving armies of soldiers."

[Nicolson and Burn: Notes]

*This captain Atkinson who was of Winton in this county, was afterwards hanged, for being concerned in Kaber Rigg plot.

†Hugh Machel esquire, brother of the said Thomas.[289]

[**Government of Appleby**]

[I.175]

I shall proceed to the privaledges of this Corporation and then speake something more particularly of those places which seeme more remarkeable. It is indeed a very Ancient Corporation: haveing a Charter granted by Henry 1. as is evident from the records of the Cliffords which I have red.

[I.176]

And there were a Corporation of Burgers before, for in Edward I. time {iurat … anno 7^0 Ed. I. [1278-79] Rot. Vetini…}[290] It was presented by a Jury upon sufficient evidence that <u>old Henry</u> {H. 1.} granted to the Burgesses of Apleby such libertyes as the Citizens of Yorke have, and that King John confirmed the same &c. \ vid. plura in notis[291] / ~~They acknowledge such~~. So that if the Towne could by trade advance their stake[292] and wer by that means able\ to maintaine / their grandure, it would not come short of any Corporation I know of in England.

They are governed by a Mayor \ the present Mayor being John Thwates Esq. Mayor of Apleby,[293] & / 12 Aldermen, many of them being Gentlemen of \ quality / [in] the County whoe keep their Propretors[294] (when they are elected) to officiate for them in their absence. And have \ 1 Sword Bearer / 1 Sargent at Mase, 2 Halbert Bearers &c.,[295] which wait upon the Mayor with other Officers \ Bali[ve]s or Shrives or Provos[t] / as Recorder, Chamberlins and Coroner, with other inferior officers.

[289] Nicolson and Burn are incorrect: it was not Hugh, but Machell's father, Lancelot, who tore up the charter (see Cresswell, 'Crackenthorpe: its Manor, Hall and the Machell Family', 121). See also I.290 in this chapter. For an analysis of Machell's political writing here, see Michael Mullett, who argues that 'it seems highly likely that Thomas Machell scripted a theatrical episode in which the newly installed restoration mayor of Appleby refused to accept the stipulations of the Cromwell charter. The account had a powerful purpose as adroit royalist propaganda.' See Michael Mullett, *Patronage, Power and Politics in Appleby in the era of Lady Anne Clifford, 1649-1689,* CWAAS Tract Series 25 (Kendal, 2015), 24-26.

[290] The rest of this sentence is obscured by the binding.

[291] 'See further in my notes.'

[292] Indistinct word.

[293] John Thwaites Senior was mayor in 1657 and 1658. John Thwaites, his son, was mayor in 1674, 1681, 1689 and 1698 (in which year he died in office). See http://applebytown.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/MAYORS-OF-APPLEBY-PDF.pdf.

[294] Proprætor: a person acting in place of a prætor.

[295] Alternative name: halberd. The halberd had fallen out of use as a fighting weapon by the 17th century, but was retained for ceremonial use.

[I.308]

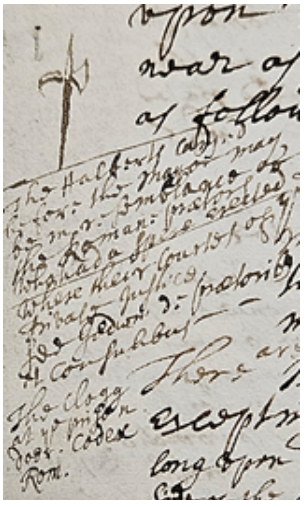


Figure 1.1.7. Margin sketch of halberd, with explanatory text. I.308.

{The halberds caryed before the mayor may be in resemblance of the Romane prætors who had a spere erected where their courtes of private justice.[296] See Joed[…], *de Prætoribus et Consulibus*.}[297]

[Machell's Notes: I.308]

{The clogg at the prison door. Codex Rom[anus.}[298]

[I.176]

And allso by 2 Balfs[299] whose office is allmost lost for want of clame & exercise but if I mistake not, of great authority and repute, being as in other places equall to the Balies or Shireves of Townes & Cities Corporate. For I finde that Gra[n]tes and other writeing were made by the Major Balives and Com[mons] of Apleby in Henry 8. Time. And I thinke they [Balives] were called Provosts, for I finde William Gold[r]ington Major of Apleby, and Thomas Gold[r]ington Provost of Apleby, witnesses att a deed amongst the writeing of Mr Blenkinsop (which except by Provost, Balives he meant, I cannot tell well what to make of them) the acknowle[dge]d statute marchant &c.[300] And may arreast[301] from [blank] to [blank] within the mase liberty which extends to these places and have all [blank] as far as the liberty of the staff doth reach, which is the whole extent of the Barony of Apleby, to wit to [Blank]

[296] The centumviral court (centumviri) was the chancery court (court of equity) of ancient Rome. It was a court of justice dealing with private law (civil law). See Agnes Clay, 'Centumviri', in Hugh Chisholm (ed.), *Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. 5*, 11th edn (Cambridge, 1910-11), 683–84.

[297] 'Of Praetors and Consuls.' Machell was possibly referring to Josse de Damhouder, *Praxis rerum criminalium, elegantissimis iconibus ad materiam accomodis illustrata, prætoribus, proprætoribus, consulibus, proconsulibus, magistratibus, reliquisque id genus iustitiariis ac officiariis, apprimè utílis ac necessaria, etc. With woodcuts by Gerard de Jode* (Antwerp, 1554). In modern terms, 'a practical handbook of criminal justice for the use of officials such as praetors, consuls etc.'

[298] See Machell's tale of a gaol escape, III.57, above: 'They … chaned him \ by the neck / to a great clogg of wood with a chain of Iron, thinkeing thereby to hold him fast.'

[299] Bailiffs.

[300] Statute marchant/merchant: a bond of record, acknowledged before the chief magistrate of a trading town, by which a creditor has the power of seizing a debtor's lands in case of default. *OED*.

[301] Arrest.

[I.178]

[Charter Proclamations: James II. 1688][302]

[Proclamation 17 October 1688.]

JAMES R.

Whereas in the Charters, Patents or Grants made to several Cities, Burroughs and Towns Corporate, a Power is reserved to us to Remove, Displace, and Discharge by Order under Our Signet and Sign Manual, the Mayors, Sheriffs, Recorders, Town-Clerks, Aldermen, Common Council-Men, Assistants, Officers, Magistrates, Ministers, Freemen and other Members of the same: We do accordingly hereby Remove, Displace and Discharge all Mayors, Sheriffs, Recorders, Town-Clerks, Aldermen, Common Council-Men, Assistants, Officers, Magistrates, Ministers, Freemen, and other Members of our said respective Cities, Burroughs, and Towns Corporate, which have or claim such Offices or Places by Charter, Patent or Grant from the late King Our most Dear Brother of ever blessed Memory, or from Us since the Year One thousand six hundred seventy nine, except such Cities and Towns in Our Proclamation named, whose Deeds of Surrender are Inrolled, or against whom Judgments in Quo Warranto are Entred: And they, and every of them, are hereby Removed, Displaced and Discharged accordingly, in Pursuance of the Power reserved to Us as aforesaid: Whereof all Persons concerned are hereby required to take Notice.he issued a proclamation that
Given at Our Court a Whitehall the 17th Day of October, 1688. In the Fourth Year of Our Reign.
By His Majesties Command.
Sunderland P.
London, Printed by Charles Bill, Henry Hills, ad Thomas Newcomb, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1688.



Figure 1.1.8. Proclamation of James II, 1688. I.178-9.

[I.179]

At the Court at Whitehall the 17th day of October, 1688.
PRESENT, The King's most Excellent Majesty.
His R. H. Prince Geo. of Denmark,
Lord Chancellor, Duke of Hamilton,
Lord Privy-Seal, Marquess of Powis,

[302] During the reign of Charles II, and particularly early in 1688 under James II, many towns were required to surrender their charters and accept new ones, thereby allowing the monarch power to nominate or remove the principal officers. James changed his policy early in October 1688, by restoring the charter of London, and two weeks later, he issued another Proclamation directing that most town charters should be reinstated. See Robert H. George, 'The Charters Granted to English Parliamentary Corporations in 1688', *English Historical Review* 55, 217 (Jan., 1940), 47-56, at 47.

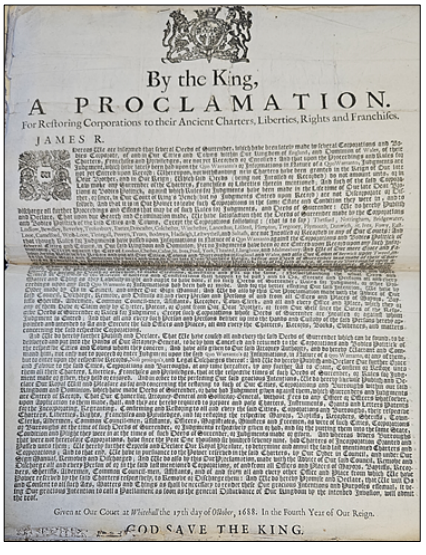
Earl of Huntingdon,
Earl of Craven,
Earl of Berkeley,
Earl of Moray,
Earl of Middleton,
Earl of Melfort,
Earl of Castlemain,
Viscount Preston,
Lord Godolphin,
Mr. Chancel. of the Exchequer,
Master of the Rolls,
Lord Chief Justice Herbert,
Sir Thomas Strickland,
Sir Nicholas Butler,
Mr. Petre.

Whereas in the Charters, Patents, or Grants made to several Cities, Burroughs and Towns Corporate, a Power is reserved to His Majesty by his Order in Council, to Remove, Displace and Discharge the Mayors, Sheriffs, Recorders, Town-Clerks, Aldermen, Common Council-Men, Assistants, Officers, Magistrates, Ministers, Freemen, and other Members of the same. His Majesty is this day in Council pleased to Order. And it is hereby Ordered accordingly, That all Mayors, Sheriffs, Recorders, Town-Clerks, Aldermen Common Council-Men, Assistants, Officers, Magistrates, Ministers, Freemen, and other Members of the said respective Cities, Burroughs and Towns Corporate, which have or claim such Offices or Places by Charter, Patent or Grant from the late King of Blessed Memory, or from His Majesty since the year 1679. Except such Cities and Towns in His Majesties Proclamation named, (whose Deeds of Surrender are Inrolled, or against whom Judgments in Quo Warranto are Entred) be Removed, Displaced, and Discharged, in pursuance of the Power reserved as aforesaid. And they and every of them are hereby Removed, Displaced, and Discharged accordingly.

John Nicholas.
London, Printed by Charles Bill, Henry Hills, and Thomas Newcomb, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1688.

[I.182A-183]

Proclamation for restoreing Corporations to their ancient charters & liberties,
given to me by Mr John Hall, subsheriff of Westmorland, & proclamed by him at Appleby &c. in October 1688.[303]



By the King,
A PROCLAMATION.
For Restoring Corporations to their Ancient Charters, Liberties, Rights and Franchises.
JAMES R.

Given at Our Court at *Whitehall* the 17th day of *October*, 1688. In the Fourth Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Figure 1.1.9. 'By the King: A Proclamation for Restoring Corporations to their Ancient Charters, Rights and Franchises, James R.' 1688. 1.182A-183.

[303] The proclamations bound into the pages of Volume 1 are contemporaneous printed handbills.

By the King, A PROCLAMATION.
For Restoring Corporations to their Ancient Charters, Liberties, Rights and Franchises.
JAMES R.
Whereas We are informed that several Deeds of Surrender, which have been lately made by several Corporations and Bodies Corporate, of and in Our Cities and Towns within Our Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, of their Charters, Franchises and Priviledges, are not yet Recorded or Enrolled: And that upon the Proceedings and Rules for Judgment, which have lately been had upon the Quo Warranto's or Informations in Nature of a Quo Warranto, Judgments are not yet Entred upon Record; Whereupon, notwithstanding new Charters have been granted in the Reign of Our late Dear Brother, and in our Reign; Which said Deeds (being not Inrolled or Recorded) do not amount unto, or in Law make any Surrender of the Charters, Franchises or Liberties therein mentioned; And such of the said Corpora|tions or Bodies Politick, against which Rules for Iudgments have been made in the Life time of Our late Dear Brother, or since, in Our Court of King's Bench (but no Judgments Entred upon Record) are not Discorporate or Dissolved; And that it is in Our Power to leave such Corporations in the same Estate and Condition they were in, and to discharge all further Proceedings and Effects that may be of such Rules for Judgments, and Deeds of Surrender: We do hereby Publish and Declare, That upon due Search and Examination made, We have satisfaction that the Deeds of Surrender made by the Corporations and Bodies Politick of the said Cities and Towns, Except the Corporations following: (that is to say) Thetford, Nottingham, Bridgewater, Ludlow, Bewdley, Beverley, Teukesbury, Exeter, Doncaster, Colchester, Winchester, Lanceston, Lisderd, Plimpton, Tregoney, Plymouth, Dunwich, St. Ives, Fowy, East-Looe, Camelford, West-Looe, Tintegall, Penryn, Truro, Bodmyn, Hadleigh, Lestwythell, and Saltash, are not Inrolled or Recorded in any of Our Courts: And that though Rules for Judgments have passed upon Informations in Nature of a Quo Warranto against the Corporations and Bodies Politick of several Cities and Towns, in Our said Kingdom and Dominion; Yet no Judgments have been or are Entred upon Record upon any such Informations, Except against the City of London, Chester, Calne, St. Ives, Pool, York, Thaxted, Llanghour, and Malmesbury: And We of Our meer Grace and Favour, being Resolved to Restore and put all Our Cities, Towns and Burroughs in England and Wales, and also Our Town of Berwick upon Tweed, into the same State and Condition they were and was, in Our late Dear Brothers Reign, before any Deed of Surrender was made of their Charters or Franchises, or Proceedings against them or the Corporations or Bodies Politick, in or of the said Cities, Towns or Burroughs upon any Quo Warranto or Informations in Nature of a Quo Warranto had. We do hereby therefore Publish, Declare, Direct and Require, That the said Corporations and Bodies Politick and Corporate of all the said Cities, Towns and Burroughs, whose Deeds of Surrender are not Inrolled, nor Judgments entred against them as aforesaid; And the Mayors, Bayliffs, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Common Council-men, Assistants, Recorders, Town-Clerks, Magistrates, Ministers, Officers, Freemen, and all and every others the Members of or in every of them respectively upon the Publication of this Our Proclamation, Take on them and Proceed to Act as a Corporation or Body Politick, and where Places are vacant by Death or otherwise, to make Elections, Constitute and Fill up the same (Notwithstanding the usual Days and Times of Elections by the Ancient Charters and Constitutions shall happen to be past), and to Do, Execute and perform all and every Matter and Thing as they Lawfully might and ought to have done, if no such Deeds of Surrender, Rules for Iudgment, or other Proceedings upon any such Quo Warranto or Informations had been had or made. And for the better effecting Our said Intention, We have by Order made by Us in Council, and under Our Sign Manual; And We do also by this Our Proclamation made with the Advice of Our said Council, Discharge, Remove, and Dismiss all and every Person and Persons of and from all Offices and Places of Mayors, Bayliffs Sheriffs, Aldermen, Common Council-men, Assistants, Recorder, Town-Clerk, and all and every Office and Place, which they or any of them Have or Claim only by Charter, Patent, or Grant from Our Dear Brother, or from Our Self since the Dates of the Respective Deeds of Surrender or Rules for Judgment; Except such Corporations whose Deeds of Surrender are Inrolled or against whom Judgment is Entred; And that all and every such Person and Persons deliver up into the Hands and Custody of the said Persons hereby appointed and intended to Act and Execute the said Offices and Places, all and every the Charters, Records, Books, Evidences, and matters concerning the said respective Corporations.

And We do hereby further Publish and Declare, That We have caused all and every the said Deeds of Surrender which can be found, to be delivered and put into the Hands of Our Attorney-General, to be by him Cancelled and returned to the Corporations and Bodies Politick of the respective Cities and Towns whom they concern; And have also given to Our said Attorney Authority, and do hereby Warrant and Command him, not only not to proceed or enter Judgment upon the said Quo Warranto's or Informations, in Nature of a Quo Warranto, or any of them, but to enter upon the respective Records, Noli prosequi's, and Legal Discharges thereof: And We do hereby Publish and Declare Our further Grace and Favour to the said Cities, Corporations and Burroughs, at any time hereafter, by any further Act to Grant, Confirm or Restore unto them all their Charters, Liberties, Franchises and Priviledges, that at the respective times of such Deeds of Surrender, or Rules for Judgment made or given, they held or enjoyed. And in order to the perfecting Our said gracious Intentions, We do hereby likewise Publish and Declare Our Royal Will and Pleasure as for and concerning the restoring to such of Our Cities, Corporations and Burroughs within our said Kingdom and Dominion, which have made Deeds of Surrender, or have had Iudgment given against them, which Surrenders and Iudgments are Entred of Record, That Our Chancellor, Attorney-General and Sollicitor-General, without Fees to any Officer or Officers whatsoever, upon Application to them made, shall, and they are hereby required to prepare and pass Charters, Instruments, Grants and Letters Patents for the Incorporating, Regranting, Confirming and Restoring to all and every the said Cities, Corporations and Burroughs, their respective Charters, Liberties, Rights, Franchises and Priviledges, and for restoring the respective Mayors, Bayliffs, Recorders, Sheriffs, Town-Clerks, Aldermen, Common Council-men, Assistants, Officers, Magistrates, Ministers and Freemen, as were of such Cities, Corporations or Burroughs at the time of such Deeds of Surrender, or Judgments respectively given or had, and for the putting them into the same State, Condition and Plight they were in at the times of such Deeds of Surrender, or Judgments made or given. And whereas divers Burroughs that were not heretofore Corporations, have since the Year One thousand six hundred seventy nine, had Charters of Incorporation Granted and Passed unto them; We hereby further Express and Declare Our Royal Pleasure, to determine and annul the said last mentioned Charters and Corporations; And to that end, We have in pursuance to the Power reserved in the said Charters, by Our Order in Council, and under Our Sign Manual, Removed and Discharged; And We do also by this Our Proclamation, made with the Advice of Our said Council, Remove and Discharge all and every Person of or in the said last mentioned Corporations, of and from all Offices and Places of Mayors, Bayliffs, Recorders, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Common Council-men, Assistants, and of and from all and every other Office and Place from which We have Power reserved by the said Charters respectively, to Remove or Discharge them: And We do hereby Promise and Declare, that We will Do and Consent to all such Acts, Matters and Things as shall be necessary to render these Our gracious Intentions and Purposes effectual, it being Our gracious Intention to call a Parliament as soon as the general Disturbance of Our Kingdom by the intended Invasion, will admit thereof.
Given at Our Court at Whitehallthe 17th day of October, 1688. In the Fourth Year of Our Reign.
GOD SAVE THE KING.

[I.276B][304]

[The First Appleby Charters]

Appleby traditionally reported to have bin governed by a maior when London was onely a Balife but that I shall onely mention because still common in the mouth of the people*.
The 1t Charter as far as I could ever yett discover was in the time of Henry 1t [1100-35]: è cartis Clifford apud Appleby Castle,[305] who was otherwise called Henricus Senex, but this I have only seen in an Inquisition upon a sute depending, betwixt the barrons of Westmorland, Lords of the Honour of Appleby, & the Corporation of […][306]

[304] This page also contains the notes, MS: '[perished] Crakenthorpe [perished] Cherryes grow near Appleby wild in the woods.'
[305] 'From a charter of the Cliffords at Appleby Castle.'
[306] The end of this sentence is obscured by the binding.

The Charter of Appleby granted in Henry the 2nd times [1154-89] and confirmed success[ively] by the Kings of England, is with liberty &c. and freedom allso a pontagio lastagio &c. in omnibus &c. [307]& doe sometime returne writts of witherman.[308]
Alderman Smyth, senior
Alderman Smyth, Junior
Alderman Robinson
Alderman Lowson
Alderman Atkinson
Alderman Harrison
Alderman Warcop
Nevinson

[Machell's Notes: I.276A]

*{1st. I remember long ago that it was a tradition with the people thereabouts that Apleby was governed by a mayor when London \ by a Balive [blank] /} {before London, which was made a mayor towne in the first of Richard 1st [1189-90]} {Tis also said that York was granted on the forenoone & Apleby in the afternoon.}

[1.276A][309]

The Charter to Appleby granted in Henry the 2d time is whence liberty & free customes as fully wholy & honourably as the Citizens of Yorke did enjoye; which had been confirmd successively by the Kinges of England. {Carta habuit temp. Henrie Senicis 12[310] H.1. [1111-12]}[311]
~~That we~~ \ The Corporation /consists of a Maior, Council of Aldermen, Recorder and Common Councell \ I thinke of 2 Balifes allso / have power to arrest for any sume without limitation; \ as appears from my evidence of Apleby Schoole / to elect two Burgesses for Parliament; to acknowledge statutes m[er]chant before the manor.
Felons; goods; felo de se;[312] waifs & strayes; forfeitures; escheats, doe belong to the manor for the time being.

[Common Seal]



Figure 1.1.10. Appleby Seal. 1.276A.
'3 lyons a token of loyalty & courage[313] *\ the crowne victorie / and St Lawrence on the Gryd Iron to show that it resisted even unto fire, with this devise, hic iacet Laurentius in Cratic[ula] &c.'*

[307] 'Freedom also from taxes on bridges, trading at fairs etc. in all matters etc.'
[308] Writ of Witherman: reprisal of debt.
[309] See I.285-290, for Machell's expansion of this information.
[310] Unclear numeral.
[311] Machell dates this charter to the reign of Henry I, but the text immediately above contains a clear alteration from Henry I to Henry II.
[312] 'Felo de se': 'One who 'deliberately puts an end to his own existence, or commits any unlawful malicious act, the consequence of which is his own death; verdict of self-murder; suicide.'
[313] MS: '~~Q? Which of our kings 1st bore 3 lyons? Se Leland T1 supine 3 leopards. Kgs d. Angliter~~ 3 lyons a token of loyalty & courage.'

The inscription of our common \ seale: / Hic iacet Laurentius in Craticula pos[itus][314] and on that side is the three lyons passant \ gardant crowned / & St Laurence (to whome our church is dedicated) on the gridiron. {2ce burnd before this granted; peradventure because the Towne was burn'd but that last after the Charter granted in 1176.} On the other side, Sigillum Communitatis Burgi de Apleby, and there onely the three lyons passant on a flagg etc.[315]

~~This~~ Henry 2. is sayd to be the 1st that bore 3 lyons for his Arms and it must need be a great honour to Apleby & an undoubted marke of its loyalty that he should signalise it with his own Arms distinguished onely by a symbol of honour, viz. 3 crownes.[316] & theire burnd downe by the Scotts, it should seem to be in regard of its fidelity to the English intrest att that time as there were continuall fude betwixt these two nation, they \ pretending a right to Chief / County as well as Cumberland.[317]

[I.277]



Figure 1.1.11. Common seals of the Borough of Appleby. 1.277.

These are figures of the common seales of the Borough of Appleby*, which Queen Elizabeth by her letters patents bearing date the 8. of July in the 39 yeare of her reigne [1597] (reciting the Charter of King John dated the 6. of March in the 1st yeare of his reigne [1200]; which grants and confirmes to his Burgesses of Appleby all the libertys and free customes which the Burgesses of Yorke had by the grants of King Henry 2 as also the charter of King Henry 3 reciting and confirming the same, and of King Edward the 1st & King Henry 8) ratyfies & confirmes them†.

[Machell's Notes: I.277]

*The diamite[r] of both these seales being circles: see the true dimention p.108 patis V, MS de Westm'land.[318]
The inscription should fill in the round.
†22 Martis 1664: The present Mayor being Christopher Lowther, the Recorder Thomas Denton Esq.
This must be out Dugdales Visitation.

[314] A word here has perished.
[315] For a description of the Appleby common seal, see R.S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (London, 1894), 156; see also *N&BI*, 318.
[316] MS: '& an undoubted marke of its loyalty that he should signalise it with his own arms ~~Se whether all townes corporate have the knight kings arms on one side the seale~~ distinguished onely by a symbol of honour, viz. 3 crownes.'
[317] MS: 'continuall fude betwixt these two nation, they ~~having this~~ \ pretending a right to Chief / County as well as Cumberland ~~som time in past & often times being [illeg] which peradventure might move the king to honr this towne with his owne Arms & St Laurence &c~~.'
[318] 'See the true dimention p.108 patis V, MS de Westm'land': if 'patis' is correct, then it might well be an abbreviation such as 'pat[ent]is', giving the meaning, 'p.108 of letter patent V', but this is pure speculation.

[I.279]

[Correspondence relating to the government of Appleby]

[Thomas Machell; John Thwaites; Richard Blome, cartographer; Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln]

[1. Thomas Machell to John Thwaites. Undated.][319]

Kinde Uncle
You promised mee some time agoe, that you would send the impressions both of your towne and schoole common seales; you sent mee a description of the townes (I thanke you) but the Impression would doe a great deal better, and therefore I pray be mindfull of your promiss & let me have them as soone as you can. I would allso know whether you have a Sigillum Secretum,[320] as well as com[m]une? And if you have lett mee know what it is? You need not fear to communicate them for tis noe new thing; and besides you may be sure that I am not a man who means any harme to your corporation. Sombody was telling \ me / that you are about to draw the quarter sessions wholy to Ap[pleby.]
I could wish in the 1st place that the sessions of assises were secured unto you by Act of Parliament as they are to Carlile by the 14 of Henry the 6th [1435-36], Cap. 3. And then you might saifly venter to stand upon your points and maintain your \ priviledges / both against the judges & justices too. But if it were not presumption in mee to direct your wise counsil, I would advise them to secure the main stake, & learne a good lesson from the dog in the fabel.[321]

You have 2 burgeses whose business it is to defend your priviledges in the House of Parliament, and procure you new ones, as far \ as / in them lyes; ~~and~~ Kendall has none. You have the president[322] of Carlile for it, and the same plea (old use & custome) which they had for theirs; Kendall has none. You have sufferings and loyalty to speake \ plead / in your behalf ~~Kendall has none~~ and many other arguments which I could produce): Kendall has none. How easy a thing then were it for you to procure this priviledge; if you would but putt your burgesses in minde & they write \ their mind & / an opportunity? Nay, I am confident, the thing is so reasonable that none would gaine say it. and \ if / this were effected you needed not fear to \ the / disgust the gentlemen of the other side ~~the countrye by~~ calling them over to your Quarter Sessions. For them it would bee both beyond theire and your Judges power for to alter the Assises. A thing I suppose which may be attempted when the Countess is ~~gone~~ \ dead. / And ergo

[I.280]

I thinke it will very much behove you to labour this business while she is alive. And the sooner the better; for you need not doubt of her utmost assistance who has hitherto preserved these \ priviledges / unto you; entertained your judges att her owne propper charge, and honoured the towne with her residence there above other places. However, I would have (before the next session of the Court of Parliament) to putt your Burgesses in minde of this matter, that they may move in it as they see opportunity; & thinke there will be a very fitt occasion when a Bill is preferr'd in order to settling your schoole on the collige; in which Bill the other may bee inserted as well as not.

{The schole setled on Q. Coll. Oxon.}
And now when my hand is in, I will reminde of an other business \ in / order to the advanceing of your schoole & towne; and that is [the] librarye. Cosan Brathwate has promissed his assistance & I make no question of Sir Richard Sandfords. I pray you therefore gett us halfe a dusen trees cutt downe in readyness and brought to the schoole that they may bee in season, & whensoever I come into the north wee will try to doe somthing in that affaire.
I pray you be pleased to send mee the names of those feofees who resigned up the schoole into our hands. And pardon those over slights (if there bee any) which my \ too / great affection to Apleby has

[319] Undated, but the reply is dated 2 October 1673.
[320] 'Secret seal', used in private correspondence. The 'sigillum commune' was the common seal.
[321] The writer is possibly referring to the fable of the dog carrying a bone, who, seeing his reflection in the water, dropped the bone in hope of picking up another one.
[322] Precedent.

caused; for assure your selfe there is none more ready to doe the towne service, or an man related unto it, much more your \ selfe / than ~~he who is~~ S^r^
Your ~~humble servant~~ \ most /dutyfull Nephew & serv[ant]
My kinde l[ove] & d[uty] to my Aunt; my love to good Cosan Deb; my service to M.B. & honest Mr Jacson; but my letter to – your selfe alone. ~~Do not show it to any~~.

[I.278B]

[2. John Thwaites to Thomas Machell. 2 October 1673.]

For Mr Thomas Machell, Fellow of Queene, Oxon
these

[I.278A][323]

Dear Cozen
It may seeme very strange to you, that I returne you noe better answear of your letter, the reason truely is I never received your paper of directions till this day; soe that in this short time could give you nothinge but an imperfect accompt; as for the immunities of our toune I have not fully completed itt, but God willing, this next terme, my man will be at London, and by him you shall receive your impresse of our common seale, & your seale appointed for the schoole, togither with an exact account of our \ first / charter & priviledges. All your friends & relations are in good health, and desire kindly to be remembered to you, and soe doth
Yor affectionate Uncle
Jo. Thwaites
Appleby 2^nd^ October 1673.

[I.297][324]

[3. From Richard Blome. 27 February 1674.][325]

To the Maior, Aldermen and other the Majestrates of Appleby
Sirs
I have spent some time in the preparing for the presse a booke of heraldry entituled, *Guillim's Display of Heraldry*.[326] Manifestinge a more easie accesse to the knowledge thereof then hath beene published by any, through the benefitt of Method, being interlaced with variety of History, suitable to the severall subjects; which said booke for its excellency hath past the presse four times and is speedily to be reprinted with great variety of usefull addicons, as well of coat armour as a treatise of the Nobility and Gentry, as to their priviledges and dignityes, with chapters of each degree, which are illustrated with apt and proper sculptures to represent the same. And for the further compleatinge the said worke (by giveinge as many examples of bearings as possible), it is my desire (in a chapter relateinge to Comerce) to treat of the cittyes and cheife townes corporate in England, as to their imunityes, customes, privilidges, government, coat armour and Majestrates, with other things of remarke, fitt to be taken notice of (especially of such cittyes and townes coporate whose majestrates are benefactors to the said work, as diverse already have beene.) And well knowing that soe chargeable an undertakeinge cannott be soe well performed by a single person as by a publiq' encurragement, I am the rather induced to present these lines to your consideracons, tenderinge my service for the recording to posterity such remarkes as aforesaid are appropriate to your Corporacon, together with the names of the present majestrates, for which the charges (which by computacon cannott be lesse than 40s) will be only required downe, and 30s more upon the delivery of one of the said bookes,

[323] I.278B is the address page (15cm by 19½cm) of a letter to Machell from John Thwaites.
[324] The letter on this page is not a copy.
[325] Richard Blome (bap. 1635? d. 1705), was a heraldic painter and publisher who was among the first to use the advance subscription method to finance his publishing schemes, as will be observed in this correspondence. See S. Mendyk, 'Blome, Richard cartographer and bookseller.' *ODNB*.
[326] John Guillim (1550-1621), Herald. The inscription is dated 1610 but Guillim's *Display of Heraldrie* was published in 1611. It contained 283 folio pages and more than 500 woodcuts of shields illustrating the arms of named families and early 17th century office-holders: Thomas Woodcock, 'Guillim, John (1550-1621)'. *ODNB*.

which will be worth as much, without you will most liberally contribute unto me; and upon your notice given me thereof in due time, your comands shall readily be observed by.
Your most humble servant
Ric. Blome
Feb. 27, 1674.
Lodginge at Mr Rudds at the corner of Lincolnes Inn Fields near Clare Markett

[I.281]

[4. John Thwaites to Thomas Machell. 2 August 1675.]

Dear Cosen[327]
These I hope will finde you in good health, the continuance whereof is most heartily wished. I should ere this (in behalf of this burrough) have given you the trouble of what is here incerted, but terme occasions and my lait sicknes have enforced the delay. This corporacon (who returne you many thankes for your kindnes) is by their continued low condition obliterated in history, and if you can be instrumentall to putt fire to the ashes of antiquity you will exceedingly oblige us. Wee may speake ourselves not inferiur \ almost / to the ancientest corporacon in England.
Our comon Seale are the three lyons passant (Yorke five)*.
King Henry the First Grannts his Charter to the Burgesses of this place, for our liberties and free customes Tam integre, plenarie, & honorifice sicut cives urbis de Eboraco nunc habent et possident.[328]
King John confirmes this, and soe all the kings of England successively, to be free from the potestation[329] of Toll ~~in~~ all England \ over / præter-quam è in civitat London nisi forte cives Eboraci quietantias inde habent per libertates suas in civitate London.[330]

It appears by Records that die martis in festo Sancti Stephani martyris anno Inquisitionis Millesimo trecentesimo octogesimo octavo†,[331] the towne was burnd by the Scotts, at which time itt pased to the king twenty markes per annum at 2[d] a burgage; and that itt was soe destroyed thereby, that of that rentt upon several Inquisicons found & returnd, there remaines to the king onely xxvj[s] viij[d][332] which has been since that time and is now paied, and so itt continues‡.
If you thinke itt convenient, give my humble duty & service to the Reverend Father the Bishop of Lincolne,[333] and if you please acquaint him that though I was unjustly aspeisd by two gentlemen aldermen of this place (the one is dead, the other never gave any a good word) about the ten pounds he deposited into my hand as a free gift towards the buildinge of a house for conveinency of the markett, which never tooke effect, and thereupon I paied itt \ over / to the towne, which continued in their hands till now, and I have now imployed itt towards the building of a house which stands upon six pillars, and will be finished within this three weekes‡.
I would not willingly lye under a blemish which I doe in noe wise deserve. I do assure \ you / itt has been a very great trouble to me, and I doe value my reputation at a greater rate then the purchase of ten pounds. All yor frends at Crakanthorpp are well, your Aunt & Deborah present their kind respect & service to you; soe doth
Your very affectionat uncle
Jo. Thwaites
App 2[nd] August 1675.

[327] Letter written by John Thwaites.
[328] 'For our liberties and free customs, as entirely, fully and honourably as the citizens of York now have and possess them.'
[329] Potestation: 'power, authorisation'. *OED*.
[330] 'To be immune from the imposition of toll all England over, except in the city of London, apart from citizens of York who have exemptions on account of their liberties in the city of London.'
[331] 'It appears by records that on a Tuesday on the feast of St Stephen Martyr in the year of the Inquisition 1388, 11. Richard 2., the town was burned by the Scots.'
[332] 26s 8d.
[333] When Thomas Barlow was consecrated bishop of Lincoln on 27 June, 1675, Machell was then an Oxford fellow; he was presented to the living of Kirkbythore in 1677: A. Winchester, 'Machell, Thomas (bap. 1647, d. 1698), antiquary'. *ODNB*. For Barlow, see Part 1, Ch.20, Orton.

[Machell's Notes: I.281]
{Out of these I have made my description of Appleby, which must be sent to Bloome.}
*~~I thinke 6M~~. {York \ Arms / vi lyons on a Cross Gules, 5 lyons passant gardant Or.}
†XI Richard 2. [1388].
‡{hanc vastavit funditus Guilielmus Rex Scotorum 1176 / 22. Henry 2.}[334]
ǂ{In July 1675 the new market house finished.}

[I.282]

[5. Letter from an umknown writer concerning Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln. Transcribed (with addenda) by Machell.][335]

My Lord takes it kindly that you have imploy'd his money \ & / he has more books for you.
I have spoke a great deal of Good to him concerneing your towne. Moved him (being now a member of Parliament) to procure the settlement of the Hospital upon you as att Carlile (when the Act is made for the Schoole); & in order thereto I am to draw him \ a / note of what I thinke fitt to be ~~pleaded for it~~ \ urged for it. / I have allso mov'd him to consider of lending you out of our treasuryes 500[li] upon use as you proposed & sufficient security for 6 or 7 years, & he tells me moreover that as soon as he is settled well in his Bishoprik & begins to grow rich he will give 100 [li] to the towne.[336] I wish all this may hold, but however, you see how willing I am to serve the corporation and promote their intrest if it layd in my power. Who am [blank].

But then writes that Mr Machell has given a very good assurance of his Lordships favor & good intentions.

[Machell's Notes: I.282 & I.283]
[I.282]
A Bill that the Schoole of Appleby may be settled as to its presentation upon Queens College. Se Norleeach Mr. M.A.[337] That the Assises may be holden att Appleby as they have bin \ of old / and att noe other place. If we make the Judges visitors upon default of the College – thus: And for as much as the Judges of Assise are in some cases to be visitors of the Schoole of Appleby, it is desired that the session of the Justices to take Assises in the county of Westm'land to be holden in time of peace & of truce in the Towne of Appleby and none other place, in the same \ as it hath bin used and accustomed / except it be necessary, in case of plauge nor the like pestilentious disease, to have it pro ista vice[338] otherwise.
Query [1]: Carlile obteined the same favour \ 14 Henry 6. Cap. 3 / upon the sole account that [it] had bin so used and accustomed formerly. And the Assises have bin kept [at] Appleby ever since King Johns time & before (except once) or twice
2. Because it will be for the good of the schoole.
3. Of the towne, which was ever loyall, and suffered abundantly, not onely in the Tyranny of Oliver & late civil Warrs, but formerly by the Scotts, there being …[339]
[I.283]
Appleby was formerly cauled a city &c. {Appleby then burned to the ground!} It was formerly a very great place but brought to decay by Incursions of the Scotts who burned it down ~~3ce~~ \ 2.[340] / And as to its Government, that it was governed by a Maior \ & Aldermen / when London was under the Jurisdiction of a Balive.

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[334] 'William, King of the Scots, completely destroyed this town.' This margin text is in Machell's hand.
[335] Marked on the reverse (I.284), 'For Mr Thomas Machell Fellow of Queens College Oxon. Post p[ai]d to London Appleby 3d.' Machell used this letter-cover to make rough notes on burgages.
[336] Thomas Barlow was born at Long-Gill, Orton, in 1608/9; he attended Appleby Grammar School before matriculating at Queen's College, Oxford, as a servitor in 1625; he became bishop of Lincoln in 1675: J. Spurr, 'Barlow, Thomas (1608/9–1691), bishop of Lincoln'. *ODNB*. According to John Curwen, Barlow gave the school £100 in books and £100 in money': John F Curwen, 'Parishes (East Ward): St Lawrence, Appleby', in *The Later Records Relating to North Westmorland Or the Barony of* Appleby, CWAAS Record Series 8 (Kendal, 1932), 45-72.
[337] A search for 'Norleach' found various Oxford graduates named 'Norleigh' but no actual 'Norleach'.
[338] 'For that time.'
[339] The page has perished here; a whole line appears to be missing.
[340] The correction is in different ink and possibly in a different hand.

[I.291]

{Sessions of Assises} to be holden at Appleby.
Touching the difference betwixt Appleby and Kendal about Quarter Sessions, viz. in which place they ought to be kept, 1675*.

[§1.] I doe not certainly know \ know not anything / whence Quarter Sessions should take their measures (as to the place where they are to be kept {because in this pointe the Act is silent} except from the Generall Sessions of Assise & custome of the countrey. \ If it be so as to the former / there is an Act of Parliament (Anno 6^0 Richard 2nd [1382-83]) which confirmes the Assises to the County-Towne in every Shire & expresseth those to be County-Townes where the County Courts are & have bin kept; upon which statute it was particularly inacted (anno 14^0 Henry 6 [1435-36] \ Cap.30 /) that the Assises for Cumberland should be holden in time of Peace & of Truce in the City of Carlile and none other place in the county of Cumberland as had bin accustomed of old;[341] which is noe new Grant but a confirmation of the former to that place in particular, which before was comprised in the Generall Act \ occasioned (as it should seeme) from som other towne / usurping their priviledge†.
And that:
§2. Appleby (is now \ the County Towne of Westm'land / which no man will question & \ neither is it to be douted that it was so of old. Westm'land has bin of old the County Towne; for in John Bromptons *Cronicle* (who writ before the Conquest) the whole county tooke name from it & was called Applebyshire; as Cumberland likewise was called Carluel-Shire‡.[342] And as for Session Assises it planely appeares that – as now – so also of old they were held at Appleby; of which I can produce several instances in Edward the 1st time & before dateing was used.
For first it appears out of a writeing sans date penes Mr Blenkinsop, that Ranulphus de Langheton with Alicia his wife who was daughter & heir of Thomas↓ son of Patricius {see Culwens pedigree de Workinton in Cumberland} had suite of clame Coram Justitiarijs Domini Regis Apud Appleby with Thomas de Hellebeck, which they released to Thomas & his heires. His testibus Domino Willielmo de Bampton tunc vicomite Westmarie, Domino Roberto de Askeby, Domino Johanne de Morevile, Domino Richardo de Sulleby, Thoma de Musgrau‖ tunc Senescallo Westmarie, Willielmo de Warthecop, Johanne de Burton, Hugo Carpenter, Richardo fillio Beatrice, Willielmo de Sowreby & alijs. (This may be seen amongst Mr Blenkinsops writeings s.d.)¶.

§3. e allso I finde in the 4th of King John [1202-03], an[343]

[Machell's Notes: I.291]
*{Memorandum: I sent this in better order to Sir P.M. & ordered it to be registered att Appleby where it may be seen. Memorandum: to give Sir Phillip & Uncle Thwaites notice of the Act Repld.}
†{Master of Rolls in Bucks doe it: inform[an]t. J. Machel de Wendover; this note aded since. Addition to this out of my collection MS VI sub tit brevia Regis 4. Ed. 3. [1330-31] No. 56, Kendal. \ Ordinatio facta per regem et concilium suum Anno 9. Edward 1. de Turno vic[ario] ibidem tenendo pro bono pacis ibidem vacanter, to which is annexed, observari non potuit quia adversat Magna Carta.[344]/ {Note that after this it was ordered by Act

[341] MS: 'as had bin used accustomed of old.'
[342] 'John Brompton's *Chronicle* covers the arrival in England of St Augustine of Canterbury until 1199, together with a collection of Latin versions of the Anglo-Saxon law codes known as the Quadripartitus. The chronicle was once commonly called *John Brompton's Chronicle* but is often described as 'The Fitzhugh Chronicle', since the arms of William, 4th Lord Fitzhugh (1425-1452), are emblazoned on it, probably to identify him as the first owner. Thereafter it was in the hands of John Brompton (fl. 1436-c.1464), Abbot of Jervaulx, and possibly Richard, Duke of Gloucester (d. 1485). John Leland (d. 1552) seems to have seen the volume in Jervaulx Abbey in the 1530s or early 1540s, but it was recorded by the historian John Bale (1495-1563) as being in the hands of Peter Osborn (d. 1592) Keeper of the Privy Purse to Edward VI. from whom it passed to Matthew Parker (1504-1575) a former master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.' See https://www.corpus.cam.ac.uk/articles/parker-web.
[343] MS: 'I finde in the 4th ~~yeare~~ of ~~Richard~~ King John an …' Section 3 continues on the next page.
[344] 'Addition to this out of my collection MS VI, subtitled Summary of the 4th year of King Edward III, no. 56 Kendal: Order by King and his council, 9. Ed. I, concerning a sheriff's court to be held there for the sake of peace there – but needlessly; to which is annexed: 'it could not be observed because it was contrary to Magna Carta.'

of Parliament that the judges might sit where they pleasd, being imposed upon by towns. And now their servants are bribed.}
‡{And take in here §3 &c.}
‖{May be for Idonea de Veteripont or Lab [urne]. Speed].}
¶{§4. must follow here.}
{At a confirmation of Meburne to Shap Abby by King Edward 1, anno ejus 22 [1293-94], inter alias is witnesse Thoma filio Johannis tunc Vicecomite de Appleby. MS Part V. p. 13. This I sent not but it either shows that Westmorland did yet retane the […]}[345]

[I.292]

~~But~~ \ §3. / There happened some differences in Henry the 3rds time betwixt Robert de Veteriponte Lord of the Honour of Appleby & Barron of Westm'land & William de Lancaster Baron of Kendall (who it seems by being Lord of another, and, as he ~~thought~~ \ judged / district Barony, thought him selfe exempt from doeing suite ~~& service~~ in the court of Appleby). But a finall aggreement was made betwixt them (dat apud Appleby in Quindenis Sancti Hillarij Anno Regni Regis Henrici fil Regis Johannis XI0) [1227][346] wherein the said William de Lancaster, Baron of Kendall, was obliged and bounde to doe suite in the County Court of Robert de Veteripont, by himselfe or his Stuart.[347] This is to be seen in the Countiss of Penbrooke Booke of Evidences (vide Robert de Veteripont), & in the aggrement there is mention made of Richard Ducket, one of the Justices (the highest evidence that I have met with concerning that family in the county of Westmorland for their pedigree sayes that Richard Ducket who lived in the reign of Richard the 2nd & marryed Margerie daughter & heir of Sir William Winsore of Grarig was the first who settled himself in Westm'land).

§4. Att Appleby also the Assises were kept about St Lucies Day, Anno 7^0 Edward II [13 December 1313]. John de Valibus, William de Saham, John de Methringham & Mr Thomas de Sudington Itinerant Justices. And it seems to me (before this of 6^0 Johannis [1204-05]) that the Barrons of Exchequer had either detained or required somthing from Lord Robert de Veteripont in reference to Kendal (which probably was in the Kings hand then by reason of the nonage of Helwisia, daughter & heir of William, son of Gilbert de Lancaster, lineally discended from Ivo de Talboys Earle of Anjou, to whom William the Conqueror gave that Barony) as not conteined in the first general gifte of the Barony of Westmorland.

{Whereupon King John takeing the matter into consideration isued out this special Mandamus:
Rex Baronibus de Scaccario &c. Sciatis quod dedimus delecto et fideli nostro* de Veteriponte Westm'land ad se sustentandum in servitio nostro: et ideo vobis mandamus quod nihil ab eo exinde exigatis, de preterito tempore nec de futuro. Teste G. filio Petri &c. – apud London xiiij Aprilis.}[348]

[Machell's Notes: I.292)
*(Mr Petty renders fidelita[tem] subj[ectam.)

[I.293]

Assises to be holden Appleby
Sec. 1. Reass MS V. in folio p.69 m[emorandum] calld to be added

§4. Likewise in the 20 of Edward [1291-92] 1 halfe Kirkby Stephan was pleaded to be part of the manner of Appleby \ before the Kings Justices sitting there / in a reply in answer to a plea of Devo\r/gill wife to John Baliol; Mergery de Ferrax, Countiss of Derby; Ellen, wife of Allen de la

[345] The next line of text is obscured by the binding.
[346] 'Dated at Appleby in the fifteen days of St Hilary in the 11th year of King Henry son of King John' [1226-27].
[347] Stuart = Steward.
[348] 'The King to his Barons concerning the Treasury etc. Know ye that we have given to our beloved and loyal Robert de Veteriponte the land of Westmorland for his maintenance in our service. And therefore, we command you that you exact nothing thence from him. Neither from time past nor in the future. Witness: G. son of Peter etc. At London 14 April.'

Zouch; Elizabeth, wife of Alexander Comyn, Earle of Browham, who were sisters of Thomas, son & heire of Alane, son & heir of Ellen, sister & heire of William, son & heire of Richard, brother & heire of Hugh, who they say was seised thereof in his demaine as of fee & by right, in the time of peace in the reigne of King Henry: great-grandfather of King Edward the 1st. To which it was replyed, that it was held by a grant from King John: This is in the Countisse Booke of Evidences, or else amongst Mr Blenkinsops writeings.

§5. Allso: mention of the Assises kept att Appleby 28 of Edward 1 [1299-1300] in membranula de Slegil penes Mr Blenkinsop.[349] This I have observed from Antiquitye: yett it make noe question \ is not to be doubted / but the 'Sises were sometimes removed from Appleby when the towne lay waste or desolate by war or pestilence. {è. Blenkinsop ut puto} Soe (in the 23. of Edward 1. [1294-95]) {query} the Assises were kept at Emotte Bridge. {Query} And the market itself in 1598 was removed to Gilshaughlin but returned agane when the Plague was over; as appears from a stone sett up by Reginald Bainbridge then schoolmaster of Appleby*. \ And tho for that time they were kept {at Emote, I finde them agane att Appleby 29. of Ed. 3d [1355-56]} / But I never red nor heard of the Sessions off Assise being holden att Kendall excepting once (in their owne memory) through a distrainst which my Lord Clifford had taken against Appleby† & that was more than he could justifie so that they (as appeares by the Act mentioned in the beginning of this paper)}‡. So that the next year, & ever since, they \ were & / have bin constantly \ still / kept att Appleby⸸. And I thinke you have custome to plead on your sides for the Quarter Sessions also, which were never att Kendall (that I could hear of) except by adjournment from the Towne of Appleby‖.

[Machell's Notes: I.293]

*In 1598, 128 dyed of the visitation[350] in the B[orough] of Appelby, twixt August 1t & March 25 & Lordship of Scattergate, Colby, Colby Leathes. \ è Registri Appelby ab 1582; per W.S. /[351]

†Leon[ard] Smith says so.

‡{But see an Act repealing the former General Act.}

⸸{There is an Act since which impowers the Judges. See it referd to in the great Statute Booke. This since added.}

‖{I have [thought] on the like occasion they might be at Kendal.}[352]

[I.285]

Of the Ancient Corporation of Appleby in Westmorland [353]

{Antiq. of Apalby}

Appleby (anciently Aballaba) was a Citty in the time the Romans, & the chiefe Towne in Westm'land (as it ~~remains~~ \ continues {to this day} still) att & before the Norman Conquest; insomuch that the county tooke name from it & was sometimes called the County of Appileby.

It is traditionally reported concerning this place, that it was under the jurisdiction of a major, when London was only governed by a Bailiffe: which how true it is I shall not ~~concerne myselfe~~ \ dispute / but the beginning of the majoralty of London (formerly governed by a Portgrieve)[354] is commonly reccond from the first year of Richard the First [1189-90]. And Appleby had a charter ~~from~~ \ granted by King / Henry the First (who was son to the Conqueror) of very great priviledges[355] confirmed by King John & all the Kings of England successively. It continued a place of great account till 1176 (the

[349] 'In a Slegil parchment in the custody of Mr Blenkinsop.'

[350] Visitation of the plague.

[351] MS.3.55 contains the same information.

[352] The MS here contains a memorandum relating to other concerns, Viz. 'Mem[orandum] Dug[dale] say Ing & chaple. Horse Shap.'

[353] The narrative is a transcription of part of a paper given by John Blome c. June 1675, though not in Blome's hand (see Blome's letter, MS. I.297). Neither is it obviously Machell's but when the original narrative stops mid-sentence, it becomes part of Machell's own transcription, which begins on I.285. The margin comments and corrections throughout are Machell's.

[354] Portgerefa/portreeve: originally, the governor or chief officer of a town or borough, after the Norman Conquest, a person equivalent in rank and office to a town mayor. Also, an officer subordinate to a mayor; a bailiff. *OED*.

[355] 'Of very great priviledges' has been circled.

22 of Henry 2) att which time it was utterly destroyed by incursion of the Scotts under William their king, as appears from a stone in the scho\o/le garden house.[356] And it should seem then that in regard of its loyalty & sufferings this King took \ som / compassion upon it, & (in all probability) builded* their church dedicate to St Lawrence.

[Coat of Arms]
Gules 3 passant Lions gardant in pale crowned Or: a salamander within a coronett, a dragon Gules: nec ferro nec igni fuimus.[357]

{Its common seale}
And for their armes gave them his owne ~~coate~~ with an honorary distinction, for their common seal is 3 crowned lyons passant gardant in pale with this inscription: SIGILLUM: COMMVNITATIS: BURGII: DE: APPILBY.[358] And on the reverse St Lawrence on the gridiron, kept down by force & burning in the flames; from which ariseth a flag or standard with 3 lyons (as before) and this device: HIC: IACAT: LAVRENTIVS: IN: CRATICVLA: POSITVS,[359] to show it resist'd even unto fire. Now this King Henry the 2. was the first (as all antiquaries aggree) who bare for his Arms 3 lyons†. & therefore it must needs \ be looked upon as a very / ~~fine~~ great honour to the place & an undoubted signe ~~or token~~ of its \ great / loyalty (a quality for which it now is & ever was famous) that he should signalise it with his owne Coat distinguished only by an honourable accession of 3 crowns.[360] And tho Mr Cambden (whose footesteps Speed followes.)[361]

[Machell's Notes: I.285 & I.286][362]

[I.285]
*{Re-Builded: false in Guillim.}
[I.286]
Mr R. N. layd out for Guill[im] *Display of Heraldry*: 2 li 15s 0d. & is to pay when he receives the \ 2 / volumes, 2 li 5s more.[363]
{Price of Printing} The printing of the 2 papers comes to 40s.
J. Fetherston att the Lyon in Egham next doore to the Rose? The 2nd of the left hand as you goe into Egham.
†The armes being 3 lyons has respect to their courage & loyalty. The reverse onely to the Saint of the church whose name it beareth.

[I.287]
This is a transcript of Mr Bloomes Paper, taken 19. 8th. 1675, but the \ original / was made 2 monets before.[364]

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[356] An addition caret is placed here, but no insertion made.
[357] 'nec ferro nec igni fuimus': 'We were vanquished neither by iron nor by flame.' Iron has a significance here because of the iron on which the patron saint was tortured to death. Usually, the phrase is translated as 'neither by the sword nor by flame'.
[358] Seal of the community of the town of Appleby.
[359] 'Craticula': 'grid-iron'. 'Here lies St Laurence placed on a grid-iron.'
[360] The same information occurs on MS.I.287-288. Viz.'{! The common seale} and for their Armes gave them his owne ~~Coate~~ with an honorary ~~distinction~~ \ accession of ~~added unto it~~ 3 crowns or coronets / for their comon seale is 3 crown'd lyons passant gardant in pale, with this inscription: Sigillum Communitatis Burgii de Apilby. And on the reverse, St Lawrence of the gridiron kept down by force & burning in the flames from which [blank] arriseth a flag or standard, with 3 lyons as before, on the device this: hic jacet Lawrentius in Craticua positus ~~show it resisted even unto fire~~ (to which the whole atchievement ~~doth very much~~ allude ~~as tis~~ born ~~att this day~~) Now this ~~King~~ Henry 2nd was the first king as att \ most / antiquaries aggre, who bare for his Arms III Lyons & ergo it must needs be \ looked upon as / very great honour unto that place; and ~~undoubted~~ \ a certane / signe or ~~token of~~ its ~~loyalty~~ \ fidelity / (a quality for which it now is and ever was famouse) that he should signallise it with his owne ~~Coate~~ \ armes /distinguished only by an honourable ~~addition~~ \ accession /of 3 crownes \ or coronets. /'
[361] This particular narrative stops here; MS.I.287 repeats it, and MS.I.288 continues it.
[362] These notes (on the reverse of I.285) refer to Blome's Paper (I.287), plus book-buying and printing costs.
[363] John Guillim (c. 1565-7 May 1621) was an antiquarian and officer of arms at the College of Arms in London. He is best remembered for his monumental work on heraldry, *A Display of Heraldry*, first published in London in 1610.
[364] Written in Machell's hand.

Of the Ancient Corporation of Appleby in Westmorland {! called the Hon[our] of Appleby}
Their Arm's are Gules, 3 crown'd lyons passant gardant Or; the crest in a coronett: a salamander proper; the ~~supporters~~: 2 draggons Gules; the motto: nec ferro nec igni.
{D. Mr Th[365] x The Honour of Appleby in carta 1^0 Johannis Concessa Robert de Veteriponte.}

Appleby (anciently Abalaba) was a city in the time of the Romans* and the chiefe towne in Westm'land (as it still remaineth) att & before the Norman Conquest in so much that the county tooke name from it & was sometimes called the County of Appilby†. It is traditionally reported concerning this place that it was under the jurisdiction of a maior when London was only governed by a Baliffe, which how true it is I shall not determin, but the begining of the maioralty of London (formerly governed by a portgrave), is commonly only reckoned from the 1st ~~year~~ of \ King / Richard the 1. [1189-90]. And Appleby had a charter from King Henry 1‡ (who was sonne to the Conqueror) of very great priviledges confirmd by King John, as is yet to be seen, & all the Kings of England successively: And this seemes to give credit to ancient tradition concerning Appleby, that Yorkes first charter ~~that~~ was granted unto them the same day with Appleby, but Yorkes in the fore noone, Applebys in the after noone. And as for Yorke (I have this account out of an old Visitation⸸ penes Viduam Smith prope ecclesis St Dustani in Fleet street, London.)[366] ? Henry 2. in his charter confirmeth all former grants made to that ~~place~~ city as well in the time of King Henry 1 that was son to William the Conqueror, as all the time before. It continued a place of great account till 1176 (the 22 of Henry 2d) att which time it was utterly destroyed by the incursion of the Scotts under William their King, as appears from a ston in the schoole garden-house. And it should seem then, in Richard, of its loyalty and sufferings this king tooke compassion upon it and (in all probability) \ re / builded their church dedicated to St Lawrence.

[Machell's Notes: I.287]
*Stephanus è libro Provinciarum. *Urbes: Britanniae Insulae*)[367]
†{è carta penes Thomas Sandford de Askam Armig. et Antiquis quibusdam monachorum libris sc. Brompton.}[368]
‡Sic, Joh Thw. Armiger; nunc prætor ejusdem et confirmatur e libro MS penes commitassam apud Appleby.[369]
⸸ Memorandum: to consult whether it was not in Flow[er's] Visitation de Mr Campion.[370] {Or a Visitation in 1634.}

[I.288]

And tho Mr Camden (whose footsteps Speed followeth)* tells us out of William of Newburg[h] that William King of Scotts tooke this place (and Brough) by a sudden surprise, a little before he himself was taken prisoner att Alnwick in \ the County of / Northumberland, which is very true;[371] yett they are all mistaken in this, that these 2 places were not recovered till King Johns time. For 'tis certain the Scotts (after the Country had got themselves into ~~an~~ \ battle / array) were beaten back & their king taken prisoner; and 'tis ~~certane allso~~ \ as certane / that tho King John ~~did~~ bestowed them \ the foresed / \ Sc. the castles / on Robert de Veteripont for his good service {wherein he calls it the Honour of Appleby}, yett he recovered them not from the Scotts (~~for~~ \ but / they came into his hands) propter transgressionem factam per Hugonem de Morevillâ (by reason of the forfaiture of Hugh de Morvil, a great man in those parts, and the same ~~if I mistake not~~ \ if I be not much mistaken / that \ who / killed

[365] John Thwaites, Mayor of Appleby, 1674: http://www.applebytown.org.uk/
[366] 'Papers of Widow Smith: near the church of St Dunstan, Fleet Street, London.'
[367] Stephanus of Byzantium, *de Urbibus* (6th century; 1st published, Venice, 1502).
[368] 'From a charter in the possession of Sir Thomas Sandford of Askham, as from certain ancient monastic books.'
[369] 'Thus, John Thwaites [?] now mayor of the same [Appleby] and it is confirmed from a manuscript book in the possession of the Countess Clifford at Appleby.'
[370] William Flower was an Officer of Arms in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. He rose to the rank of Norroy King of Arms in 1562, and served until his death in 1588. See J. Day, 'Flower, William (1497/8-1588), herald'. *ODNB*.
[371] See Camden, *Britannia*, tr. Holland (1637), 761. William the Lion, King of Scotland, was captured at Alnwick in 1174, after invading England and laying waste to the north. See also, David A. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain, 1066-1284*, (Oxford, 2003), 225.

Thomas a Beckett), as was given in upon Inquisition† taken att Yorke, Die Iovis proximo post mediam quadragessimæ, anno Regni Regis Eduardi 3^{0}.[372] And notwithstanding this fatall overthrow

[Machell's Notes: I.288]

*{Speed sayes som thinke Richard the 1st after he came from the Holy War.}[373]
†{occurit in castra de Scipton in Co. Ebor.}[374]

[I.289]

So much of the towne ~~was~~ \ did still / continued until the time ~~reigne~~ of King Richard the Second (who began \ his reign / in 1377) that it payd to the ~~king~~ \ Crown / in fee farme rent XX markes per ~~annum~~ yearly att 2d a burgage, which amounts to 2200 burgages, besides other houses. But in 1388 die Martis in Festo St^{i} Stephani Martyris[375] (which was about the XI \ year of the reigne /of Richard 2 [1382]) it was burnd by the Scotts* & so dismally wasted that (upon severall inquisitions found & returned) there remained only of that rent to the king ii marks per annum[376] so that 9 parts in 10 were utterly destroy'd.

But notwithstanding this great devastation that was never repared \ to this day / it doth still retaine its ancient priviledges which are ~~in every respect~~ \ still / the same with \ city of / Yorke, as appears from the ~~confrtion~~ \ Charter of King / Henry 3† in whose time here was an Exchequer \ kept / ~~commonly~~ called \ by the name of / Scaccarium de Appilby‡.[377]

And King Johns charter (which I have seene) wherein is expressed and firmely commanded that "The Burgers of Appilby shall have & enjoy all the libertys & free customes which his Burgers of Yorke have, well & peaceably, freely & quietly, fully, wholly & honourably" (with a prohibition that none shall attempt to disturb them thereof) & allso that they shall be free from toll stallage, pontage & lestage, all England over, praeterquam in civitate London,[378] which exception doth ~~very much~~ \ highly / confirme & strethen their priviledges ~~to them.~~.

{The present state of Apalby}

The Corporation consists att present of a Maior and 2 Balives; a Court of Aldermen: XII in number; a Recorder; Common-Councill \ with a sword bearer / & Sergiant att Mace ~~with~~ & other \ officers / attendants. And if the Towne were able to bear it, might be in omnibus sicut Eboracum:[379] excercising the same priviledges which the city of Yorke [has] in everything according to Charter,[380] & if any would know what these priviledges are more particularly I refer him to Yorke where he may possibly mete

[Machell's Notes: I.289]

*{penes Joh. Thw. majorem de Appleby}
†{charteri penes major}[381]

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[372] 'Taken at York on the Thursday next after the middle of the forty days [of Lent] in the third year of the reign of King Edward.'
[373] 'Some think Richard 1 [granted these arms of three lions] after he came from the Holy War.' This sentence appears at the beginning of MS.I.288.
[374] 'It is housed in Skipton Castle, County of York.'
[375] 'On the feast-day of St Stephen the Martyr, 26 December.'
[376] MS: 'It was (b) ~~burn'd downe &~~ \ burnd by the Scotts & so dismally /wasted ~~by the Scotts~~ \ ~~wasted~~ / ~~that of~~ that ~~rent~~ (upon severall inquisitions found & returned) there remained \ only of that rent / to the king ~~only~~ ii marks per annum.'
[377] The Latin word 'scaccarium' means 'chessboard'. A chequered cloth covering a table was used for making up and marking the King's accounts, using counters. Thus, the Court of Exchequer, or Curia Scaccarii, derived its name: *Black's Law Dictionary* Online.
[378] 'Except in the city of London.'
[379] 'In all matters, just like York.'
[380] MS: 'And if the towne were able to bear it, might ~~take the services~~ \ be in omnibiis sicut Eborum excer. the same / priviledges, which the city of Yorke in everything, according to ~~their~~ charter, ~~which has bin confirm'd by all the succeeding kings of England~~.'
[381] 'Charter in the custody of the mayor.'

‡Sc. anno 35 of Henry 3 ut è chartis et MS penes commitissam cum apud Appleby castrum.}[382]
⸸{And pursuant to this I have an account of a tried case with Egemont: see my Cartae Antiquae}[383]
Query, annon thereto: if Yorke injoy any such priviledges.

[I.290]

with \ more / satisfaction. In the mean time take these, which ~~are now~~ \ follow and are at this time / in practise att Appleby. viz.:
They have power to arrest for any summe without limitation.
To elect & send II burgesses to Parliament.
To acknowledge Statute Merchant before the Maior.
To take Toll both in fairs & marketts.
To sease fellons goods, felones de se, waifs, strayes, forfaitures & escheats; all which do belong to the Maior for the time being, who takes place of the Judges of Assise as the Lord Maior of Yorke is wont to doe.
Their Aldermen are som of them Gentlemen of the Country for the greater & honour & credit of the Towne; who in time of their maioralty have their proprætors or deputyes there.

<u>The present Major & Aldermen are these</u>:
John Thwaites Esq., now Maior of Appleby
1. Lancelott Machell of Crakenthorp Esq., who was the first Maior after the Kings returne, & tore in pieces Olivers Charter in open court before he would accept of that office which he had declyn'd all Olivers time.
2. Richard Brathwate of Warcop Esq. & Justice of Peace, who contended with the Judges & tooke place of them, virtute chartæ.[384]
3. Robert Hilton of Morton[385] Esq., Justice of Peace.
4. Edward Musgrave of Askby Esq., Justice of Peace.
5. Thomas Warcop of Colby, Gentleman.
6. John Routledge of [blank], Gentleman.
7. Alderman Smyth, Senior }
8. Alderman Smyth, Junior }
9. Alderman Harrison } {All of Appleby}
10. Alderman Lowson }
11. Alderman Robinson }
12. Alderman Atkinson }

Appleby was very eminent for its loyalty in the late Civil Warrs, and most of the Aldermen (excepting those whome Oliver Cromwell obtruded upon them) suffered many imprisonments dureing his tyrannie, & so likewise did most of the gentry round about; for it is the glorie of the County of Westm'land that there was not one person of quality in it* who tooke up Arms against his King and Country: 2 or 3 […].[386]

[Machell's Notes: I.290]

*{Against the King} {Lord Wharton, Sir Henry Bellingham, Con[el] Crackenthorp.}[387]

[I.204-205]

[<u>Appleby Corporation</u>
<u>1. Loyal Address to Charles II made July 1681</u>
<u>2. to James II, made amid dispute, May 1688)</u>]

[382] 'See the charters and manuscript in the custody of the Countess of Cumberland [Lady Anne Clifford] at Appleby Castle.'
[383] 'See my ancient Charters'.
[384] 'By virtue of the charter.'
[385] Murton.
[386] Text here has perished.
[387] 'Colonel': see I.276 A-B.

[1A.] [Draft text of Appleby Corporation's Loyal Address to Charles II, 1681][388]

[I.206]

[1B.] Address to King Charles 2 [July 1681]

[I.204-05]

To the Kings most excellent Majesty
We your Majesties most loyal and obedient subjects, the Mayor. (Baillives) Aldermen, Common Council, and Commonalty of your ancient Corporation and Borough of Appleby in the County of Westmorland (never yet tainted with the least disloyalty; being very well satisfied with your Majesty's reasons for dissolving your two last Parliaments)* do hold ourselves bound in duty and allegiance to present Your Majesty with our most humble thanks for your most endearing and gracious promises renewed unto your people in your late Declaration, that it is in your Royal resolution to have frequent Parliaments, and that you will use your utmost endeavours to extirpate Popery, to redress all the grievances of your loyal Subjects, and in all things to govern according to the Statutes and Laws of this Kingdom.
For which your Majesty's most princely assurance we do think ourselves bound in all the ties of duty and gratitude humbly to tender at your Majesty's feet our lives and fortunes in defence of Your Majestys most sacred Person, Crown and Dignity, against all your enemies which do or shall endeavour to subvert the established government, and the Religion of the Church of England, the most Apost[ol]ical in all the world, which your Majesty has so long piously and carefully preserved, now declared your gracious resolution of defending the same, as it is established by the Laws of this Nation.
We therefore most humbly beg of Your Majesty that you would vouchsafe a gracious acceptance of this our most humble and sincere acknowledgement, and this voluntary offering of our unfeigned[389] affection and loyalty, humbly beseeching Almighty God that He would be pleased to continue His blessings and mercies to you, and not only give the head of Solomon but the sword of Gideon, that you may ever be victorious over this and your enemies, and that {sceptre of these Kingdoms of Your Majesty may for ever be swayed by Your Sacred Majesty and lawful successors, which is the hearty prayer of Your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient Subjects.}

[Machell's Note: I.204]
*This [that is, the text in round brackets] not inserted.

[I.203A]

[1C.] [Machell's letter criticising a draft of the Loyal Address to Charles II, 1681][390]

{Dear Uncle I had no more paper but I hope you will accept this private token of my […] to you if in town.}[391]
Sir,
Whosoever undertook to correct your coppy has not made it much better, for that clause which is added in the end of it (to omit the misspelling of the word scepter, which you had writt right but two lines before) is too formall to be sent to the king from so many wise heades as may be supposed in the Corporation; for you may observe that it is taken out of the forme of prayer used by most ministers before sermon.
Consider too if the \ wholl / whorld were not better than the Christian world? And if it were not proper in this Adress to the King, to put in the Baliffs after the Maior & ~~before the~~ Aldermen? For how little soever they be now sett by, they were formerly provosts and of great account, answering (I conceive)

[388] This is a copy in Machell's hand. It begins as a fair copy but deteriorates into his usual script. From the alterations and the correspondence below, it is clear that Machell was involved in the drafting of the 'Loyal Address'. Michael Mullett considers that 'ardent Anglicanism characterised Appleby's Corporation in 1681', creating fertile ground for an emerging alliance between the Church of England and Toryism. Mullett sees the Loyal Address here as the work of Hugh and Thomas Machell, and bishop of Carlisle, Thomas Smith. See Mullett *Patronage, Power and Politics in Appleby…1649-1689,* 84.
[389] MS: 'unfain~~d~~ed'
[390] The reverse [I.203B] contains the heading, 'These for Mr Thwaites att Apelby'.
[391] This scribbled note (placed at the top of the letter) is badly blotted.

to the sheriffs of Cityes. Allso before Burrows whether Corporation may not be inserted? Burn this paper & use your own judgement & discretion in its value.

[I.227]

[3.] [Appleby Corporation's Dispute with James II]

King James 2.
Isueing out a Quo Warranto[392] against the town of Apelby amongst other Corporations: they not wiling to dispute a title with the King (tho they had received their charter from himself \ but / two years afore when they resigned their old charters to him) resolved with themselves to returne him it agane in the latter end of May 1688 and accordingly sent it with a resignation upon Whit Munday in the said year,[393] to be delivered by Mr Master Musgrave, then maior of the town.[394]

[I.207]

The Appleby Election, 1679[395]

{ad Burg de Appelby}
The Great Canvas at Apelby for Burgesses – twix Mr Jo. Tufton & Sir Jo. Lowther[396]

These 10 pages following conteine an account of the management of the Burgess of Apelby in the canvas twixt Tufton & Lowther which they had for electing Burgesses to serve in Parliament about 1678 de anno, querie, being the original papers.[397]
The Honorable John Tufton \ Esq. / would have had 2 Tuftons. Sir John Lowther opposed it and tryed for one Burgess and carried it by the falsefying of one Henry Whinfell of Battlebergh who had promissed his vote for 2 Tuftons; & when that whole street was so divided that they stood in an equall ballance & Henry Whinfells was the casting vote which should carry them all, he ~~voted~~ gave it for Lowther, which quite broke the neck of that canvas.
From hence may be extracted an account of the state of that Corporation & ancient Burrow at the time of this election; what Burgers there were; what fee farme was payed; who had an undoubted right to vote; who had not; and whose right was disputed.

[I.208][398]

[Key]

Qu.	Query
R.	Reason of the query
T.	Tufton
L.	Lowther

[392] 'By what authority' [do you hold these rights]?
[393] 4 June.
[394] This event took place during the political and religious difficulties of the last year of the reign of James II, when James sought to ensure that Catholics and Dissenters were represented in town corporations. The paragraph here refers to Appleby Corporation's written response under the common seal, dated 4 June 1688, to a writ of quo warranto in which the Corporation surrendered its charter again, asking only that the existing corporate body should remain in office. Confusion reigned after James II reversed his policies and it was found that neither of Appleby's surrenders of charter (1685 and 1688) had been properly registered. For Appleby Corporation at the end of James II's reign, see Mullett, *Patronage, Power and Politics in Appleby…1649-1689*, 102-04.
[395] This whole section should be read in tandem with Michael Mullett's chapter on 'Appleby Parliamentary elections 1679-81', in *Patronage, Power and Politics in Appleby…1649-16*89, 77-81.
[396] This is the only text written on MS I.226; it has been utilised as a title.
[397] This election took place in early 1679. Appleby returned two members to parliament. When Sir John Lowther III understood that the Tuftons planned to put up both Members, his response was, 'I do all I can to hinder that'. The Tufton candidate was Richard Tufton, the Lowther candidate was Anthony Lowther: https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/constituencies/appleby.
[398] The following reads like a poll book.

The Names of the Streetes

Howgate
Howgate Foote
Battlebergh
Brig Street
Burrowgate or High Street
Downgate or Low Street
Skattergate
High Crossor}
Shaw-Wiend}
Midle-Wiende or Nansons W.
Low Cross Wiend or School Winde
School Lane
To Cald Kell
Bondgate and therein

[I.209]

2

Skattergaite

John Bainbrigg L
Lancelot Robinson L Q.
Edw. Wilson L
Edw. Richardson L
William Wilson L
Richard Linge L Q.
Tho: Calvert L
William Murton L
{Query}[399] John Waugh O
{Query} Tho: Richardson T

Appleby

Christo. Blenkarne L
Willim Johnson L
Tho: Stewardson T
Mr Robinson L
Jo. Blenkarne T
Willim Richardson T
Robt Dover L
Mr Robt Harrison T/L[?]
George Dent L
Jo: Nevinson L
Robt Yoward L
John Mounsey L
Tho: Richardson L
Hugh Harryson L
Q. Jo. Todd O
John Nanson T
Q. Harbert Salkeld T
Tho: Warriner L
John Richardson L
Q. Willim Bolton T
Charles Boulton L
Daniell Bainbrigg L
Q. Henry Richardson L
Willim Mounsey L
Tho: Warriner L
John Darby T
Mr Thwaites L
Michaell Ogton L
Mich. Atkinson T
Willim Guy L
Mr Major T
William Huthart L
Q. Edw: Guy ~~L~~ T
Tho: Harryson L
Tho: Milner T
Joseph Dent L
Jo: Porter L
Q. Jo: Blaimire Junior & Senior 2
Willim Smith T
Jo: Armestronge T
Tho: Browne T
Henry Sanderson T
Edmund Lowson T
Christofer Jakes L
John Linge L
Leo: Smith L Query

Batle Burrough

Philip Maichell T
Jo: Cheise
Jo: Raisbeck
Henry Whinfeild
Q. Cleme[n]t Moresby
Mr Lowson
Q. Tho: Hilton
Leo: Emerson
Richard Lambe

[399] Some numbers in the margin are obscured by the binding.

Jo: Maichell
Robt Dunn

{Master, Usher, Vicar}
Memorandum: Miners [blank] Aldermen [blank]
Husband & relicts. H[ono]rable John Tufton Esq.

[I.211]

3

Tufton

Mr Maior
Edw: Guy
Tho: Miller
Willim Smith
Jo. Armestrong
Tho: Browne
Henry Sanderson
Edm: Lowson
Tho: Stewardson
Jo: Blenkarne
Willim Richardson

Hugh Sympson Query
Jo: Blaymire senior) Query
Jo: Blaymire junior) Query
Jo: Nanson
Herbert Salkeld Query
Jo: Darby
\ Wm Bolton /
Mr Burhannan, Mr Usher
Mr Jackson
Michael Atkinson

Burertaine

Mr Thomas Hilton X
Michael Oggden
Jo: Bainbrigg
Jo: Warkeman

Jo: Tall
Jo: Rose
Robt Smith

Battleburro

Mr Jo: Lowson
Mr Phillip Machell
Mr Robt Machell. Query.
Mr Jo: Machell

Richard Lambe
Clem: Morressby. Query. X

Jo: Tufton Esq.
James Bellingham Esq.
Lanc: Machell Esq.

Scattergait

Willim Wilson X
Tho: Richardson
Jo: Waugh Query X

Lowther

Mr Jo: Thwaites
Willim Guy
Tho: Warriner
Willm Mounsey.)
Hen. Richardson.) Queries
Dan. Bainbrigg)
Charles Bolton)

Battleburrow

John Cheesebrough)
Jo: Raisebeck)

Henry Whinfell) Not Sure
Leo: Emerson)

Scattergait

William Murton
Tho: Calvert
Rich.: Lynge Query
Willin Wilson
Edw: Wilson
Edw: Richardson
Wm Atkinson
Jo: Jon

[I.212]

A rental with names of Burgesses.[400]

[I.213]

4

Bridg Streat left-hand row: Bridg Streat

1 Chappell 2d)	
3 Burgages 6d) Mr Atkinson	T
1 Burgage 2d Will Huddart	L
2 Burgages 4d Edward Guy	T

Burrowgate

1 Burgage of the Chantry 2d John Crow a min[or]	??
1 Burgage in the Chant 2d Peter Rowlandson	ab.
1 Burgage 2 Tho: Harrison	L
1 Burgage 2 John Scot	ab.
1 Burgage 2 The Miller	T
1 Burgage of H. J. Tufton Esq. 2d Joseph Dent	L
{?}1 Burgage of W. Williams 2d John Porter[401]	{?}

1½ Burgages 1d ob, by right of his wife deceased, in tenure of J. Bleamire Elder	
his son being at age	T
(Here one misplaced: see in Dungate formerly belonging to J. Rose)	
1½ Burgages 1d Will Smyth merc[e]r	T
1 Burgage of 2d of the Chantry in the tenure of John Armstrong	T
1 Burgage 2d of \ the Honorable /John Tufton Esq. in the tenure of Tho: Browne	T
1 Burgage 2d of the Chantrey in the tenure of Henry Sanderson	T
{Memorandum Ed. Lowson}	
1 Burgage 2d of the Chantrey: Christopher Jakes	L
Burgages of the church 9d Hospitall	
Diverse Burgages 14d Leonard Smyth	L
Many Burgages 4s & 8d in the castle parke in the tenure of the Honorable J. Tufton Esq. ab	

Down ~~Street~~ Geate

1 Burgage in the Chantry 8 Will Johnson	L

In Shaw Weinde

1 Burgage 2d Christopher Blenkarn	L
1 Burgage 2d Margaret Hodgson ~~by leave~~ of John Warreman of Burrells	T

[400] Upside-down at the base of the otherwise blank I.212.
[401] A line of text below this one has been erased.

1 Burgage 2d The Corner House anciently called Goldring\ton/ Hall
in the tenure of Thomas Langton's widow

Down Burrow ~~Street~~ Geate
1 Burgage of Thomas Stuartsons and one of Sir Richard Sandfords
Of both: 3d in the tenure of Thomas Stuartsons T
{0} 3 Burgages 7d Dorathy Smyth
1 Burgage of the Chantrey 2d Thomas Robinson L
1 Burgage 2d John Blenkarn T

[I.214]
1 Burgage. Church land 2d Will Richardson T
Severall Burgages 6d of the Chantrey in the tenure of John Atkinson Esq.: minor
1. Burgage of the Chantrey &
2 of the Honorable J. Tufton Esq. 9d Rob: Dover L
1 Burgage 1: the Baliffs Garth 1 Burgage called Bellmans Garth
1 Burgage Chantrey 2d Robert Harrison L
1 Burgage 2d George Dent L
1 Burgage 2d John Nevinson L
1 Burgage 2d Thomas Carleton 18 aet)
1 Burge 2d in tenura ejusdem[402]) T? a minor

Midle Weende
1 Burgage (the Corner House) 2d Rob: Yaward L
{?} 1 Burgage: the Corner House at the low end of the Midle Weinde 2d Lancelott Robinson T~~?~~ ab[sent]
1 Burgage as also
3 more, belonging to Hugh Symson & {2^{d} ob Rob. Dover, & Mr Hilton the rest /} T?
2 of the Chantrey belonging to Mr Hilton in the tenure (6^{d}) of John Nanson T
1 Burgage 1d John Nanson [Blank]
Severall Burgages,
& one called Barblett Garth 1s in the tenure of Julian Bolton, wife of William B
& late wife of William Warriner, in right of ~~Will~~. Tho. Warriner, her son d'ab \ absent / L

1 Burgage 1d holden by Widow Willson in right of
Sam Green æt 18 L Min[or]
under the head scholler Sam Greene, 19 ætat. T?
1 Burgage 2 in the tenure of J. Mounsey L
1 Burgage 2d (purchased out of Warriners) J. Richardsons L

{? Down Burrowgate}
{?} 1 Burgage 4d in the tenure of Charles Bolton. L?
Daniel Bainbridge L?
1 Burgage 4 in tenure of Will Mounsey L?
Henry Richardson jure uxoris L?
1 Burgage 4d in tenure of Tho: Warriner L?
John Machell. T? vide alibi[403]
1 Burgage 10d Porch improvement in the market place in the tenure of John Darby
{1 Burgage*: One improvement called Smyths-House (rent 1s) for all
{1 other Burgage: Pitchman Croft
{1 Burgage: church land: Mr J. Thwaites L

[402] 'Under the same tenure'.
[403] 'See elsewhere.'

{This most false & contrary to former rentalls*: J. Thwaites}

Down Gate

1 Burgage of the Chantry John Atkinson Esq, maior	supra
{?} {O} 1 Burgage 2d late of James Thwaites, called Bellmans Garth	
1 Burgage 1d Hugh Harrison	L
1 other 1d tenura ejusdem[404]	

[I.215]

5

1 Burgage 5d in tenure L Thomas Carleton 19 æt supra	
An Improvement \ 4d / in the tenure of Jn Todd	T?
\ Memorandum / One burgage held by John Tod & T. Carleton of Frank Rose	?
1 Burgage 1d ob. of the Corner House formerly belonging to John Rose	
lately to John B\l/amire, now to Hen: Sanderson	supra
1 Burgage \ 2d / of the Countess of Arundells, now in the tenure	
of Herbert Salkeld	T
1Burgage 2d in the tenure of Will Bolton	T
1 Burgage 1d at the Wath; Thom: Richardson.	?L
(5 Burgages calld School-house Close	
(1 Burgage of the Chantrey	
(1 Burgage belonging to Wederall Abbey	
(Rent 9d in the tenure Mr Jackson school-master	T?
1 Burgage of the Honorable John	
Tufton Esq. called Pear-Tree Garth 1d Mr Jackson the school-master or Mr Usher	T?

Bridge Streat, the other Row

1 Burgage 2d in tenure Michael Ogden	? L
1 Burgage 2d in tenure Michael Atkinson	T
1 Burgage 4d in tenure Hugh Darby	T?
John Hodgson	T?
1 Burgage 1d in tenure Hugh Harrison	supra
1 Burgage 1d in tenure Will Guy	L
1 Burgage 1d in tenure of John Cheesebrough	vide infra

Battleburrough

(1 Burgage: church: land of St Nicholas	
(2 Improvements &c.	
(1 other improvement lying on the back side	
(2 Burgages called the Lady Garth, belonging to the church of St Michael	
(Rent 2s 1d all in tenure of Mr John Lowson	T
I Burgage 2d late of John Atkinsons now in tenure Clem Moresby	T
1 Burgage & 2 more 6 Mr Hilton	?
(2 Burgages formerly in the tenure of Mary Hutchinson, now of George Hilton	
(and allso for certain improvements 1s 4	
(1 other improvement 2d in tenure Georg: Hilton	supra
1 Burgage chantrey 2d Henry Whinfell	T
2 Burgages of Robert Cheesebrough 3d in tenure John Raisbeck	T
2 Burgages of Miles Hartleyes	
Landes 3d John Cheesebrough	T

[I.216]

2 Burgages in the tenure of Barbara Machell	
1 Burg ~~both~~ at Howgate Foote (both 8d) in tenure John Machell	T

[404] 'Of the same tenure.'

1 Improvement holdon by the town, ~~now~~ 17d in the tenure of Edm: Lowson T
2 Improvements belonging to the town called the Back House & Barne
in the tenure of Clem: Moresby 6[d] supra
1. Burgage Chantrey land 2d in tenure Isab. Hobson
1 Burgage 2d in tenure of Mr George Hilton supra
1 Burgage 3d in tenure Leonard Emmerson T?
1 Burgage 1d \ late / in tenure of Ralph Willson now \ of Robt Machell / {R.M.}
2 Burgages 4d in tenure Edmond Lowson
supra

Howgate Foote
1. Burgage of the Lady Arundells belonging to the House of Correction. O 2d? in the tenure of Robert Dunn
(1 Burgage of the Lady Arundells
(1 Burgage of the Countiss of Pembrookes
(1 other Burgage
(1 of the Chantery
(1 of the Church of St Michaells
(4 Burgages more of the Chantery
(2 Burgages at Howgatefoote
0 (1 Burg over against the bridge and called Appletre-Garth: 1s 9 in the tenure of Tho: Lambs wid[ow]
0 1 Burgage at Howgatefoote 2d Tho: Bousfield Absent
1 Burgage at Howgate Foote called St Johns Croft 2d Richard Lamb T
{1 St Johns Croft if a chaple}[405]

Skattergate
1 Burgage (Tansey Garth) 2d Bainbridge L
2 Burgages 3d in tenure Tho: Robinson supra L
2 Burgages 3 in tenure John Darby supra
1 Burgage 3 in tenure Edward Willson L?
1 Burgage 2 in tenure Edw. Ritchinson L
1 Burgage of Miles Hartleyes land and
one improvement 3 in tenure Tho: Willson dead. Ed. Willson ut supra
1 Burgage 2d in tenure W. Willson L

[I.217]

6

2 Burgages of John Harrisons 1d in tenure Rich: Ling L
1 Burgage & 1 other call'd Cleasbyes Garth 4d in the tenure of Mr John Thwaites supra
(1 Burgage of the Chantrey; another Burgage &
(1 improvement called the Barne 8d now in the tenure of Tho: Calvert L
Another improvement calld the Work House 2d the said Tho: Calvert supra
(1 Burgage 2d in tenure William Murton L
(1 other in the tenure of the said William
(1 Burgage called the Fidler Garth,
(& one improvement adjoyning 3d to the tenure of John Waugh T
3 Burgages 6d in tenure John Darby supra
(1 improvement of Mr Hiltons
(1 Burgage of Lord Whartons
(1 other of Mr Whartons 6d all in tenure of Tho: Robinson supra
2 Burgages, one of Mr Fallowfieldes
& the other of the chantrey 2d in tenure of Rob: Dover* *supra

[405] Written in pencil in Machell's hand.

1 Burgage of Church land 1d Tho: Carleton supra
1 Burgage 3d Tho: Richardson ~~supra~~ T

{About 157}[406]

[I.219]

7

For the Honorable Mr Tufton[407]

Scattergate
Query: ~~Scattergate~~ \ Will / Willson. R. because a lease only
Query: John Waugh – Jo: Warkeman[408]
Tho: Richardson
The Honourable John Tufton Esq.

Burrow Streat & Dungate
Query: Lancelot Machell Esq.
Tho: Stewardson
John Blenkarne
Will Richardson
John Nanson
Herbert Salkeld
Query: Will Bolton. R. in right of his wife – oppose to him Henry Richardson
John Darby
Michael Atkinson
Mr Maior
Edw: Guy
Tho: Milner
John Bleamire Senior ½)
John Bleamire Junior ½) burgge
Will Smyth
John Armstrong
Tho: Browne
Henry Sanderson
Edm. Lowson
Query: John Tod: R. a lease for 99.[409] But enquire of John Nanson for an other Burgage.

Batle-Burrow
Mr Phillip Machell
John Cheesebrooke
John Raisbeck
Hen: Whinfield
Query: Clem: Moresby. R. They say a lease, but he showes a deede.
Mr Lowson
Query: Thomas Hilton. R. a lease (Item for Broade Close).
Leonard Emmerson
Richard Lambe
Mr John Machell
Query: ~~Rob: Dun~~ \ Mr Robert Machell. / R. putt in by the justices at pleasure.
Mr Jackson
Mr Usher

406 ** added in pencil.
407 MS deleted: '{~~Minors, Aldermen, Bellg. tenement lease~~}'
408 This name is written in a different hand and ink.
409 99 years.

Mr Buchanon – R. A. payes no rent: but his gleab adjoynes to Burgages and that whereon the school-house standes was sold-of by one of the vicars of Appleby.

[I.220]

Minors at yeares of discretion
Bian Darby
Thomas Carleton
~~Sam Greene~~ R. Mr Hilton of Ormside voted under age for knights
\ [Blank] Wilson, Mr Jacksons man /
Lancelot Robinson

Aldermen haveing noe Landes in Town
Tho: Warcop – R. has free rents as a Mean Lord.)
Mr Musgrave) According to Yorke.
Memorandum: Mr Bellingham clames \ som[410] / of these Burgages by lease for 200 yeares (almost - expired) a great number on both sides – sc. If wee may guess by this rentall:

On Mr Tuftons 10
On Mr Lowthers 17

Doubtfull

Out of the catalogue on the other side these that follow are looked upon as doubtfull:
In Scattergate
1. Will Wilson, holding (they say) only by lease
2. John Waugh, holding (they say) in tenant right

Burrough-Gate & Dungate
3. Lancelott Machell Esq. holding parcel of a Burgage. He is allso Alderman, and (however) may be opposed to Mr Will Atkinson, who holdes a like parcell [...]
4. Will Bolton, who holdes a Burgage in right of his wife.
5. John Tod, who holdes by lease of 99 \ years. / But enquire of John Nanson for another Burgage.
6. Clem: Moresby, who they say holdes by lease, but showes a deede.
7. Tho: Hilton, who holdes by lease, but has a Burgage in his sonns name.
10. Thre, under 21 yeares. But of good discretion, & such have bin allowd; as Ciprian Hilton.
11. The vicar of Appelby, whose gleabe is adjoining to Burgages & whose predecessor sold-off that Burgage where the school-house is built.

[I.220A][411]

Mr Bellinghams rental for Appelbye Scattergaite & Bongaite

T Countess of Penbrooke
Mr Robt Hilton
T Robt Maichell
L William Johnson
T John Armestrange
L Robt Dover
L Mr Jo: Thwaites
L Mr Leo: Smith
Mr Alderman Smith deceased
Ab John Scott
L George Dent
l Mr Robt Harrington
L Tho: Richardson
L John Nenenson
T Tho: Carrleton

[410] Inserted in pencil in another hand.
[411] Scrap page, originally unattached to the rest of the volume but inserted and numbered by a modern archivist.

L John Mouncey
L Robt Yeward
Robt Emerson deceased
L Edmund Waryner
Ab Petter Rowlandson
Widdow Wilson
T Willm ~~Will~~ Boulton
T John Darbye
Mis Lowther
L Edward Wilson

[I.220B][412]

L Alderman Robinson
Robt Emerson
T Mr Robt. Lowson
Leo: Tomson
T Hen: Whinfell
Mr Geo: Helton
L Willm Murton
L Hugh Harison
T Micheel Attkinson
T John Nanson
Mr John Crow
L Edward Guy
L Michell Ogdon
L Tho: Browne
Tho: Lambe
Hospetall
T: 10
L: 17

[I.221]

8

For Mr Lowther

Scattergate
John Bainbridge
Query: Lancelot Robinson – R. never possesed
Edw: Will~~l~~son
Edw: Richardson
Will: Will~~l~~son
{Query} Richard Ling – no deedes yett seal'd
Tho: Calvert
Will: Murton

Burrow-Gate
Christopher Blenkarne
Will: Johnson
Mr Robinson
Robert Dover
Mr Robert Harrison – George Dent
John Nevinson
Rob: Yoward
John Mounsey
John Richardson: query. If 2?

[412] The reverse of I.220A.

Hugh Harrison
Tho: Warriner
{Query} John Richarson
Charles Bolton
Daniel Bainbridge
{Query} Henry Richardson – R. by right of his wife. Oppose to Will Bolton
Will: Mounsey
Tho: Warriner ~~L~~{~~Query~~}
Mr Th\w/aites
Michael Ogden
Will: Guy
Will: Huddard
Tho: Harrison
Joseph Dent
Query: John Porter R. The right in her first husbands heire. Ergo no vote
Christopher Jakes
{Query} John Ling – an estate lett for 99 yeares & sold by the lesses to Ling for ever
(Leonard Smyth
({Query both} Mr Dalton R. the estate is either in Mr Dalton or Smyth. Ergo not both

Battle-burrough
Supposed to be unanimous
{Query} Will: Atkinson R. he has parcell of a Burgage

[I.222]

For Mr Lamplugh
A scale
23. H6. Cap.15
Burgesses resident abideing & fre elected by Burg &c.
If any returned but so elected forfeit to the king 40^{li} to the Burgesses wrongd or him that sues after 3 m[arkes] 40^{li} by the maior.

[I.223]

9

Assenters to the Vote

Lancelot Machell Esq.
Phillip Machell
Clem: Morresby – query
in John Lowson
in Thomas Hilton
Richard Lambe
John Machell
Mr John Atkinson: maior
Edw: Guy
Michal Oggden – dubious
Tho: Miller
Jo: Bleamyres Senior
Jo: Bleamyres Junior
Wm Smith
Jo: Armstrong
Tho: Browne
Henr: Sanderson
Edw: Lowson
Wm Wilson
Tho: Richardson
Jo: Banbrigg – dubious

Jo: Waugh
Jo: Warkman
Jo: Stewardson
Jo Blenkard
Wm Richardson
Hugh Simson
Mr ~~Robt Harrison~~ – a turncoat[413]
Jo: Todd
Herbert Salkeld
Jo: Darbye
Mr James Buchanan
Michl Atkinson
Jo: Nanson
Jo: Roase
Robt Smith
Jo. Tufton Esq.
James Bellingham Esq.[414]

1. Query whether a young man at 14 yeares of age may be accounted inter probos et legales homines?[415]
2. Query whether a minor, under the age of 14 (or 21) may give a vote by his gardian?
3. Query whether the husband may not vote ~~by the curtesie of England~~ in right of his wife?
4. Query whether a Burgage being divided into parcells, give a right of voteing to the severall proprietors of those parcells? Affirmed per Mr Fletcher, Mr Lamplugh.[416]
5. Whether the Aldermen, and those that are enfranchised, may vote as Burgesses? Neg[ative.][417]
6. Query: of what force custom in these cases may be?
7. Query: who is to vote for these Burgages which as leased out by the town?
8. Query: whether the head scholler being Lord of one Burgage (and about 18 yeares of age) may give his vote?

Jo: Hodson)
Robert Machell)
Ric: Robinson) Thes m[en] is to bee enquird o[f] how […][418]
Jo: Hobson)
Lanclot Robison)

[I.224A]

Assenters

Laur Matchell
Phil Match[ell]
Cle: Mores[by]
Mr Jo. Lowson
Tho: Hilton
Rich: Lamb
Jo: Machell
Jo: Atkinson
Ed: Guy
Mich: Ogden
Tho: Miller
Jo: Bleamire
Jo: Bleemire
William Smith
Jo: Armstrong
Tho: Bro[w]n
Tho: Sanderson
Ed. Lowson

[413] Written in an unformed hand: see final paragraph of this page.
[414] These two names appear separately further down the page.
[415] 'Among honest and lawful men.'
[416] 'Affirmation' is written in different ink from the query.
[417] 'Negative' is written in different ink from that of the query.
[418] Much of the page foot has perished. The names and comments here have been written in the same unformed hand as the word 'turncoat', above.

Wm Wilson
Tho: Richardson
Jo: Bainbrigg
Jo: Waugh
Jo: Warkem[an]
Tho: Stuard
Jo: Blenkarne
Wm Richardson
Hugh Simpson
Jo. Tod
Herb. Salkeld
Jo. Darbye
~~M~~ Jamis Buch[anon]

Mich: Atkinson
Jo: Nanson
Jo: Rose
Rob: Simson
John Tufton
James Bellingham
Rob: Machell
Rich: Robinson
Jo: Hobson
Lancelot Robinson
Jo: Shot
Maister Saw house [Sowerby House]

[I.224B]

Dissenters

{?} Jo. Cheesbrugh
{?} Jo. Raisebeck
{?} Hen. Whinfield
Leo. Emerson
Wm Guy
Mt Thwaits
Tho: Norman
Will. Mownsey
Hen. Dickinson – query
Danyel Bambrig
Char: Burtun
Jo: Richison
Hugh Harison
Tho: Ritchardson
Jo. Mounsey
Ro. Yoward
Jo. Nevinson
Geordge Dent
Ro. Dover – query

Mr Tho. Robinson
Christo: Blenkerne
Will. Murton
Tho: Calvert
Ritch. Ling
Will. Wilson
Edward Wilson
Edward Ritchardson
William Johnson
Mr Leonard Smith
Jo. Ling
Jo. Porter – query
Christopher Jaikes
Jois[e]ph Dent
Tho: Harison
Will: Hudert
Mr William Atkinson
John Jon – query

[I.225]

10

[I.225B]

Jo Bainbrig
Edw. Richardson
Edw. Wilson
Wm Wilson
Tho. Calvert
Wm Murton

[I.225A]

[Letter to the mayor of Appleby from Sir John Dalston, excusing himself from assisting at the Appleby Election)]

Apleby

Mr Major
Though I should be very willing to serve your Cuporacion[419] to my power, yet in concern's of this Nature I thinke it most proper for your Recorder to be assistant to yew herein Wednesday next, which is the day appointed for the election of the Knights in Cumberland, & I shall want both my servants & horses if I were disposd to come that day, but as I am no way concernd (saving my respects &

[419] Corporation.

kindness to your selfe and brethren) being a friend & wellwisher of my Cozen Lowthers, I shall therefore beg yours & your Brethrens excuse that then you cannot be attended by
Sir
Yors to serve yew. J Dalston.

G.
[Gentry Families: Names; Land Holdings; Obligations]

[I.347]

[Sandford]
Sandfords. Lords of Sandford xij Ed. 1. [1283-84]. Vipont grant the Bosc and turbarie to William the son of Robert de Sandford. Kitland Forrest belonged to the Viponts then, & was called Forresta de Kidland.}

{Helton, Romanfel, Copmanbeck}
In a dead with boundary sans date wherein Thomas de Hellerton gives his halfe of the manner of Helton Bacon to his cosan Andre de Hellerton, Romanfell is called Rutmanfel. Copland Beck is called Copmanbeck, where the same boundary testifies there was an Hospitale deinde: in Creskeld et sic descendit usque hospitalem apud Cupmanbeck.[420] There is a tradition that one of the kings of the Scots was ~~take~~ taken \ here / by one Copland or rather Copman, near to the bridge whence the water tooke that nam*.

{Barwise, Heltum; Mauchael}
To that deed these are witnesses. Hiis Test[ibus].[421] Dominus Robert de Sowleby; Henry de Staneley; Thomas de Derewenwater, militibus. Ricardo de Barewise {forsan a Barwise Hall}; Johan de Heltum; Johanne Mauchael; Christopher Tempelman (note a sirname)[422] cum alijs.



Figure 1.1.12. 'The seale is about as big as a groat.' I.347

Of a browne sort of wax something inclineing to green here and there, the seale is about as big as a groat.

{Musgrave, Lowther, Harklay, Rosgil, Strickland, Machele, Sandford}
In a confirmation of Robert de Clifford, bearing date Anno Regis Edward xij°, Richardo de Musgrave & heredibus in perpetuum,[423] hiis testibus Michaeli de Harcla, Matheo de Rosgill, Hugone de Lowthre, Thomæ de Strikland militibus, Thomæ de Warthecop, Will de Helton. Thome Machele, Joh de Colby et alys. Date apud Burghohm \ a / Anno 1 regni regis &c.
I finde that the Sandfords were lords of Sandford in the time of Robert de Veteriponte ~~where~~ and Robert de Veteripont made an agreement with William the son of Robert de Sand ford & his heires, the Cow pasture (vaccaria) of Espland & 60 acres of arable ground adjoyning, in the forrest of Kidland. And on the other hand, William Sandford released unto the said Vipont all his clame he had in bosco et turbaria de Sandford. Salvis sibi et hominibus suis rationabilibus Estourijs &c.[424]

[420] 'Thence, to Creskeld, and so it descends as far as the hospital at Cupmanbeck.'
[421] 'With these being witnesses.'
[422] Machell was interested in this name because of the history of the Knights Templar in Temple Sowerby.
[423] 'Inheritance in perpetuity.'
[424] 'William Sandford released unto the said Vipont all his claim he had in wood and peat from Sandford, reserving to himself and his men the right to take moderate estovers etc.' [Estover: an allowance made to a person or an estate, often of wood.]

[Machell's Notes: I.347]
*Inq[uisition]. \ I read / Ro[bert] de Hilt[on].[425]

[I.348]

[Clifford]
The Seal Cliffords Armes with which this circumscribed Sigillum Roberti de Clifford.
{3} A grant of Roger de Clifford dom Westm'land: dat apud Castrum de Apleby 9º die mensis[426] apud anno Regni King Edward 2.[427] post Conquest tricesimo quinto.[428] The said Clifford armes, with a draggon couchant for crest; tale Or; and on each side a dragon to fill up the void which the scutchion leaves in the ring by way of sup[port] with this inscription: Sigillum Rogeri de Clifford.

{Sandford} Roger de Clifford grants & confirmes to Thomas \ de / Sandford & Isabel his wife & heredibus communam turbariæ in omnibus moris et turbarrijs nostris in Sandford;[429] paying their wonted rent; yett save that his tenants of what sort soever & their successors shall pay to the Cliffords every yere ~~for every~~ pro qualibet plaustrata turbarum et tericidiorum per ipsos in quadam turbaria nostra vocata Sand\e/ford\s/ myre \ capienda / shall pay one halfpenny,[430] as they were wont to doe.

{Vescy, Clifford, Threlkeld}
The 29 of March 1461. 1. Edward 4.
Margaret Bromflet, daughter and sole heire of Henry Lord Bromflet Baron Vessey & her ancestors. She was wife & widdow of John Lord Clifford who was slane att Tauton Field.[431] She was who brought the title of Baron Vesey to the Cliffords. She married afterward to Sir Lancelot Threlkeld, Knight.

{Colby}
It is writt (in Castris apud Crackenthorp penes L. Machel, armg.) not Coltby nor Coldby, nor Colby as now, butt Collibie, quasi locus super Collem scitus.[432]

{Barwyse family, Askeby, Brampton Family}
Barwyse. I \ allwayes / take the Barwises to be originally descended from Barwise Hall in the Parish of Apleby; & have since found a deed in confirmation of my conject[ure] (penes Sandford, Ask[eby]) of an house & lands in Great Askeby, by John de Berewiss, son of John de Berewyse de Apleby (for it seems \ it / was not onely accounted in the parish but Towne ther) to William the sonn of Simon de Brampton dat. apud Ebor ij idus Maij,[433] 27 Edward 1. [1299].

[425] This note is blotted.
[426] '9th day of the month'.
[427] The 35th year after the Conquest was 1101 and therefore the first or second year of Henry 1. 'Edward' might have been a slip of the pen.
[428] 35 years after the Conquest.
[429] 'And Isabel his wife and their heirs common turf rights in all our moors and and peatlands in Sandford.'
[430] 'For every wagonload of turfs and peat to be taken for themselves in a certain turbary called Sandford's mire, shall pay one halfpenny.'
[431] The Battle of Towton (Tadcaster, York, 29 March 1461). The presence of over 100,000 fighting men and c.28,000 deaths makes Towton the largest, bloodiest battle fought in England. Contemporaries regarded it as the climax of the enmity between the Houses of York and Lancaster - each of which had its rival kings – and symbolic of the prosperous south and the rapacious north. The battle's scale, and the fact that its outcome saw one dynasty removed from the throne and another elevated in its stead, makes Towton of the greatest importance. https://content.historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/battlefields/towton.pdf. See I.252.
[432] 'Like a place situated above a hill.'
[433] 'Ides of May.'

Hugh de Colleby was impowerd by William de Corbrig & John de Berewys to give possession of the manner of Berewys to Mr Thomas de Berewys (forsan ejus fil.)[434] 1343 (16^{0} Edward 3). Sir Thomas de Berewise in carta ejus penes Blenkinsop:[435] 17 Edward 3. [1343-44].

[I.303]

Alane de Berwis & John de B. s.d. Sclegill cart

I allways imagined the Burwises to have originally descended from Barwyse Hall in this parish and was somw[hat] confirmed in my opinion from the evidences of the Machells de Crakenthorpe, theire near neighbours, but now am fully satisfyed from some writeing \ in the custodye / of the Blenkinsops, out of which I picked a more particular acount.

Alanus de Berwys gave to his sone Alane all his lands &c. in Slegil, to him & his heires of his lawfull wife begott, paying to him & his heirs 1d rent pro omi serv &c.[436] & do my forane service as much as belongs thereunto: s.d. His Test. D^{ns} Roberto de Askeby, Johane de Moriville, Rob. de Strickland, militibus; Thomas de Musegrave, vic. Westmorland; Gilberto de Slegil; Sen. Westmorland; William de Newby; Hew de Tylle; Hugh the son of Adam de Sowreby.

~~The one of these I doubt not~~ \ Alane the father / was he that built Barwise Chaple about the 1st yere of Thomas, Bishop of Carlile \ anno primo pontificatus / who was in the time of Pope Alexander; which Allane did supplicate the said pope to have lieu to build a chaple at Barwise upon his owne ground and have a chaplins peculiarly unto it, because he was far from the mother church, especially that partly by reason thereof & partly by inundation of the waters he was much hindered in winter time from receiving the benefits of divine service.[437] Anno etiam 1^{0} Pontif Alexandri ⌖ pD (7)[438] The pope gives him very good words, caleing him dilectus filius nobilis:[439] viz. Alanus de Berwise, which was confirmed by the said bishop Salva indemnitate matris Ecclesiae,[440] & provided allso that the presbiter, who for the time to come should serve in that chapple, should ~~take an oth of fidelity~~ juramentum fidelitatis vicario matris Ecclesi sine om[n]i dificultate presenti: Dat apud lae[441] Rose 7^{0} martii pontificatis nostri anno primo.[442]

Sir Thomas de Molton, Lord of Gillsland, sold to T. de Lowther junioris the custody of one oxgang of land cum pertinentijs in Drybeck in Westmorland, then in his hands by reason of the under aige of Thomas de Berewys, son & heir of Eustachis de Berewys, who held the same a him cum pertinentijs and with the marriage of Thomas, son of Eustachi[s]. He had 2 brothers: John [blank] witness inter alias Richard de Denton 5^{0} Edward 1. Se more in Slegil Morla[n]d.

The last that I \ have / mett with of this family is Sir Thomas de Berwise, {I take this T. to be son or grandson of Eustachis} and his mother, then a widow, was called Johanna. And if I mistake not this Sir Thomas had a daughter called Katherine who was to be marryed to Roger Beauchamp, son & heir of T. Beauchamp of Laysingby.[443] They sent out a family very early to Slegil in Westmorland, where I have discovered them to have continued for 5 generations. This Sir Thomas was in the 17. Edward 3. Barwyse is a mannor & Barwys Raw belongs unto, & so I thinke doth Drybeck, for this family had to doe there and they had lands allso in the village of Caberg in Kirby Stephan parish.

Old Alanes seale who gave land in Slegil to Alane his son was a flore de lice.

William de Corbrig & Johan de Berewyse make Hugh de Colleby their attorney to give possession to

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[434] 'Perhaps his son.'
[435] 'In his deed in the possession of Blenkinsop.'
[436] 'For all services etc.'
[437] See this passage repeated in *N&BI*, 336, with no reference to Machell.
[438] 'In the same year as the first year of Pope Alexander.' Thomas de Vipont was bishop of Carlisle, 1255-56; (he was Carlisle's 7th bishop if Paulinus of Leeds (who declined the bishopric) is included) This was in the pontificate of Alexander IV (reigned 1254-61). The symbol '⌖pD', which follows the name of the pope, is possibly a short form of 'Capud': head. For Carlisle's bishops, see David Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History*, (Carlisle, 2000), 142.
[439] 'Beloved noble son.'
[440] 'Without injury to the rights of the mother church.'
[441] Unclear word.
[442] 'Should take an oath of loyalty to the vicar of the mother church, without any difficulty being presented. Dated at Rose, 7 March in the first year of our pope.'
[443] Lazonby, Cumberland.

John de Berewyse of the mannor of Barewise, 1343 i.e. 17. Edward 3. Compare with the other broth[er].

[I.262C]



Figure 1.1.13. Coat of arms drawn on a small scrap of paper. I.262C.

[I.263]

The lineal descent of the Dakres. Barons*

1. Ralph Dacres marryd Margaret the daughter and one of the co-heires of Thomas Malton of Gillesland; which Thomas was brother & heire to Ralph Malton. And by the said Margaret he had Isue:

1. Hugh Dacres.

2. Hugh Dacres son & heire of Ralph marryed [blank] and had Isue: 1. William Dacres.

3. William Dacres son & heire of Hugh maryed [blank] and had Isue: Thomas Lord Dacres of Gillesland.

4. Thomas Lord Dacres of Gillesland son of William marryed Phillippa daughter of Ralph Nevill Earle of Westmorland whose armes were [blank] and then had Isue: 1. Humfrey of whome hereafter.

2. Johan who was marryed to Thomas Lord Clifford of Apleby in Westm'land who had diverse children by him as may be seen in their pedegrees.

5. Humfrey Dacres Knight Ro[t][444] Parliament. 12. Edward 4. [1472-73]. He tooke to wife Mabel Parr and had Isue: Thomas.

6. Thomas Lord Dacre of Gilseland marryed Elizabeth daughter and heire of Robert Baron of Graystock by which means he came to those lands of Grastokes which they held in Westm'land of Dufton &c. He stole her out of Broham \ Castle where [she] lett herselfe downe out of a window to him, being then a ward {!?}

7. William Lord Dacres of Gilseland marryed Elizabeth daughter of George Talbot – Lord Talbott 4th Earle of Shrewsbury – and had issue:

1. Thomas of whome hereafter.

2. Ann. Who was 2nd wife to Henry 2nd Earle of Cumberland. By whome she had Isue {as in their pedigree}.

8. Thomas Lord Daker of Gilesland; maryed Elizabeth Leybourne, daughter of Francis Leyborne (and afterwards wife to Thomas Duke of Norfolke.)

And by her he had Isue:

Ann who was marryed to Philip Earle of Arundell.

Elizabeth who was marryed to William Lord Howard.

Machell's Notes: I.263]

*{To be referd ad Dufton vel Orton.}

444 'Roll.'

[I.264]

The Line of the Beauchamps, Earles of Warwick*

1. William Beauchamp had to wife [blank] and by her had Isue: William.
2. William son and heire of William Beauchamp Baron of Aelmeley and Hamstape was the 12. Earle of Warwick, Shrieve of Worcestershire by inheritance Chamberlin of Ex\c/hey & Lord of Kerthing by his wife. He marryed Maud daughter & one of the coheires of John Fitz Geoffrey Lord of Kerthing & Chief Justice of England whose younger sister Isabell was maryed to the [blank] de Veteriponte Lord of Westm'land & hereditary shireue of the said county. And by this Maud he had Isue: Guy.
3. Guy Beauchamp son & heire of William 12. Earle of Warwick was the 13th Earle of the said place marryed Alice, daughter of Ralph de Toney & sister & heire of Robert Lord Toney Baron of Flemsted. By whome he had Isue: Thomas.
4. Thomas de Beauchamp son & heire of Guy was the 14th Earle of Warwick and tooke to wife Katherine daughter of Roger Mortimer Earle of March who was created the 1st Earle of the Marches of Wales in the 2. yere of Edward 3d [1328-29]. And by her he had Isue: Maud, who was marryed to Roger de Clifford Lord of Westm'land &c.†

[Machell's Notes: I.264]

*{To be referrd}
†{The armes of the Beauchampes of Warwicke were Gules, a fess between 6 crosscrosletts Or}
See a fair pedigre of Beauchamps Earles of Warwick in Dugdal of Warwickshire, p. [blank] vide in Indice.[445]

[I.265]

The Lyne of the Nevills, Earles of Westmorland*

1. Robert Nevill Lord of Raby tooke to wife Mary who was daughter & heire of Ralphe Nevill Lord of Midleham; in whose right he allso became Lord of Midleham and had Isue by her: Ralfe de Nevill.[446]
2. Ralfe son & heire of Robert was Lord of Raby and Midleham and marryed Euphamia who was the daughter of John Lord Clavering by whome he had Isue, a son called Ralfe.
3. Ralfe son & heire of Ralfe was Lord of Raby and Midleham & tooke to wife Alice who was the daughter of Hugh Lord of Andeley, by whome he had Isue John.
4. John Nevill Lord of Raby & Midleham was son & heire to Ralfe. He tooke to wife Maud Pearcy (which Maud was daughter to Henry Pearcy the Elder by Idonea de Clifford who was the daughter of Robert Lord Clifford by Maud de Clare.) And they had Isue:
1. Ralfe of whomme in the next place
2. Euphamia who was marryed to Robert de Clifford, Lord of the Honour of Appeby and Baron of Westm'land, but he dyed without Isue†.

[Machell's Notes: I.265]

*{To be referrd ad Warcop}
†See more about the Nevills in my MS of Armes (marke Part V.)

[I.171]

Thomas Taylboys of Hurworth, his seale: had Westlaton[447] by deed of Alice Blount the daughter of Warrin de Wassington, 5. Richard 2nd, which I thinke came to the \ Wil. / Threlk[eld] of Mel. \ Esq. / about the 16. of Henry 6. who conveyd them to Rookeby of Northum[berland] Esq.

[I.307]

[Roos] {There were Rooses att Barwyse 12. Henry 7. \ 1497. / One Thomas Roos had a dispensation to marry Elizabeth Blenkensop, his cosan in the 4th degree; and they had Isue Thomas to whome she granted lands in her widowhead 15. Henry 7. [1499-1500] unto this Thomas*. They had Isue Thomas who maryed Ann. [blank] & dyed about the 35. of Henry 8. [1543-44], leaveing Hugh Machell executor†.

[445] 'See in the Index.'
[446] MS: '1. Robert Nevill \ Lord of Raby, tooke to wife Mary who was daughter & heire of Ralphe ~~Lord~~ Nevill \ Lord / of Midleham in whose right he allso became Lord ~~Nevill~~ of Midleham; and had Isue by her: Ralfe \ de / Nevill.'
[447] Westlaton or Westluton.

[Machell's Notes: I.307]
*Memorandum – to insert this in Blenkinsops pedegree.
†{about that time also T. Roose, nuper de Berwise – see the Cart. 1bidem.}

[Seals]

[I.187]



Figure 1.1.14. Seal of Robert de Veteriponte. I.187.

The same on reverse of Robert on horseback
To sui suceram in secre + (to)[448]
This seale is att a confirmation of the site & place of the Abby de Hepp i.e. Shap Abby, with the appurtenances which were contained in the writeings of Thomas the sonn of Gospatricius & Thomas the son of Thomas his son. By Robert de Veteriponte.[449] Dated att Cliburne 13^0 Johannis [1211-12]. Teste Willielmos de Thrimeby et alijs et Johanne de Harclay.[450]

Knipe Antiq. Gnype
Gnype, called Hog Gnype. There were men who tooke sirnames thence: Sc. de Gniype, & de Hog-Gnype in Cartis S.D. penes Mr Blenkinsop.

Mauchael
Alexander Mauchael witness att a deed of Thomas the sonn of Henry de Radem (sea Redman) of 2 oxgangs.[451]

Appleby to Hepp Abby, viz. those 2 which Norman his brother had of John de Veteriponte & gave with his body to Hepp Abby – ibi etiam[452] Alane de Berwyse.

Briton de Eppleby, alias Appleby
Thomas son of Gospatritius sealed with a Lyon whose tayle was clapped betwixt his leggs & up againe about his ribbs.
Michael de Duftonia, Will fil Gunnild de Bothelun.
Rose. dated 1287 15. Ed. 1. Rand: Episc.
I have seen King Edwards grant for the appropriation of Warcop church to Shap Abby by Robert de Clifford, patrone 35 ejus Regni Contra Statute de Mortman: amongst Blenkinsop.

[448] Machell has made a transcription error. The legend actually reads, 'IN SECRE + TO SUI SUCC:' i.e. 'In secreto sui succ.' and translates as, 'his and his successors' private seal'.
[449] See the reference to this seal in R.S. Ferguson, *A History of Westmorland* (London, 1894), 99. In a footnote, Ferguson remarks, 'The counter seal, as given by Machell, is curious. It is apparently a classical gem, on which are four dancing figures. Legend: POSVI SVCE* IN. SECRE*. Posui sutelam in secreto – "I have placed a device on my privy seal."'.
[450] For another early Veteripont seal see MS.IV.31.
[451] MS: 'Alexander Mauchael, witness att a deed of Thomas the sonn of Henry de Radem (~~forsan Red\e/man~~ sea Redman [~~sed~~] ~~quod male ne habet brevit nimis scripsi~~) of 2 oxgangs.'
[452] 'There too.'

[Machell's Notes: I.187]

Vide Spelmans *Villare Anglicum*, for Townes names all England over; whence you may finde the original of most sirnames.[453]

[I.188]

Shap

Gilbert, the son of Gilbert de Culwenne Knight released clame of som tenement ~~in Shapp~~ to the Abbot &c. 34 Ed. 3 [1360-61] and sealed with a frett & chief charged with a cressent.[454]

Culwen

This I take to be the same with Curwen & descended from Gospatricius.

Apleby

Note, the lyons on Appleby seale are like those upon the trappings of Ed. I. Horse, whether crowned or noe: Querie*?

Redman or Radin: Thomas the son of Henry de Redman gave, granted and confirmed those 2 oxgangs of land which Norman his brother had of John de Veteriponte: witness Alan de Berewys, Alex Mauchaell and or Mauchel & Alijs†.

Machell's Notes: I.188]

*Noe, they are not crownd there.
†{Barwise a family}

[I.261]

[**Seals of the Veteriponte and Machell families**]

*The 1. is the seale of Maud de Veteriponte att her deed of [blank] to her son Robert.
2. Of Ivo de Veteripont att his confirmation of his mothers deed.
3. is the seal of Robert de Veteripont, the first \ of that name / shereue hereditary of Westmorland att his [blank]
4. The seal of William Mauchael of Crakenthorp, more ancient than any of the other; att his enfeoff co[n]f[er]ment of Mr Adam de Kirkby Thore for his life in the Lordship of Crakenthorp.
5. The seal of Idonea de Veteripont att her deed of the manner of Sandbeck in her widowhood, to the monkes of Roch in Yorkshire.
And the other is the impression of her Privy Seal upon the reverse of the same wax.

[Machell's Notes: I.261]

*{These must be referrd}



Figure 1.1.15. Two of a group of seals of the Veteriponte and Machell families. I.261.

[453] Henry Spelman, *Villare Anglicum: or a view of the townes of England* (London, 1656).
[454] See Parish of Shap, Part 1, Ch.22. I.311.

[I.188]

Ecclesiastical Seals

Buly
It seeme that the bishop of Carlile resided of old att Buly Castle for I finde several ~~confirmations with~~ evidences dated from thence.
1. Confirmation of the churches of Hep & Bampton by Thomas Bishop of Carlisle dated apud bellum locum dominica proxima ante natuitatem beatæ Mariæ virginis. 1256.[455] A very fine oval seale 2 inches broad with a bishop in his miter & ro \a/bes, the right hand erect with 2 finger up, the left holding a ~~miter~~ \ crosier / and writt about thus:
SIGILLUM THOME DEI GRACIA KARLEOLENSIS EP.[456]
Sylvester apud Bellum locum \ 1209 / 1244.[457]

? ! {Priory of Carlile}
The seale of the Priory of Carlile is to be seen amongst church writeings 47. Hen. 3. [1262-63]. Cust[ody] F. Blenkinsop.

{Kirkby Thore parsonage}
I thinke ~~it~~ \ Kirkby Thore / either was appropriated to Shap Abby in Henry 8. time by Henry Lord Clifford immediately before the dissolution, or in the agitation then. It was appropriated upon condition that the Abby should pay 12s to the poore per annum, otherwise to forfeit; they makeing allso sufficent provision for the Cure. 1535, the Prior \ Rich[ard] Elenwood Prior, / haveing the benefit during his life.

{Shap Abby}
28. of Henry 8. [1536-37] he granted a confirmation of Shapp Abby (as under rate or value as appears by his coppy of permission and allowances). Penes Fra[n]ces Blenkinsop Gen. apud Brough.

[I.585A]

Memorandum: That the seals of Roger (I suppose Whelpdale*) Bishop of Carlisle or William Bishop of Carlisle \ The / Priory of Carlisle & Abbey of Shappe, are in the Evidence Chest at Crackenthorpe in a green draw box.

[Machell's Notes: I.585A]

*It may be Whelpdales Seale, for he was Bishop in 1419 & was succeed by William Barrow 1423 – who – before he Got a Seale of his own right make use of Rogers.
See the seal T. de Veteripont, Episc. of Carlisle – in a Seale Box in ala[baster] made.[458]

[I.192]

[Scutage, Escuage][459]
{pro explicatione}[460] Ad Intellectionem Termini Scutagij sive Escuage.[461]
Hollished Temp An. 1221 \ Escuag Reg. 6 / The noble granted King Henry 3. of every Kings fee 2 markes silver, p.203, 4, 60. {p.213 a. figure. 20.}

Henry 3. Anno. 1231.[462] Mat[thew] Paris[463] relates that on the 27 of January the king held a Parliament at Westminster (where the Nobles spiritual & temporal were assembled) & demanded

[455] 'Dated at (Bellum Locum, Beautiful Place, Buly) on the Sunday immediately before the nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, [21 Sept.] 1256'.
[456] MS: SIGILL THOME DEEI GRACIA KARLEEOLENSIS EEP': Seal of Thomas, by the Grace of God, bishop of Carlisle.'
[457] Silvester de Everdon was bishop of Carlisle from 1247 to 1254, in which year he was killed in a fall. The 2nd bishop of Carlisle was Bernard [1204-1214]. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History*, 142.
[458] 'Alabaster' is an editorial suggestion for the shortened word 'ala'.
[459] For scutage and escuage: see the English Glossary.
[460] 'For explanation.'
[461] 'To an understanding of the term Scutage or Escuage.'
[462] MS: 'Henry 3 ~~p. 213, 4, 2~~ anno. 1231.'
[463] Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259) was an historian and Benedictine monk whose historical works include the *Chronica Majora*, a universal history from the creation to 1259. See Henry R. Luard (ed.), *Monachi Sancti*

escuage of all those who held any Baronyes of him, i.e. forren knights fee 40 shillings or 3 markes. And the Archbishop of Canterbury (as they say) stood against the king in this demand, maintaneing that the clergie ought not to be subject unto the judgement of laymen since this escuage was granted in the parts beyond the seas without their consent. Whereupon the matter as touching the Bishops was deferd till the Quindeen of Easter,[464] allbeit that the laity and other of the spirualty did consent to the Kings will. He had allso a great escuage granted for the mariage of his sister, the emperess 1241. {p.229 a. f.50.}

\ P.230 H. 50ti, anno 1242. Reg. p. 233. / Escuage gathered throughout the realm {toward bearing the kings charges in France.}[465]

Att another sitting which was begun 3 weekes after Candlemas anno 1244, Reg. Hen. 3[l] 28. they agreed {p.332. b. fig. 30}* to give the King escuage to run towards the marriage of his eldest daughter, of every knights fe'e holden of the king, 20 shillings, to be payd at 2 terms, the one halfe at Easter, the other at Michaelmas.

Att another session of Parliament, ~~holden~~ \ begun / at Westminster on Friday following the feast of Simon & Jude[466] in the 44. of the reigne of Henry 3. [1259-60] {p.262, a, fig.10}. In this parliament was granted the king a tax cal'd scutagium or escuage, i.e. 40 shillings out of every knights fe'e throughout England, the which extended to a great sum of money. For as diverse writers do agree, there were in England at that time in possesion of the Spiritualty & Temporalty above 40 thousand knights fe'es, but almost halfe of them were in spiritual mens hands.

In the Qiendene of Easter,[467] Parliament \ began to / sat at London. In which all the Estate being assembled it was agreed {p.248 a. f.40} that a 10th part of all the revenues belonging to the Church for 3 years space should be given the king towards journey into the Holy Land, & that escuage should be levyed for that year after 3 markes of every knights fe'e. And the king on the other hand promisid faithfully to maintain & keep the Magna-Carta.

[Machell's Notes: I.192]

*{30? scutage, how it granted; question: when.}

[I.193]

[**Wardshi**p]

Taken out of a Roll penes Mr Blenkinsop apud Brough: which I take to have bin in reference to a Bill of Chauncery exhibited against Lord Clifford.

Thomas Blenkinsop fuit seisitus de manerio de Helbeck cum pertinentijs in Dominico suo ut de foedo, & sic seisitus manerium tenuit de Henrico Clifford per servitiu[m] militare, viz. per homagium fidelitatem et scutagium*, Sc[ilicet] quando scutagium currit ad quadraginta solidos, 40s quando ad decem, 10s & quando ad plus, plus, quando ad minus, minus, et per reditum sex solidorum ad cornagium Henrici Clifford ad festa pasche et St Michaelis Archiangeli. annuatim solvendum; de quibus quidem servicijs idem Henricus fuit seisitus per manus dicti Thomae Blenkinsop [patris] ut per manus veri tenentis sui, viz. de Homagio et fidelitate et de foedo et jure, et dicto scutagio et reditu in Domenico suo ut de foedo tempore pacis tempore dicti regis modo (Sc[ilicet] Henry 7.) capiendo inde exple[e]s et valere &c.[468]

Albani: Chronica Majora, seven vols (London, 1872-83), Vol. 3 (1876), 200. See also, S. Lloyd & R. Reader, 'Paris, Matthew (c. 1200-1259)'. *ODNB*.

[464] Here, a line of ink points the reader to a continuation of this topic at the bottom of the page.

[465] This margin comment is almost obscured by the binding.

[466] 28 October.

[467] Quindene: the fourteenth day after a festival (this being the fifteenth day when counted inclusively, following ancient Roman practice); hence the period of fifteen days beginning with the day of a festival. *OED*.

[468] 'Thomas Blenkinsop was seised of the manor of Helbeck with its appurtenances in his Demesne as by fee, and being thus seised he held the manor from Henry Clifford through military service, viz. through homage, fealty and scutage, that is, when the scutage ran to forty shillings, 40s, when to ten shillings, 10s, and when to more, more, and when to less, less; also through rent of six shillings for the cornage of Henry Clifford at the

Note this & what followeth on the other side the page (but that for certaine) was taken out of a Roll penes Mr Blenkinsop apud Brough: which I take to have bin in reference to a Bill of Chauncery exhibited against Lord Clifford for demanding the Wardship of the Gentery of this County, and the difference began in the family of the Blenkinsops of Hellbeck. It is therefore added in the clause of each manner, – minus justè; et sine titulo nisi per usurpationem tituli Domini Regis (vid. p.184).[469] But Lord Clifford (as I remember myself to have red) got the better of them, & his ancestours had the Wardship of the Gentry of this County till it was taken of by Act of Parliament (all England over), Sc. Tem. Car. 1. \ a long roll penes Mr Blenkinsop. /

This following evidence may peradventure relate to the said busines. In Bawtre Box (ni fallor)[470] apud Skipton \ MS. /
Pardonatio Henrico Clifford militi alias dicto Henrico Clifford, Domino Clifford Westmorland & Vessy; alias dicto, Henrico Clifford vicecom[iti] Westmorland alias dicto Henry Clifforth militi; alias dicto Henrico Clifford Dom[ino] Clifford militi; alias dicto, Henrico Clifford Dom[ino] Clifford filio Joh[annis] Clifford nuper Dom[ini] Clifford defuncti; fil[ij] Thomae Clifford nuper Dom[ini] de Clifford militis similiter defuncti &c. omnimodas offensas &c. Pardonavimus etiam et relax[avimus] omnimodas cattalla felmu' {felonia forsan}[471] &c. et insuper omnes intrusiones &c. Act[ionem] etiam Wardae & Maritag[ij] Thomæ fil[ie] et here[dis] Thomæ Blenkinsop armiger[i] defuncti; Ac ~~etiam war[dae] & maritag[ij]~~ quorumcumq[ue] fatuorum naturalium &c. custodie nostre pertinent: et ulterius perdonamus &c. omni[m]odas [pen]as fines &c. Proviso quod non extendat ad 7 recognitiones per quas idem Henr. recognovit se debere nobis spetingentas libras anno 17^0 irrotulatas; \ nec ad 7 septas obli[ga]tiones / nec non ad 4^r alias recognitiones per quas idem Hen[ry] et alie persone 27 Aprilis velut recognoverunt se debere nobis mille & trescentas marcas prout &c. quandocunq[ue] acciderint &c. 1^0 Janij, 21. Henry 7. [1505-06] Rot. 1.[472]

[I.194]

[Cornage]

Some Lands held of the King in Capite, paying Cornage, 19 Hen. VIII[473]

{An account by inquisition of L.H. of land held of the king in capite[474] by knights service paying cornage}

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feasts of Easter and of St Michael Archangel, to be paid annually; the same Henry was, indeed, seised of these services through the hands of the said Thomas Blenkinsop [father] as through the hands of a true tenant, viz.of Homage and fealty both by fee and by right, and by the said scutage and rent in his Demesne as by fee in time of peace lately in the time of the said king (that is, Henry 7.) by taking thence the profits and value etc.'

469 'With little justification; and without title except through usurpation of the title of the Lord King.'

470 'Unless I am mistaken.'

471 The Latin here is corrupt and Machell's suggestion is a plausible one. The original words were probably 'omnimodas cattalorum felonias'.

472 'Remission to Henry Clifford, Knight, otherwise known as Henry Clifford Lord Clifford of Westmerland & Vessy, otherwise known as Henry Clifford Earl of Westmerland, otherwise known as Henry Clifforth, Knight, otherwise known as Henry Clifford Lord Clifford, Knight, otherwise known as Henry Clifford Lord Clifford son of John Clifford Lord Clifford lately deceased, son of Thomas Clifford Lord Clifford, Knight, likewise lately deceased, etc. [We have remitted] all manner of offences etc. – also have we remitted and discharged all manner of felonies of cattle etc, and, moreover, all trespasses etc. Also legal action for the guardianship and marriage portion of the daughter and heir of Thomas, the late Lord Thomas Blenkynsop Esquire, and the guardianship and marriage portion of whatever natural children etc. belong to our custody: And further we remit etc. all manner of penalties, fines etc. Provided that it extend not to 7 acknowledgements of debts, through which the same Henry acknowledged that he owed us seventy pounds, entered in the 17th year, nor to 7 protected bonds, nor to four other acknowledgements, through which the same Henry and other persons on the 27th April similarly acknowledged that they owe us one thousand three hundred marks, proportionately as etc. whenever they fall due etc.'1st January 21. Henry 7. Roll 1.

473 The MS margin contains: 'Of Dem[esnes] held of the king in capite, by paying cornage to the king…An account by inquisition of L.H. anno 19., of land held of the king in capete by knights service paying cornage'.

474 'held in chief.'

	Manner & Demane in Lordship	Owner	Yearly Value	Kings Cornage Rent payd at Pasce & Michaelmas	Payd to	Quo Titulo[475]	Faciendo sectam clor[476] dom regis apud castrum de Apleby mense in mensem[477]
	~~Bampton~~: ~~Knip~~	~~Thomas Blenk J S~~ \ Christopher Culwen J. S. /	£40 per annum	& 10d	Sir Henry Clifford	Ignoto titulo[478]	
Quo titulo	Bampton* Cundal	Jo: Cliborne ob 4[0].[479]	20 marcs J.S.	0: 15 & 3	Sir Henry Clifford	Ignoto	
	Bampton: Patrik						Mense in mensem
Paid to whom ~~forsan~~	Brampton:	John Lancaster Ob 10. Ed. 4.[480]	Jo S. val. £4	0: 8: 6	Lord Clifford sine 1	Per usurpatione[481]	
	Brow \urg /ham:	John Burgh Obijt X[0] J. S.	V: X marcs & [...]	0: 12: 6 /12	Henry Lord Clifford	Iniuste St. Per usurpatione	
	{Cabergh:}||	Pet. Roos obijt 8. July	H. 7. 15/ £8 0d J. S.	0: 7: 8	Henry Lord Clifford	Ignoto titulo	
	Cabergh}	John Mawchel Ob. 1. Ed. 4[482]	Joh. S. val. £X	0: 6: 10	Henry Lord Clifford, toke red[ditus]	Hom[agium] rel[evium]. sine titulo[483]	
	Clifton	T. Wybergh Will. S	[£]20	0: 17: 4	Henry Lord Clifford	Minus iuste sine titulo	Per usurp. titulo regis
	Colby: and infra	T. Warc[op] \ and infra. / Obijt 18 Ed. 4 T[484].	His S. val. 10[li]	0: 6: 10	Henry Lord Clifford, toke red[ditas]	Hom. rel. sine titulo	
	Helbeck†	T.B[lenkinsop] & T. his son	40[li]	0: 6: 0	Henry Lord Clifford	Ignoto titulo	reddit
	Newbiging	Jo. Crak[enthorpe] Ob. 6. Ed. 4[485]	J. S. 5[li]	0: 1: 8	Henry Lord Clifford cepit	red hom Rel. sine titulo[486]	Nec non per
	Overton‡ Dem:	Humfry Lord Daker Obij. 6[0]	£X[li]: 0	0: 12: 6	& Tho. Lord Daker	At 18 had the estate.	servicium ad
	Overton Dem: with ½ Watby	T. Beauchamp Obijt X Ed. 4	£ X	0: ~~12~~ \ 11/: 1	Sir Henry Clifford	Tit. ignot. TB. S.	faciendam sectam
	Smardale:	Reginald Warcop Ob. 8[0] S. Ed	Val. £4[li]	0: 10: 0	Henry Lord Clifford cepit	Red. Hom. rel. sine titulo	cori[487] dicti domini regis
Owner	Wateby↓ d[emesne] it went with ½ Overton to T. Beauchamp vid. supra						

[475] 'With what title.'
[476] The meaning seems to be 'of court' but the form of the word used is unclear.
[477] 'Mense in mensem': Every month.
[478] 'Unknown title.'
[479] 'Died in the 4th year of Henry VIII' [1512-13].
[480] 'Died 1470-71.'
[481] 'By usurping.'
[482] 'Died 1461-62.'
[483] 'Homage, feudal relief without title.'
[484] 'Died 1478-79.'
[485] 'Died 1466-67.'
[486] 'Rent: Homage, Feudal relief, without title.'
[487] The meaning seems to be 'of court' but the form of the word used is unclear.

~~owner value~~	Yanworth¶	Lancelot Threlkeld Ob. 3. Rich. 3[489] Sr L. S.	40 marcs	0: 8: 8	Henry Lord Clifford	Sine titulo per usurpation	com[itatu] W. de mense in mensem apud castrum Regis de Apleby[488]
	Housidribeck	Lord Dacre T. S.	Above £5[li]	0: 9: 2	Lord Clifford cepit	Reditus Hom. & releurium sine titulo	

[Machell's Notes: I.194]

The manner: Bampton K[n]ipe, Bampton Cu[n]dale, Bampton Pat[rick]., Browham, Bra[m]pton, Caber, Caber,[490] Clifton, Colby, Helbeck, Newbigin, Overton, […],[491] Smardale, Wateby.

*Bampton, Bampton Knipe: to Christopher Culwen & Sir Thomas, his son.[492]

Christopher Culwen per Brampton Patrik tenetur per serviciu[m] militare, sc[ilicet] per homagiu[m] fidelitatem et scutagiu[m], si quando scutagiu[m] ad quadraginta \...../ solidos 40s quand[o] ad plus plus quando ad is ['is' repeated] (sicut cetera omnia) et per reditum 14s 4d pro cornagio ad dom[inum] Clifford as fest[a] pasch[ae] et S[anc]t[i] Mich[aelis] Archangel[i] annuatim solv[endum] Knipe Patrik eodem modo (rent 17d) tenebatur ab eodem.[493]

†7 Helbeck to T.B.

‡Overton: ½ of Overton to P. Lord Dacres; ½ to Thomas Beauchamp. {N[ote] Yong Lord Daker freed at yeres because he held elsewhere of the King so he had not marriage of him but onely his land till he came at yeres}.

⸸Watby, Neatby: ½ to Thomas Beauchamp; ½ to [blank]

‖Caber: Peter Roos; Thomas his son.

¶Yanewath was held by Sir Lancelot Threlkeld de Johe Barone de Graystock per servicum militare; viz. per homagium &c. et reditum 8s & 8d ad cornagium Joh annis et Johannes Baron de Gaystock tenuit odem manerium per consimilia servicia de Henrico Domino de Clifford.[494]

{T.W. four year old when his father dyed}

Note: that these Lordships are held by Knights Service yet not of the King in Capite.

[I.195]

L

William de Morville 8 John / Jo[n] Macael John

N.

O.

Robert fil Olf. 8 J[ohn] Joha de Ormeshead vicecom West. 9. Joh / Will fil. Simonis

P.

Peter de Rosgil 9 J[ohn] Joh de Prasto: 9 Joh / Alun Princerna, 9 Joh.

[I.196]

Peterus de Rosgill: J[ohn] 9.

R.

Rob Dns de Sulebi: J[ohn] 9, Gerardius seviensus i.e. sergiant J.G. Will. filius Simonis

---

[489] 'Died 1485.'

[488] 'Also, through service of paying suit of court of the said lord king in the county of Westmorland from month to month. At the King's royal castle of Appleby.'

[490] Caber and Caber are bracketed together.

[491] Here is an illegible scored-through place name.

[492] For 'scutage', see the English Glossary.

[493] 'Christopher Culwen holds the tenancy of Bampton Patrik by military service, namely, by homage, fealty and scutage, the scutage amounting to forty ... shillings 40s sometimes more, more when … (just as everything else) and by a rent of 14s 4d for cornage, to be paid annually to Lord Clifford at the feasts of Easter and of St Michael the Archangel. He held the tenancy of Knipe Patrik in the same fashion (rent 17d).'

[494] 'Yanwath was held from John, Lord Greystoke, by knight's service, viz. by faithful homage etc. and 8s 0d rent and 8d cornage; John Lord Greystoke held that same manor by similar services from Henry Lord Clifford.'

T.
John Taleboys: 9 Joh {Arable 4d acre, 1. Ed. 1. [1272-73] ann Medow} dovecot: 2s per an. Ed. I. Value of

W.
Matild or Maud, the daughter of Torphin de Wateby, sold al her \ demesne & other / inheritance in Westmorland, 300 markes to Robert de Veteripont, by consent & assent of her free tenants; which lands she held of him 8^0 Joh. [1206-07]. Willielmus de Wiginton (forsan pro Winton) 8. J. William de Withinton 9. Joh / Thom Fil. Tho. / de Withrington, Galfrid de Wateby[495]

Y. [blank]

[I.202]

Vipount.

Apleby: The Best Gen[ealogy] I am able to Draw, both from the Evidences of the Countess of Pembroke and Mr Dugdalls *Baronagium*, is thus:

			De Veteriponte from a Lordship of that name in Normandy			
Dugdalls *Baronage*		1. Ivo de Veteriponte benefactor to the Abby of Chieney in France 1185: fuit Dom[inus] de Curvavilla[496]		= Alberia	2. Robert de Veteriponte (ejus mentio ni fallor 1073. i.e. 7^0 Will. Conq.) fuit cobenefactor cum fratre Ivo[ne] Abb[atiae] de Chien, 1185.[497] a. = Matilda filia et cohere[s] de Hugonis de Morevilla […] de Kirkoswald [...][502]	= Maria quae fuit mater Ivonis Junioris[498]
? (a) Carta[e] Commitissae Pembroke ostendunt nomina filiarum et coheredum Hugonis fuisse \ Ada[m] / Matilda[m] marit[atam] Willielmo de Veteriponte. Dugdal, autem ostend[it] eam fuisse Adam: et Johan[nam] quae fuit marit[ata] Richard Gernan et sic MS Cumb:[499]	Ivo de Veteriponte Dominus de Curvavilla = Isabella Domina de Feritate Barnardi	1. Ivo de Veteriponte, qui confirmavit donationem patrui*[500]	2. Robert de Veteriponte qui vixit†	3. Williamus de Veteri-pont qui dici[tur] Xt ni fallor[501]		
(b) Nota quod in Rotulis Antiquis Castrum de Bowes fuit infra confinia Westmariæ vid[e] cartas et liberat[a] 5.		1. Ivo de Veteriponte‡ Robert de Veteriponte filius Dom[ini] Ivonis, 11. Hen.	2 Robert de Veteriponte, 1^{us} Dom[inus] de Westmorland qui inter alia custodiam habuit	= Idonea, daughter and heir of John de Buley, Lord of the		

[495] The end of this line is obscured by the binding.
[496] 'He was Lord of Curavilla.'
[497] 'Robert de Veteriponte ([there is] mention of him, if I be not mistaken, in 1073 i.e. 7th year of William the Conqueror) was co-benefactor with his brother Ivo of the Abbey of Chien, 1185.'
[498] 'Maria, who was the mother of Ivo the younger.'
[499] 'Deeds of the Countess of Pembroke show the names of Hugo's daughters and co-heirs to have been \ Ada / Matilda, married to William de Veteriponte. Dugdal, however, shows that this was Ada: also Johanna, who was married to Richard Gernam, and so the Cumberland MS [have it].'
[500] 'Ivo de Veteriponte, who confirmed his uncle's grant.'
[501] 'William de Veteripont, who is known as Christopher, unless I am mistaken [?]'
[502] 'Matilda, daughter and co-heir of Hugo de Moreville [...] of Kirkoswald [...]'

Joh[annis] membr[anam] 9.[503]	3. [1226-27] è cartis vel Blenc. vel de Sandford habui [504]	castri de Bowes in Com[itatu] West[mariae]. 5[0] Johan[nis][505]	hon[our] of Tickhill in Yorkshire		
	1. John de Veteriponte Baron de Appelby et Westmorland ejusque loci vicecomes hæreditarius [506]	= Sibella, filia Willielmi Com[itis] Ferrars, 12. Ed. 1. [1283-84] Esch[eat] N. 17.[507]	2. Christiana de Veteriponte	= Thomas, son of Will, son of Ralph Baron of Graystock in Cumb.	
	Robert de Veteriponte	= Isabella FitsPeter			{There were other Viponts at Alston More: se Musgrave ped. & a monument in Edenhall church}
	1. Isabella de Veteriponte	2. Idonea alias Ivetta			

{See more of the name de Veteriponte pag. 107 partis V[æ]}[508]

[Bishop Nicolson's Notes: I.202][509]

*C. et patris 1236 i.e. 20. Henry 3.
†C. 1107 i.e. 8[0] Hen.1.
‡This cannot be right unless wee suppose Ivo de Veteriponte to have liv'd 120 years:

1236
1107
0129

[Machell's Notes: I.202 & 202A][510]

[I.202]
[Ewbank]
{See more of the name de Veteriponte pag. 107 partis V.}
E stem de Iewbanck capt i.e. e stem Hiltonorum, de Hilton castro in Episcop. Dunelm[511] penes Robertum Hilton de Morton. In Ewbankes pedegre (in the parish of Brough) that family is said to be extinct in a daughter & sole heire of Sir Alexander Iewbanke, who was maryed to Robert de Veteriponte; but I finde nothing of this in the evidences belonging to that family, ergo I doubt of the truth thereof of it. How cann it otherwise happen to bee except this Iewbanke was his second wife. He dyed about the 29. H.3. [1244-45]. This Ewbankes pedigree (of [which] I speake) is taken out of the famous ped. of Hilton de Hilton Castle.
[I.202A]
N.B., I suppose the anulets in ther seale to [be] placed on the manch as a frity[512] upon his marrying the Lady daughter Clifford = whose husband descended by the mother side, of the Viponts whose armes were anulets 1. r. Because none of his success[ion] bore thus.

[503] 'Note that in the ancient rolls the castle of Bowes was within the bounds of Westm'land, see the charters and writs of 5th [year of] John, membrane 9.'
[504] 'Robert de Veteriponte son of Lord Ivo, 11. Henry 3. [1226-27]. I had it from the deeds either of Blenkinsop or of Sandford.'
[505] 'Robert de Veteriponte, first Lord of Westmorland who among other things had the custody of the castle of Bowes in the County of Westmorland, 5th [year] of John.'
[506] 'John de Veteriponte Baron of Appelby and Westmorland and hereditary sheriff of that place.'
[507] ' = Sibella, daughter of William Earl Ferrars, 12. Ed. I. [1283-84] Escheat N. 17.'
[508] 'p.107, the 5th part'. [See MS. V: 3, 6, 509, 521-24; See also Dugdale *Baronage*, from 348.]
[509] In Bishop Nicolson's hand.
[510] I.202B is a scrap-page containing an unfinished plan.
[511] 'From the pedigree of Ewbank taken from the pedigree of the Hiltons of Hilton Castle in the Bishoprick of Durham.'
[512] Fretty.

2. l. I observe somthing like this in the armes of ~~Hilton~~ Musgrave; see a deed of conveyance of Hartclay Laces in Crakanthorp. See also Blencowes Grant of Armes.

[I.230]

[General Notes:]

{Carta Donationis advocatiæ Ecclesiarum St Michael et St Laurence, Monasterium Beatiæ Mariæ Eboraci.}[513]
William the Conqueror gave the county of Cumberland to William Meschiens, & I doe believe Westm'land to; whith the Honour of Apelby; for that I finde the said William Meschenes \ calling it his castle of Apelby / sealed here in the 20 year of Will. reigne [1085-1086]; & his Chaplaine Parson of the 2 churches.

{!!!} See MS Part 5, p. 27, where Johanna de Veteripont calls Tho. the son of Thomas, Dominus meus.[514] Query if not her husband (of the family of the Cullewens).

Memorandum: to subtract out of the following relations the eminent acts of the eminent men – & query if not also matches.

[I.332]

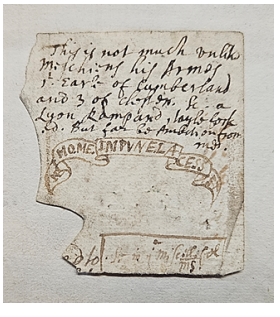


Figure 1.1.16. 'This is not much unlike Meschiens, his armes'. I.332.

This is not much unlike Meschiens, his armes, 1st Earle of Cumberland and 3 of Chester: Sc. a lyon rampard, tayle forked. But far be ambition from me.
NE MO. ME. IMPVNE. LA CESS IT [515]
{Se in the Miscell. Fol. MS}

[I.183B]

H.

[Appleby Castle]

{Description of the Tower and Castle}
{Of all these that are called Romane the most compleat & largest, which implies that Apleby was stil the chief place, whoever built the quandragular & equilateral.}
[Tower]
It is a very fair & ellegant Building, ascending to the top by [blank] stayers, each whereof is at least 9 inches, one with an other, so that by that we may compute it to be in hight beneath the batements [blank] And the batlements are high & dented, with a turrett or watch tower at every corner, as in the figure doth more planely appear. It is in breth 20 on each side so that the whole roomes are on one

[513] 'The charter of the donation of the advowson of the churches of St. M. and St L. belonging to the monastery of T.V.M. at York.'
[514] 'My Lord.'
[515] Nemo me impune lacessit: 'No one provokes me with impunity'. It is possible that Machell actually wrote, 'lacesset': the future tense, which changes the motto to, 'No one will provoke me with impunity'.

floore.[516] But formerly – viz.[517] the Lady An[ne] Clifford, Countess of Cumb'land & Baroness Westm'land, repared the same building a wall through the midle thereof for a stak of chimnies, in each rome, making 2 – there was but one roome on a flore and noe chimney. But certanely if they had made the chimneys in one corner & noe wall in the midle, it would have bin the finest pile in England. But it is alledged that the distance twixt wall & wall was soe great, that without great wast & destruction they could not otherwise have gott timber for it. In the lowest roome on the south side, upon the wall, is this inscription, which showes the repareing of it; and many can remember since a gray mayor of Mr Machell of Crakenthorp &c.[518]

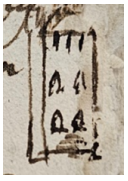


Figure 1.1.17. Appleby Castle. Tower. I.183B.

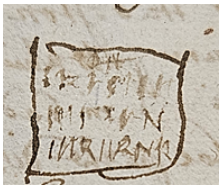


Figure 1.1.18. Inscription in Appleby Castle Tower. I.183B.

And under that wall, not exactly in the midle but towards West side rather, was a deep draw well to supply the Tower in case of ~~a erose~~ seige or takeing the Castle over which it is pitty that there was not an Arch. I read that this Tower was very much impared in [blank] time by reason of the negligence of the Prior of Carlisle, in whose custody [blank] was then as a Ward; which is brought amongst many other thing in the Inquisition. And afterward quite uncovered, no thing remaneing; a mere carkase or case of stones, till repared by the said Lady Ann. \ It was repared by the Earl of Thanet by the dir[ection] T.M. 1684.[519] /

[Castle]
The Castle is opposite to the Tower, stand[ing] East of from it, there being a large Court betwixt them and formerly a wall & ditch, but now {in 1685-1686} the wall is made levell \ & the ditch filled up / yet soe as the vestigia thereof \ still / remane. In the Castle we remark the Chaple, Hall, Dineing roome & Barron ch[amber].

[I.230]

July 18 1688.
I numbered in the tower from the top of the pinackle to doore at the stare foote, CXXV111 steps, each of them being above ½ a foote; de quo quaere?[520] Ergo it is [blank] high.

[516] A scored-through phrase here appears to read, '~~& 1. Few store is~~', but the words are difficult to decipher.
[517] An unclear word here appears to be, 'that'.
[518] Lancelot Machell had a mare ridden up the stairs of Appleby Castle tower. For another reference to this feat, see II.514, above.
[519] In different ink: a later comment.
[520] 'Query, from what?'

Apleby Castle was so great an honour ~~that~~ [blank] Clifford, one of the Barons in Parliament, subscribed himselfe at a letter from the P[arliament] to the Pope by no other title but Castellanus de Appelby. See Blo[u]nt[521] in verbum who refers to Cortgraves *Dictionary*, verbo castellan de q.[522] Send to Dr M[ill].

[I.302]

John, Lord Clifford, 11th Shireve Hereditarie & Lord of this place, builded here {about 1418} \ as appear from writs (fine) almost consumed,[523] / a strong and fortificall gatehouse of stone, all arched overhead, wherein were carved his armes ~~of Clifford &~~ Vipont & Clifford, together with his wives, the armes of the Piercyes, \ vide (a). /

"And also this John Lord Clifford did build that fine gatehouse there, so his sonn, Thomas, Lord Clifford, did build a great part of said Castle of Apleby in Westmorland, which stands Eastward as the Hall, the Chapple and great Chamber (or Dineing Roome) which were then fallne into great decay; though it had bin a castle of note ever since William the Conquerurs time and before." è Record Family Vipont & Clifford L.2, p.390.

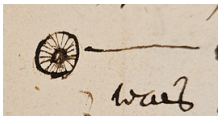


Figure 1.1.19. Sketch placed alongside the words, 'which strong and fortificall worke'. 1.302.

Which Strong and Fortificall worke and Building was all defaced and broken downe, with some of the walls of the said Castle, in 1648, in the time of our \ late / civill wars in this Kingdome of England.

The Armes in the chaple window were placed ther by Robert, Lord Clifford, the great commander, son of John: viz. of the \Viponts / Cliffords, and allso Dacres Armes, which were his wives, impaled with the Cliffords. And the Armes of his then new borne grandchild, after Henry Lord Clifford, which was Clifford & Bromflett, Lord Vescy, quartered together, with a fess of 3 bends on the topp of it; and att the low end of the said window is this inscription:

This chapple was built by Thomas Lord Clifford Anno Domini One Thousand: 400: 54

which was the yere before he was slane, & allso in which his grandchild was borne. It was pull'd down & the Castle altered by Thomas, Lord Tufton, Earl of Thanet, about 1688. / {vide hoc lib. Bowes.}[524]



Figure 1.1.20. Margin sketch: 'antiq of Castles'. I.302.

[521] In 1656, Thomas Blount published the largest English dictionary up to that date, *Glossographia*.
[522] This is probably James Howell's, *A French and English Dictionary composed by Mr Randle Cotgrave with another in English and French* (London, 1673). See under 'CHA': 'Chastelain: A Lord Castellain.'
[523] Eaten by decay etc.
[524] 'See here the Book of Bowes.'

In the Hall window East are sett up by him the armes of his father & mother impaled, and allso his & his wives, together with the Viponts by them selves.
And though Apleby Castle was built before William the Conquerers time, for the Great Tower called Caesars Tower was undoubtedly built by the Romanes when they were masters of Great Britan*; yett the greatest part of the building of the chapple was often defaced and broken downe in the warrs betwen England & Scotland, and much hurt was don thereto by the Scotts in the severall reigns of Richard 2 and Henry 4. After which, in Henry 6 dayes, this Thomas, Lord Clifford, builded the greatest part of it as it now stands, being after the fashion of those times. But (by records and evidences which are yet remaneing) the Barons chamber in it was built long before, which in Henry the 3rds time, & Edward 1., is called the Knights Chamber, & some time the Barons Chamber in the records†, p.434.

[Machell's Notes: I.302]

*{Vide Agricola, part 1t page 16.[525] MS de extructione castellorum Xti 84.[526] Virius? Lupus builded Bowes with many other places, Anno Xt 197.[527] Se allso p.27. 15. antiq. of Castles.}
†All Barons were Knights but not vice versa: T.M.

[Appleby Castle Notes]

[I.325][528]

In the time of Henry, Lord Clifford the Shepherd,[529] Westm'land was given (by reason of his attainture by Act of Parliament) by King Edward 4. to his brother Richard, Duke of Glocester, who was after King of England, but \ this Castle nor / none of the two other inhabited by him. He was slane in batle 22 of August 1485.

To Apleby Castle belongs Rent Cornage 29l 6s 8d.[530] and there are fre[e] tenants which hold Tenements of the Castle by a service called Blanche Ferme, who pay viiili 3s {?} at the usuall termes. 19. Edward 3.[531]

There are 40 acres of land on the north side of Whinfel Forrest calle le Blaunch Landes. Whinhowne & Barrinhowne, with five messuages with land and medow belonging to them, called Le Wood Side, in the said 3rd part of the same Forrest, extended at 5 marcs per annum in all Isues. Maud Beauchamp Inq. 4. Henry 4.[532]

The Castle and Man'r of Apleby conteines in itself
514 acres of land
200 acres of medow
20 acres of wood
1000 acres of pasture
1 water mill

[525] 'See Tacitus, *Agricola* Part 1, p.16.'
[526] 'See *Agricola*, part 1, p.16. MS concerning the construction of castles, AD 84.'
[527] 1697. An altar at Bowes has the inscription, 'To the goddess Fortune. Virius Lupus, imperial propraetorian legate, restored this bath-house, burnt by the violence of fire, for the First Cohort of Thracians; Valerius Fronto, cavalry prefect of the Cavalry Regiment of Vettonians, had charge of the work.' Virius Lupus was governor a.d. 197-c. 202. See https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org.
[528] Also numbered p.40.
[529] See I.254 (Generation 8 of the Cliffords), below.
[530] £29 6s 8d.
[531] Blanch fermes or White farms, where the rent was paid in silver and not in cattle: see Giles Jacob, *A New Law Dictionary*, BL. However, *Dictionaries of the Scots language* online, define blanche ferme as, 'a small or nominal quit-rent paid in money or otherwise'.
[532] 'Inquisition of 4. of Henry IV.' [1402-03].

and diverse villages belonging to the said C[astle] & m[anor] as: Langton, Winton, Meburn, Kirkbystephen, Mallerstang therein conteined, and diverse rents & services of fre[e] ten[an]t belonging to them: vid. in Cat. Inq. 10 Henry 5 [1422].
It was given in upon path in an inquisition taken att ~~Appleby~~ Brougham after the death of Thomas ~~Lord~~ Clifford, Knight 34 Henry 6 [1455-56] that the 2 burgages which he had in Apleby were held of the king in fre[e] burgage by fealty and the rent of 4d per annum.

[I.337]

Apleby: Caesars Tower, from all part of the country by the graene & colour of the stone; a well in the midst. & roofe invers'd. A round trench & round walls about.}

[I.231][533]

Apleby Castle: Whose Seat[534]

[Morvill]

This Castle, together with Brough which of old has belonged unto it, \ provd by the gift of St Michael & St Lau[rence] unto 1. Meschiens, 2. Morvill, / seems formerly to have bin the seat of the Morvills, for I finde in an inquisition taken at Yorke in the 3rd yere of Edward I. [1274-75] by vertue of a writ from the said king directed concerneing the seisin of Roberti de Veteriponte to whome King John gave the said Castles, that they came into the hand of the said King ~~propter~~ \ per / transgressionem factam per Hugonem de Morevilla*.[535] This Hugh I take to be one of those Knights or Lords who killd Thomas à Becket in the time of Henry 2. father of King Richard & King John: But what this particular transgression was, which occasion the forfature, is not there mention[ed].[536] The death I suppose of Thomas a Becket†. The Morvills have bin a florishing family of old in this county of Westm'land, and many of that name lived in repute att severall places \ after the time of this treason committed / as att Brampton, Walter de Morvill, who sold his freehold estate to R. de Veteriponte and ~~removed~~ elsewhere ~~and his son after him had~~ s[ans] d[ate]. But what they were akin to Hew de Morvil I do not know; nor is materiall (that family being soe long since extinct).[537] Onely you may note that Maud, the daughter of Hugh Morvill of Kirkoswald, was mother to Robert de Veteriponte & Ivo his brother‡, which peradventure was some helpe to procureing this estate after the forfaiture and haveing it settled upon Robert de Veteripont.

If the Morvils be truly a Westm'land family, I mean if they tooke that sirname from thence, I know noe towne which comes soe near to it as Moreton[538] in Westm'land, for if you change the Saxon termination into the Latin – tun into vill – Moreville and Moretun will be the same: de Morevill is the same whereof Marton ⸸.

[Machell's Notes: I.231]

*{devenit in manus domini Henrici Regis senioris i.e. H. 2. Sic dicti quia Henricus filius sicut coronari fecit ipso vivente. See cart. antique Machellorum gen[ealogiam] Regum.}[539]
†See allso my MS VI. 57.[540]

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[533] Machell placed the sketch of Appleby Castle on I.57, but the description begins on I.231.
[534] Comparison with *N&B1* 267-291 demonstrates their (often unacknowledged) debt to the fruits of Machell's research.
[535] 'Through the transgression committed by Hugh de Morville.'
[536] MS: 'This Hugh I take to be one of those ~~who was the death of~~ \ Knights or Lords who killd / Thomas à Becket \ in the time of Henry 2. father of King ~~John~~ Richard & King John: / But what this particular transgression was, which occasion the forfature, is ~~am yett to learne~~ \ not there mention.'
[537] MS: 'But what they were akin to Hew de Morvil I cannot tell \ do not know; / nor is {materiall} (~~at this time~~, ~~since~~ that family ~~is~~ \being / soe long ~~since agoe~~ \ since / extinct) ~~very much materiall~~.'
[538] Murton.
[539] 'It came into the hands of Lord Henry the King, senior, i.e. H.2. so called because his son Henry made as if to be crowned while he himself was living. See the genealogy of kings in the Machell family archives.'
[540] MS.VI.57 is a page copied from John Denton's *History of Cumberland*, which relates a tale (told by a monk) regarding Ada, the mother of Sir Hugh Morvill, 'that in th'old age of her husband she grew enamoured of one Lyolph, a young Gentleman that served her husband…' Another reference to Thomas Becket and his nemesis, Hugh de Morville, appears on VI.211.

‡{c. de Hac dubitatur in genealogia præcedenti Vipontiorum.}[541]
⸸{sed hoc paru[m]}[542]

[Further Notes on the Morvills]

[I.183B]

{The Inhabitants [and] other things remarkeable}
The first that I meet with, whose seat this was, is one [blank] de Morvill, who upon some fault (but which that was I know not) did forfeit the same. This Morvill is an ancient name, but long since extinct […][543]

[I.230]

See more of the Morvills & of Hugh in particular in the Barony of Brough in Cumberland & the pedigree, MS Part 1, p.22.
Of the Morvills: See a gen[ealogy] MS VI p.143. Hugh. Rich. Rob. vic Westmorland ibid 116. Et alia Genealogia p.56. See in Bampton parish hoc libro Patricius, Son of Thomas, Lord of the manner of Hep, conveys to John de Morevilla &c. – all his lands at Knype. s.d. for 4 iron arrows at St Laurence faire, at Apleby.[544]

[I.231]

{Morvill of Cheshire: or; 3 bores heads; couped Azur. MS Φ penes Mr Sheldon de [blank] in com Warwick sed dub an ead[em] f?}[545]

[I.231]

{Vipont}

After the extirpation of the Morvils, this castle became the seat of the Viponts (which family continued for 5 generations), being first bestowed upon Robert de Veteriponte, together with the shirievalty of Westmorlandand all the tenants of the Honour of Apleby & Brough, which were to bee sibi intendentes tanquam balivo,[546] i.e. to do service to him as to their Shireve. But this was only quamdiu placuerit: during the good will and pleasure of the King; yet I finde the same confirmed ~~u~~to him \ & his heirs afterwards / upon his marriage with that noble lady Idonea de Buly, together with the rents and services of all the Kings tenents in Westm'land who did \ not / hold of the Crowne in capite, Anno Reg. Joh[n] 5^0 [1203-04], the words of which grant \ being in Latin / are to this effect:

Iohannes Dei Gratia Rex &c. John, by the Grace of God, King of England &c., Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, & Earle of Anjoie: to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and Earles, Barons, Judges, Shireues, Provosts, Ministers, and to all Balifes and other his faithfull subjects, sendeth greating. Know yee that wee have given and by this our present charter doe confirme unto our well beloved Robert de Veteriponte.

[I.233]

1st Generation Apleby Castle

{1. Robert de Veteriponte: his Honour, dig[nity] & preferments*}
Robert de Veteriponte the first of that name; who was Lord of the Honour of Apleby & Burgh, Baron of Westmorland & High Shireve by inheritance, was a man of very great parts & imployments for he was Shireve of 11 severall countyes \ in England / besides this of Westm'land, in the reigne of, as

[541] 'Doubt is cast on this in the preceding genealogy of the Viponts.'
[542] 'But this argument is too weak.'
[543] Some of this margin comment has perished.
[544] See also I.609: Long Marton Parish.
[545] 'But I doubt whether this is the same family.' Ralf Sheldon (1623-84) of Weston in Warwickshire was a Royalist and antiquary who compiled a folio manuscript: 'Catalogue of the nobility of England since the Norman Conquest according to theire severall Creations by every particular King'. See 'Catalogue of the nobility of England', GBR/0012/MS Add.8138. Cambridge University Library. https://archivesearch.lib.cam.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/7499. See also, Ruth Scurr, *John Aubrey: My Own Life* (London, 2015), xix.
[546] 'Who were to look to him as to a bailiff.'

appears è magno rotulo pipae:[547] viz. of Buckingam, Bedford, Nottingham and Darbyscire in the 8. & 9. of King John [1206-08]; Cumberland 11 ejusdem; Wiltescyre & Devonscire 12; Buckingam, Bedford, Everwick (i.e. Warwick) Scyre,[548] Devonscyre, Wiltescyre 13 ejusdem; Wiltescyre 14 & 15 ejusdem; Buckingam & Bedfordscyre 17 ejusdem.[549] He was allso High Shireve at Cane in Normandy, as appears by this ~~special mandamus of King John~~ evidence in the tower (Cart. et libertat. de Anno 5^0 John [1203-04] membranis $7^{a.}$) Robertus de Veteriponte habet literas patentes omnibus de vicecomitatu […][550] directas quod sint eidem Roberto intendentes, tanquam vicecomiti et Balivo suo.[551]

And he was att last imployd as judge of Assise and satt in Commission att York Anno 3. Henry 3. October, St Andrew Apostle [1218],[552] together with Martin de Paterhull, clerke, & others, whence may take notices that in those times the clergie were judges (in recept scaccarij).[553] And he was tam marte quam mercurio peritus,[554] for in the 5th of King John the said king comited to his charge the custody of Winsor Castle; in the 6., the towne and castle of Salisburie; and had the custody of the kings owne nece comited unto him: 16. of King John and the 17. of King John [1214-16]. The Castle of Carlile by vertue of speciall mandamus to Radulphus de la Ferte then Constable of Carlile, date from Darelington 7 January†. And that so brave a man may not be aspersed with so horrid an act as the murther of a prince of royal blood (which some cronologers would fix upon him) I mean of Arthur Earle of Briton; I would have the reader take notice that tho this Robert was a great favorite of King Johns who procured that murther; yett Ralph de Diceto an eminent author and Dean of St Pauls, does possitively declare that it was don by Peter Maule {Petrus de Malo lacu} squire to King John, on whome he bestowed by way of reward the Barony of Mulgrane.[555]

{2. His Descent}
This Robert de Veteripont descended of a noble family of Normandy in Fraunce, who were Lords of Curuavill, being younger brother to Sir Ivo de Veteriponte. And \ then / were sons of William de Veteripont (which William or his father or his father came in with the Conquerour) & Matilda, daughter & cho[sen] heire of Hugh de Morevilla of Kirkuswald in Cumberland & of the Honour of Kaisbrugh in Yorkeshire, whose other daughter was Ada, wife to {Thomas Muleton and after to ~~Rich~~ Lucy}

[Machell's Notes: I.233]

*{N.B. Guillaum\e/ de Vepont is one in the catalogue of noblemen, lords & gentlemen that came in with the Conqueror.}
†He was allso governour of Bowes Castle in Yorkshire and one of those tooke the † in the Holy Land.

[547] 'From a great pipe-roll.'
[548] Everwick is one of the ancient names of York: see F.W. Moorman, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, Thoresby Society (Leeds, 1910), i.
[549] Ejusdem: 'of the same.'
[550] Here, an unclear Latin word has not been transcribed.
[551] 'Robert de Veteripont has letters patent directed to all concerning the shrievalty […] that they should be obedient to the same Robert in all matters, just as to a sheriff and his bailiff.'
[552] The Feast of St Andrew the Apostle is celebrated on 30 November (just after the beginning of Henry III's regnal year).
[553] 'In the accounts of the Treasury.'
[554] 'He was as skilled in war as in business.'
[555] Prince Arthur died in c.1203. Ralph de Diceto (d.1199/1200), chronicler, ecclesiastic and dean of St Paul's from 1180, was the author of two well-regarded chronicles: the *Abbreviationes Chronicorum* (world history to 1147) and the *Ymagines historiarum*. The latter begins with the knighting of the future Henry II in 1149, and though the chronicle continues to 1202, it has been argued that Diceto died either in 1199 or 1200, and that the section dealing with events after the coronation of King John (on 27 May 1199) is the work of a continuator. Diceto's chronicles were first printed in 1652, in the *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores X* of Roger Twysden and John Selden. See J. Mason, 'Diceto, Ralph de (d. 1199/1200)'. *ODNB*.

[I.234]

{3. His Armes}
{He was contemporary with King John but when borne it seems that Meborne was her inheritance, for she had the dysposeing of that on widowhood ½ a ploughland whereof she gave to Christian, her daughter & her husband, when Christian was sister […][556]
His armes then as appears by his Seale, were a lyon passant} with a coronet upon his head ~~as is here expressed~~ and his brother Sir Ivos was a lyon passant but without a crowne. So that I suppose the ancient armes of the Viponts were a lyon passant, and that the coronet was added upon the advancement and promotion of Robert de Veteripont to his honours and dignityes for he had not onely those places and posesions I have hitherto spoke of but his brothers allso \ which were the Castle of Mou[n]sorrel / by reason of his sideing with King Johns enemyes as appear from this evidence: E. Tur London[557] Rotulo Clauso Anno 1[0] Regis H.3 [1216-17] membrane 19.

> Rex Vicecomiti Lece: salutem. Precipimus tibi quod plenam sei[sin]a[m] here[ditariam] facias Roberto de Veteriponte de omnibus terris quae fuerunt Ivonis de Veteriponte fratris sui in Baliva tua, quae est cum inimicis nostris, quas ei concessimus quam diu nobis placuerit.[558]

From all which it may appear that tho Robert was the younger brother, yett he was become the better gentleman, and therefore might bear the better armes. But for more satisfaction I will present you with both their seales as they came to my hands in ancient evidences now in the possession of Mr Blenkinsop, and relate to Shap Abby, the 1st where of is Ivos & the 2nd Roberts.[559]

Howbe it, tho this was there bearing then, yet not long after (by what occasion I know not) their armes wer changed, for I finde, that ~~Robert~~ \ John / son of this Robert, bore annulets. And the coat which is now owned by his posterity descended from him bear for their Coat \ is this, viz. / in a field Gules, 6 annulets Or.



Figure 1.1.21. 'In a field Gules, 6 annulets Or'. I.234.

[I.235]

{4. His wife; her Armes; her descent & indowment}[560]
John de Bulye Lord of the Honour of Great Tickhil in Yorkeshire, which John was son & heire of Richard de Bulye, Lord of ~~Tgh~~Tickill & founder & Patrone of the Abby att Roch and priory of Blith in those parts, by Cicely, daughter and heir of William Bussy, son of William Bussy, from the affinity of which 2 names arrises the mistake of Idoneas name being Bulye alias Bussy. Whereas nothing is more evident than they are 2 distinct familyes. And for Bulye I am apt to believ that sirname arose from Buly Castle in Westmorland, for that I finde this family had lands &c. in Appleby in the 20 \ yeer / of William the Conqueror [1085-1086]. And Buly Castle is in the same parish.[561]

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[556] The rest of this sentence is obscured by the binding.
[557] The following has been removed from the body text, MS: '~~Claus 17 Johs mem XI Rex dedit Roberto de Veteriponte~~ …~~Leceshire~~'.
[558] 'The king to his Sheriff greetings: 'We have enjoined upon you that you give full hereditary possession to Robert de Veteripont of all the lands which were of Ivo de Veteripont his brother in your bailiwick, which is with our enemies, which we have granted to him for as long as shall please us.'
[559] Here follows a gap of 7½cm (presumably for the seals).
[560] MS: '~~Robert de Veteripont tooke to wife Idonea, daughter and heir of~~', has been removed from the body text.
[561] MS: '~~By this Idonea de Buly he had the Honour and mannour of Tikill in Yorkshire with other greate possesions~~', has been removed from the body text.

1. Robert de Veteripont married Idonea de Bulye, who brought unto him the Honour of Tickill in Yorkshire, with other great possesions, and they gave a yearly rente of 10s or a colt of that price to the Abby of Bega the Virgin in Cumberland, payable on St Lawrence Day.

{Her Armes}
2. She was daughter & heir of John de Bulye, Lord of the Honour &c. ut super.
The seale of ~~John~~ \ Rich[ard] / de Buly, whence the Armes of Bulyes is taken, is in this manner:



Figure 1.1.22. 'Richard de Buly … Gules, a primrose, Or, pierced of the field.' 1.235.

And there armes being in colours are blazon'd thus: viz. Gules, a primrose, Or, pierced of the field.

{His death; his wifes death}
Robert dyed about the 12. of Henry 3[d] [1227-28] and was buried in the Midle Temple in Flet Street, London, to the brethren whereof he gave his moity of the manner of Wycum, now Wickham in Buckingam Shire. & Idonea his widow about 7 years after, \ in / the 19[th] yere of the said King Henry, and was buried att Rupe ~~alias~~ \ now / Roch Abby in Yorkshire – which her grandfather founded, to which place allso she gave much land. He was 24 yeres shireue of Westmorland \ and dyed 12. Henry 3[d] [1227-28]. / She dyed the 19. of Henry 3. [1234-35], injoying the land of Westm'land.

The[y] had Isue
1. John, of whome in the next §
2. Christian, who was marryed to Thomas, the son of \ William the son of Ralph Fitz Ralphe / {their Isue} Baron of Graystock in the county of Cumberland, whose armes were barres of 6, Argent & Azure, 3 chaplets of roses Gules.

[I.236]

2. Gener[ation]

{His Honour & Dignity}
1. John de Veteriponte, son & heire to Robert de Veteriponte & Idonea, his wife, was the 2 Lord of the Honour of Apleby, Baron of Westm'land, & shireue by inheritance; but not of the Castle, honour and manner of Tickill, for that his father and mother in their lifetime had passed that away by fine to Alice, Countiss of Ewe in the 6 yere of the reign of Henry, son of King John [1221-1222]. Except 6 Knights fees & a halfe \ viz. / which they formerly held of the said Countiss and her heires forever doeing therefore one knights service (i.e. forrane service of one knight onely) and noe more*.



Figure 1.1.23. Seal of John de Veteripont. IV.31.

(ad 1.) It seems to me that he was borne in Apleby Castle and brought up there, for those 2 oxgangs of land in Apleby which he gives to Norman \ de / Redman ar expressed to be the same that Sibilla nutrix tenuit,[562] which Sibil his nurse lately injoyed, to which deed \ s.d. / amongst others John Mauchael is a witness. And those lands as we shall show hereafter were in Bongate ~~in Apleby~~ which shows planely that then they were all one and generally called by the name of Apleby. And I do not dout that Appleby Castle was for the most part the place of residence, not only to the Viponts but the Cliffords after them; for Brough, which is the next principal house, we finde ab initio[563] governd by a Constable, which Appleby was never, exept when by forfature it belongd to the king.[564]

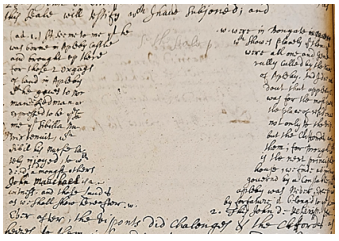


Figure 1.1.24. Space for the Veteripont seal, containing the pencilled words, 'Se the seale'. I.236.

{His Armes}
2. This John de Veteripont bore for his Armes, [blank] annulets, as this seale will testify, which I have subjoined,[565] and ever after, the Viponts did chalenges & the Cliffords as heires to them in succeeding aiges quartered in their Coate.[566] In a field, Gules, 6 annuletts, Or, as before is expressed.

{His Wife. Tur. L. Esc: 12. Ed. 1. n^0 17}
3. He marryed Sibilla, daughter to (Williamo Comiti de Ferrarijs) William, Earle Ferrars, afterwards, as is thought by some, Earle allso of Derby, whose armes were Argent 6 horse-shoes Sable[567] (porc. Or) {to have bin buryed in Shap abby in Westmorland, to which he and his father were great benefactors.}
4. He dyed about the 26. of Henry 3^d [1241-42], very yong as is thought, and lived 12 or 14 yeres Lord of Westm'land. His wife Sibilla marryed afterwards to Francis de Bohune, Lord of Midhurst in Sussex who founded Cowdry House there.

They had Isue:
5. Robert de Veteriponte of whome in the next §.

[Machell's Notes: I.236]
*{Viz. Malteby, Sandbeck, Kimberworth, Scauseby, Faldam, Standford upon Sore, Peverelthorp, Brodesworth and Torlakeston.}

[I.237]

3. Vipont

{His Honour & Descent}

[562] 'Sibilla, his nurse, held.'
[563] 'From the beginning'.
[564] MS: '{~~This John was the patrone of the Viponts of the Rectory of K ... as by the Deed of Adam, son of Waldeue. Reg. MS part 5, fol.19~~}' has been removed from the body text.
[565] See the Figure above: the shape meant for the seal but left blank.
[566] MS: '2. This John de Veteriponte &c. – 2. Ever after, the Viponts did chalenges & the Cliffords as heires to them in succeeding aiges quartered in their Coate.'
[567] MS: 'Earle allso of Derby, ~~which Sibil after the death of her~~ whose armes were argent 6 horse-shoes sable.'

Robert de Veteripont, son & heire of John de Veteripont & Sibilla, his wife, was 3[d] Lord of the Honour of Apleby, Baron of Westm'land & hereditary Shireve of the same. But being left very young by reason of his fathers so early death, he was a long time Ward to the King, and in the custody of the Prior of Carlile, who tho a man of a Religiouse Order, yett it should seme had not overmuch honesty \ in this affair / for he ~~sufered~~ \ permitted / very great waistes to be made in his ~~wods~~ estate, suffering his houses not only at Appleby, as has bin said, but att other places allso, which hereafter shall be showne to goe to decay, his game destroyd and woods cutt downe, as was made manifest upon inquisition. This Robert de Veteripont, after he came to full yeres was one of those who sided with Montfort, Earl of Leicester \ & Humph. de Bohun / with other Lords & Barons against King Henry 3[d], who being assembled together answered unanimously for themselves and their followers that they would to their lives end keep the provisoes to which they were bound by oath, and defend the same because the[y] were published and confirmed both for the benefit of King and Kingdome. Upon which account his estate became afterwards forfeit. His armes as before*.

{<u>His wife; her dignity; descent and armes</u>}
He tooke to wife Isabella Fits-Peter, 2[nd] sister and afterwards one of the coheires of Richard Fits Peter, son of John Fits Peter, alias Fits-Geofray, Baron of Barkhamsteed[568] & Chief Justice of England, whome I take to be son of G. Fil. P. with whose name, after the king, the first grant of Westm'land to the Viponts doth begin†. And from his \ son / they tooke the sirname of Fits Geofray, as they did from himselfe the name of Fits Peter,[569] because the name of his father was Peter; and the sirnames of Fits-William & Fitz-Herbert \ & others the like / have first bin begun upon the like account. The armes of this family will best appear from the seale of Richard Fitz John (<u>or the son of John</u>) as it is extant in *Baron Hatons booke of seales*, which is annexed to a writeing dated the 9 Edward 1.[570] Whence they beare for their armes Quarterly Or & Gules a border varrey, Azure & Argent.



Figure 1.1.25. Seal of Richard Fitz John. I.237.

{<u>His death: he dyed &c. & left behind him</u>}
Robert de Veteripont dyed about the 49[th] of Henry 3. [1264-65], haveing received his death wound at one of the batles, either of Lewis in Sussex, or Evesham in Worcestershire; and after his death King Henry sesed upon all his lands, but in the 50th year of his reigne restored them agane unto his children. When his wife dyed is not knowne, but likely before him. 23 yere Lord of Westm'land.

[Machell's Notes: I.237]
*{This Robert being the second patrone of K: of this family, endowed the chaple of Milburne, or rather provide a chaplaine for it, by iiii markes per annum out of his cornage rents – ~~to Shap Ab~~ given to Shap Abby: see my MS; part. 5, pag. 45.}
†{G. F. P. was Earl of Essex, Lord Luggersal Castle & L[ord] Chief Justice of England, who was made Earl of Essex in right of his wife at the coronation of King John. To him Jon was son. Isabel grandchilde.}

[568] MS: 'Fits-Geofray ~~who was son of Geofray~~ Baron of Barkhamsteed.'
[569] MS: 'as they did from his~~m~~ ~~father~~ \ selfe / the name of Fits Peter.'
[570] Christopher Hatton, 1st Baron Hatton (1605-1670) was a royalist and politician. A noted antiquary, he was a founder of the Royal Society in 1663. In the 1640s, with William Dugdale and others, he compiled a *Book of Seals*, a volume of 529 medieval charters, of which 240 are reproduced in facsimile. A modern edition, *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, was edited by Lewis C. Loyd and Doris M. Stenton (Oxford,1950). For Dugdale and Hatton's work on seals, see L.J. Whatley (ed.), *A Companion to Seals in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, Boston, 2019), 148.

[I.238]

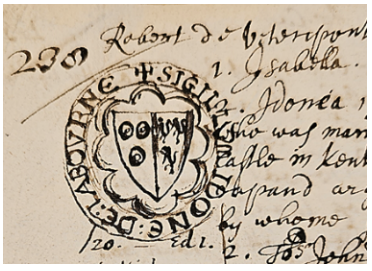


Figure 1.1.26. Veteripont Seal. I.238.

Robert de Veteripont, by Sibilla his wife, had Isue: 2 daughters,[571]
1. Isabella, of whome in the next §.
2. Idonea, sometimes called Ivetta in ancient writeings \ as Maud ~~for~~ Matilda / yett the same, who was married:

1. To Roger de Labourne, Baron of Labourn Castle in Kent, whose Armes were Azure 6 lyoncells rampand Argent \ 3 2 / lingued membred & armed Gules, by whome she had Isue: John, who dyed an infant.
2. To Sir John de Crumwell* who outlived her, but had noe Isue by her†.

{Her Honour, Descent and Welth}
1. Isabell de Veteriponte was the elder daughter and coheire to Robert de Veteriponte by Sibilla his wife, and was restored together with her sister to their fathers inheritance about the 50th yere of King Henry 3 [1266-67] at which time she was not much above 10 yeres old and her sister younger by 6 or 7 yeres; so that by reason of their nonage the king had them in wardship and committed them to the custody of 2 great men: Roger de Clifford & Roger de Labourne, who marryed them after they came to yeres to their owne sons & heires. The Isabell being the elder daughter in the partition of their lands in Westm'land had Apleby Castle with the office of shireve; which office was executed by her gardian Roger de Clifford; and the other had the Castles of Brough & Mallerstang with the land adjacente which were mannaged ~~by the care of~~ Rodger de Labourne; and it was allso ordered that the rent in generall should be collected by the respective Balives and carryed by them to the Exchequer of Apleby where they should be distributed by equall proportions. This was about the 52 yere of Henry 3 [1267-68]. But in the 4 yere of Edward the 1st [1275-76] was a more particular partition out of which I will onely take notice of the names of those who are mentioned in the knights fees because the estate was united agane not very long after and I hope will not be thought alltogether impertinent because it may be a step to the discovery of some ancient familes and distinguish them from others of a later date; and forr methods sake I shall digest them into an Alphabetical order.

In Isabells Partition
Simon de Anvoy
Robert de Askeby
Robert de Bakun & Alis de Helton[572]
John de Bayliol
Thomas de Buett
Henry de Boyvill
John de Coupland
Radulph de Cundale
Henry de Engayne
Thomas de Ellerton

[571] MS. I.237: '{His Isue} They had Isue: 2 daughters onely: 1. Isabel borne 1234 and was when her father died of the aige of \ X / ii; 2. Ivetta borne 1262'. This has been removed from the body text.
[572] MS: 'Robert de Bakun & Alis de Helton … Robert de Bakun & Alis de.'

Robert de la Firrtre
John de Goldri[n]gton
Adam de Haverington
Michael de Hardclay
Alan de Kaberga
John Mauchaell
Thomas de Murton
William Moreton
Margaret Roos

[Machell's Notes: I.238]

*His armes were Argent, a chiefe Gul. Over all a bend Azure. He had a son, by a former wife, called Richard, but none by Idonea.
†She lived for the most part att Brough and Pendragon Castles, which were then in their prime, and she dyed in the 8. of Ed. 3. [1334-35] and was buryed as is thought at Shap Abby in Westmorland, by whose decease her lands in Westmorland descended and came to her sisters heire & grandchild, which was Robert, Lord Clifford of Westmorland. Note that it seems as yet the Viponts bare but 3 [annulets.][573] Note allso that in the woman's seale, her armes hold the first place. She was borne 1262, 45. or 6. Henry . and dyed 1333 or \ the 7. / 8. Ed. 3. bein 73 old.

[I.239]

In Idoneas partition these*
William de Suleby
John de Staffol
Hugo de Soureby
Walter de Tillia
Luca Talleboys
Thomas de Corewen
Robert de Engleys
William de Graystock
Hugo de Hastings
Thomas de Hellebeck
Galrid. Fil. Henrici
Richard de Musegrave
Tenentes Terrarum Re
Reginaldi de Maundermander
Henry de Reddinger
Richard de Sandford
John de Vesa & Robert de la Vale
Richard de Warcop

And now to returne to our business agane
Isabell Vipont the elder sister, was about 14 or 15 yeres of aige married to Roger de Clifford of whome wee shall speake more att large hereafter; which husband she outlived and which is rare for a woman to performe. She satt in court and managed the office of Shireve in person when she was a widow, being present att tryalls upon life and death. And here wee will lieve her till wee have occasion to mention her agane amongst the Cliffords, the next noble family that have placed themselves here†.

Of the Cliffords[574]

[Ist Generation]
{Roger de Clifford}
{1. His Honour, dignity, preferment & Inheritance, acts and monuments}

[573] Machell drew the symbol of an annulet from the coate of arms.
[574] *N&B1* reproduces Machell's Clifford family history in the same format, using similar wording, see 274-90.

The 1st of the name of Clifford that came \ to / be seated here was Roger de Clifford sirnamed The Younger by reason of his father who[575] was Roger also, being co[n]temporary with him; for he outlived his son 5 yeres. Both he and his father were chief commanders for 20 yeres together in the warrs of England, Ireland and France in the reignes of King Henry 3 & Edward 1. & yett Roger the Younger lived not about 48 yeres, being slane in the Ile of Anglesey \ in Wales in the Kings service aganst the Welsh / so that you may se by this he was a man of early parts being trusted with such command att or about 28 yeres of aige. His paternall inheritance was the mannour of Temedbury, which is part in Worcestershire part in Herefordshire, but his estate was fairly augmented by the donation of King Henry the 3rd who gave to this Roger the Younger March 8. Anno ejus reg. 48. [1264] 100 marcs in land cum pertinentijs in the Vale of Munmoth by the service of one Knights foe; the former whereof continued in his name & family till the reigne of Queen Elizabeth, att which time it was sold by Henry Lord Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. But the other was restord agane to the Crowne in exchange for Skipton Castle as hereafter shall be shown. But the gratest advancement \ of estate / and Honour ~~came to him and his heires~~ was brought unto him by the marriage of his wife ~~whose~~ I mean the Honour of Appleby, Barony of Westmorland and hereditary shirevewick &c. And \ with / many fair possesions and lands which continued in the heires male 326 yeres exce[p]t some interuptions by Attainder in Blood occasiond through greatness and turbulency of state, which notwithstanding was never so hanous but it did admit of a restauration and became more formd,

[Machell's Notes: I.239]

*{See p. 33 of my Collections.}

†{There was one Willielmus de Veteriponte, Anglice Veipont: A Scottish Baron, and of those who sore to se the performance of Covenant of Peace kept on the Scottish side with King Henry 3, and was one of those who together with the king put to their seales. Anno 1244.}

[I.240]

and (as members in the body) became more firme for being disjointed. For by this means it hapned that all former grants were confirmed and established by Act of Parliament on the Cliffords of Westm'land and their heires forever. This Roger was hee who built the greatest part of Browham castle in Westm'land, which is now a princely house as most castles in England. Over the inner door of which castle he has placed this inscription in a [blank] character: 'This mad[e] Roger': which some would have to be understood not so much of his rasing the castle as of the castles raiseing of him; alludeing to the great avancement of fortune which came unto him by the marriage of his wife, this castle being part of her inheritance; which interpretation I shall not reject but should more have applauded it if ~~had~~ the letters had bin writt upon Apleby Castle which is the Capitale Messuagium[576] to which Browham Castle doth peculiarly belong. And truly I am of opinion that it was not very habitable and fitt for reception before thus augmented and inlarged by Lord Clifford. For in King John grant wee hear nothing of it being then included inter pertinentia.[577] And the first notice I mete with that was taken of it was in the time [blank] de Veteripont dureing whose wardship it went much to decay. So that till Roger de Clifford it may rather seem to have bin a castle of defence than of habitation; which Roger built a great part thereof and the greatest tower save that called the Pagans which was built by the Romanes: lib. 2 p.47.

{2. <u>His Descent</u>}

This Roger de Clifford descended from a noble family of the Cliffords of Clifford C[astle] in Hereford Shire, from which castle they had that sirname. And the castle (built by William Fitz Osborne Earl of Hereford but afterward possessed by the Tonyes) had its name from being placed upon a rock or cliffe nearby a ford upon the river Wy; and thence it was called Cliff Forde-Castle.[578] It appeares by ancient writeing and pedegrees that before the comeing to Clifford Castle ther sirname was Pons and that they were of Norman extraction. For this Roger descended of a second son of Walter de Clifford, son of Walter de Clifford (and Margaret de Tony his wife by whom he had

[575] MS: 'whose'.
[576] The chief house on an estate; the mansion-house of a manor.
[577] 'Among the appurtenances.'
[578] MS: 'and thence it was called Cliff~~ord~~ Forde-Castle.'

Clifford Castle) which Walter (the first that assumed the sirname of Clifford) was son to Richard Fitz Punt, son of William, Earl of Argues in Normandy, second son of Richard Duke of Normandy sirnamed Ponz.[579]

[Machell's Notes: I.240]

{Gat of Tailleurs *Cron of Normandy*; Osmond \ Seig. / du Pont came in with the Conqueror and so did [blank]. And Cifford mentiond in Battle Abby.[580] I finde Drogo filius Ponzten in Wiltescire. *Domesdaie Book*. Item. Walter[us] Ponz in Oxenfordscire.}

[I.241]

And now*

{*This may be red too.}

Walter de Clifford, Clifford of Clifford Castle, was father to the fair but unfortunate Rosamond, whose grave stone I have seen att Godstow in Oxfordshire, to which place her father became a benefactor after her decease. And from her descended (by King Henry 2.) the family of the Longspees, Earl of Salisburie, whose grandson Will came to be marryed unto Maud daughter & sole heir of Walter de Clifford, which Walter was grandchild to Walter the first: father of Rosamond; and they had a daughter only whose name was Margarett, so that this match putt a period to both those families in the direct line.[581] Howbeit, there remaned of the Cliffords who were collaterall and younger brothers, for Richard, 2nd son unto Walter \ de Clifford / by Marg\rett / Tony, rased a florishing family of the Cliffords de Frampton in the Cou[n]tye of Glocester who possessed their lands there for 15 or 16 generations till they came to a daughter and heir whose name was Mary; and she dyed without Isue. And Roger de Clifford, 2nd son of Walter, son of Walter the 1st by Sibilla daughter and heir of Robert de Ewias Lord and Baron of Ewias in the County of Hereford, raised this other family \ of which I am treating / whose descent I shall ~~follow~~ \ trace / in my following discourse. But I shall note as concerneing there Armes that all the Cliffords hitherto spoken bare chequi Or & Azure, a bend Gules, which Coat is different from the Cliffords of Westmorland. An before I proceed you must allso \ and now for the clearer proofe of his descent from Cliffords ~~Castle~~ of Clifford, I shall / ~~so~~ present you with this account concerning his ancestours ~~marages~~, which is briefly as followeth.[582]

1. Walter de Clifford, 1st Lord Clifford of Clifford Castle by right of his wife, bare for his Armes[583] a shield chequie Or & Azure, a bend Gules. Hee marryed Margarett, daughter of Ralph de Tony Lord of Clifford Castle whose armes were Argent, a maunch Gules. The[y] had J. Walt? \ Richard, of whome the Cliffords of Frampton, a florishing family there for 15 generations; & Rosamond whome / {Longspes Earl of Salisburie, whose armes were Azure 6 lyonsells Or, rampant.}

2. Walter de Clifford, 2nd of Clifford Castle, bare the same Armes with h. f. He marryed Agnes, daughter and heir of Roger de Cundy Lord of Covenby & Gletham, whose Armes were Argent, a fess between 3 martlett Gules.[584] And amongst other children they had Walter the eldest & Rodger, their second son†.

[579] This is followed by, MS: 'And ~~this Walter de Clifford of Clifford Castle had Ros & Richard~~', now removed from the body text.

[580] The *Chronicles of Normandie*, supposedly written by William Tailleur, were included in John Hooker's edition of ['Holinshed's] *Chronicles … first collected and published by Raphaell Holinshed, William Harrison, and others: now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586. by John Hooker aliàs Vowell Gent and others. With convenient tables at the end of these volumes* (London, 1587). See in this work, 'The politike Conquest of William the first', page 2, which lists 'The Catalog of such Noble men, Lords, and Gentle|men of name, as came into this land with William the Conquerour', of whom Osmond Seigneur du Pont was one; Clifford's name appears on p.4, in 'The roll of Battell abbeie'.

[581] MS: '~~And Margarett being marryed to Henry de Lacy Earle Lincoln~~' has been removed from the body text.

[582] This passage has been difficult to transcribe with complete accuracy.

[583] A small roundel image follows here.

[584] Martlet: heraldic swallow, see the English Glossary.

3. Roger, 2nd son of Walter second Lord Clifford bare the armes of his father and tooke to his first wife Sibilla daughter & heire of Robert de Ewias, Lord and Baron of Ewias Castle in Herefordshire (and widow to the Lord Robert Tregos), who bare Argent, a fess Gules, between 3 stares of 6 points Sable; by whome he had Isue Roger de Clifford the younger, first Clifford of Westmorland, of whome hereafter; and after her decease he tooke to wife the Countess of Lorane, whose armes were Gules a fess Argent betwen cross billets \ Or / 3 & 2, 3 & 2. But what Isue he had by her or whether he had any is not the subject of my enquirie for I must haisten to Roger de Clifford, 1st Clifford of Westm'land.

{His Armes}
4. Which Roger de Clifford bare for his Armes on a shield chequie Or and Azure, a fess Gules, which is an alteration from the Coat of his father and all his ancestours who insteed of a fess bare a bend. But noe way disgracefull, for the fesse is properly Cingulum Honoris, the girdle of honour, and therefor may seem to have bin placed here upon some good account.

[Machell's Notes: I.241]

*{Here I might bring in Rosamond and her family better and omit it as befor.}
†{Which Walter \ the last h[eir] male / Lady of Cantresdif, Inquis[ition] 56. Henry 3. [1271-72] whose armes were Azure a lyon rampant in amongst cross crosletts of the 2nd and had Isue: Maud, marryed to William Longspe, Earl of Salisburie, whose Armes were Azure 6 lyonsells rampant Or; who was great grandchild to Rosamond Clifford the fair but unfortunate, by King Henry 2. Which Rosamond was daughter of the 1st Walter, Lord of Clifford Castle.}

[I.242]

{His wife: her Honour, Welth and Acts and Armes}
He tooke for wife Isabell de Veteripont, elder daughter and one of the coheirs of Robert de Veteripont, Lord of the Honour of Apleby, Baron of Westmorland and High Sherive of Westmorland, when she was about 14 or 15 yeres old; till which time she was Ward to his father by the free gif of King Henry 3. as a compensation of his worthy service; which Lady Isabell had the Honour of Apleby with the other titles and Honours by birth right, the younger sister onely shareing in the estate; and thence it was that dureing her minority the Office of Shireve was performed by Roger de Clifford, her husbands father, by her husband dureing his life time and by her selfe in person when she was a widow, as before has bin said. She was borne in 1254, about the 38. of King Henry the 3. and bare for her Armes the Coate of her father which is 6 annulets.[585]

{His and her death}
This Roger de Clifford dyed in the Kings service against the Welch as has bin said, 1282/3,[586] in the 11. of Edward 1. and was buried [blank]. And Isabell being then but 29 yeres of aige, yett lived a widow for 8 yeres after, and dyed in the 37th of her aige \ puto 20. Edward 1. [1291-92], / being buried as is supposed in the Abby of Shapp or Apleby Church, the Abby being within 6 miles of Appeby. And Appleby the most eminent place of \ her / inheritance & chief seat of her ancestours who together with her selfe were great benefactors to the said Abby.

{His and her Isue}
They had Isue: Robert of whome in the next § {Temp. Edward 1. Edward 2.}

2. Generation
{His Descent, Honour, Dignity, Preferment & acts}
Robert \ Clifford of Appelby / son & heire of Roger de Clifford & Isabel his wife, was borne in the yere 1274[587] about Easter; and that was in the 2nd yere of King Edward the first, being about 9 yeres old att his fathers death.

[585] Machell has written 'o' meaning 'annulets'.
[586] MS. '128.'
[587] The number '7' has been written over the number '2' to change 1274 to 1224.

{Acts}
He was Lord of the Honour of Apleby, Baron of Westmorland & High Sherieue by inheritance derived from his mother Isabell de Veteripont \ & Lord of the Honour of Skipton. / He was the greatest man of all this family, being of a most martiall and heroique spirit.

{Hollinshead}[588]
When he was about 20 and 3 yeres old – anno Edward 1. 25. [1296-97] he was made the Kings captane & keeper of the Marches in the North towards Scottland; and in the 24 or 25 of his aige he made an inroad into Scotland with a party of horse;

{Stows *Cron.*}[589]
and hee allso did diverse other times dureing the reigne of Edward 1. and was in particular sumonsed to come with his horse and armes unto Carliol against the Scotts 26. of September: anno ejusdem 26. [1297-98] teste rege apud Stayne Way;[590] in which service against the Scotts he att last lost his life. He was one of the 4 guardians appoynted by King Edward the 1st upon his death bed for Edward his son & successor, and was Justice of the Kings forrest on the north side Trent.

[I.243]

He was made Lord Admirall of England in the 1st yere of Edward 2. [1307-08], and Lord March allso about the same time. And in respect of his good and laudable service had the Honour of Skipton Castle in Craven in Yorkeshire with ~~the lands about & services thereto belonging~~ \ 100 li land / bestowed upon him; which 1st grant was for his life only in the 3. of Edward 2. [1309-10]; But was after confirmed to him and his heires for ever partly as favour and partly in ex change for certane lands in the Vale of Monmouth with the Towne & wood of Hodenake; The revertion being in the Crowne; which deed was dated att Notingha[m] the 1st of August in the 4th of his reigne [1310], & confirmed agane the 7th of Sep. in the same yere; Which lands of Monmoth were given to his father, Lord Roger de Clifford by King Edward 1. And hence it appears that Apleby Castle with theire other seats in Westmorland belonged to Cliffords before Scipton Castle, this Robert Clifford being the 1st that injoyed i[t]; & in his posterity it remanes to this day, being not only confirmed by these grants but by Act of Parliament. And is here to be noted that tho Skipton Castle had formerly bin the seat of the Earls of Albemarle till bestowed[591] upon him by King Edward the 2. Yett it owes all its ornaments to him; of whome it may be said as it was of Nero {?} concerning Roome: Invenit ~~mar mori~~ \ later /itium reliquitt Marmoriam.[592] He found a ruinous heap, but left it the most ellegant & beatifull pile att that time in England. I mean of its bigness for it conteines but 2 acres of ground. He had allso other lands conferd upon him, as Duglas in Scotland: and here in England, Alanby and Skelton by the rebellious forfaiture of Christofer de Seaton, son of John and Armina his wife.[593]

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[588] Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577, and later editions), often referred to as just 'Holinshed', is a large collaborative work describing England, Scotland, Ireland and their histories from their first inhabitation to the mid-16th century. In 1548 the London printer and bookseller Reyner (or Reginald) Wolfe decided to produce a universal history and cosmography (i.e. description and mapping) of the world. After Wolfe's death in 1573, his assistant Raphael Holinshed took over the project, involved more writers and restrained its scope to the British Isles. The *Chronicles* were first published in 1577 in a two-volume folio edition, illustrated with numerous woodcuts. After Holinshed's death in 1580, Abraham Fleming published the significantly expanded and revised second edition of 1587 in a larger folio format, this time without illustrations. See BL online. See also Machell's Notes: I.240, above.

[589] John Stow (152[5?]-1605), *The chronicles of England from Brute unto this present yeare of Christ* (1580).

[590] 'The king bearing witness [i.e. to his service] at the Steyne Way.'

[591] MS: 'bestwooed'.

[592] Machell was in error here; it was said of Augustus with regard to Rome, 'lateritium invenit, marmoream reliquit': he found it brick, and he left it marble. (See Suetonius, *Lives of the Cæsars, Augustus, XXVIII*, 3.)

[593] Sir Christopher Seton (c.1278-1306) landowner, was said to be twenty-one when he inherited his father's Yorkshire lands as well as property in Cumberland, where (c.1305), he married Christian Bruce, a daughter of Robert (VI) de Brus, earl of Carrick (1243-1304); Robert I was her brother. Caught up in the Scottish cause, Seton was captured by the English at Loch Doon Castle and executed by Edward I in 1306; Christian kept sacred Seton's sacrifice as late as 1324, when she founded a chapel in Dumfries to his memory. See F. Watson, 'Bruce, Christian (d.1356), noblewoman'. *ODNB*.

{His Armes}
He bare for his armes quarterly, as son & heire to his mother an heiress, Cliffords & Viponts. The 3 as the 2nd, and 4th as the first.

{His Wife; her Honour, Welth and Armes}
His wife was Maud de Clare, daughter of Thomas de Clare, Stuard of the Forrest of Essex, whose son dyed without Isue so that she became one of his coheres. And Thomas her father was younger brother of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Glocester and Hereford, whose wife was Johan de Acres 1st of the daughters of King Edward the 1st, by whome he had a son named Gilbert, Earl of Glocester & Hereford slane in Sotland att the same time with Robert de Clifford, her Lord and Husband.
She had much land of in heritance in Ireland, being daughter to Maurice, Lord Justice of that nation, by Emilia Longspe, daughter of the Earle of Sarum, which Earle descended from Rosamond Clifford, as has bin said. She bare for her armes, Or, 3 cheveronells Gules.

[I.244]

{His & Her Death}
This Lord Robert de Clifford was slane att the great battle of Bannoxburne or Striveling in Scottland 24. of June 1314 bein Sunday (which was about the 7. or 8. of Edward 2.) aetates suiæ 40, and his dead body together with the body of Gilbert Earl of Glocester, his wives cosan German,[594] sent to King Edward 2. att Barwickt and were interred as is supposed, att the abby of Shap; but that place being demolished in Henry 8 dayes,we have noe monuments or certainty thereof.
The Lady Maud his wife out lived her husband & marryed agane about 4 yeres after to one Robert de Wells and dyed in the 1st of King Edward 3. one M thre C 20 & 7.[595]

& the Isue she had by Lord Robert de Clifford, were:
1. Roger de Clifford*, borne the 2nd of February 1292, who succeeded his father in his Lands and Honours \ being 6. High Sherive[596] / but was attainted of Treason 15 yere of King Edward 2. [1321-22], for adhereing to Thomas Earl of Lancaster; and was restored agane to his lands & Honours the 1 yere of King Edward the 3rd. but injoyed them not much above a mothe till he dyed unmarried \ and was buried as is supposed at Shap Abby / so that the Land & Honour descended and came to Robert de Clifford of whome in the next section.
2. Robert de Clifford of whome in the next section.
3. Idonea de Clifford, their onely daughter, who was married to Henry, Lord Piercy, and by him had Isue that Henry Lo[rd] Piercy who maryed Mary, daughter of He[n]ry Plataginet, Duke of Lancastre, and had Isue by her Henry Lord Piercy, first Earle of Northumberland, whose armes were quarterly 1. Or a lyon rampant Azure; 2. Gules 3 fishes Argent; the 3rd as the 2nd & 4. as the first: the first quarter whereof is the paternall Coate of the Piercyes: the 2. I take as to be Lucies, assumed by an heiress.

3rd Generation: Temp. Edward 1. Edward 2. Edward 3.
{His Descent, Honour, Acts & Armes}
Robert, 2 son of Robert by Maud de Clare
was heire to his brother, and so by consequence Lord of the Honour of Apleby &c. He was ~~Borne about the 1 of Edward 2.~~ Baron of Westmorland and the 7th hereditary Shireue of the same. And third Lord of this family of the Honour of Skipton. He was borne on Friday, being All Saints Day, mensis November, 1305, being the 33. of Edward I.[597] And was Lord of the Honour of Apleby &c. Anno 1[0] Edward 3. 1327. He had great addition to his estate, about 1333, which hapned by the death of his great aunt Idonea de Veteripont, whome, as wee have said, was 1st marryed to Roger de Labourne;

[594] First cousin.
[595] 1327.
[596] The MS here contains an indistinct interlineated number which appears to claim that Roger de Clifford was '6 High Sherive.' See Machell's List of High Sheriffs, VI.592.
[597] MS: 'He was ~~Borne about about the 1. of Edward 2.~~ Baron of Westmorland and the 7th hereditary Shireue of the same. And third Lord of this family of the Honour of Skipton. He was borne ~~about one yere of Ed. 2.~~ on Friday, being All Saints Day, mens November, 1305, being the 33. of Edward I.'

and after that to John de Cromwell; but dyed without Isue after she had survived her father about 70 yeres, by reason of which the estate of the Viponts formerly divided, now became entire, and has so continued to this very day, February 9, 1675.

[Machell's Notes: I.244]

*{In Catalogo Marescallorum Angliae occurrit Roger de Clifford anno 1^0 Ed. 2. pat parte 1 membrane 19: è MS in 4^0, penes Mr Sheldon sic notatum.[598]
He had some base children by a mean woman calld Julian of the Bower, for whome he built a little house hard by Whinfel and calld it after her, the ~~lower~~ foundation of which is still to be seen. He was a martial man & of bold courage; for being ingaged in war against King Edward 2^{nd}, he caused a pursuivant which came to serve a writt of him from the said King, to eat the wax of seale in the Barons chamber at Apleby Castle.
{Alibi autem in eodem libro scribitur Rex commisit Roberto Clifford officium marescali (falso ni fallor). 1^0 Ed. 2.}[599]

[I.245]

After the death of his aunt, he tooke possesion of all the castles of the Viponts, his ancestours: viz, of Apleby, Brough, Pendraggon and Browham, which wer all of them honoured with the presence and reception of Edward Balioli, King of Scotland, in 1333, who \ came to visit /stayd here some time and tooke his divertion \ by hunting / amongst the gentery of this county of Westm'land. {See Hollingshead, who cites Southwell for his coming into Westm'land.} One monument whereof doth to this day remane in Whinfell called the Hart Horne Tree \ where he hunted a stagg to death &c. / ~~where up~~ on some extraordinary occurance, the dogg & bucks head were both naled up, as elsewhere shall be said, and some of the Hornes is yett planely to be seen*.

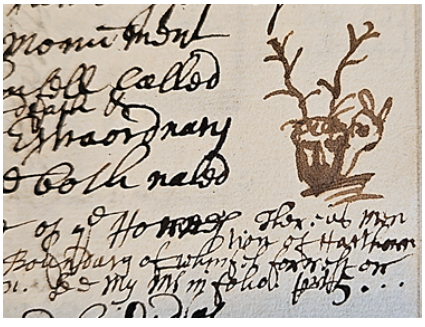


Figure 1.1.27. Margin sketch relating to animal heads hung on the Hart Horne Tree, Whinfell. I.245.

He livd for the most part a country life and builded (as is thought) some part of Skipton Castle in Craven. He accompanyed the Earle of Warwick and other Lords with an army into Scotland, which is all the relation I have mett with of him as to mertiall affaires. His armes were Clifford & Vipont quartered.

{<u>His Wife, her Honour, Welth, Acts and Armes</u>}†
Hee tooke to wife Isabella de Berkley, the onely daughter of Maurice, Lord Barkley, of Barkley Castle in the county of Glocester, and had for her portion (that you may se the moderation of those times, 1000^{li} & 50 marks, with a gowne of Cloth Brunoly {i.e. browne} scarlett & a furred cap with the best <u>minever</u>.[600] And for the Honour {?} of the said bride, her brother & sister & Lord Barkley and

[598] Here Machell has provided a symbol. 'In the Catalogue of the Marshalls of England occurs Roger de Clifford, in the 1st year of King Ed. 2., patents, part 1, membrane 19 – from a manuscript in a quarto in the possession of Mr Sheldon, marked thus.' For Ralf Sheldon, see above, I.231.
[599] 'Elsewhere, however, in the same book it is written that the king entrusted to Robert Clifford the office of Marshall, but wrongly, unless I am mistaken. First of Edward II.' [1307-08]
[600] Minever: a kind of fur, now always plain white, used especially as a lining and trimming for ceremonial costumes and formerly in the making of certain kinds of hat. *OED*.

his laydy were attired in the like apparel, & the bride sadle cost 5^{li} at London. And all the lands of Skipton, with a great part of his lands in Westmorland, were ~~settl~~ enfeofed upon for her life time, the greatest joynture that ever was made to any lady matched into this family. Her armes were checkey Azure & Gules a cheveron Azure.[601]

{His and her death}
He dyed the 20th of May, being Ascention Day, 18. Edward 3. 1344, æatis suæ 30 or there abouts & possesed his estate 17 yeres‡ \ and was buried as is supposed att Shap Abby. / She out lived her husband & marryed agane about 2 yeres after his decease to Sir Thomas Musgrave, Knight, whome she left surviveing, Monday 25. of July Anno Edward 3. 36. \ being St James Day 1362. /

And the Isue which Lord Robert de Clifford left by her were
1. Robert de Clifford⸸ born 18. of November 1330, and was marryed in his fathers life time att 13 yeres of aige to Euphaemia, one of the daughters of Ralph Nevill, Lord of Midlam Castle in Yorkeshire and sister to Ralph, the first of that family that was created Earl of Westm'land‖, whose armes were Gule a saltier Argent charged in fess with a crescent[602] Sable. But he dyed about the 32 yere of his aige in France as is supposed (for after 16 yeres of aige he spent most of his time in the wars there) and left no Isue by her. {She was his cosan German}[603] She afterwards marryed to Sir Walter Hazlerton, & dyed the 18. of Richard 2.[604]

[Machell's Notes: I.245]
*{Ther is mention of Harthorn Sike in a boundary of Whinfel Forrest or the Warren. See my MS in folio part 5.}[605]
†{Mr Smith Record of Lord Barklay family: MS pen ipse.}
‡{He was sheriff in the 20: by Mr Sheldon MS.}
⸸{8 Shireve Her[editary] He had 12^{li} 14^{s} 8^{d} ob of Christopher Seatons lands, given by King Edward for his laudable service. Dated at Lanercost 15. October Reg. 34.}[606]
‖{Se an evidence about this espousal MS X capt e cartis apud Skipton anno Edward 3. Franc 4^{0} L[ib] penes Mr Sheldon.}

[I.246]

{Her[editary] Shireve}[607]
2. Roger Clifford, of whome in the next §. & 9[th] sherieve by inheritance after the death of his brother, was borne 8. of King Edward 3. 1333. He was counted to be one of wisest and gallantest men of all the Cliffords of his race, keeping him selfe fre from troubles in those trublesome times of latter end of King Edward 3., of whome he obteined 2 weekly markets and 2 fares for Kirkby Stephan: 1 before he was Lord. He was often in the wars, both in France & Scotland, & in that remarkable sea voyace when the Earl of Arundell went with a great army to aid & assist the Duke of Britanny against the French king.

3. Thomas, writt in records Sir Thomas de Clifford, who was cotemporary with his brother Roger, Lord Clifford and Thomas, his son, to whome he made over those lands which he held of his brother in the Lordship of Brough, for terme o yeres April the 7 in the 6. yere of King Richard 2nd, and his seale was the Cliffords armes with a mullet charged upon the fess. And about it was this inscription: SIGILLUM: THOME DE CLIFORD, with 2 florishes like the granes of a tree from the top of the shield to the inner line of the utmost circumference. He marryed and from him descended Richard de Clifford, bishop of Worcester and London, with his 2 brothers, Robert & William, who were all his grandchildren. And from him allso by a lineall descent, George Clifford Esquire, who was of the

[601] MS: 'checkey azure & gules / ~~gules a fess betwee~~n a cheveron Azure.'
[602] Here, Machell has drawn a crescent shape.
[603] First cousin.
[604] 1394-95.
[605] Machell introduced the hart horn tree in his Introductory chapter, see 2.476.
[606] 1360.
[607] 9th hereditary sheriff.

Green Wax office in 1652,[608] son of the elder brother of Sir Nicol Clifford, whose sole daughter, Frances, was married to Sir Edward Ascough of Southley in Lincolnshire.

4. Generation {Temp: Edward 3. & Richard 2.}

{His Descent, Honour, Acts and Armes}

Roger de Clifford, 2nd son of Lord Robert de Clifford and Isabell de Barkley, was by decease of his brother, Lord of the Honour of Apleby, Baron of Westmorland & 9 shierieve by inheritance; and Lord allso of the Honour of Skipton. He was borne in 8 of King Edward 3. 1333, and was accounted by persons of knowledge who \ have /redd concerneing him to be one of the wisest men of his time or family; a great evidence whereof [I] have, in his secureing himself from \ danger / distruction in those trublesome times of King Edward 3. about the latter end of the said kings reigne*. He was allso a person

[Machell's Notes I.246]

*{Learned Antiq.: I have seen a pardon to Roger de Clifford de Westmorland, 15. Richard 2. which begins thus: Rex Dei Gratia Omnibus Balivis &c. salute. Sciatis quod ob reverentiam Dei, & ad specialem requisitam Annæ Reginæ Angliae, & consideratione &c. Pardon. MS penes Mr Sheldon.}[609]

[I.247]

of much gallantry and valour, being often in the warrs both in France & Scottland, in particular in that remarkable sea voyage of the Earle of Arundell, when he transported a great army of soljers to aid and assist the Duke of Britany against the forces of the French king. He was publiq' spirited and a lover of building, for he tooke great care to repare his castles, the ancient seats of his noble progenitors*. His seale was in this manner, as here expressed. I have seen a larger with a bend, with 3 draggons, 1. a crest and 2. as sup[o] \r/t\ers./



Figure 1.1.28. Seal of Roger de Clifford. 1.247.

{His Wife, her Honour, Acts and Armes}

Hee tooke to wife, Matilda or Maud Beauchamp, daughter of Thomas Earle of Warwick by Katherine his wife, who was daughter to Roger Mortimer 1st Earle of March, whose father and mother lye buried in Warwick Church in a fare tombe. And this match of his, amongst other their children is expressed by the Coate impaled in a glass window there. His being as ab[ove].

{Her Armes}

And hers Gules, a fess between 6 cross crosslets Or.

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[608] Green Wax Office: An estreat was a copy of a court record for use in the enforcement of a fine, or forfeiture of a recognisance. Estreats were delivered by the Sheriffs to the Exchequer under a seal made in green wax, to be levied in the counties: Giles Jacob, *A New Law Dictionary*, GR.

[609] 'The King by Grace of God to all his Bailiffs etc. Greeting. Know ye that through reverence for God and at the special request of Anne Queen of England, after deliberation etc. Pardon. Evidence in the possession of Mr Sheldon.' [Anne, queen of England, was Anne of Bohemia (1366 – 1394), the first wife of Richard II.]

{Their Death}
He dyed the 13 day of July, anno 13. Richard 2. 1391, which was just 100 yeres after the death of his great grandmother, Isabel de Veteripont, ætatis suae 57, when he had been 28 yeres Lord of Westm'land and had seen a grandchild. He was buryed, as is thought, in Shap Abby. Matilda his wife dyed on Ash Wednesday 4. Henry 4. anno 1403, haveing lived his widow about 12 yeres.

{Their Isue}
And the Isue they left were
1. Thomas, of whome hereafter.
2. William de Clifford, who marryed Ann, one of the daughters and coheres of Thomas, Lord Bardelfe, whose armes were [blank]
He was [blank] and dyed the 6. yere of Henry 5th, and his office was sued out by John, Lord Clifford, Knight of the Garter, his brother son & heire att law, for he had noe Isue, neither his wife.
3. Margaret de Clifford, who was marryed to \ Sir / John Me\l/kon whose armes were [blank]

[Machell's Notes: I.247]
*{Mon[seigneur] Roger de Clifford, Seignur de Westm'land. Carta apud Skipton 2. Richard 2^0. Sciphtona in carta s.d. Karletun.}[610]

5. Generation
{Descent, Honour, Acts and Armes}
Thomas, son and heir of Roger de Clifford & Maud Beauchamp his wife, was borne in 1365. He was about 36 yeres old at the death of his father upon which he became Lord of the Honour of Alpleby, Baron of Westmorland and 10th hereditarie Shirieve of the same; and allso Lord of the Honour of Skipton. He was a great courtier & much in favour with Richard the 2nd. He was thrice summoned to Parliament and is frequently stiled in records and evidences – Thomas, Lord Clifford of Westmorland, and was certanely a valiant and brave man tho something extravagant. He went with Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Glocester, into the country of Spruce in Germany,[611] against the infidells and barbarouse people, where he lost his life*.

[Machell's Notes: I.247]
*{Andrew Phebians *Theatre of Honour*.}[612]

[I.248]
His wife was \ Elizabeth / Ross* eldest daughter of Thomas Lord Ross of Hamlake Castle in Yorkeshire, the match being made by their parents when they were little children. He was not above 8 yeres of aige then, but it \ must / be supposed that the consummation was nott till 8 yeres after or thereabouts. Her armes are Gules 3 water budgetts Sable \ I have seen a sele with this quarter writ about: S. William de Ros de Hamlake; another without quarters: Thomae de Roos Domine de Hamlake.}

[610] 'Monseigneur Roger de Clifford, Overlord of Westmorland. Document at Skipton, 2nd year of Richard 2. [1378-79]. "Sciphtona", in an undated document at Karletun.'
[611] Prussia, also known as Pruysse, Pruys, Spruse, Spruys, see Tamarah Kohanski, C. David Benson (Eds) *The Book of John Mandeville* (Michigan, 2007), Indexed Glossary of proper names.
[612] André Fevine, *The theater of honour and knight-hood, or, A compendious chronicle and historie of the whole Christian world: containing the originall of all monarchies, kingdomes, and estates, with their emperours, kings, princes, and governours; …The first institution of armes, emblazons, kings, heralds, and pursuivants of armes* (Paris, 1620; London, 1623).



Figure 1.1.29. Clifford Arms. I.248.

{There Death}
He was slayne att Spruce in Germany the 4th of October, 1393: 15th yere of Richard the 2nd [1391-92], in which yere her father dyed allso, in the city of Paphos in the Isle of Cyprus, as he was returneing from the Holy Land†; D. fuit 2 yeres 9 months.[613] She outlived her husband about 31 yeres, remaneing a widow, and dyed upon the 26th of March, anno 2^0 Henry 6. 1424, 2 yeres after she had buried her son John, Lord Clifford.

They had Isue as follows:
1. John, of whom hereafter.
2. Maud, so named after her grandmother. She was marryed as second wife to Richard Plantaginet Earl of Cambridge, who bore the crowne armes within a bord[er] Argent charged with an orle of lyonsells rampant Gules. Which Richard was beheaded att Southampton, anno X? 3^0 Hen 2.[614] And left no Isue by her. But by his former wife, Anne Mortimer, he had Isue Richard Plantaginet Duke of Yorke, which Richard was father to King Edward the 4th. \ And Isabel maryed to Henry, Lord Bourchier E[arl]of Essex. / This Maud lived to a very great aige.

Generation 6 of the Cliffords
{His Descent, Honour, Acts & Arms}
John, son & heire of Thomas Lord Clifford by Elizabeth his wife, was borne in 1391[615] and was ward to the king when but 2 yeres of aige, by reason of the untimely death of Thomas his father; whence he became Lord of the Honour of Apleby &c., 11th hereditary Shireue of Westmorland and Lord of the Honour of Skipton. He was a great man and highly favoured (by reason of his valour and good experience in ma[r]tiall affares) of King Henry 5th by whome he was made Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and honour not hitherto conferd on any his ancestours; and was allso intrusted with great command in his warrs with France. For it appeares upon record that he was one of the first in that expedition; and was bound by Articles twixt the said king and him to carry over a number of men att armes in the same[616] Host: 13 knights, 47 esquires, 150 archers, the 3d of whome on foot & the

[613] 'Died. [he was there for] 2 years 9 months.' John Stow, *Chronicles of England*, 516.
[614] Richard Plantagenet, earl of Cambridge, was beheaded on 5 August 1415 for initiating the 'Southampton Plot' to dethrone Henry V. See G. Harriss, 'Richard [Richard of Conisbrough], earl of Cambridge (1385-1415). *ODNB*. Machell correctly assessed the date of the earl's death as during the 3rd year of the monarch, but appears to have written '2', not '5', although Machell's handwriting often appears confusing.
[615] MS: '13~~88~~ \ 91 /'.
[616] The following scored-through word is illegible.

rest on horse. {To my Lord was allowed 4s per day; to the knights 2s; to the squires 1; to the other 6d} {His seale; at the rec. is an oval sine roundel in it Clifford quart[ering] Vip[ont] quartering Ros: 1 and a helmet with 3 draggons: 1 as crest, 2 as supporters.}

[Machell's Notes: I.248]

*{His Wife: Ross, Ros or Roos}
†{Stow.}[617]

[I.249]

King Henry 5th att the coronation of his wife Queen Katherine, who was daughter to Charles the 6th of France, was pleased to honour him with the office of Butler att that solemnity*. Nor was he onely mindefull of public affaires abroade, but of private allso, in his owne houses, for this was hee who built the strong & artificall gatehouse att Apleby Castle, as hath bin said. And who allso repared his Castle att Craven. Tho he lived but 12 yeres (and most of them inploid in war) possesour of those his lands & honours.

{His Wife; Descent, Honour, Wealth & Armes}
This John Lord Clifford tooke to wife Elizabeth Piercy, onely daughter to Henry Lord Piercy sirnamed Hotspur, by Elizabeth Mortimer his wife; which Elizabeth Mortimer was daughter of Edmund Mortimer 3rd Earle of March of that family by Philippa Plantaginet, who was sole daughter & heire to Lyonell, Duke of Clarence. The armes of the Piercyes are quarterly the 1. Or a lyon rampant Azure, the 2. Gules 3 luces Argent &c.

John Lord Clifford was slane att the Siege of Meaux, in France, by the quarrell (or nutt) of a crossbow, the 10th day of March in the 10th & last yere of King Henry 5th being of the aige of 32 or thereabouts – Anno Domini 1422. His wife maryed agane about 4 yeres after his death, to Ralph Nevil, 2nd Earl of Westmorland, and had by him one son onely, which was John Lord Nevil who dyed before he came to be ~~Lord~~ \ Earle / of Westm'land, being slane att Towton Battle in Yorkshire.[618] She dyed 16. of October 1436 which was the 15. of Henry 6. and was buried att Stanthrop in the Bishoprick of Durham, near Raby Castle, where some of the Nevil Earles of Wesmerland doe lye interred.

{Their Isue}
The Isue which she had by John, Lord Clifford, were ut sequitur
1. Thomas de Clifford, de quo infra.
2. Henry, who dyed without Isue.
3. Mary, who was marryed to Sir Phillip Wentworth Knight, of whome is descended the Lord Wentworth, the Earle of Strafford and Earle of Cleveland.
The Wentworths Armes are [blank]

Generation 7 of the Cliffords
Thomas, son & heire of Thomas \ John / Lord Clifford, was borne on Monday next after the Feast of the Annuntiation, Anno 2. Henry 5. 1415. And when he was not much above 7 yeres old, through the death of his father who was slane, he became Lord of the Honour of Apleby & Skipton &c. and 12 hereditary shireve of Westm'land†. But was Ward 13 yeres

[Machell's Notes: I.249]

*{See Speed.}
†{Compare with the Roll of Sheriffs.}

[617] John Stow, *Chronicles of England,* 516: 'The same yeare (1394) Lorde T. de Ros, as he returned forth of the Holy Lande, in the Citie of Paphos in the Ile of Cipres, through intemperauncie of the ayre departed this life there.'
[618] The Battle of Towton (1461) formed a major turning point in the Wars of the Roses: the Yorkists decisively beat the Lancastrians but with enormous loss of life. See Stow's *Chronicles of England*, 747. See also, I.348, above.

[I.250]

by reason of his minority. It is evident by Holenshed & Stowe & other Chronicles and other records, that this Thomas Lord Clifford did brave service as a Chiefe Commander in the warrs of France att the Assault of Pointeres, where he & his men, being it was snow, to prevent discovory clothed themselves in whyte, & by that meanes surprised the towne \ in or / about the yere 1438, which he strongly defended in 1440, being the 18. Henry 6. against the assaults of the French king, who indeavoured to retake it.[619] He was allso an eminent commander in the civill warrs of that aige in England, with much courage and activeness tooke part with King Henry 6th against Richard Plantaginett, Duke of Yorke, in which warrs allso ~~thi~~ his yong son John was a leading man & commander for 2 or thre yere together dureing his fathers life, whereupon Thomas was called old Lord Clifford tho he was not \ above / fortye when ~~both~~ he ~~and his son~~ was slane. Neither was \ he / only busied in the warrs, but att home allso, for he toke great care of repareing his houses and in particular of Apleby Castle, his chief of mantion house, as has thence bene declared. His armes were [blank]

{His Wife}
He had to wife Johanna the daughter of Thomas Lord Dacre \ of Gilsland / by Philippa his wife; which Philippa was daughter [of] Ralph de Nevill, Earle of Westm'land by his first wife. The Article[s] of Marriage wer drawne the 1st day of August in the 2nd yere of King Henry 6. [1424], att which time they were both children; for this Thomas, Lord Clifford, could not bee above X yeres old when his mother concluded this marriage for him, which was after consummated. Her Armes were Gules 3 escallops Argent.

{Their Death}
She dyed it is certane before her husband, and as it is reported, but a little before he happened to be slane in the Battle of St Albanes in Hartfordshire where he dyed fighting on his sovoranes behalfe together with his \ uncle / Henry Piercy 2nd Earle of Northumberland, the 22 of May 1455*. And they were buried in the Abby church (with a great many other persons of quality) 48 in all; above 500 slane of King Henrys party, 600 of Yorke†, whose monuments were standing within remembrance. He lived 19 yeres possesor of his lands, and was slane in the 40th yere of his aige. And lef[t] Isue behinde him, 9 children: 4 sones & 5 daughter, viz.
1. John Clifford borne 8 April 13. Henry 6. 1435, de quo infra.
2. Roger who marryed [blank] sister & heir to one of Courtneys in the county of Devon, & whose armes were [blank] and had Isue: 1. Son butt within 2 or 3 descents the family.

[Machell's Notes: I.250]
*{~~Compare this with the death of John Lord Clifford. They cannot both be true; se the next generation.~~}
†Speed, Henry 6: 63-64.[620]

[I.251]

The family was extinct in daughters and heires.
3. Robert who maryed one of the Barkleys, who was then widow to one Alderman Joscielin of the City of London, by whome he had Isue, and from them did lineally descend George Clifford of Lincolneshire, who maryed Ursula Digby. He dyed in in one thousand \ forsan 400 / 600, 30, 9*, lieveing behinde a daughter and heir who[se] name was Ursula. This Robert was he that had his hands soe deep in Henry 7ths time in the business concerning Perken Warbeck.[621]

[619] This was the town of Pontoise which changed hands several times during the Hundred Years' War. Because the winter of 1436-37 was very frosty, on 14 February 1437, the English were able to retake the town when a company of them 'camouflaged themselves in white bed-sheets so that they could creep across the outlying snow and frozen town moats without being seen. Others disguised themselves as peasants coming up to market.' The English finally lost Pontoise during a later siege (1442). See Juliet Barker, *Conquest: The English Kingdom of France 1417-50* (Cambridge Mass., 2012), Chapters 17 & 19.
[620] See Speed, *History of Great Britaine*, 667.
[621] Perkin Warbeck was a pretender to the English throne (he claimed to be Richard of York, one of the two 'princes in the tower'). He was hanged on 23 November 1499. See Rachel Goble, 'The Execution of Perkin Warbeck', *History Today*, vol. 49, 11 (November, 1999).

4. Thomas who was a brave man; he dyed {circa 1496}[622] an olde man in Henry the 7ths reigne, beareing many offices, but dyed without Isue.
5. Elizabeth who was their eldest daughter and in deed their first childe. She was twice married ~~before 12 yeres old~~ 1. To one Plompton in Skipton Castle when she was but 6 or 7 yeres old, and his armes were [blank]. But he dying before she was 12 yeres of aige, she was marryed to his second brother, by a dispensation from the \ Pope / which was dated in the time of King Henry the 7th & still to bee seen in Skipton Castle. Neither may this seem a strange thing in those times of popery in which it was usuall to grant dispensations for greater offences.
6. Maud the second daughter, who was maryed to Sir Thomas Harrington, knight, whose armes are [blank], and, after his death, to Sir Edward Dudley, knight, to both which husbands she ~~brought forth~~ \ had / Isue.
7. Ann the third daughter, who was marryed first to Sir Richard Tempest Knight, whose armes [blank]. And after that to Sir Richard Conyers Knight, whose armes were [blank]. and she had Isue to both these husbands.
8. Johan the 4th daughter, was maryed to Richard Musgrave of Hartley Castle in this County, whose armes and pedigree you may see [blank]. And hence is descended Sir Phillip Musgrave of the same place, liveing now.
9. Margaret the daughter who was marryed to [blank] Carre of Lincolnshire, whence the Carres now there are descended, who bear for their armes [blank].

[Machell's Notes: I.251]

*{Query: If this be not the same of whom is mention in Speed VII. (~~Noe, he lived in 1496.~~) Henry 8.35 [1543-44].}

[First and Second Battles of St Albans]

[I.252B]

It was in the 1st batle of St Albans {that} the Earle of Northumberland and Lord Clifford were killd, the king shot into the neck with an arrow, about 5000 of his men put to sword, of which 48 were buryed in St Albans. This hapend in the latter end of May 1454:[623] Henry 6 §63, 64, sc. 22, vide supra.[624]
In 1458 Regni 36. the king was met by his great Lords at London to contrive a settlement & peace in the nation*. But they brought amongst them great store of followers: The Earl of Salisbury, 500; Earle of Warwick, 600; the Duke of Excester & Sommerset, 800; the Earle of Northumberland, the Lords Egremond & Clifford, 15000. This was the fashion of that swording aige. {§68} This Lord Clifford was son to the former slain at St Albans. And was one of the chiefe leaders of the Queens army (the King being then prisoner) {Decem. 1460 the last, Reg. 39.} together with Lord Nevil & Lord Rosse and in effect all the northern nobility. At Wakefield batle where the Duke \ of Yorke / amongst many nobles was slain with his young son, the Earle of Rutland, who fell in flight by the hands of Lord

[Machell's Notes: I.252B]

*{Somthing of this parliament in a pamphlet for which manifactur penes Mr Mil vel}[625]

[I.252A]

Clifford, in part of revenge, for the Earles father had slain his. A deed which worthily blemished the author; but who can promise anything temperate of himselfe in the heat of ~~war~~ marshal fury? Chiefly where twas resolved not to leave any branch of York line standing, for So One Maketh This Lord to Speak. §39*.
The second batle of St Albans in which Henry appeard against & was overthrown by the Queene happnd on Shrove Tuesday, the 17. of February, 1461. Reg. 39. But Edward, Earle of Marsh, son & heire to the Duke of Yorke, obteining at a batle at Mortimer Cross on Candlemas Day, eadem anno, haisted to London, & by favour of the citizens, was crowned King (Edward IIII). 4^0 natis ætat 20th.

[622] 1496 = 11/12 Henry VII.
[623] 22 May 1455.
[624] 'See above.'
[625] The last word is obscured by the binding.

And on the 12 of March sett out for the north to fight against Henry whom he had depos[ed] & whose army was led by the Duke of Sommersett, Earle of North[umberland] and the Lord Clifford, whose fathers were slain in the 1st batle of St Albans. Edward IIII – §4 & 5. 8vi.: Clifford character. He was slain with an hedless arrow which pieced his throat – §6 – on Palm Sunday Eve, March 28. & on the 29. the batle was ended in a plain field twixt Towton & Saxton {With the loss on both sides of 35001 lives – §7. 8. 9. – & King Henry vanquished. Lord Clifford was slain betwixt Castleford & Ferrybriggs.}[626]

[Machell's Notes: I.252A]

**Graftons Chron.*[627]

[I.252]

Generation 8 of the Cliffords

John son & heire of Thomas Lord Clifford by Johanna the daughter of Thomas Lord Daker, was borne as is sayd on the 8th of Aprill in the 13 yere of Henry 6. annoque domini 1435;[628] and being att the death of his father 20 yeres & 23 wekes, he became warde to the king for halfe a yere & 3 weekes*; and was heire to his father of his lands & honours, being Lord of the Honour of Apleby &c. and 13 hereditary Shireue of Westmorland.

He was a commander in the civ~~a~~i/l warrs dureing his minority, on the side and in the behalf of King Henry 6. \ 9 yeres in his fathers lifetime / and so he continued only 5 yeres, 8 months and 7 dayes in possession of his \ paternal / estate. Most of the time was imployed in the ~~good service~~ warrs which were then very hott between the House of Yorke & Lancaster, in which indeed he did kill Edmund Plantaginett, Earle of Rutland \ in the Battle of Sandall Castle near unto Wakefield,[629] / but he was no child as some writer would have him, but able to beare armes, being 16 or 17 yeres of aige. And this John, Lord Clifford, was not much more when he 1st commanded: on the contrary part \ and thought himself able to incounter any man. / And that he was arrived to that maturity is evident from this: that he was next child \ that his mother had by Richard, Duke of Yorke / to King Edward 4. And that King was then 18 yeres of aige. And for the sma~~le~~ distance betwixt her children, se Austin Vincent in his *Booke of Nobillity* (pag. 622),[630] where he writes of them all being 12 in number. He was att the 2nd Battle of St Albans, where King Henry 6. was brought into his tent \ 17 of February / and mett his wife there, with his sonne Prince Edward, to his exceeding great joy†. But it lasted not long for on the 8 or 9 & twentieth of March following, 1461.[631] being Palm Sunday and the eve thereof, was the great battle fought (between Towton & Saxton in Yorkshire) where the Kings party was quite overthrowne and this Lord John slane thereat (near Ferrybriggs & Castleton \ twixt Ferrybriggs & Castleford[632] / by the River Aire) where he was fyereing[633] a passage and (haveing putt of his gorgett[634] a little before, either through pane or heat) he was shott into the throat with a headless arrow.[635] And it is remarkable

[626] Another reference to great losses at the Battle of Towton, see I.348, above.
[627] Richard Grafton (c. 1511-1573): *Grafton's Chronicle: or, History of England; To Which is Added His Table of the Bailiffs, Sherrifs, and Mayors, of the City of London, From the Year 1189 to 1558, Inclusive* (1563). Nicolson and Burn devoted part of one page to Grafton's account of the killing: *N&BI*, 284.
[628] 'And in the year of the Lord 1435.'
[629] Sandal Castle: site of the battle of Wakefield, 30 December 1460.
[630] Augustine Vincent (c.1584-1626), *A discoverie of errours in the first edition of the Catalogue of Nobility published by Raphe Brooke, York Herald, from 1619 untill this present yeare, 1622: at the end whereof, is annexed a review of a later edition, by him stolne into the world, 1621* (London, 1622). Much of Machell's commentary on the Cliffords, including this note on Augustine Vincent, was copied by Nicolson and Burn (*N&BI*, 284), after which it found its way into many other publications, including notes by William Wordsworth in *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth Vol. 2* (New York, 1859 edn); for example, see 'Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle', 402-03.
[631] MS: '~~anno 1441 forsan~~ 1461'.
[632] Nicolson and Burn chose the latter, see *N&BI*, 284.
[633] Fyering: making a large fire to serve as a beacon or signal. *OED*.
[634] Gorget: a piece of armour for the throat. *OED*.
[635] Yet another reference to the atrocities of the Battle of Towton, see I.348, I.252A.

that he, his father, grandfather and great grandfather all dyed in the wars, the 2 former beyond the seas and 2 latter at home. His armes were [blank].

And his wife was Margarett Bromflett, by birth Baroness Vessy‡, and the first who brought that title to the Cliffords, which ~~they~~ \ is /now enjoyed by Lady Ann Clifford, Baroness Vessy her direct ancestor. She was daughter & sole heire to Henry Bromflett by Elionor, daughter of Lord Henry Fitz Hugh. Her paternall coate was this: In a shield or, a plane cross Sable. {Apud cartam Will. filij Domini Eustachij de Vescy, Anno R[egni] R[egis] H[enrici] filij Johannes 24^0.}[636]

[Machell's Notes: I.252]

*{He lived 6 years after his father so that the relation of the death here of [blank] must belong to his father.}
†{Speed (Henry VI. 6.4) says [he][637] was slain at St Albans in 1454 towards the end of May. De hoc q. with Henry being Earl of Northumberland this must be his father; for he was but 20 years of Aige then.[638]
‡{The sirname, de Veci, is ancient for Robert 9. de Veci. Ten in Northamptonshire: *Domesdaie Booke.*}

[I.253]

And her father was created Baron of Vessy by King Henry 6. in the 27 yere of his reigne [1448-1449], or rather indeed restored thereunto, for he had title thereunto by right of his mother Margaret, daughter & co-heire[639] of Sir Edward St John, who maried Anastace, one of the daughters & coheires of William Aston, knight, which William was son of Gilbert who was cosan and heir of William Lord Vessy of Alnwick.

{Her Arms} Her paternall coate was this: In a shield or, a plane cross Sable.
{Apud cartam Will. filij Domini Eustachij de Vescy, Anno R[egni] R[egis] H[enrici] filij Johannes 24^0.}[640] {Anno autem ejusdem Regis 32^0 occurit sigillum, cujus diam \ etrum / linea marginalis ostendit; cui hic cricumscriptione in circulo.}[641] Sc.

+ SIGILLUM WILELMI DE WESCY, and the reverse, SECRETE + SIGILLI}



Figure 1.1.30. Reverse of Seal: 'This Seale is of Red wax'. I.253.

[636] [I.252-53]. 'In a document of William, son of Lord Eustace of Vescy. In the 24th year of the reign of King Henry, son of John.'
[637] An editorian substitution for an illegible word.
[638] In the MS, these notes have been scored through.
[639] MS: 'choh.'
[640] 'In a document of William, son of Lord Eustace of Vescy. In the 24th year of the reign of King Henry, son of John.'
[641] 'Moreover, in the 32nd year of the same king a seal is found, the diameter of which is shown by a marginal line; here is an inscription written around in a circle viz. Seal of William de Wescy, and the reverse of a private seal. This seal is of red wax.'

{Antecessoris Domini Henrici Domini Vescy fundatores fuere prioratus de Ferrybie. Haec omnia e MS Sheldon sic not[atum] in folio. Cat pt. è saculo coriareo inquisit[ionum] apud Skipton Castrum in com. York. Super clypeum autem sic notatur.}[642]

{Theire Death}
She outlived her husband, John Lord Clifford, 32 yeres, for he was slane ~~the 22 of May 1455 in~~ \ 28 of March 1461 – Palme Sunday – upon the battle / Towton Battle;[643] and she marryed afterwards to Sir Lancelott Threlkeld, whose armes were Gules a maunch Argent*. By which Sir Lancelott she had severall children, and one of their daughters, whose name was Ann, was marryed in this County of Westm'land to Sir John Lowther of Lowther Hall†, whence this Sir John Lowther now liveing is sprung. Sir Lancelot proved a very kind husband during her life, and helped to conceale her two former children which she had by Lord Clifford from the rage and fury of King Edward 4th and the House of Yorke, to which their father, her former husband and grandfather also had bin very active and mortall enemyes. And this Lady Vessy dyed in Yorkshire att her owne house of Lonsbrough 12 day of April 1493, whose monument the[re] remane to this day in that church. And her husband Lord Clifford was buryed also in the same \ County / tho in different manner; for the which Henry Piercy Earle of Northumberland his Cosan German, and many other Knights & Gentlemen of qualitye to the number of 4 or 5000 persons were interred in a pitt by the river Ayre,[644] near to the place where the battle was fought \ slane in all on both sides 35001 / where a chaple (now quite decayed) was built, and did some time remane their monument.[645]

The Isue which John, Lord Clifford, had with Margaret his wife were as followeth:
1. Henry, who was borne in the yere of Our Lord 1454, of whom infra.
2. Richard, who together with his brother Henry was concealed by his mother during her widowhood, and after her remarriage. But for the more security she thought fit to convey him over the seas, where dyed young in the Low Countryes without any Isue.
3. Elizabeth their sister, who was marryed to Sir Robert Aske, whose armes were: Azure, 4 […] in fess Ag., and from them are descended the now Askes of Yorkshire, & Lord Fairfax of Denton in the same County.

[Machell's Notes: I.253]

*And I have see a seale with a curtalled manch charged with annulets as here followeth.



Figure 1.1.31. 'Seale of Sir William de Threlkeld' c.1341-42. I.253.

[642] 'The ancestors of Lord Henry Lord Vescy were founders of the the priory of Ferriby. All this from the manuscript of Sheldon, marked thus [here there is a symbol] in the folio. In a part of a catalogue [?] from a leather bag of Inquisitions at Skipton Castle in the county of York.' There follows a sketch of two shields; one has a mark above it, as Machell has shown. For Ralf Sheldon (1623-84), see above, I.231.
[643] The battle of Towton was fought on 29 March 1461. See references above, especially I.348.
[644] MS: 'to the number \ ~~above 5000, Speed, 600 Yorkists 48 buryed in St Chan~~ / of 4 or 5000 persons were interred in a pitt by the river Ayre.'
[645] The presence of over 100,000 men and c.28,000 deaths makes Towton the largest and bloodiest battle ever fought in England. See https://content.historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/battlefields/towton.pdf.

{This was a seale of Sir William de Threlkeld, who sold burgages to Sir Robert de Clifford, Lord of Westmorland, in Apleby, 15. of King Edward 3.}[646]
†Tis Hugh in Lowther ped[igree] which should be An[n] there, but her name is other.

Generation 9 of the Cliffords

Henry, son & heire of John Lord Clifford and Margaret his wife was born as is said in the yere of Our Lord, 1454, and was 7 yeres old or thereabouts at the death of his father. But was deprived [I.254] lands honoured during the space of 24 yeres, from the 1st yere of Edward the 4th to the 1st \ or 2nd / of Henry the 7. which was 2 Kings reignes; att which time he lived as a shepherd in Yorkshire and Cumberland sometimes about [blank] {Melmerby forsan} and some time upon Thrillcot, his father-in-laws estate, and some times upon the borders of Scottland. For all this while he with the rest of his posterity (if he should have any) were attainted of treason* by Act of Parliament; and not onely so but in danger of death or att least imprisonment if he had bin taken, which was the reason of his obscure retirement. But when Henry 7. obteined his ~~was restored to the~~ crowne, the good services of his ancestours were called to remembrance, and he was restored by Act of Parliament to his blood & honour, with all his Baronyes, Castles &c.†

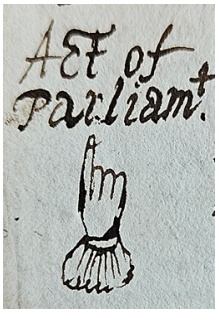


Figure 1.1.32. Example of Machell's frequent use of a pointing hand as a nota bene. I.254.

Which Act of Parliament {Anno 2^0 Hen. 7. 1486} was the principle ground of the Lady Ann Cliffords title to the same, in those sutes her good mother was pleased to manage in her behalf against her uncle \ Frances / Lord Clifford Earle of Cumberland, which lands of inheritance she now doth injoy.
And henceforward (anno 1486) he became Lord of the Honour of Apleby, Baron of Westm'land and the 14th hereditary Shireue of the same; Lord also of the Honour of Skipton, and Baron of Vessy. Til ~~after~~ which time he was not able to write ~~any thing att all~~. But after he came to his Lands & Honours, he learned to write his name, & that was all. Howbeit, he delighted much in astronomie & contemplation of the course of the stars, which he was somewhat inured to by his shepherds life; and builded very much of Bardon Tower in Yorkeshire where he had a repository of mathematicall instruments for the practise of astronomie; the specalitie of which we cannot suppose him to be master of by reason of his obscure & illiterate education.[647] But tho his residence was here for the most part, yet he tooke care also of the repares of his other castles mightily decayed for want of inhabitants during his retirement & disinheritance. He was about 1 & 30 yeres old when he came to estate, which

[646] [1341-1342] For the Threlkeld arms see *CFH*, 338-39.
[647] Henry Summerson provides a more measured narrative: '… there is no evidence, later stories to the contrary notwithstanding, that the seven-year-old Henry Clifford was ever pursued by vengeful Yorkists, and the legend of the Shepherd Lord first recounted by Edward Hall in the mid-sixteenth century—telling of the young fugitive brought up among remote sheepfolds, so that he never learned to read, while his younger brother Richard was smuggled overseas, where he died—hardly stands up to scrutiny. Henry Clifford was later to be not just literate but even bookish, owning volumes on law and medicine, and developing a taste for astronomy and alchemy, while his brother is recorded in England as late as 1499. It may be that the Clifford heir thought it prudent to keep a low profile, but the fact that in 1466 Henry Harlington of Craven could bequeath him a sword and a silver bowl suggests that even then he stood in no perceptible danger … on 16 March 1472 Edward IV granted him a formal pardon.' H. Summerson, 'Clifford, Henry, tenth Baron Clifford (1454-1523)'. *ODNB*.

he injoyed about 37 yeres. And by reason of his mother being an heiress there came by an acession of the Bromfletts to his owne coate so that he bore [blank]

{His Wives}
He was twice marryed: 1. to Ann, daughter of Sir John St John of Blestotso, which wife of his was Cosan Germane by the halfe blood to King Henry 7th, for her father was \ halfe / brother to Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Darby, who was mother to the said King Henry, upon which account \ partly / tis thought his lands and Honours

[Machell's Notes: I.254]
*{1. Edward IIII in November 1461 whereby King Henry Quene Margaret & Prince Edward their son. The Dukes of Exester and Sommersett, & the Earle of Devonshire with 140 more were disherited and attainted.} †He was called to Parlament as a Pere of the Relme in which tis said that he behaved himself nobly and wisely and like a good English man. But otherwise he came seldom at London or Court.}

[I.255]
were restored. She was a piouse and devout woman, and lived for the most part a country life, which is very commendable in persons of Quality; and departed this life the 21. yere of Henry 7.[648] and was buryed in Skipton Church vault, havein bin his wife 21 yeres, and mother of severall children by him, of whome hereafter.[649]

{Her Armes} Her paternal coate was Argent a chief sudented Gules, charged with 2 mullets Or.

{His 2nd wife; Her Arms}
He was marryed the 2nd time to Mrs Florrence Pudsey, whose armes wer Vert a chevron between 3 mullets Or. And she also had severall children by him but outlived him and marryed afterwards Richard Grey, one of the young sons of Thomas, the 1st Lord Marquiss of Dorset, which was of that family, whome she outlived also haveing no Isue by him; and dyed very old in Leicestershire amongst her friends in Queen Elizabeths time and was buryed amongst her ancestours there.
And her former husband, who was Henry Lord Clifford of Westmorland, dyed the 20th of Aprill the 15 yere of Henry 8. 1523, ætatis suae 70. And was either buryed at the Abby of Shap in Westm'land or the Abby of Bolton, which is in Craven in the county of Yorke; for that he desired in his last Will and Testament, but in which place he was layd is not certanely knowne. The Isue which he had ~~was as followeth~~ by his 2 wives besides those by lowes,[650] in her former wives life time,[651] which were a great grief to her, were as followeth, viz.

{His Isue; 1493}[652]
By his 1st wife Ann St John
1. Henry, borne 1593,[653] who livd to injoy his fathers Estate and Honour, of whome hereafter.
2. Thomas (who is writ Sir Thomas), who marryed one Lucie, who was the daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, knight, whose armes were [blank]. But he & she both dyed without Isue. He had many places as of Trust conferrd upon him by King Henry 8. and was the governour of Barwick castle.
3. Mabill, the eldest daughter, who was marryed to William Fits William, Earle of Southampton, whose armes were [blank], by whome he had 2 sonns who livd to be men but dyed without Isue; and Antony Browne, his mothers halfe brother by the mothers side \ became / his heires, who was father to the 1st Vicount Montacute. And this William & Mable were the reparers of that part of the House of Cowdry in Sussex, where there armes are placed.

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[648] 1506.
[649] MS following: '~~The 2nd time he was marryed to Mrs Florence Pudsey, by whome he had 2 or 3 sons who dyed very young, and one daughter also, whose name was Dorathie, & she was marryed to Sir Hugh Lowther of Lowther~~.'
[650] 'Lowes': perhaps 'lovers', derived from 'A burning or passionate feeling, esp. of love.', e.g. in 1603: "The raging low, the feirce and flaming fyre That dois my breist and body al combure". See 'Lowe'. *OED*.
[651] His former wife's lifetime? His former wives' lifetimes?
[652] '1493' is written in pencil in another hand.
[653] But see below: 'Generation 10 of the Cliffords'.

[I.256]

4. Elianore, who was maryed to [blank] Markenfield.
5. Ann, who was marryed to Robert Medcalfe, from whome the family of the Medcalfes still in being, have descended.
6. Johan, who was marryed to Sir Ralph Bowes, whence the Boweses in Yorkshire.
7. Margaret, marryed to Cudberd, and heire of Sir Edward Ratclif of Conington in Northumberland {They had Derwent Water setled upon the marriage, & her portion was 500li.}

And by Florrence, his 2nd wife he had
1. Two or three sonns, who all of them dyed whilst they were very young.
2. Dorathie, who was marryed to Sir Hugh Lowther of Lowther in Westmorland, whose father Sir Hugh was he who marryed Ann Threlkeld, daughter to Sir Lancelott Threlkeld, by the Lady Vescy, Lord Cliffords widow, so that this Dorathy & her husband were Cosan Germans by the halfe blood. The Lowthers Arme may be elsewhere*.

Generation 10th of the Cliffords

Henry, son and heire of Henry Lord Clifford of Westm'land and Ann St John his wife, was borne in 1593†, being about 30 yeres of aige when his father dyed, so that he was immediately thereupon possesed of his father lands & Honour, being Lord of the Honour of Apleby, Baron of Westm'land & 15th hereditary Shireve of the same; Lord allso of the Honour of Skipton & Baron Vescy, to all which titles and honours was superadded the Earledome of Cumberland & Order of the Garter. For about 2 years and 3 mo[n]ths after his fathers death he was created Earle of Cumberland by King Henry 8. in the pallace of Bridwell, London, June 18 1525, regni ejus 17^0. And Knight of the Garter in the 28 or 29 yere of the said kings reigne, being the 2nd of this family of the Cliffords that obteined that great honour. He was allso made by the same king (for there was a great amity betwixt them, both by reason of their affinity in blood being \ ½ / Cosans Germans once removed{?} & allso by reason of their education being brought up tog[eth]er when the said king was Duke of Yorke) the Lord President of North parts of England, & many times Lord Warden of the Marshes (Sir Thomas Wharton being his deputy and Hugh Machell of Crakenthorpe Esquire an assistant to him, by vertue of a speciall order under the said kings seales and signe manually) And he was imployed in all the armyes

[Machell's Notes: I.256]

*See my ped[egree] MS. It calls him onely Esquire son of Sir John, son of Hugh Lowther, so that Hugh was his grandfather but neither called Knight nor Esquire.
†{Henry 1, Earle of Cumberland. That is the 36. of Elizabeth [1593-1594]: this is impossible – it sure must be 1497 \ 1493 /?}[654]

[I.257]

sent into Scotland in the said Kings reigne, and evidently behaved him selfe noblely and valiantly. But the greatest instance of that Kings favour towards him was the willingness he expressed to have his niece marryed, who was Elionor Branden youngest daughter of his \ youngest / sister the Duchess of Suffolk, to the eldest son of this Henry Lord Clifford. And against their comeing into the north after the accomplishment of the marriage he causd the great \ gallery att / Castle of Skipton & the 8 Square Tower att the end thereof to [be] built from the ground in 3 moneths space, with a passage into the Castle through the Great Gallery for the more magnificent & commodious reception of his son and daughter-in-law. Which still remanes but the Castle was demolished in the Civill Warrs, anno Dom 1649, in the moneth of December, & in January following. He was one of the most eminent Lords in his time for nobleness, gallantry & courtship, through which he wasted some of his estate, and he bore for his armes [blank]

[654] This is more correct, as Henry Clifford lived from c.1493 to 1542: see R. Hoyle, 'Clifford, Henry, first earl of Cumberland'. *ODNB*. [Machell must surely be forgiven the errors to which we are all prone when copying from old documents.]

{His wives}
{1. Wife}
He was twice marryed, first of all with Margaret Talbott, who was eldest daughter of George, Earle of Shrowesbury, the 4th of that family; whose armes were [blank]. But she dyed very young, within 2 or 3 yeares after their marriage, and left no Isue.
{2. Wife}
His 2nd wife was Margarett Piercy 1st childe and onely daughter of Henry Piercy 5th Earle of Northumberland whose armes were the same with those of her ancestours mentioned before. She had for her portion all those lands in Craven which are called Piercyes foe. Her mother was Katherine daughter and one of the coheires of Robert Spencer Knight by Elianore his wife; which Elianore was daughter & Tenth coheire to Edmond Beuford Duke of Sommersett, so that this Margaret Piercy his wife was lineally descended from John of Gaunt Duke of Lancastre & consequently from King Edward 3.

{Their Death}
She dyed 2 yeres after her husband, for he departed this life att Skipton Castle the 2 & 20th of Aprill 1542, in the 34. yere of King Henry 8. And the yere of his aige 49, haveing bin possesor of his lands of inheritance \ about / 19 yeres; and was buried amongst some of his ancestours in Cliffords vault there. And Margaret, his wife, dyed allso att Skipton as it is supposed \ in / 1544, haveing lived for the most part a country life tho without her husband and was buryed by him in the same va\u/lt.

The Isue which they had were ut sequitur:
1. Henry Clifford \ Knight / natus in anno 1517 de quo infra*.
2. Ingeram, who toke to wife Ann, the daughter & sole heire of Sir Henry Ratclif Knight, whose armes were Argent a bend ingraled Sable, & had Isue 2 daughters only who dyed in their youth so that his nephew George Earle of Cumberland became his heire.
3. Katherine their eldest daughter who was 1. Married to John, Lord Scroope of Bolton Castle in the County of Yorke, whose armes were Azure a bend Or, by whome she had Isue. 2. To Sir Richard Cholmeley

[Machell's Notes: I.257]

*{He is called Sir Henry Clifford K., & Henry Clifford Kt in several leases & grants of his before his father was made Earle: Sc. II. Henry 8. 13. of Henry 8. in Bawtry Box at Skipton.}

[I.258]

whose armes were [blank]. And by him she had issue allso: Sir Hugh Cholmeley and Sir Henry his brother who were both liveing in 1652 being in the 3d descent from this Lady Katherine.
4. The Lady Maud their 2nd daughter who was marryed to Sir John Conyers eldest son to Lord Conyers of Hornby Castle in the county of Yorke. And his armes were Azure a manch Or, with a file of 3 lambeauxes by reason of his fathers being liveing. And by this Sir John Conyers she had diverse children.
5. The Lady Elizabeth who was marryed to Sir Christopher Medcalfe of [blank] Knight (whose armes were Argent, 3 calves passant Sable) and by him she had Isue diverse children from whome the now Medcalfes, & \ severall / other families of note are descended.
6. The Lady Jane who was marryed to Sir John Hudleston of [blank] Knight (whose armes were [blank]), and by him &c.

Generation XI of the Cliffords {Henry 2 Earle of Cumberland}
Henry Lord Clifford son & heire to Henry Earle of Cumberland by Margaret Piercy his wife was borne in the year 1570* six years afore the death of his grandfather the Shepherd & Astrologer, who is said to have foretold that his name should be extinct in.[655]
He was made Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of Queen Ann of Bullen in one thousand 533, ætatis suae 16. And when he was about 5 & 20, by the death of his father he became possessor of his Lands & Honours being 2nd Earle of Cumberland &c., and the 15th hereditary shireue & Baron of Westmorland. Before he began to retire himselfe and take delight in a countorye life he wasted some

[655] After the full-stop, the line is blank.

part of his ancient estates, and amongst other places sold that remarkable mannour of Temedbury, formerly mentioned, which was given in Henry 3rds times by Walter, Lord Clifford the 2nd Lord Clifford of Clifford Castle and Agnes de Condy his wife to their youngest son Roger de Clifford & Sibilla his wife, and so from them to Roger de Clifford their only son who marryed with Vipont and was the first of the Cliffords of Westmorland; so that from that time to this it had continued in theire name and Isue male for the space of 326 years. He was so far spent in a consumption after he had passed the 30th yere of his aige, that he was \ once / given over for a dead man, but by chafeing and cordials brought to life agane;[656]

[Machell's Notes: I.258]

*{This cannot be tem Eliz; he could not be borne & dye in the same yere.}
{1517}[657]

[I.259]

and in his weekness he was nourished for a moneth together by the milke \ which / he sucked from a womans breast; & 3 or 4 months after with asses milek, which before the yere was over restored him to his former health so that he became a strong able man for many yeres after. He was much adicted to the practise of alkimy & there is a place in the great tower att Broham in the top thereof which I suppose has bin a laboratority and in all probabilty made by him; he was a lover of bookes & learneing & had a fine collection both of manuscripts and other choyce books which was the only thing that reclamed him in his later days, and made him delight in liveing at home.

As his father was, so was he allso 2 times maryed:
1. To the Lady Elianore Brandon her Grace as has bin hinted; which Lady Elianore was yongest daughter to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolke, by his wife Mary who was the French Queen; which marryage was solemnised in 1537, he being then about 19 yeres old and his father living*.
This Lady Margarett† bore for her armes barry of Argent and Gules, a lyon rampand Or, with a crowne florre upon his hed, per pale of the field. And by her he had Isue (but not to inherit) of whome hereafter.
2. He was marryed, after his miracolous recovery, to the Lady Ann who was yongest daughter of William Lord Dacre of Gilsland and Grastock both in Cumberland: and her mother was the Lady Elizabeth Talbot daughter to George 4th Earle of Shrewsburye. And they were marryed in Kirkouswold Castle (which florished then) about the latter end of King Edward 6. 1552. Her armes were Gules, 3 escallops Argent, and she allso had Isue by her husband, some whereof came to inherit.

{Dyed}
She out lived her husband, for he dyed att Browham Castle in Westmorland in the yere 1570, January 8, being about the aige of 53 yeres and was buried in the vault of Skipton in Craven with his \ 1st / wife & Ancestours. And she dyed att Skipton 11 yeres after, 1581, ætatis suæ 48. & was buried by her husband, leving this note of good huswife behinde her; that she never came att London in all her life time but imployed her selfe wholy with domestiq affaires; and from that I thinke the word House wife comes.

The Isue which Henry 2nd Earle of Cumberland and Baron of Westmorland & Vescy had by his wives were as followeth.

By his 1st wife[658]
1. Severall sonns who all dyed in their infancy.
2. The Lady Margaret, borne in Browham Castle 1540, who was maryed to Henry Stanley Lord Strange in the Chaple of Whitehall, King Phillip & Queen Mary both being present 7^{0} February 1555 ætatis suæ 15; which Henry was afterwards Earle of Darby and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, & had Isue by her:

[656] The rest of this sentence is obscured by the binding.
[657] '1517' has been written in another hand: The 2nd earl of Cumberland lived from 1517 to 1570.
[658] MS: '… 1st wife ~~the Lady Margaret~~'.

[Machell's Notes: I.259]

*{This highborn princess was grandchild to King Henry 7. nece to King Henry 8. Cosan German to Edward 6., Queen Mary & Queen Elizabeth, & to James the 5th, king of Scotland, & cosan German 2ce removed to the Earle of Cumberland, her husband by the blood of the St Johns.}

†{dyed at Brougham Castle in 1547 & was buried in the vault at Skipton in Craven.}

[I.260]

[1.] Ferdinand and William, successively Earles of Darby, & that loyall subject James Earle of Darby who was beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire by those traiterous rebells, 1651 was son of this William & grandchilde to the Lady Margaret Clifford. His armes are Argent, a bend Azure charged with 3 buckes heads cabashed Or.[659]

2. Henry, Lord Clifford when he was but 2 or 3 yeres old dyed an infant & was buried in the vault at Skipton.

3. Charles their 2nd son who dyed allso an infant and was buried by his brother.

By his 2nd wife which was Ann Dakers.

1. The Lady Frances Clifford borne in Skipton Castle 1555 who was marryed to Philip Lord Wharton (whose armes are else where) & had severall children by him. She dyed att Wharton Hall 1542,[660] & was buried in Kirkbystephan church.

2. The Lady Mary Clifford who was born in Skipton Castle 1556, dyed about 2 or 3 yeres of aige & was buryed in Appleby church in \ this County of / Westm'land.

3. The Lady Elianore Clifford born at Skipton Castle in 1557 who dyed a made about 14 or 15 yeres of aige and was buryed att Appleby.

4. George, Lord Clifford born at Browham Castle 8 of August 1558 who came after to be Earle of Cumberland, de quo supra.[661]

5. Frances Clifford born in Skipton Castle the 13 of October 1559 who was knighted very young by Queen Elizabeth and made Knight of the Bath by King James att Whitehall when his 2nd son Charles (after King of the Land) was made Duke of Yorke, being January 4. 1605 as the yere begins on New Yeres Day. & within 2 moneths after (by the death of his brother without Isue male) he became allso Earle of Cumberland being the 4 of the name & family of the Cliffords that bore the title of Earle of Cumberland & allso the last.

Whist he was but Sir Frances in 1589 he tooke to wife Mrs Grissell Hughes daughter of Mr Thomas Hughes of Uxbridge in Midlesex and widow to Edward Nevill Lord and Baron of Abergeveny; whose armes by her father were Sable a lyon rampant regard[ant] Argent, of whome he begott ~~one~~ \ 2 / sons & 3 daughters:

1. George who dyed an infant

2. Henry who lived to be 5th Earle of Cumberland and last heir male of the norther[n] Cliffords*.

3. Margarett maryed young to Sir Thomas Wentworth who was afterwarde allso created Earle of Strafford, that worthy man who was beheaded on Tower Hill London 1641. Which King Charles 1

[659] The Parliamentarian forces in Bolton comprised a small army which, until the armies of Prince Rupert and Lord Derby arrived, had been besieging Lathom House, home to Lord Derby. The Parliamentarians withdrew into Bolton which had been undefended for almost a year, its defences badly maintained. After two attempts, the Royalist forces successfully stormed the town – sacking, raping and looting with ferocity, supposedly because the defenders had hanged a captured Royalist officer on the city walls 'as an Irish papist'. Estimates of the dead ranged from 2,000 out of the 3,000 Parliamentarian soldiers, to around 1,200 to 1,500, both Royalist and Parliamentarian. The earl of Derby's animosity towards the defenders was personal; the Parliamentarian garrison had been engaged in shooting at his wife and children, and many members of the garrison were known to him. As a result, Derby not only took the lead in hand-to-hand fighting in the streets, but also was said to have killed a Parliamentarian Captain in cold blood. Derby was executed in Bolton in 1651, primarily on the charge of treason against Parliament rather than the murder of the captain, although he denied the charge at his trial. See Tristan A.R. Griffin, 'Culture, Conflict, and Northern English Fortification in the British Civil Wars, Circa 1638-1652', Cambridge PhD Thesis (24 September 2020), 232-38. See also David Casserly, *Massacre, The Storming of Bolton* (Stroud, 2010).

[660] A pencilled addition in another hand reads '1592'.

[661] This comment provides a clear indication that Machell's papers were not necessarily placed by William Nicolson in the order in which Machell had written them, and, as a consequence, were wrongly numbered; in the MS, the section on George Howard occurs below (not above) this page (see I.269).

was so very sorry for.[662] His armes were [blank]. But he had no issue by her; but by a 2nd wife he became father of the now Earle Strafford.
4. Frances who was maryed to Sir Gervis Clifton of Hadsok in Notinghamshire by whome she had Isue: Clifford, Clifton and others.

[Machell's Notes: I.260]

*{For tho he had 5 children: 3 sonns & 2 daughters, by the Lady Fra[n]ces Cicil, his wife – who was daughter of Robert Cecill, Earle of Salisbury – & Lord Hugh Frasur (whose armes were Argent, 5 barulits[663] Azure; \ on / 3 of which 6 escutchions Sable charged with as many lyons rampant of the 1st), yet they all dyed young excepting ~~Frances~~ Elizabeth, who was marryed to Richard Boyle, Earle of Cork in Ireland.} {Boyle Earle of Cork, bears parted per bend imbattled, Argent and Gules.}

[I.269]

Generation XII of the Cliffords

{George, 3d Earle of Cumberland}

George Lord Clifford son & heire of Henry the second Earle of Cumberland by Ann Daker his wife was borne in Browham Castle the 8t day of August 1558 in the same chamber which his father dyed in the 8 of January 1570. anno incipiente die 10 January.[664] So that he was Earle of Cumberland &c. befor he arrived att 12 yeres of aige but ward to the queen dureing his minority, whose wardship she bestowed on the Earle of Bedford, whose daughter he marryed. He was sometime att Oxford, under the tuition of Dr John Whitgift, who came to be afterw\ard/ Archbishop of Canterbury, & here he obteined some knowledge in the Arts, and especially in Mathematiqs, which did not onely incline him thereto, butt rendered him more fitt for marittime imployment, in which \ he / was excellent; for he undertooke 11 or 12 expeditions ~~to the West Indies & coastes thereabouts~~ in the reigne of Queen Elizabeth, his first putting out being in the yere of our Lord 1587 with a designe against 1t. the Duke of Perma; the 2nd. against the Spanish Armador in 1588; the 3. against the Isles of Tercernes[665] & Azorres, wher[e] he tooke the towne Fyall,[666] being dangerously wounded in the assault; and his others as well as these were all performed with great valour and success attending the mete butt over tedious for me to relate, there being a manuscript in quarto of them in the possesion of his daughter & heire the Countess of Penbroke. I shall onely add, therefore, that his last expedition was to St John de Portarica, whence he won the towne and returned victorious into England agane in 1598, about the beginning of the moneth of October.[667] He was a man of great quickness of witt, activity of body and affable disposition, and in high favour with both his soveraignes under whome he lived.

For Queen Elizabeth made him Knight of the Garter and he was her champion in all the tilteing from the 31. yere of said queens reigne till the day that both she and that noble exercise departed from amongst us. & in that hee excelled all the Nobles of his time, for he was so much addicted to tilting, bo\w/leing, horse courseing, shooting and such like active (but expensive) exercises, that these recreations, next to his sea voyages, many of which were sustaned and managed att his owne proper cost, were the great occasion of his selling of lands and he, tis said, to have consumed more than

[662] Strafford's biographer would concur. 'Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, played the roles of honest patriot: the defender of the subjects' liberties; conscientious office-holder; autocratic governor; potential favourite; leading minister in search of personal advancement and profit; and, finally, the allegedly 'evil councillor', sacrificed to atone for Charles I's misguided policies, who after defending himself with great courage and skill against his enemies stoically faced the inevitable …The end of Strafford's life, in spite of the many roles he played, had a greater consistency than many of his enemies or later critics were prepared to admit.' R. Asch, 'Wentworth, Thomas, first earl of Strafford (1593-1641), lord lieutenant of Ireland'. *ODNB*.
[663] 'Barrulet or barrelet or bracelet: diminutive of the bar of which it is a fourth: a twentieth part of the field.' *Glossary of British Heraldry*, 47.
[664] 'The year beginning the 1 of January 1570.'
[665] Terceira: an island; part of the Azores.
[666] Faial (known to the English as Fayal), in the central group of Azores.
[667] San Juan in Puerto Rico. San Juan underwent attacks from the English, led by Sir Francis Drake in 1595 and by George Clifford, earl of Cumberland, in 1598. Clifford landed troops after laying siege to the city of El Morro; but a few months later, he abandoned the siege when his troops began to suffer from gastric fever, just before the Spanish fleet arrived to retake San Juan. See Lisa Pierce Flores, *The History of Puerto Rico* (Santa Barbara, 2010), 46.

anyone of his ancestours beside. The armour which he wore (all sett with preciouse stones) is yett to be seen in Appleby Castle & will there remane a monument of him for after aiges to see & admire. His wife was the Lady Margarett Russell youngest daughter of Frances Earle of Bedford by Margarett, his wife,

[I.270]

which Margaret her mother was daughter of Sir John St John Baron St John of Blentshow in Bedfordshire. They were marryed in St Mary Overyes church ætatis suæ 17 in Southwarke, near London, upon the 14 of June 1547 & at the same time in the same place her husbands sister the Lady Frances Clifford was married allso to Philip Lord Wharton; Queen Elizabeth being there in person. She bore the armes of the Russells, which are Argent, a lyon rampant Gule, on a chiefe Sable 3 escallops Argent.

{Their Death}
She out lived her husband and remained a widow X yeres & 7 moneths; for he dyed 13 day of October 1605 att the Savoy in London; and there he declared that tho by will he had order his estate to Fra[n]cis, his brother, yett he was perswaded it would come to his daughter, & so it did. His bowells were buried in the Savoy chapple, but his body was brought to the vault at Skipton to rest with his ancestour, whither allso afterwards his brother Fra[n]ces, his body was brought, who inherited his Honour; and tis observable that when Henry Clifford son of Frances and last Earle of Cumberland & hereditary male of the Clifford[s] was brough[t] hither allso, yet he filled up the va\cancy/ there being but just roome remaneing for him in that vault called Clifford.

And she dyed att Browham Castle in this county of Westm'land in the same chamber her husband was borne, on Fryday the 24 of May 1616; so that she lived a widow X yeres; and her bowells were buried att the parish church there but her body was brought to St Laurence in Apleby the 11 of July and there inter with \ great / pompe and state befitting so great and so good a Lady; where her stately monument remanes to this day, of which see more in the said church of Appleby.

The Isue which they had were:
1. Frances Lord Clifford who was borne att Skipton and dying there about 5 yeres of aige was buried in the vault amongst his ancestours, 1589.
2. Robert Clifford after Lord Clifford who was borne & dyed in Northall House in the county of Hartford \ 1591*. /
3. Their onely daughter the Lady Ann Clifford borne att Skipton Castle 13 of January, being Friday, in 1590, the yeare begining on New Years Day; so that her birth day is now the same with our commemoration of King Charles the Martyr. But of her more hereafter, being the last of this family.

[Machell's Notes: I.270]

*{In the letter bag of Inquisitions at Skipton Castle there is a letter importing the much lamented death of the hopefull Lord Clifford in June 1591. The most noble Earle George (his father) being then in his travailes \ Tho: Hilton / MS in folio xx^{xx} penes Mr Sheldon.}

[I.271]

She dyed att Browham Castle in Westm'land on Wednesday before Easter, being the 22 of March 1675/6, about 6 a clock at night. And was buryed att Apleby in her owne vault [blank] 1676. Where she wisely provided herselfe a monument of black & white marble with the armes of all her ancestours. Conde tibi tumulum nec fide hæredis amori.[668]

[668] 'Build a memorial for yourself; trust not in the love of your heir.' See a similar cynical sentiment in William Camden, *Remaines of a Greater Worke, concerning Brittaine, but especially England and the Inhabitants thereof* (London, 1605), 54. 'In the cloyster of New College Oxford, this following is written with a coale, for one Woodgate, who bequeathed 200 pound to one who would not bestow a plate for his memoriall: "Heus peripatetice; Conde tibi tumulum nec fide hæredis amori; Epitaphiumque, compara; Mortuus est, nec emit libris hæc verba ducentis."' ['"Ho there, passer-by! Build a memorial for yourself; trust not in the love of your heir." And compare, as an epitaph: "He is dead: words he did not buy with money from the man who composed them."']

[I.272]

N.B. There were 6 sonns & 3 daughters, grand children to the Countess of Penbroke by Margaret \ Sackvill / her daughter, maryed to John Tufton, Earle of Thanet. And but one childe born by the Lady Elizabeth, wife of James Compton, Earle of Northampton.

The Isue of the Lady Margaret		The Isue of the Lady Isabell
Nicholas, Earle of Thanet ob. s.p.	Richard Earle of Thanet	Alathea Compton, married to Sir [blank] Hungerford; she died without Isue ere she came to age so that a portion was never made of her grandmothers estate, given to her and her cosan, John Tufton.
John Tufton Esq. to whom the Countess of Pembroke conveyd her estate by will & had it confirmed by her mother; he was after Earle of Thanet and dyed at Skipton, April the 27, 1680 at 3 in the afternoon; was put in his hearse by Mr Thomas Machell, Chaplin to the King, Mr Gabetis, \ Sheriff, / & others, 13 May, 3 in the morning, and buryed with his ancestours at Raneham in Kent on Tuesday August 18. {Chaplin to the King}[669]	Sackvill Thomas George ob. s.p.	

[**Death of the Countess of Pembroke**]
The most noble, virtuous & religiouse Lady Ann Countess \ Douager / of Penbroke, Dorset & Montgomery, daughter & sole heire to the late Right Honourable George Clifford Earle of Cumberland; Baroness Clifford of Westmorland & Vescy; Lady of the Honor of Skipton in Craven; & High Sherifess by inheritance of the county of Westmorland ~~Ann Countess of Penbroke~~ dyd at Brougham Castle in Westm'land March 22, haveing attein'd to the full age of 86 years the 30 January before, & was interr'd in St Lawrence Church Apleby the 14 of April 1676. She was twice married.
1. Richard Sackvill Earle of Dorsett, 25 of February 1609. His armes were quarterly Or & Gules,[670] a bend bar[ry] Argent Azure, & had Isue by her and he dyed 28 March 1624.
2. She was maryed to Philip Herbert Earle of Penbroke & Montgomery who dyed the 23 January 1650.

{1[t] Isue by Rich.}
i. Lady Margaret Sackvil daughter & coheire married to John Tufton, Earle of Thanet 21 of April 1629,[671] & by her had 9 children; Sable within a bend an eagle disp[layed] Argent. {Margaret, Countess of Thanet dyed 1676 in August & was buried about the 19[th] ejusdem.[672]}

ii. Isabel Sackvil m. 5 of July 1647 to James Compton Earle of Northampton and had Isue: 1 son that died yong. Sable a lyon passant gard[ant] Or; 6 betwen, 3 Sco. helmets Argent.[673]

[I.274]

The Countiss of Penbrooke Resolution
upon what terms she might be brought to agree with her tenants concerneing their fines[674]

[669] Thomas Machell was chaplain in ordinary to Charles II, as he claimed many times in his notes. See, for example, III.82.
[670] MS: 1. ' ~~The Lady Ann Clifford marryed to~~ Richard Sackvill, Earle of Dorsett, 25 of February 1609. He bore for his armes were quarterly Or & Gules.'
[671] Originally '1639', the '3' then crossed out and replaced with '2'.
[672] 'Of the same' date.
[673] The last phrase is obscured by the binding.
[674] This title is in Machell's hand; the rest of the text is in another hand.

"That on gard consideration and counsel I may be brought to take of my tenants 16 or 14 pennay fine. And there upon I will continue to them theire ancient customs of all my noble ancestors that is to say my deare father and mother, my grandfather and grandmother, my greate grandfather, who was first Earle of Cumberland, and his father Henery, Lord Clifford of Westmorland and theire predeceseors, the Viponts that were Lords of Westmorland, my noble ancestors from whome I am lineally discended of this right lyne and undoubted heire to the sayd Lords of Westmorland.
Provided alwaies that they will clame nothing ~~of~~ by vertue of King James his award made the 14th of March in 1617 as the yeares begin the first of January, nor by the decree in Chanceree for the confirming of the sayd award, nor any assurance by conveyences that was made by my uncle Francis Earle of Cumberland or his sonne Henry Earle of Cumberland to that effect and purpose.
Provided that this 16 or 14 yeares fine shall not preiudice the fines already due to me uppon the death and allination of every remnant of myne in Westmorland."[675]

I.

The 2 churches: St Laurence & St Michael, of which now particularly with there respective parishes[676]

[I.296]

1. Appleby Parish: properly called the Parish of St Lawrence in Appleby

[I.183B]

{1. St Laurence, so called from the saint to which tis dedicated, is a spacious church with 2 Iles, one each side the Body quite through both the Body and Quire, and a very handsome Tower with 5 bells. The greatest which was St Law. 6. was take to be recast, but became the least bye it. The windows have 6, but were broke in the church but repaned, yet some thing remane which I shal take notice of. To this church belongs \ a castle / [and] villages. And in it are 3 manner house or seats of nobility & gentry.}

[III.53]

[Brief Notes]
{It was a Ch[urch] temp. Conq.
Long,[677] belfray 6, body 25, Quier 12 ½, broad 18. 2 rows of pillars consisting of 4 pillars & 2 pillasters & 5 arches; the Quire [consists of] 1 pillar & 2 arches on each side. Font. Organ.[678]
Mon[uments]. Vestery. Vault.

[I.296]

{Foundation}
This church (as is supposed) was ~~founded or~~ rebuilt by King Henry the 2nd, about the 24 year of his reigne.

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[675] As a Clifford/Thanet supporter, Machell forbore to criticise Lady Anne, but there is another side to this story, which relates to the abject poverty of some of the Clifford tenants during her lifetime. In 1616, at the end of Lady Anne's inheritance-feud with Earl Francis Clifford, James I awarded Earl Francis the Clifford lands on condition that he paid Lady Anne £17,000, taken from the income of his northern estates. This caused hardship to the Earl and his tenants. Even after Lady Anne inherited the Clifford lands, there were tenant disputes. When she demanded six years of rent arrears, those who could not pay had their beasts distrained. Additionally, fines were raised to eight times the rents. The tenants pleaded poverty, leading to court cases which Lady Anne won. She wrote in her diary, '… by that means, I altered the tenure of this land which was the principal thing I was at in my suites of law with my Westmerland tenants.' Reproduced from Margaret Gowling, *The Story of Brough-under-Stainmore* (Stainmore, 2011), 79-80; see also John Breay, *The Light in the Dales* (Norwich, 1996), 149, 160. As Breay remarks, 'At the heart of the problem was the fall in the value of money. The tenants paid ancient rents fixed in the time of Henry II; and periodically they paid dropping fines on the change of tenants, and general fines on the death of the lord. As the value of money fell, lords demanded higher fines.' *Light in the Dales*, 1.
[676] This heading has been removed from MS.II.183B.
[677] 'Length of.'
[678] For Machell's description of this organ, see his list of building achievements in Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.538.

{Dedication}
It was dedicated to St Lawrence (that fyerye martyr) as a fatal omen of the great damage this towne sustained 1176,[679] in the 22. of Henry 2, being att that time Burned downe to the ground, upon a Scottish invasion under William, their king*.

{Patronage}
The patronage ~~of this church~~ was formerly in the Abby of St Maryes without the walls att Yorke, and given by the Abbot thereof &c. to the Bishop of Carlile (as appears out of an Evidence penes ~~Mr Machel apud~~ \ Lancelotum Machel de / Crackenthorpe) \ Arm /. in whose jurisdiction it remains att this day†.

{**Chanteries**}

In this church were several chanteryes; as the chantery of St Marye, to which Mr Warcop of Colby was a benefactor tempore Henry 7. (vide cart Machellor apud Crakenthorp);[680] St Nichol[as]; St Michael‡.

[Machell's Notes: I.296]

*{It was so calld in Erle Ran[ulf] Meschens. ex inscription super Lapide apud scholar.}[681]
†{vid. cart Henry 6. vol. 7?}
‡vide Lib. MS foli. part 3.[682]

[I.307]

{St Nichols Cant. 4. Henry 7. [1488-89]}
There was a chantry in St Lawrences Church in honour of St Nicol[as] the Confessor, to which Reginaldus Warcopp presented one Hen[ry] Smyth chaplayn, 4. Henry 7. [1488-89]. This I believe was that porch which was called in later times Warcops Quire*.

{St. Marye Cant. 1442. 21. Henry 6.}
There was a Chantry of St Mary which Sir Richard Garnet,[683] vicar of St Lawrence & chantry priest of the same, granted to Sir Leonard Langhorn, with yerely stipend of 7 marks sturl~~e~~ing, & he was allso to teach schole, having the advantage thereof without interruption with the orchard & all the fruits of it, & hay to feed an horse durante vita, except Sir Leonard gott better promotio†.[684] The Abbot of the Monastery of St Mary near & without the wall of York being the true & undoubted patrones of the vicarage of St Laurence in Apleby, presented Richard Garnett, who was admitted by Roger Bishop of Carlile 1507‡.

There was Cantaria Beatæ Mariæ Virginis,[685] founded \ formerly / by Thomas Goldrington & others his Ancestour ~~&~~ \ in / the church of St Laurence; ad celebranda et divina ministranda ad altaræ Beatæ Mariæ pro majore Baluijs et communitate, & pro animabus antecessorum cantariæ prædictæ fundatorum, & omnium fidelium Defunctorum & ejusdem Cant[ariæ] Benefactorum.[686]

{1515. 9. Henry 8.}
There was also in St Laurence Church the Chantery of St Michael.

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[679] MS: '~~and~~ {No, se Cumb.} \ It was / dedicated to St Lawrence (that fyerye martyr) ~~in allusion to~~ \ as a fatal omen of / the great damage this towne sustained ~~by fire~~ 1176.'
[680] 'See a deed of Machells at Crackenthorpe.'
[681] 'It was so called in Erle Ranulf Meschines' [time], 'as is shown by an inscription on a stone at the School.'
[682] 'See folio MS book, Part 3.'
[683] Sir = Reverend.
[684] Latin: 'preferment'; 'advantage'.
[685] 'Chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary.'
[686] 'To celebrate and administer the holy offices at the altar of the Blessed Mary, for the mayor, Bailiffs and community, and for the souls of his ancestors, the founders of the aforesaid chantry, and all the faithful departed and the benefactors of the same chantry.'

[Machell's Notes: I.307]
*{See a grant of this & St Maryes with ment[ion] of founder inter r. cartas Machellorum W. de Crak. Circ. 9[0] Henry 8. [1517-18]}[687]
†Witness, Master Heugh Machell & alijs, iii Henry 8 [1511-12]; {7. H. 8. [1515-16]} {q: an sic dict[um] a fundatore an ab officio?}[688]
‡Memorandum: they had it of Ralp[h] Meschenes, 1[t] Earle of Cumberland {Sc. MSS Cumb.}

[I.296]

{Chapples}
And severall chapples: sc. one att Barwise,[689] an other at the Castle, and a 3[rd] att the hospitall, of which we shal speak more att large in their respective places.

[St Lawrence]

Repaire}[690]
This church being much in decay, was magnificently repared att the sole cost & charge of the Lady Ann Clifford ~~Countiss of Cumberland~~ Countisse Dowager of Dorsett, Penbroke and Montgomerie, who tooke downe all the timber & the walls of most part of the Quire (where a vestery was heretofore) & rebuilt it without one, according to direction of her Stuart, Mr Vincent, of whome she had a \ very / great opinion for \ his / skill in Architecture (as may be seen by his monument att Brough).[691]
But he had none att all \ as appears by his workes. /

{Warcop Quire}
There was allso a quire on the back side of the pulpett, which projected towards the towne. This belonged to the Warcops of Colby and the Colebyes their ancestours and in digging up the pavement & demollishing of the walls they found severall allabaster & plaster figures curiously gilded, hid there, I suppose, upon the extirpation of Poperie,[692] som of [which] I saw when I was a childe, & some I believe are yet to be seen at Colby Hall.[693]

[I.295]

{Armes & Monuments}
Upon this repare the foresaid quire (in lew of which the Warcopps had allotted a piew in the chancel & a buryeing place on your right in the end of the south side Ile of the Chancell, just as you enter in at the Quire dore) was quite taken away, & the vesterie allso, which was (as is usuall) on the north side the Chancell; And much \ painted / glass with many coates of armes was broken & destroyed; but what remanes is as followeth*.

{Windows Armes} è Dugdal.

These in the E. Quire Windowe
{South Wing East End … Machel}[694]
1. Or a lyon rampant Ar[gent]: Earle Pearcy.
2. Gules a cross Argent: Nevil, Earle of Westmorland.
3. Azure powdered floralice[695] Or a lyon rampant of the 2[nd]. Beaumout.
4. Quarterly 1 Ar[gent] semé of floredelice Or; 2 l[yon]s Gules 3 lyons passant Or: i.e. France & England.

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687 'In the Machell of Crackenthorpe deeds circa 1518.'
688 'Query, whether it was prescribed by the founder or went with the office?'
689 Barwise Hall.
690 MS: '{Repaire ~~Armes of monuments~~}'
691 For Gabriel Vincent, see Part 1, Ch.6, Brough, I.424.
692 MS: '~~of whome there were fine allabaster monuments found curiously gilded with gilt~~ and in digging up the pavement & demollishing of the walls they found severall allablaster & plaster figures curiously gilded, hid there, I suppose, upon the extirpation of Poperie.'
693 MS.I.296: 'Som of [them]'. MS.I.295: 'I saw when I was a childe, & some I believe are yet to be seen at Colby Hall'.
694 Written faintly in pencil. The fifth word is much faded.
695 Fleurs de lys.

A.P. in severall places of the w[indow] for Ann Penbroke Reparatrix Ecclesiæ.[696]
Benson? A name in the glasse yet standing in the Quire.

In the North Ile window and the Body[697]
5. Machel impaleing Thorburrow item single olim.[698]
6. 7. Readmanes and Musgraves armes: Azure 6[699]

Here were allso the Machells armes att large but were stolne out of the window by an ignorant fellow \ ~~of the name of Main &~~ / ~~related to the family~~ and caryed to London†. And is to be note that it was customarie of old for those who were benefactors to any church to have the armes sett up in the windows (which were not \ to be / de defaced by any man ‡.) And that this family were soe, may in some measure be gather from this piece of glass, translated probablely from the place were the armes stood (which was in the farest window in the body of the church on the north side) to the window next the new monument for the Lady Ann Clifford, Counttiss of ~~Robt~~ \ Penbrooke/ &c. wherein is this inscription: De &c. Sc. de Crackenthorpe fieri fecerit.[700]
{Machels Armes have about the doggs necks 2 stroke of oringe colour for the coller, which Dugdal has omitted: mat. Preston⸸.}

Monuments
3. Margaret, daughter of [blank] Russel Earle of Bed[ford] – a large tome with the figure of her body ~~&~~ laying at lenth (& large inscriptions with armes, which Mr \ Dugdal / hath taken) which he hath omitted.[701]
4. The Lady Ann Cliffords monument (not taken by Dugdall) which stands above a vault made on purpose for a burying place to her posterity†.
1. A figure \ of a woman / which lyes along under an arch on the right hand the Communion Table or Aultur, beyond the monument of the Lady Margaret Cliford. In Machells Quire now as wa [blank][702]
2. A broad \ grave / stone writt about which I cannot read. It now lyes in Warcops burying place.

[Machell's Notes: I.295]
*See my oblong booke of Miscellanies, & Dugdall, who visited that church, but has oversene[703] the horsehead coate, which is \ in / my Miscellanies.
†Testament Will Yewbanke et alijs.
‡See Leighs *Accidence of Armorie* pag.133.)
⸸{By an order of Thomas, Earle of Lancasters: order, temp. Edward 1. Earle Marishal of England. Insert the rule as a caution & direction for the future.} Vide Leigh.[704]

[I.328B][705]

[A Fragment]

Under this marble buryd lye*
(If fame can buryed bee)
The good old Mali-Catuli
The floores of chevalrie.[706]

[696] 'Repairer of the church.'
[697] Nave.
[698] 'Once.'
[699] Annulets.
[700] '... of Crackenthorpe caused this to be made.'
[701] The sense of this comment is probably, 'and large inscriptions with arms, which I have taken [but] Dugdale hath omitted.'
[702] Incomplete sentence, written in pencil.
[703] Overlooked.
[704] Gerard Leigh, *The Accedence of Armorie* (London, 1563).
[705] A torn sheet of notes.
[706] See *N&B1*, 344.



Figure 1.1.33: 'The Good old Mali-Catuli'. 1.328B.

So much for the church, to what belongs as parcells of the parish.

Appleby with Scattergate, which is part of it; Hoff alias Over Hoff,[707] distant ½ a mile; Burrells, ½ a mile; Colby above a mile; Barwise Row about a mile; Colby Leath, about a mile; Drybeck, about a mile.
Manners:
1. of Appleby
2. of Barwise
3. of Colby
4. of Hoff
5. Drybeck?

[Machell's Notes: I.295]
*{Monuments: These [3 & 4] must be drawn att large.}

[III.53]

[Parish Boundary]
It is bounded on the N. \ & East / with St Michaels, Appelby, commonly called Bongate Parish; on the S.E. & S. with Ormside & Ashby; on the west with ~~Orton~~ Crosby Ravensworth; and \ part of Morland an[d] on / the ~~west &~~ norwest with \ the remaining part of / Morland Parish.

The Perambulation
Beginning at the foote of Sweetmilk sike where it runneth into Eaden near Buly Castle & Crakanthorpe Hall \ opposite / a place belonging to the said Hall called Parklands Head. Thence eastward up the River Eden to a place called Hellyeats, where Stainmore-Gill Sike comes into Eden opposite to the rock called Clint-Skar in the south field which belongs to Appelby Castle \ where it leaves Bondgate Parish & adjoynes upon Ormside. Thence S. west up the said sike {cloven stone N. from here} to an \ little / hamlet in Ormside Parish, called the Heeghts; {The Hights} thence directly to Rutterforce. Thence S. up Rutter Beck to \ Scalebeck Fote ~~near~~ / an house called Howslacks (where it leves Ormside and borders upon Ashby) thence S. up Scale Beck aforesaid till you come at Halligil Wood*. Thence \ S. / ~~up a runlett or rill of water~~ \ up the said beck / by the edge of Highfield \ inclusively / to the intack-wall near Gathorn-Hall \ where Ashby & Crosby Parish meet, & Lankakes.[708] Thence west up the said wall \ crossing Kendall highway / to a little hamblet in Crosby Parish called Banke Head \ ~~Dale~~†? / Thence N.W. (& by W.) by the Banke End wall to Lankakes-House near the Countiss Mount, & so on the said wall till you com at Meaburn Edge; thence W. down the Edge-Wall till you com at Maulds-Meaburn. Thence N. by a stone wall along the side of the moore‡ to a pasture called Intack; thence N.W. by a ring wall on the outside of the moore till you com an hamlet called Drivivers⊥. Thence N.W. by Kings Meaburn ring-dike till you com at Teas-Close-Head; \ thence / N. downe the outside of Teas-Close wall to Buly Castle; thence \ N. / by Sweet Milke Sike till ~~the river~~ \ it enters / Eden where we began.

[707] MS: 'Hoff ~~Barwis Row Colby~~ alias Over Hoff.'
[708] MS: 'intack-wall near Gathorn-Hall \ where Ashby \ is / ~~into~~ {~~Gathorn Hall~~ & Crosby Parish meet, & Lancakes.}'

[Machell's Notes: III.53]

*Halligil Wood – foxes alwayes.
†Query of Barhouse farmer.
‡Q. of this, for the more I thinke belongs Meaburn. Q. of other moors. Q. where Morland endes.
⸸{A q[u]arry} {Query, where Morland enters?}

[III.54]

[Addition to the perambulation by Thomas Dobison of Drivivers]
Thence up Scale-Beck to Bousfildes grounds joyning on to T. Bousfield, Gathorn demaine; thence W. by the ringwall of the said grounds till you com to Dribeck Common \ at Bousfield Yeat; / thence ~~W.by a~~ S. down Bousfields wall, till you com at the roade ~~harding on~~ twixt Dribeck & Kendal; thence \ N. / crossing the way down Harding-Pasture wall to Harding-Neuke \ Side / where Maulds / Meaburn lordship in the parish of Crosby Ravensworth comes in; thence [Blank]*
{Thence Spabanke \ to a stone / a little above the head of Great Briggell, where Dribeck & Meaburn Commons meet.}[709]
{Neuk of Swinegill}
From the Marke-stones \ upon the more / where Colby, Dribeck, Mauds Meaburn & Kings Meaburn meet. Thence N.W.
Mr Dobson has som tent[ament]s. Lord Dakers {Mr Warcop; Rob. Speding.}

[Machell's Notes: III.54]

*{Thus far Thomas Dobison of Drivivers. Will Burry of Drivivers? Rob. Smith of Raw?}

[III.55]

{Gentlemens Houses}
Castle, Goldrington Hall, Colby Leath, Colby Tower, Barwise Hall, Buly Castle [and] Parke, Barhouse Hall, Rutter Demaine –a bad house, thatched.

{Manners}
There are in this parish Lordships or Manners. 1. Appelby-Burrow; 2. The Castle; 3. Hoff & Dribeck; 4. Colby.

1. The Burrow of Appelby are generally freeburgers, and the Mayor of the Towne keeps Court & Barron, at which \ not only / the freemen answers, but the freeburgers also, & doe Suit & Service. But the Burgers choose parli[a]ment men; the Common Council, ~~who are always freeburgers~~, choose the mayor with the consent of the Court of Aldermen. (The Mayor chooses all his officers.)

2. The Castle is the Capital Messuage of Westm'land. There [are] some ten[eme]nts in Scattergate, which is called a Lordship in the Register of Apleby, Anno 1598, for som lands they hold in the fields of Appeby Castle. Burrell S.W. a Castel, 1 mile – xiv fam[ilies]: all customary tenants. \ Burrowgate & the Wiends: l. xxiv fam. Scattergate: xxv. And others in Bongate parish? /

3. 35. Elizabeth, 10 March [1592-93] a ~~lease~~ \ pattent / from Queen Elizabeth under ~~a Broad Lease~~ \ the seal of the Exchequer / of the herbage & hay ground of Hoff Lun \ Wood / called therein Bosc de Hoffe Lyme or Hoflyme Wood. {This is the dom[ane]; no house.} Parcell of the manner of Hof & Dribeck, parcel of the lands & possessions of Leonard Dacre Esq., de alta proditione attincti existentis &c.[710] Lett to Thomas Yaire, Miles Yair & Ann Yair & their assignes for the terme of the lifes \ surrenders or forfaitures / of every one of them successively, for which they paid a fine of vj^{li} xiii^{s} iiij^{d}.[711] The year rent of \ lxvi^{s} viii^{d}: / sexagint sex solid' et octo denar'[712] ~~with an heriot~~ at the

[709] This margin comment is partly obscured and partly scored through.
[710] '… attainted for High Treason &c.' Leonard Dacre (born c.1533) was attainted in 1570, but fled to Scotland, and then to Flanders, where he died in 1573. The reasons for his fall from grace are given by Henry Summerson in 'Dacre, Leonard (d. 1573), rebel'. *ODNB*.
[711] £6 13s 4d.
[712] 66s 8d.

Annunciation[713] & Michaelmas, by equal por[tions]. And after the decease of each of them who dyed tenant thereof, paying 30^{s} (of his moneys) nomine herietti:[714] \ penes dictum Willielmum Smith.[715] /

In Hoff \ & Raw / \ 3 miles ½ / about X familyes, all customary†; & Dribeck is of the like Tenure.
33. Elizabeth, 12 July [1591] lett to Richard Southaite Gentleman by pattent, the woods, underwoods & trees growing in Hoff lunn wood in the manner of Hoff / & Drybeck in 4 several ~~Hoff~~ copses: sc.
Greenbanke Coppice or Hag. Of 20 acres.
Hougil Copice or Hag, 20 acres.
Bradland Banke, 30 acres.
Foddering Land Hag, 12 acres.
{Leased] from the Feast of the Annunciation before the date thereof for 21 years for 40^{s} per annum at Michaelmas and Annunciation. And this [deed] being in the hand of Francis Sou[erby][716] Esq. By good & lawful means ½ of it was granted by indenture from him, bearing date 26. September 3^{0} Jacobi [1605] to Thomas Yaire of Dribeck, yeoman, for the remander,[717] with 1 part in 3 of fierboot[718] to be rendered jointly betwixt them: penes Will. Smith de Apelby cler. pocciatem.[719]
Indented manner. It is agreed upon by consent of both parties, that the yearly rent of 3^{s} going out of the said grounds to the vicar of Appelby for tythes on the same shall be equally paid by the partyes to this indenture.}

{Nether Hof near Colby, W. I mile. 2 demanes freehold: Mr Bradley, Mr Dobson. High Field in Dribeck libertyes iiii fam[ilies] Customary.}

{Rutter demane and IV familys in High & Low Rutter \ 1 mile ½ S. ab Ecclesia / all customary [tenants] to Williams} All Williams tenants pay an Heriot, Sc. the best Laid,[720] Good, otherwise none. The present lady thereof is a young daughter of Will William of Johnby Hall in Cumberland given by her father and purchased by him.

4. Colby: \ a little / [over] 1 mile W. ab Ecclesia;[721] xxv \ iii / familyes, most of them freeholds – The Bishop has tenements there which pay 3. 6. 8^{d} Rent. {90^{li} per annum}.
Colby Leathes: a single farm-house of the Dean & Chapter and an out-house. Barhouse-Hall: Sir John Sudwicks. Before to one Rose who forfeited by steeling a chalice ab Ecclesia. Sir John Boyer purchased it of Sudwick.[722]

[Machell's Notes: III.55; III.56; III.59]

†{At the S. end of Hof bridge is a place called Duglassing[723] where they was a battle with Scotch & English ~~abe~~ when Appelby was burned. Sculls and boanes of dead men have bin found near the bridge in the memory of man, & they talke of a chaple hereabouts.}
[III.56]
From the Intack near Gaythorn Hall
Q. to compleat the bounder.

[713] Saturday 25 March.
[714] 'As a heriot.'
[715] 'In the possession of the said William Smith.'
[716] MS: 'Sou'; the shortened word is unclear.
[717] A word here is obscured by the binding.
[718] 'Fierboot', 'Firebote', 'Fyrbot': firewood, especially that which a tenant is entitled to take from a landlord's estate for fuel; (hence) the right or privilege of a tenant to take such wood; also housebote, haybote. *OED*.
[719] [The deed] 'in custody of William Smith of Appleby: Town Clerk.'
[720] This word has been altered, thus making the transcription questionable.
[721] 'Church of St Lawrence.'
[722] 'In the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, [Berwise Hall] belonged to Sir Thomas Roos Esq. a descendant of whom forfeited it by stealing a silver chalice out of the church. Sir John Sudwick sold it to Sir John Baker, whose widow sold it to Reginald Dobson of Dufton, from whom it descended to the Metcalfes of Bellerby in Yorkshire.' J. Hodgson, *A Topographical and Historical Description of Westmoreland* (London, 1810), 81.
[723] 'Douglas Ing'.

Will. Burry of Drivivers }
Rob. Smith of Raw } bo[u]nd[er]?
& Crosby Ravens[724] }

In Dugdale visit.
Prosspect of Ap. & Cast.
Arms in and about C[astle].
Ar. in & about in hospital.
Ar. in & about the church.
Query if he drew the monuments, else I must.

If Addison have not the N.W. Castle, I must draw it and the cross.
[III.59][725]
Bongate the Bounder
Q. of Cambula.[726]

[2]

[St Michael's]
Of the Parish [and Bounds] of Bongate[727]

[I.342A] [728]

The parish of Bongate is anciently calld St Michaels in Appilby because the church stands in Bondgate, a part of that Town. There is given to the Bindeing out of poor Apprentices by Lancelot Machell of Crackenthorpe Esq. ~~of the Tow~~ devised in the Great Settlement of his Estate, XX, to be paid out of his tythes of Crackenthorpe*.

[Machell's Notes: I.342A & I.339]
*Mem[orandum] a Charity at Kendal of John Machell, sheriff of London which if paid ought to be remembered, & if not paid, ought to [be] looked for; the [charity] descends from him being of good fortunes in Bucks & Sussex.
[I.339] The boundarys. See my paper and examen J. Hill.

[I.305]

St Michaels
To St Michaels church in Apleby are belonging these places following: 1st, Bongate; \ 2. Battlebar[row], which are / parts of Apleby and called vici de Apleby i.e. streets of Apleby; 3. Crakinthorp; 4. Hilton & 5. Murton; 6. Langton; & 7. Brakenbar.

[III.61]

{1} The parish of Bongate (otherwise called St Michaels Apelby) is a vicaridge,[729] valued in the first fruits office at 20li 17s 9½d.[730] And is in the gift of the Bishop of Carleol ~~for the time being~~.[731]

[724] The word having been overwritten, it is unclear whether Machell wrote Ravensworth or Ravensbeck.
[725] This page appears to be an outer wrapper of a set of notes now subsumed into the text of Volume III.
[726] Cambula or Camlann is associated with King Arthur's last battle, the story of which was told by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his pseudo-historical chronicle *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1136). Though Geoffrey placed Camlann on the Camel in Cornwall, some insist that the battle was fought at Camboglanna (Castlesteads) on Hadrian's Wall. See Andrew Breeze, *British Battles 493-937: Mount Badon to Brunanburh* (London, 2020), 13-24.
[727] This title has been removed from MS.III.61.
[728] MS: A small scrap-page containing a short draft of the Bongate parish description, also written elsewhere.
[729] 'A vicar is a clergyman who has the charge of cure of a parish where the tithes have been appropriated. During the middle ages, when churches were appropriated to monasteries, vicars were employed to perform the duties of the rector and received the 'vicarial' or 'small' tithes for their maintenance. After the dissolution of the monasteries 'rectorial' tithes of impropriate rectories were commonly granted to laymen.' CCED, Glossary.
[730] The Court of First Fruits and Tenths was established in 1540 to collect moneys from clerical benefices that previously had been sent to Rome. First fruits were the first year's profits owed by a new holder of a benefice; tenths were 10 percent of the annual income, due each year: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Court-of-Augmentations.
[731] MS I.342A contains similar text: 'It is a vicaridge Rated in the First Fruites office at [Blank] and is in the Donation of the Bishop of Carlile.'

The present incumbent is Barnaby Symson M.A. & somtime Fellow of Queens College in Oxon, being son & successor to Mr Robert Symson the elder (not only in this, but also in Ormside & Longmarton parishes) who liv'd to be a ve[n]rable old man & a great example of conjugal love, as having lived above 50 years in a maryed estate without the least difference betwixt him & his wife.[732] There is a charity of 20[li] for bindeing poore ~~boys~~ apprentices, left unto Crakanthorp within this parish, by the late, valiant & truly loyal Lancelot Machell Esq., Lord of that \ Town / & Lieutenant of horse to the two Countyes of Westmorland & Cumberland.

[Of the Bounds of the parish of Bongate][733]
{W.} This parish is confin'd on the west with St Laurence, Apelby, and the Lordships of Bolton in Morland parish whose bankes are washed (excepting where it hath alter'd its course) with the great River Eden[734] which Camden calls Nobilis Ituna,[735] Sc. from the foote of Cowpland Beck unto the foote of Old Troutbeck steed,[736] where it hath formerly runn into Eden.[737]

{N.} Thence, on the north, with Kirkbythore parish, being divided from it by the said Old Beck-Steed & som part of Troutbeck till you ascend to Kirkbythore-Bridge.

{N.E.}Thence on the north & north-east side it is environ'd with Long Marton Parish & distinguished from it \ either by the ring-hedge of Brampton Lordship or / the great Romane-Way ~~commonly~~ called The Street, ~~the~~ Kings-Street & High-Stree[t], which runneth S.E. from Kirkbythore-bridge to Barron Cross (where it brancheth to Apleby) & so on, to \ a place hard by / Storrow-Close Nooke; thence, by a settle[738] (extending eastwards in a bowline) to Bongate Field Dike at Bon-Roodes Head, and by the said dike {i.e. hedge} to Crundale \ or Curndale / Head, descending northwards. Thence, by the midle of Crundale Bottom (a ~~famous~~ \ curious / foote race near unto Apleby) to Langton Tarne Sike. Thence, by the said sike (which runneth N.W.) to a place call'd Espland \ Stockbrigg at Espland is in the way twix Ap[pleby]. & D[ufton] near Brampton Hall / where it looseth it selfe in Troutbeck aforesaid (which beareth the name of Burthet Beck there), which changeing its name almost at every place it comes at & here call'd Burthet*.

[Machell's Notes III.61]

*{The reason why I adhere to name of Troutbeck generally for this river is because it hath many particular names from the several places it runns by or thorow (as Brampton), & so can not be fixed for any one of them.}

[III.63]

{N.E.} Thence it is bounded on the N.E.* agane with the parish of Dufton, & divided from it by Troutbeck (or Burthet) to Hikupdale Head, near which place it springs. Thence, by a streight line extending eastwards to the high-way or street which leadeth from Dufton to a place called Birkdale in

[732] Another draft of this material (MS I.339) but crossed through, gives: '{Rate; patrons} Bongate is a vicaridge rated in the first fruits office at [blank] and is in the disposal of [blank] {Incumbent}The present incumbent is Barnaby Symson M.A. & sometime fellow of Queens College in Oxford, who succed his father; both in this, & ~~\ the recovrye / Ormside of Ormside~~ & Long Merton Parsonage which use all the incumbents that have bin ~~there~~ \ in their / since the Restoration of King Charles II.'

[733] A note (MS. I.342) not reproduced in the body text, reads, '{Bondgate Parish} Up Grange Beck to the spring head at Green Castle. Thence in streight line to Troutbeckhead, & so on till Moseburn com into Troutbeck to it, divideing us from K. in Long Marton Parish. From thence to Troutbeck foot from Dufton P[ike]. Thence up Teas to far Crakenthorp which divides up from Tine Head in Astan Moore in Com. Thence up the river to Tease Head. Thence to Blenkarne Dale Head where Blenkarnebeck springs. Newb[y] – From Cradundale to Cowgen Head. Thence down that sill to Cunnigarth Head. Thence down Blackh…s dike.'

[734] Written in upper case in the original.

[735] See Camden, *Britannnia*: 1. 'That notable river Eden, which Ptolemee called Ituna' (760); 2. 'Ituna. That notable river which wandreth through Westmorland', 776.

[736] Former bed of the beck.

[737] Another version (III.65) gives, '{W. 4.} This parish is confin'd on the west with St Laurence, Apelby & som part of the parish of Morland whose bankes are washed with the great river Eden (which Camden \ called / called the Nobilis Ituna) from Cowpland-Beck-Foote to the foote of old Troutbeck thence where it hath formerly runn into Eden {excepting where its course has but altred.}'

[738] Settle: a flat ledge or wall foot; see also within this chapter at III.67.

the said parish \ of Dufton. / Thence, by the said way (running still eastwards) to the High-Wath of Mase Beck. Thence, by Mase-Beck (descending S.E.) to a place called Broad-Mea {i.e. a piece of ground so called, being a plane benty green compass'd with heath} near the low wath of Mase-Beck, where {?!} Rummakirk[739] Parish (in the county of York) commeth in & conjoyneth on the east side of it ~~saveing onely~~ \ which / divided by a direct mathematical line (which extending southwards) from Bread-Mea Foote[740] to the bought or bending of Mickle Fell, & so up that fell to an hurrock[741] \ of stone / (which they call a carrock) on the very \ end of it†.[742] From whence 'tis confined with the parish of Warcop on the south–east & south, & distinguished from it by a streight line thurrow Philip Read Moss; from the said hurrock (S.W.?) on Mickle fell End to another hurrock upon Lile Fell;[743] whence agane to C[hr]isty-Gill Head, & so down the bottom of Christy-Gill to the very foote of it. Thence, by a streight line (ascending westwards) over Swindale-Beck to Swindale Fauldes‡, & thence agane westward to an hurruck of stones on the top of Roman-Fell. Whence, descending (by a streight line) unto the head of Wastergill-Sike, & thence by that sike to a place call'd Spell-Banke, where it divides into 2 streams, & so ~~by~~ \ at / the right streame (or channel of it, when \ it / doth not runn) down Low-Gill-Banke to a place called Storth; and thence by Storth Sike to Breadmire Sike, whence down Breadmire Sike

[Machell's Notes: III.63]

*{Towan sayes N.W. Troutbeck springest at Hikuphead & runs west to Keiscliff; thence behinde Brampton; thence to Marton & so to Kirkbythore all along from E. to W.}

†{Query} {!} {So. Jo[hn] Hill & Thomas Sanderson agree, but Nic[holas] Harrison talks of Birk-Sike-Head whence wee are to ascend by a line S.E. to the carruck on Mickle Fell; and they, on the contrary, that Birk-Sike-Head is far in Yorkshire & that Sir William Bowes has an house & lead mines on this side of it, ergo q[uery]?}

‡{General note: Mem. at Bolton in Machells court rolls.}[744]

[III.69]

which runns by the skirts of Humphrey Head, takeing it in till it falls into Dowbeck & so down by Dowbeck till George Gill Tong*, where it runns into Kelds-Well Sike & thence descending by Keldswell Sike to Cowpland Beck Bridge, & so to the foot of Cowpland Beck, where wee first began.[745]

[Machell's Notes: III.69]

*{Tüng: a similitudine extremitatis ejusdem inter fauceses duorum fluviorum.}[746]

[I.337]

[This version of the Bounds starting from the east, was made by John Hill]

It is bounded on the east with Rummakirk, from which tis divided by Brikesike from the head ~~down~~ of it to a[747] hurruck of stones south east on the top of Mickle-Fell End*. \ So, from the parish of Warcop / in streight line […][748] on the south E. with the parish of Warcop, {in streight line} SW to another hurrock of stones {in straight line} from the hurruck of stone on Mickel-Fell to another upon Little fell by a streight line through Phillip Read Moss. Thence \ S.W. / to Cissy Gill Head by a

[739] Romaldkirk, near Barnard Castle.

[740] Broad Mease. The place-names 'bread' and 'broad' are used interchangeably in this bounder narrative; both derive from the old Saxon 'breiðr', meaning 'broad'. See *Westmorland Place-Names*.

[741] 'Carrock': from the Old Welsh 'carrec': a rock; otherwise, a cairn on a hill marking the way or boundary.

[742] MS: '… on the very \ end of it / Top of Mickle Fell End'; Machell sometimes used pecked underscoring when considering the removal of text.

[743] MS: 'from whence 'tis confined with the parish of Warcop on the south-~~east & south: Sc. from the hurruck of stone on Mickle Fell End, by a special line through Philip Read Moss~~ east & south, & distinguished from it by a streight line thurrow Philip Read Moss; from the said hurrock (S.W.?) on Mickle fell End to another hurrock upon Lile Fell.' Lile = little.

[744] This appears to be written in another hand.

[745] MS: 'whence down ~~by~~ Breadmire \ Sike / which runns by the Skortes (which runns by the skirts of Humphrey Head ~~&~~ taketh it in \ takeing it in / till it falls into Dowbeck & so (down) by Dowbeck till George Gill Tong, where it ~~enters~~ \ runns into / Kelds-Well \ Sike / & thence (descending) by Keldswell Sike to Cowpland Beck Bridge, & so to the foot of Cowpland Beck, where wee first began, ~~by which \ it / is divided from Warcop~~.'

[746] 'So called from its resemblance to a tongue in the angle of the fork of two river channels.'

[747] Here there is a small sketch within the line of text.

[748] MS: 'in streght line {a streight line}'. This is followed by two illegible words.

streight line. Thence down the bottom of the Gill to ~~the foote of~~ \ Sissy Gill. / Thence \ westward / ascending by a streight \ line / over Swindale Beck to Swindale faulds. Thence westward ~~over~~ to an hurrock of stones on the top of Roman Fell – & thence descending in a streight line to Waster-Gill \ Sike / Head – ~~where the Sike \ so calld / springs~~. Thence down Wastergill-Sike – to ~~Humphrey Head~~ to Spel-Banke, where it divides into 2 streames. Thence down the right hand streame \ or sample of it which doth not run allwayes / down Lowgill Banke to \ a pasture calld / Storth. Thence down Storth-Sike, to Breadmire Sike; thence down Breadmire Sike to Humphrey Head \ Hill, / takeing it in till it runn into Dowbecksike; thence down Dowbeck, to Gorge Gill-Tonge End where it enters Keldswell-Sike; thence down that sike to Cowpland Beck Bridge; thence down Cowpland Beck ~~brig~~ to Eaden \ the river Eden being divid ~~all along from Warcop~~ / by \ these meet […][749] land markes all along from the parish of Warcop. / Thence on the west tis bound with St Lawrence Apleby & part of Morland, from which tis divided by the river Eden (from Cowpland Beck Foote) to the foote of old Troutbeck†. Thence on the north, with Kirkbythore parish from which tis divided from Troutbeck Foote to Kirkbythore brig by old Troutbeck Steed on N. and nor-east, with Murton parish or by the Street (or hedge)[750]

[Machell's Notes: I.337]

*{At Mical Fell mines,[751] a white raven builded as white as milke: Jo[hn] Hill}

†{This for Nicholas Harrison}

[I.338]

S.E. on Roman Way to Baron Cross where the sayd way brancheth out to Apelby, which divides from the Lordship of Brampton in Longmarton parish*. Thence directly up the foresaid streat to Borrowdale Nooke at a smal distance from it. Thence \ eastward / to Bongate Field Dikes at Bororoades Heade by a settle in a crooked line. Thence north to Crundale Head, by the said ~~thence~~ \ hedge. / Then down the midle of Crundale Bottom (which discribes an S.) to Langton Tarn Sike Troutbeck, at the foote of Flay Brigg. Thence from Dufton parish \ which lyes N. of it / by Troutbeck upwards to the spring-head at Hikeup ~~Dale~~ \ Head. / Thence to \ an hurrock of stones on / Watch-Hill by a direct line. Thence to Mase-Beck Head by a direct line. Thence eastward down Mase-Beck till it com into Swath-Beck. Then down Swath-Beck to Birke Sike \ Foote thence to the / head where wee began†.

Thence down the Sand sike which runneth northwest ~~to a place calld~~ till it looseth it selfe in Troutbeck aforesaid at a place called Espland, where it beares the name of Burthet Beck.

{N.E.}

On the north east \ it is invironed / with the parish & lordship of Dufton (from which it is divided from Espland aforesaid by Troutbeck (or Burthet) following it all along up the river to Hikeup Dalehead, near which place it springs‡. Thence eastward in a streight line to the highway, which ~~goes~~ headeth from (the town of) Dufton to \ a place calld B. in the said parish. / Thence \ by the said way which you follow eastwards / (down that ~~street~~ highway) eastwards to the High Wath of Masebeck. Thence \ to the / S.E. & by Masebeck descending S.E. /down the said ~~beck~~ \ river / to a place calld Broad Mea near the Low Wath of Masebeck {not a boggy but a rushy benty place}, divideing it all a long \ N.E. / from \ the parish of / Dufton ~~parish aforesaid~~.

{E.}

On the east with Rummakirk in Yorke\shire / being divided from it by a streight line \ southwards / from Broad Mea Foote, up the midle of it to the bought \ or bending / of Mickle Fell. Thence by a streight line to the hurrock of stones on the top of Mickel Fell, where wee began: John Hill.

[Machell's Notes: I.338]

*{Marcton parish surely never grass grew.}

†Query If it touch upon Midleton. Qu. of John Hill: How twixt Bongate and Brampton.[752]

‡{It springs in Dufton parish near Narrow Gate.}

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[749] Two interlineated and superimposed words here have not been transcribed.

[750] MS: 'Troutbeck Foote: {On the north} Thence on the north, with Kirkby \ thore parish / & ~~Murton parish~~ from which tis divided from Troutbeck Foote to Kirkby thore brig by old Troutbeck Steed \ on N. and nor-east / with ~~or rather S. east~~ Murton parish or by the ~~thence eastwards up~~ the Street (or hedge).'

[751] This could easily be read as 'Meal' Fell, see I.341.

[752] Machell's source was John Hill of 'The How' between Bongate and Brampton, Westmorland.

[Further versions of the Bounds]

[III.65]

Thence {N.} on the North with Kirkbythore parish from which 'tis divided by the old Beck-Steed & som part of Troutbeck, till you com at Kirkbythore Bridge where it meeteth with Long Marton parish \ & / from which tis divided on the N. & N.E. by the great Romane-Way (commonly called \ Hagh Street antiently / Kings Street & High-Street) till you com at a place\ from Kirkbythore Bridge to Baron / called Baron Cross on this side Apleby; & so directly to Storray Close Nooke {whence it branches to Apleby} which is near there unto, the foresaid way running all this while directly S.E. from Kirkbythore Bridge & divide in the Lordship of C. & B.,

[III.67]

by the latter of which it is yet hem'd in & divided from it with a certain \ crooked / settle extending eastwards from Storrow-Close-Nooke to Bongate Field Dike at Bon-roodes Head & by the said dike to Crundale Head, descending northwards. Thence by the midle of Crundale Bottom (a famous foote race near unto Apleby) to Langton Tarne Sike; thence by the said sike which runneth N.W. to a place calld Espland, where it enters Troutbeck {called here also Burthet Beck} which divideth it (hence) on the northeast from the parish & Lordship of Dufton to Hicupdale Head (near which place it springeth from the parish of Dufton, called here also Burthet Beck, & where the parish of Dufton comes in & and adjoynes, by which it is bordered on the north-east & from which tis divided by \ the river / Troutbeck (or Burthet \ Beck /) following it all along up the river to Hicupdale Head near which place it springs. Thence by a streight line extending eastwards to the highway which leadeth from Dufton to a place calld Birkdale in the said parish; thence by the said way running still eastwards to the High-Wath of Mase-Beck; thence by Mase-Beck descending S.E. to a place \ swang / calld Broad Mea* which is near unto the Low-Wath of Masebeck where (it toucheth on) Rumakirkirk parish (in the county of York)† & enjoyneth unto it on the E. side thereof, being onely divided by a straight mathematical line extending S. wards \ or may be S.E. / from Broadmea Foote up the midle of the bought or bending of Mickle Fell & so to an hurrock or carrack of stones on the very top of Mickle Fell End.[753]

Machell's Notes: III.67

*{Broad Mea, a piece of green benty ground compassd with ling, which is so calld.}[754]
†{Rumakirk parish in the county of Yorkeshire comes in at its border upon the N. side.}

[I.307]

{Bongate Church}

St Michaels is called Bongate in Apleby[755] 18. Henry 8. [1526-27] in the Record of the Mau[c]h[ell] de Crak[enthorp.] And in St Michaels in Apleby was the Chantery \ late / of William English, but anciently founded;[756] both which, with the other of St Mary, were given by way of augmentation to Sir Leonard Longhorn,[757] chaplain, for teaching the Grammar Schoole att Apleby: Anno Dom. 1515, 9. Henry 8. Witness: Henry Salkeld, tunc majore;[758] Richard Garnett, Vicario; Rowlando Machell & Hugone Machel; Edmundo Machell; Johe Hilton, et alijs.

[I.507]

{Machellorum familia Scholæ Appelbiensi Benefactor perpetua assidua continua.[759]
Mr Ja[mes] rechard.

[753] MS. I.310 also references Crundale: 'At Crundale Bottome … is a place very commodious & frequently used for running of races, either on foot or with little horses. I thinke it is in the parish & lordship of Bongate? {Sed Quaere}'.
[754] See also MS. III.63; I.338.
[755] MS: '{St Michaels} it is called Bongate in Apleby.'
[756] *N&BI* refers to a lease of a garden granted in '7. Edward 4.' (1467-68), 'by Sir James Harrington (patron) and John Winton, chaplain of the chantry of Sir William Englys, knight.' The lease was found in the 'town chest of Appleby.' *N&B1*, 342.
[757] Langhorn.
[758] 'Then mayor.'
[759] 'The Machell family was a perpetual and constant and continuing benefactor of Appleby School.'

L.M.[760] Esq., a duly [appointed] benefactor to Apelby school concilio et auxilio.}[761]

[I.308]

[Arms and Monuments]

The armes of the Mauchells de Crakanthorpe were formerly in diverse parts of Bongate Church, viz. in the east window att large and in the little window next to the quire under which the Heltons have now theire seat, but they were taken downe and lost at the repareing of the said church, either by the neglegence or knavery, which more to be suspected, of the ~~bribe~~ glasier who was bribed by one that envied the antiquity of that ancient family. This was don in my time & I could if I had a mind give a more particular account concerneing it. There are no coates of armes now remaneing except the Cliffords \ which are / in that little south quire next to the pulpit in the east window thereof & some upon the timber, now much defaced; but as near as I am able to conjecture they are as followeth, viz. Argent a ~~f~~ Gules.[762] Argent a fess S[able][763] 6 anuletts the colours decayed, but I take them to be Musgraves; Sable, the charge defaced, which I take to be Machells, for they are the most ancient ~~gentry~~ inhabitants of this parish.

There \ are / no monuments observable in the church excepting one which is the figure of a woman laying long upon a through stone under a little arch on the north side of the church, and above it within the arch is an eschuction[764] parted per pale: in the 1st 6 anuletts, in the 2nd 3 water budgetts, which I take to be Musgraves & Rosses Armes, and that monument to have bin erected there in memorie of some of the Rosses who were matched into the family of the Musgraves who resided some time at Morton in this parish, which was heretofore a Lordship of theirs but afterwards sold unto the Hiltons. There is allso in quire near to the Altar a large marble through of a blewrish colour, but without any inscription, under which the ancestours of

[I.309]

the Machells of Crackenthorpe doe lye interred & were never ambitious of a fairer monument.

‘Tumulo Pompeius Nullo’: Martial vide.[765]

[Machell’s Notes: I.349]

I finde a warrant for a tree out of Morland wood to Mr Fetherston, Vicar, towards the repareing of the seats in the Dean and Chapter quire. Bering date 1605. Subscribed by Barn. Rob.; Edw. Maplet; W. Men; Richard Sibson. Directed to Adam Trigge, keeper of their woods att Mooreland.

There were in that quire the east window the Machell arms att large, and agane in the body of the Church in the first northside window next to the quire over the place where Mr Hilton sits, taken away when the church was glasen’d and repared; I forbear to speake by whome or how, to prevent descention.[766]

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[760] Lancelot Machell, Thomas Machell’s father.

[761] Concilio et auxilio: ‘with his advice and assistance.’

[762] In this sentence the consonant ‘f’ [fess?] has been scored through.

[763] The last letter is faint; it could be ‘S’, ‘I’ or ‘g’.

[764] Escutcheon.

[765] ‘Pompey had no tomb.’ See Martial, *EPIG. XC. Epigrammata contraria*: the 2 Epigrams made on Licinus a basely born but wealthy barber of Rome, who had a marble tomb:
‘Marmoreo tumulo Licinus jacet, at Cato parvo. Pompeius nullo: credimus esse Deos?’ Translates as:
‘Licinus in Marble, Cato in a small Tomb lies. Pompey in none: can we there be Gods surmise?’
Another Distich answers that the Gods reward worthy Men with fame and felicity.
‘Saxa premunt Licinum, vehit alte Fama Catonem. Pompeium titulis: Cedimus esse Deos.’ Translates as:
‘Stones press down Licinus, Fame Cato high doth mount. Titles raise Pompey: Gods there be we count.’
Machell’s allusion is to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great), who was defeated in civil war by Julius Caesar and murdered in Egypt in 48 B.C. Pompey’s head was severed (it was later burned in a funeral pyre by one of his freedmen) and his body thrown into the sea. No tomb for him, therefore, although he had been one of the leading Roman generals and statesmen of the late Republic. In the context, Machell is evidently declaring that it is no shame for the Crackenthorpe Machells to have a plain, uninscribed tomb when Pompey the Great had none.

[766] ‘Dissension.’

Familia de Colleby: John de Colby test. apud cart Berwis (penes Blenkinsop)}
Hugh de Colleby 1343 circa. 16° Ed. 3; 17° Ed. 3
Familia de Heltun: Thomas He\t/on, de Hel \t/on Coronator 33. Henry 6. [1454-55]

The Fryeredge
I finde in the evidence chest of the Machells of Crakenthorp {In a bill of} the fests[767] of Guy Nelsons forth bringing: s. d. but I suppose in the time of Henry 8. for there is mencon of Ambrose Machells wife. Amongst other things – as to sex priefes[768] ij^{s} iij^{d}; for proveing of the testament, 3^{s} 4^{d}; making it, iiij^{d}.

Memorandum to the Prior of Freers for Fraternyte: 1^{d}
Item for Nottgyld x^{d} ob[769] for one pare of shoes shoyngs:[770] iiii^{d}.

{Apelby: the Baliffes principl men even in the time of Henry 8. – major Bal. et com. anno ejus 9^{0}, see Cart. Machell} de Famili Machaellorum.

[I.305]

Chaples; Hamletts.

[Chapels]
At Crakenthorpe up the top of the hill, which was standing till of late years – an other I suppose in the way betwixt Coupland Beck Bridge & Bongate Head if you goe the direct way by the old hedge steed; for on the left hand is a square platte imcompassed with stones, formerly a wall but now lay rudely in a continued rainge, & in the midle thereof an oblonge which I take to be the ruines of the chaple & the square in which it stand the chapple yard. Peradventure the Towne extended hither, ~~for~~ \ but / there are noe houses nor villages nor hamletts nearare to it now than Bongate Head, & that I thinke is ½ a mile distant. But certane it is that the High Street in Bongate which leads toward Coupland Bridge has comed very near as far as the moore where the little sike runns. Follow all that lane till you come att steep descent where it contracts itself on a sudden as far and wide, and the pavement of street very faire to be discovered by the whole bredth of the lane. & the lands which lay on either side by their ridges & hedge steeds contribute very much to the confirmation of the same. Howbeit there are now houses built a thwart at the head of Bongate, and a fold walled in which beyond all dispute has not bin so formerly, and the barne & wall were both reared in my time.
I thinke there was allso a parochiall chapple formerly att Murton,[771] for in the levelling their garden platte there severall sculles and mens bones were found, as I have bin long since informed.

[III.72A]

[Short Notes on families and tenancies in Bongate, Howgate Foot and Battle-brow.]

Crackenthorp. N.W. ab Ecclesia 1 mile.
Bongate. Langton E. ¾. Now III customary and one of them has freehold there also. 1 house of the Lords calld Salkeld Tenement in 1684. Entered by a writ of possession in the right of R.B.

Batterburgh. Kirkber E. ¾ at[772] Court. 2^{s} stirrup rent. Now Burton & Thanet.

Battleburrow, N. ¼, consists of XII familyes and is all burgage land. And most of them have Customary Estates out of the Liberties of the Burrow, held of Appelby Castle.
A religious house – Lady Well. St Nicholas.

Bongate near the Vic[arage] ~~a place tenements calld by the name of Paradice~~. It consists of about XXIV \ 29 by my own observation / besides the vicarage. All customary tenants excepting II

[767] 'Fest': 'putting out cattle, sheep etc. to graze at a fixed price per head.' Or, 'bind to an agreement or contract.' See Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, 2, 339.
[768] Possibly from 'pree, prieve, priefe': to prove. Thus, 'six proofs [convincements]': See Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, 4, 610.
[769] 10½d. See the English Glossary.
[770] 'Shoeings.' Middle English: shoyng(es). 'Shoes (collectively).' *OED*.
[771] Morton.
[772] The short word following is obscured.

freeholders who have also tenant right, & bought them selves free of Mr Robert Hilton. Ten[an]t Holds of the Dean & Chapter i.e. calld Paradice of Mr George Hilton of Bondgate Town Head.

Robert Dover \ next house / a freehold, has a priviledge at the Castle mill to grind first after the mill is clear; otherwise he may stop the miln eye;[773] & for this he is to keep the fier in and be ready to let the miller in to light a candle any time of the night.

Howgate Foote, N. from the church at North End of Bongate, about IV \ or VI / familyes, 1 of which is customary estate, the other burgages, one of which is called St Johns Croft.[774]

[III.73]

Bongate – hath 2 or 3 streets now remaneing {of which there are only 2 or 3 freeholds, Sc. the vicar[age] & 2 more that purchased their freedom,[775] lately of [blank]}.[776] For it is built in manner of a T and conteineth in it about XXX f[amilies], Sc. from N. to S. 20, from E. to West 10.
Howgate Foote is in this parish, lying ~~as Crack~~ \ N. / from the church ⅛ of a mile, conteining about V or VI familyes\ is so called from the / {Howness or Hollowness of the yeat or street, one of which is a Customary Estate belonging to Ap[pleby] Castle as a parte of the manner of Bongate; the other are members.}[777] \ The house at the Bridge End / being a member of the Burrow of Appleby.

And so likewise is Battle-brow – so calld perhaps from som notable skirmish with Scotts when they used to make their inroads ~~hither~~.[778] And the common at the N.W. end of the said street being called Jock Green may very well seem to confirm the same. This conteineth in it about XII f[amilies] \ in Rasebeck / the chief houses of which are the highest & lowest on the western row. The one belonging to Mr Philip Machell \ late Alderman of Appelby / descended from the Machells of Crak[enthorpe] Hall, whose ancestor was the famous H.M. \ of Cr. / in K. H. the 8th time \ of whome more there. / The other to Mr George Hilton \ one of the feofees / of Lankashire, a 2nd brother of the Hiltons of Murton, which house was builded out of the ruines of an old Frieredge behind the opposite row of houses where the grounds adjacent still cary that name; & it seems to have had it dedication to the Virgin Mary, because there is a well spring out of those grounds with a fluent current called Lady Well, which runneth down the back \ side / of the hous[e]s on the eastern row, & serves them with water as it has served the friers formerly, & might be of use to the whole street; & a row of houses as far as Howgate if

[III.74]

there were occasion, with a little labour, where all along there has bin formerly ancient burgages, it lying in Gards, every one of which is a Burgage.

{Midle Row}
The Midle Row (where Mr Lowsons house is the chief) is but an improvement lately made, which takes away the spaciousness of it \ that street / & so likewise does the barne & improvement before Machells house; but if these were removed & a line drawn by the frieridge barne to Howgate Foote, & good houses builded, ~~it would~~ \ & likewise from Machels houses to Mr Hiltons, & a banke of stone straight from thence by the water to the House of Corection & so on, with houses in a streight line to Howgate Foote, which is all the extent of the Beast Market, it would make a noble street indeed, and be bravely watered with the said spring and River Eden, & might be convenient for a manufacture. Had Sir John Lowther instead of a facture house at Lowther, made buildings here in order to a trade, the only thing which the town stands in need of, he had so obliged them as to have deserved an eternal acknowledgement to himself & posterity; & it is a worke may beseam a noble-man, when any shal take so much \ pitty / upon it as to ~~restore this ancient burrow~~ \ lend theyre hand to lift up this ancient burrow agane, which has laid grovelling so long upon the ground.

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[773] Mill-eye: the opening which conveys meal from the millstones to the meal-bin. *OED*.
[774] The information is repeated in the margin.
[775] Freeholds.
[776] See III.72A: Robert Halton.
[777] That is, ‘of the Borough’.
[778] Tales of skirmishes with the Scots are often repeated, e.g. I.173; 1.304; I.346-47.

[III.74]

{St Nicholas}
Next to Jock Green on the East side there lyes a large tract of ground which belonged of old to a little hospital bearing that name. It stood where the farme house standeth now opposite to the vennel call'd Nansens Wiend where only the river runns betwixt them, & hath stepping stones for convenience of passage, & to joyn it \ as it / were to the Market town, when the water is low.[779] Here was ~~great store~~ \ floore /of flags discovered in [blank], cut diamond square. It was anciently a hospital for IIII leapers.

[Machell's Notes: III.74]
{Erming Street, see Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, p.6, col.2. Q. A Strat in Eremo.}[780]

[III.75]

Who were the 1ˢᵗ founders of it I know not, onely Robert de Veteripont confirmed to the Abby of Shap. By the state of the ground \ & tho a distinct thing now of it selfe / it should seeme to have belonged to the Lordship of Crackenthorp, & to have bin taken of the demanes which hemms it in on the N. & E. side from the river by springs in a mire by Hangman Close,[781] which is now the utmost extent of limit of this Lordship of Crakanthorp, at the Lain End which comes from Battlebrough & seems to have terminate[d] an ancient street there. It is calld Hangmans Close \ thought to have taken that unpleasing name / either from som of the Machells of Crakenthorp having bin sheriffs (tho I finde no such thing) & granting this dureing their shrivalty to his executioner; or from having Furcas[782] amongst their priviledges, which were very great, as shal be shewn. And as I remember, if my childish apprehension deceived me not then, I have seen the stumbps of a pare of gallows within this close, or the little hillocks whereon they have stood.

[I.120A]

Murton

\ N. / E. 1mile ½, consistes of about \ xxiii / families, ~~most of them~~ \ 13 or 14 of which freeholds, som few arbitrary, the rest farmers. A chaple; formerly a good mannerhouse the seat of the Hiltons, but part of the demaine lands there were lately sold to Lawrence Fletcher of Strickland. A well runs into the house.

[Hilton/Helton]

Hilton: E. 1 m ½ [from Langton], and ½ a mile destant from Murton, consistes the like number of houses; most of them are freehold estates lately sold to them by Mr Thomas Hilton of Murton.[783] XII freeholds, the rest customary.

[I.305]

I finde Thomas Helton de Burton & Thomas Hilton de Hilton both witneses att a deed in the 1ˢᵗ of Elizabeth, so that by this it should seem the Murton family was then peculiarly called Hiltons of Hilton. And I suppose they had no other place then but Helton at which they dwelt on and whereupon they were called Heltons of Helton, tho they had butt ½ of the lordship; for I read of one William Musgrave de Moreton: 21. Elizabeth [1578-79], at which time allso there were Sir Simon of Edenhall & Mr Ingaram of Plompton. I finde T. Hilton of Hilton Gent, & George Hilton son & heir apparent of Thomas, bound in bond for performance of articles of agreement (29 April, 17. of King James [1619]).[784]

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[779] A margin comment (MS I.339) provides, {'& [wood at] St Nicholas, which is supposed to be a piece of ground take[n] of[f] from this Lordship & given in nature to a piouse and religiouse use. The maintenance of Leaper[s] by som of the Machells of the other piece of the said Lordship was given of by Halth le Machel & Eve his wife to the Priory of Carlile in the f[oundation] Charter.'}
[780] 'A street in the wilderness', from the Latin and Greek, 'eremus.'
[781] MS: 'which hemms it in on the N. & E. side from the river by ~~the cource of~~ a little sike ~~which comes into Eden ad St Nicholas Dub Foote &~~ springs in a mire by Hangman Close …'
[782] 'Fork-shaped gallows', from Latin, 'furca'.
[783] MS.I.310: a note remarks, '{Morton} See towards the beginning of this booke a relation of the place & family of Hiltons, \ it was sold in 1696 by Mr George Hilton the younger to Sir John Lowther of L., except som mortgaiged to foe to Lawyer Fletcher /.'
[784] A note remarks, 'Arms & Matches of Hilton se in Kirkby Thore, a loose paper?'

[I.120A]

There is a manner house ~~in~~ \ much / demolished, which belongs to him. There is a smelt mil & corn miln. One halfe of this town belong'd to Mr Ciprian Hilton of Burton & Ormside, who sold them free; & II freeholds more at Hilton called Hilton Dykes. ½ a mile E. from the town a chaple whose walls are yet standing. \ A quarter of a m[ile] beyond the chaple / the hamblet of Brekinber,[785] S. from Hilton ½ ,& E. from the[re] 1m. and ¼. VI [families.] & Holmes Close, 1 house, freehold.

[III.91]



Figure 1.1.34. Hilton. 'Over the arched gate of the court'. III.91.

a. Over the wash-house dooer opposite to the Gate, Hilton Single, in a bordure with 2 saltiers only, with T. on one side of it & H. on the other, and these figures [blank] 16*.
b. This is waterd from Through cot well.
c. Under the table of an old window into the kitchen are 2 antic[786] faces. And above the 1ᵗ light an ape & a rabbit combatant or rather toying (being no great warriours) with their fore feet.
d. Over the hall chimney, this coate is drawn.[787]



Figure 1.1.35. Hilton. 'Over the hall chimney'. III.91.

At Viccarhight, on the S. West side of Gastal -Tarn above Murton Peat Moss, 2 miles N. from the Hall, are knout berrys[788] which grow upon an herb and are knotted like a bramble but yallow when ripe at Maudlin time – 22 July.[789]

[Machell's Notes: III.91]

*{a. By Mr Robert Hilton, who maryed Hilton of Hilton Castle in Episc. Dunelm;[790] b. Thomas Hilton, father of the said Robert.}

[I.306]

{Langton}

Langton is a mannor, the moyity or ½ whereof was passed to Roger de Clifford & his heires amongst other things, 2. Edward 2. [1308-09] by John de Crumbwell & Idonea his wife. And in the 8. yere of

[785] Brackenber.
[786] 'Antique.'
[787] The text up to this point overwrites identical text, written lightly in pencil (Machell's field-notes).
[788] Knoutberry: variant of knotberry; a local name of the Cloudberry, Rubus Chamæmorus. *OED*.
[789] Maudlin is Magdalen. 22 July is St Mary Magdalene's feast-day.
[790] 'Bishopric of Durham.'

Edward 2. [1314-15] upon the death of Robert de Clifford we have this account concerneing it, ex inquisition capt. apud Appleby est ibidem capitale &c.[791]

There is there a manner house (it seems no great one) et valet per annum 6d.	0: 0: 6
40 acres of demane land quam que libet ac. valet per annum 4d & sum è	0:14: 4
14 acres of meadow, 6d per acre per annum et sum est	0: 7: 0
20 oxgangs of land quam que lib[et] valet per annum 2s et sum est	2: 0: 0
5 messuages of Cotterells burned quorum que libet valet per annum 6d, sum est	0: 2: 6
1 water mill & valet per annum 20s	1: 0: 0
a fulling mill allso, let at 6s per annum	
	Li. s. d.
Dem and Tot. Dub?	iiii iii iiii[792]

summa est 5: 14: 0
19. Edward 3. [1345-46]

The Barony of Westm'land belongs to Apleby Castle. Certaine tenements in Apleby, Langton, Kings Meburne &c. belongs to the same Barony.

{Langton* 1. Edward 3. [1327-28]}
I finde by inquisition taken att Brough May 6th Anno 1. Edward 3. [1327] by the o\a/th of Robert de Newbiging, William de Helton, Thomas Mauchaell &c. as followeth:

Dicunt &c. They say their is a sute or cituation of a certane manner burn'd by the Scotts and it is worth nothing yerely for want of tenents & by reason of the destruction of the Scotts. And there are there:

30 acres of demane land, which lye untilled for want of tenents and by ~~reason of the~~ destruction of Scotts, the herbage whereof is worth yerely 18d	0: 1: 6
30 oxgangs of land which lye untilled for the cause aforesaid the herbage whereof worth per annum	0:15: 6
16 acres of demane medow and it is worth yerely 3s & noe more for the \ too / great abundance of medow, and pasture in those parts	0: 3: 0
4 cotages which yield ~~per annum~~ yerely	0: 2: 0
1 water mill	
The pleas & perquisites of the court of Apleby and Langton are worth yerely 4s	0: 4: 0

It seems by this that the Court was kept att Apleby, & chief manner in the Barony. N.B. That medow was cheap in this part of the country, not because it was bad, but because of its superabundance.[793] And that this was terrible inroade of the Scotts, for the proofs of which see Meburne Regis.[794]

[Machell's notes: I.306]

*{The Armes of Langtun see in Mr Knight's letters to me.}

[I.341]

Lancton was a Lordship, J. Hill says, of it selfe, forfeited in Dakers Rebellion which they calld D. Read {Dacre Read or Road} according to the Bordure Expression, when they made an inroad – the owner of Wrights house they say was hang'd on his own dooer post, & many more of them. It was (I thinke) in time of Queen Elizabeth {circa 1570}.[795] They marched up as far as Hall more by Whinfell Side, but there, upon what occasion I know not, were all dispersed & never cross'd Eden.

[791] 'From the inquisition [post mortem] taken at the Capital [mansion] at Appleby.'
[792] £4 3s 4d.
[793] In the margin Machell has written, 'Memorandum Queens Coll. in Oxon founded about this time against devastation of our country.' [Written partly in Latin.]
[794] King's Meaburn.
[795] 'Dacre's Raid', took place in 1569. See Richard S. Ferguson, *A History of Cumberland* (London, 1890), 249-50; and see above, III.55.

[I.343]

Brampton

This lordship may seem to have bin \ formerly / in the Machells about the con \ of Crakenthorp /{circa Conquest} for that the meadow in the west end of this Lordshipp, by the skurtes of Whelp Castle, the river Troutbeck being only betwixt them, & which was part of Brampton in maine, is calld Machells-Ing to this very day; which now belongs to Kirkbythore Hall, by a match of the Whartons; with one the daughter & heir, Lancaster, Lord of this manner – in which name it continued till [blank]

[I.346]

& I read in Hollinshed \ ad Cowpland Beck bridge* / David, king of Scots haveing spoyled as far as that place with (40) or 3 score thousand fighting men, was taken in the field sore wounded (for he fought very valiantly) and carryed away prisoner by a Northumberland Esq. & attended only with 8 of his servants to his own Castle 30 miles from the place where the batle was fought†. His name was John Copland, who refused to deliver his royal prisner to Queen Philippa, King Edward 3. being then in France besiegeing Callis, returneing to her this determinate \ peremptory / answer – that he would not deliver his said prisoner David King of Scots to any person liveing, man or woman, except only to the King of England, his Sovereigne Lord & Master. But after haveing waited on the king at Callis, he delivered him up by the Kings order. And \ from the King Ed. / received for his pains £500 sterling of yearly rent to him & his heires forever; & was allso made Esq. of his body. 15000 men killd on both [sides].

This batle was fought on Saturday next after the feast of St Michael in 1346‡. But this I give not much credit to, because {in truthe in deed without date, it is writ Capmanbeck; forsan taine ab hominem capiendo.} But this must be a fancy, except it was som former King of Scots, for the deed's sans date and dateing was used long before the time of King Edward 3.

[Machell's Notes: I.346]

*Nevil Cross batle but that was nere Durham.

†{Cowplin in Northumberland: 1. Glendale Ward, lat[itude]: 55; 35 l[ongitude]; 1.31 West; that and no more, in England.}

‡{In Hollinshed: Ed. 5. pag. 376: a.10. 20. 6 [?]}

[I.309]

Crakanthorp in Bongate in Apleby

In manerio de Crakanthorp, arbores sunt fructum proferentes, non solum insitivae manus industria, sed etiam ipsius humi natura in Sylvis Sc. et locis istius modi in cultis.[796] {Cheryes in the chaple woods & a sort of apple} {This gave name to the family of Crackenthorpes: vide Newbigging parish. Crackenthorpe – in the Saxon tongue, Cracken – signifyes nuts, & Thorpe a town or village – i locus corrillarum […][797] a place of nutt trees, which grow in great plenty throughout this lordship. And as Westmorland in generall may be termed the Gardine of Eden, so this part is the Garden of Nutts.[798] Such an expression wee meet with Capitulum 6. 11.[799] See Streets *Reconsiler Epist*. Ad loc[800]

[796] 'In the manor of Crackenthorpe there are fruit-bearing trees planted not only by the labour of a gardener's hand, but also by the nature of the soil itself, in the woods, that is, and in wild places of that kind.'

[797] Two illegible words have been struck through here. 'Coryletum' means a copse of hazel trees. Corylus Avellane is the Latin name for the common hazel.

[798] There are other meanings; e.g. '… named from some rookery there; crake to this day amongst the country people is used to signify a rook or crow,' *N&B1*, 344; and, 'Krakr, a crow, and Thorp, a hamlet', see Bellasis, 'Machell of Crackenthorp', 416.

[799] A 'capitulum' is a short passage or reading from the Bible. *OED*. Machell is referring to 'The Song of Solomon, 6:11' (*AVB*): 'I went down into the garden of nuts to see the fruits of the valley, and to see whether the vine flourished, and the pomegranates budded.' A note elsewhere (MS. I.335) also remarks on Crackenthorpe's fertile soil: 'Crakanthorp aboundes with fine herbs for the pot'.

[800] The rest of this margin comment has perished. 'Streets *Reconsiler Epist*.' is at present unknown to this editor.

[III.83]

Manner de Crakenthorp

{Villa nuctifera, locus corillarum. The Town & distance}

About 1m. & ½ N.W. from the parish church lyeth Crakenthorp,[801] a village consisting of \ about / 30 families whereof 3 are freholdes, the rest arbitrary to Crakenthorpe Hall which lyeth at the high end of the towne at the W. side of it.

[I.330]

Here was born Thomas Machell sometimes fellow of Queens College in Oxford; afterwards rector of Kirkbythore; Chaplain in ordinary to King Charles the 2, and after 7 years absence in the countrey, elected fellow, with[out] his privicy[802] or seekeing after, of the Philosophick Society in Oxford.[803]

[III.77]

~~Norwest from~~ \ Under / the Chappel \ a little norwest / at the distance of ½ a quarter of a mile stands the Town of Crakenthorp,[804] which takes its name from Craken (signifying nutts) & Thorp (a village): both Saxon words; as much as to say the Town of Nutts from the plenty of nut trees, or Hassells, which grow there abouts on the bankes of Eden. It hath been larger than now it is \ by now about XXXIII, of which 2 freeholds* under the Lord of Crakenthorp, the rest arbitrary; / diverse houses on the S. side of it being long since demolished; and there ar som vestigia \ remaneing / of 2 Little Hamlets: one at Brockam Banke; so called from being infested with badgers in the time of old, & I my selfe have seen one killd there ~~of later dayes~~ in the old workes or holes, since I can remember. And another at [blank] where the foundations are fair to be seen and where this stone was taken up by me – and several Handmills,[805] such as the Romans, in the River Eden, where a pleasure boate rideth, which belongs to this Hall and Nature here hathe sported herselfe.

[Machell's Notes: III.77]

*Freholds? 2 Freholds: Sc. Dobson, Shepherd.

[III.78]

Nature indeed hath sported herselfe here in this place* and wants but the industry of a Little Art to make a most delightfull seat. Here vines which hardly could be destroyed (& som of them were transplanted hence to Appelby Castle, Ormside Hall & other places)† used have bin found; it being near within a bowshot of this ancient Romane fortification.[806] Before which agane ~~near~~ \ towards / Kirkbythore is a prætertura, square fort, or watch-tower called Maden Harbour, from the same occasion I doe suppose, that Maden Castle on the top of Stanemore & Maden Way from K. to the Picts Wall have taken there names‡. By the \ N.E. / sides of this camp & fort comes the Great Romane Cassway called Kings Street, leading from Appleby to Kendal \ N.W. / on the left hand of which these urnes found \ in a place formerly calld Machells Banke / &c. But now, by exchange it belongs to the house at the Bridge End, which was given by Halth de [Machell] and confirmd \ how long after I know not / by H. Morvil. The water then ran in a channel calld Old Troutbeck Stead ~~it was made out~~ \ and so continued, till of later years that one William Dobson, haveing lands on both side the river, cut the channel straighter for ganeing of ground and by his own convenience, as was made out by the jurey of Crakenthorp & Kirkbythore, summond on purpose to decide a controversie about the tythe corne, & ~~by consent~~ it was determind [blank]

[Machell's Notes: III.78]

*{ad marginal n[ote] on the other side.}[807]

[801] On MS.III.72A, Crackenthorpe is said to be 1 mile from the parish church.

[802] 'Privacy' or 'privity' is the state of being privy to some act. *OED*. Here, Machell impresses upon his readers that he did not actively seek his fellowship of the Society.

[803] See also III.89.

[804] MS: 'the \ Hall / Town of Crakenthorp.'

[805] Recorded also on MS.I.310A: 'And there was allso a Roman milstone, such as they used for their hand-mills, which followed their camps, which milstone was found hereabouts.'

[806] Below this text the MS shows an outline sketch plan of a fort measuring 2cm x 1cm.

[807] See III.77, above.

†{Speedy-moor, Speedy-Inge. From rideing out their coursers here,[808] the latter of which has give name to som tenants of mean account who seem to have been tenants of it. Despething or Speding.}
‡{Query the reason here.}
{Camp; Warren; Mier; Quarry.}

[III.76][809]

The Lordship of Crackanthorp extends itselfe hence[810] being the East point of it, to old Troutbeck foote \ in the west / where the common & dow[n]field of Kirkbythore meet, being above 3 miles, and the River Eden runns all along in divers meanders on the \ W. / side of it, divideing it (by it[s] ancient Course) from other Lordships the fishing of which* hath bin (all along) clam'd & injoyed \ by the Lords of Crackenthorp / except in the Libertyes of the Mayor of Appleby.

[Roger Head]
On the High mor† High Demanes [near] the ~~River~~ Eden is a woody hill called Roger ~~Heaved~~ Head‡; anciently writ Roger He\a/ved from Heaveing up, as your moales doe the Earth into Heapes or Hills; so Rogers Heaved is Roger Hill; now corruptly & by abbreviation calld Roger Head – the only memorial which time hath left us here in this place of the famous & Honorable Roger Machell – Vicechancellor of England, Lord Keeper of the Broad Seal to King Richard the I^{t}. – who was drown at Messana &c.

[Machell's Notes: III.76]

*The fishing of Eden.
†On the moore by the High House is an ancient fortification which I know [not] whether it should refer to this or Bramton.
‡Roger Head because the B. are not well understood: ergo in Both.
{Roger heaved see Wulfsheeved in Blo[u]nt.[811] Bunesheaved. Huesheved – Morvil Hill.}[812]

[III.85]

whom Hoveden (not without admiration, for he writes it in a different character) calls Malus Catulus, & tells us he was Vice-Chancellor of England in King Richard the First time &c.[813]

[VI.221]

[Nobility]{Roger Machell: Vice Chancellor of England}
But here (I presume) we must take the word Nobles[814] in a large sense, for ~~as~~ Thanes & Barons in those antient times that were near the Saxons; and not in that strictness of acceptation which is used now a days for the Greatest Nobles; for we do not pretend to \ have had / any such in this \ antient / family, unless Roger Machel (virtute officis) as being Lord Keeper of the Broad Seal and Vice Chancellor of England

[VI.223][815]

may be counted ~~one~~ \ as such; / who, though he was shipwrackt farr from this place (at Messana in Sisily) yet his name can never be drown'd in oblivion, or wash'd away \ quite out of remembrance / so long as Roger-hev ed remaineth.[816]

Now this Roger-Heved is the top of a pleasant and woody hill in the demaines of this Lordship of Crakenthorp, ~~as you goe~~ \ on your way / from thence unto Apalby, about as far beyond the chapel (when it was standing) as that chapel was distant from the Hall, having \ had / a most delightful prospe\c/t both of woods & waters, & of diverse churches, castles & towers which lye round about. \ and / it is now vulgarly cald Roger Head, quasi locus Rogeri capitalis, quo summè delectari solebat.[817]

[808] 'Courser': 'a large powerful horse, ridden in battle, in a tournament etc. A charger'. *OED*.
[809] A margin comment on MS.III.75 provides very similar information.
[810] That is, from Hangman's Close: see Bondgate Parish: III.75.
[811] Thomas Blount, *Glossographia*.
[812] This note appears on I.339.
[813] Machell references Roger of Hoveden (or Howden), *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene* (written c.1169). For Roger Howden's career and writing, see D. Corner, 'Howden [Hoveden], Roger of (d. 1201/2), chronicler.' *ODNB*.
[814] Underlined in red ink and distinct from other underscoring.
[815] Also numbered p.31.
[816] A similar comment is written in the margin of the MS, here.
[817] 'As the principal place of Roger, in which he was accustomed to take greatest pleasure.'

But it was heretofore writ Roger Heved from the Saxon word Hovet, importing that summity {of} or top of a thing. And it was usual for persons of note in antient times to give names to such places.

{Hews Heaved vulgo Hews Seat, Morvills Hill}
Thus Hugh de Morvil, Lord of Westm'land, gave name (as tis thought) to an hill upon Stanemore near which Eden springs, call'd Hews Heved, & corrupt, Hews Seat; Orme, to Ormeside \ heved / – a little hill by the side of Eden whereon the church stands, which gives name to the parish & manner of Ormshead; Humphrey Matchael (a benefactor with Halth le Malchael to the priory of Carlile) to an hill nott \ far / from there calld Humphrey Head {for I never found any besides of the name.}[818]

[III.85]

{Ermit Holme}[819]
Below this agane at the head of the poole is a meadow called Ermin Holme, I suppose corruptlye for Hermit Holme, the chaplain somtime officiateing here, ~~being~~ possibly [a] hermit and delighting to walke in this solitary place, which was much larger than it is now in the memory \ of man. / For upon a difference twixt Mr Cristopher Lowther of Leathes & Lancelot Machell of Crakenthorp Esq., it was given in evidence by the old men, som of which are yet alive, that the great gray stone which lyeth now on the other side, layd in their time on this side the water, & so the farmers of Colby Leathes were constrained to keep within their ring dike, and to secure themselves with their fences at their own peril, as they were formerly wont to doe.[820]

[III.85]

At the high end of Ermit Holme is the hedge of St Nicholas, a little sike which runns downe before it, which springs in a mire within this Lordship where the wild ducks are wont for build. & at beyond that agane in the very nib or east end of the lordship and this high demane, is a place which is called Hangman Close. And here, following the Romane Way W., it leades quite st[raight] to this fortification at a place calld White Burwens ~~E~~. & d*. But the outworkes for certane run to Crakenthorpe.

[Machell's Notes: III.85]

*[Dufton]. If not in Brampton?

[I.72]

[Hangman Close]
There is a place {not far from Apleby} within the Lib[erty] of the Machell of Crackenthorp, which they call Hang-man Close, where some say a pair of gallows stood; & there are 2 little hills supposed to be the places where the posts were fixed, which they show to this day. The place seems to have had its name from being bestowed for some certaine time as a reward to the executioner, but whether this Lordship had an extraordnary prerogative (for it is an ancient one) or whether some of the Machells had bin Shirif, and upon that account might mintaine an executioner (haveing no aut[h]ority) I dar not determin but than (my thinkes) it is some thing odd that the gallow should [be] placed in his owne domain if he was only [s]hireive.

[I.74][821]

For amongst the writings at Crackenthorpe H[all] I finde that Hugh Machell of Crakenthorpe Esq. was appointed an assistant to Sir Thomas W\harton, / Knight, deputed warden of the West Marshes of

[818] This margin comment has been superimposed in ink over another written in pencil which contains: 'Umphrey dedit […] tenure of […] Dugdall *Monasticon*'. Another comment echoes the first. MS: 'And of old Umfry Heved & this Roger Machel (since whose sad fate I have not found another ~~of that name~~ \ so […] this family / to that Roger Heved which is here described.'

[819] A truncated passage (MS.III.76) reads, 'Ermin, either from Ermitas or from Hermit; the priest perhaps had an hermitage.' The rest is obscured by the binding.

[820] See MS.III.77 for a variant, which reads: 'Ermin Holme, which lyes betwixt the chaple wood & \ the wood of / St Nicholas wood by the side of the river, might takes it name from his using to walke & retire himselfe there. It was once much more spaciouse than it is now, for ancient men, upon a varience which the farme of Leathes gave in evidence since I can remember, that the great stone which lyeth now on the other side \ of the river / la\a/yd in their time on Ermin Holm banke.' Machell also noted (MS.I.89): 'Ermin, either from ermites or … \ from hermit; the priest perhaps led an hermit. /'

[821] A margin entry on this page of the MS lists such items as: houses of gentry, chapels, bridges, woods etc. with spaces left for numbers, but the spaces are blank.

Scotland (June 28, 29. H.8. [1537-38]) by a speciall warrant under the said Kings Signett and Signe Manual, and the ten[ants] of that Lordship ever did and doe yett hold their estates (amongst other conditions) by military \ (if I may say) / or as it is commonly called there, by Border Service. But now in Westm'land they live in more securitye, so that those tennantes who heretofore held their lands at a deare rate (the Hassard of Ciues)[822] doe now live in saifty and eat their bread in piece and quietness \ in a peacefull land. / However it be, there is nothing more hatefull to them \ at this day / nor ~~nothing~~ noe man in the world they sett less by, than a ~~Scott~~ lowland Scott; whome they looke upon both as trecherous and cowardly, 2 \ sordid vices / which they mortally abhor. But of this more in the next particular.[823]

[III.86]

Thence to the Cap[ital.][824] &c., to Maden Hol[d], to the urnes opposite to which ~~was~~ in Eden at a place call Chapledub, was the altar found at Fig. [blank]*

[Machell's Notes: I.86]

*But then: memo. to bring in the hamlets &c. at Crakenthorp Town.

[III.76]

{Chappel}

And at the foote of the said Dub, on the top of an hill called Chapple Hill, are the Ruines of Saint Giles, his Chaple, which belongd to this Lordship.[825] & where a well springeth on the south side of it. Here I suppose the priest that served in the times of popery lead an Hermits call life […],[826] whence Ermin Holme, a place near adjoyneing – vel ut supra. C.[827]

[I.335]

[Crackenthorpe Hall]

In the parish of Bongate or St Michael in Apelby at Crakanthorp is a very compleat piece of architecture \ ~~the best in this country for~~ / \ which exceeds all this country for vigor[828] / cald Crakenthorp Hall, raisd upon the old foundation but somewhat shorter than formerly, which is the seate of the ancient family of Machell of Crakenthorp {who have bin writt Esqrs} descended, as is more than probable from writeings \ I / have seene, continued tradition & other conjectures, from Whelp of Whelp Castle;[829] a great man at the Conquest but an opposer, as tis thought, of the Conqueror \ for the Castle was ruined about this time / whence his true descendants \ at least the Chiefe / seated at Crakenthorp were caled by him Mali Catuli & that each which was left at C[rakenthorp] left their name wholy & were denominated after the to[wn].

[I.330]

The Hall was repared but made somewhat shorter than before by Hugh Machell Esq. by the directions of Thomas Machell his brother anno domini 1685 to whom this Distich[830] is directed:

> Aspirante Deo, domus haec catulina antiqua resurgit,
> Sumptibus Hugonis ingenioque tuo.[831]

[822] 'The Hassard of Ciues [Cives]': 'The hazard of citizens.'
[823] The page goes on to describe the inhabitants of Westmorland, see below.
[824] 'Capital Messuage': the chief house on an estate; the mansion-house of a manor.
[825] 'are the Ruines of S~~rat~~ \t/ Giles, his Chaple, which belongd to this ~~wel~~l Lordship.'
[826] Two interlineated worda are unreadable here; the first begins '&' but the second word is illegible.
[827] 'Vel ut supra': 'just as above'. MS.III.84-85 provides similar information: '… a banke of wood, on the top of which stood somtime the Chaple of Crakenthorpe, the place being still called the Chapple Garth; and a wall adjoyneing the Chaple well, which Chaple was dedicated, as I have heard, to St Giles – a Relick.'
[828] The word, 'vigor' [?] is unclear.
[829] A note (MS.I.341), remarks: '{An ancient name: test. apud carta Thomae fil Galfr Mal. Cat.}' i.e. 'Witnessd in a charter of Thomas son of Galfrid Mali Catuli.'
[830] Latin: 'a couplet'.
[831] 'God's favour sees this ancient house arise; through Hugh, its owner's wealth and expertise.' MS.III.77 repeats this narrative: '{The Hall} {has bin often times built but repared of late at the cost of H.M. Esq. {by the direction of his Brother Thomas rector of K. to whom this Distick was afterwards dedicated: Aspirante Deo, Domus haec Antiqua \ Catulina / resurgit sumptibus Hugonis ing[eni]oque Tuo.}'

[There is] an oval stone in the Court in memory of Roger Machell ViceC. of England & Keeper of the Great Seale.[832] H.M. Roger.[833]

[III.77]

{Villa de Crakenthorp}
This is the manner house where Court Baron is kept, and – as the Learned in the Law doe thinke from freeing Blood wite[834] – a Court Leet also. They have weaf & stray.}
The Hall is a dilicate uniforme building with 2 cupilooes,[835] one for pleasure, the other made for a stack of chimneys exactly like it. It is pleasant, seated upon a woody banke of the River Eden overlooking the parke & other farer meadows on the S. & West side & having in view 2 or 3 castles. There is a descent on the back side of it ~~¼~~ \ half / of a mile to the Chaple dub.

[I.335B]



Figure 1.1.36. Crackenthorpe Hall. I.335B.

[III.83]

It is a ~~no dilicate~~ \ noble / pile of building, \ exactly uniforme / \ & of such a surpriseing symetree that it seemeth greater by far than it is, / faceing to the N. (as most of the principal seates doe), having a pedament \ in the front of it ~~the Hall doer & standeth~~ \ & 2 speres (or cupiloos on either side / at the top of the house, the one ~~for pleasure, the~~ \ being designed for pleasure only, the other ~~for uniformity's sake~~ for a stack of chimneys, ~~which cometh though of stone,~~ but ~~made so exactly~~ \ so truly / like ~~one another~~ \ ~~unto it,~~ / ~~that~~ you can \ scarce / descerne ~~it~~ the one from the other, which, standing on either side of the pedament, ~~in the midle of which you enter the Hall~~ are very gracefull as you enter the house.' {Armes}~~There 2 courtes before it, and a way leads by them into the town from the town to the kitchen flanking the house,~~ wherein wee meet with these coates ~~relateing to the family~~ \ armes / !!![836]

[832] See *N&B1*, 345.
[833] 'Son of Roger'; a margin note here lists Machell names: '{Roger M. Catulis, Halthe Machel; John; Hugh Machel & Guy.}
[834] Bloodwite: '1. A fine payable for the offence of shedding blood; 2. a legal action for this offence; 3. the offence itself; 4. the right of levying the fine; 5. the privilege of exemption from it.' *OED*.
[835] A cupola is a 'diminutive dome rising above a roof; a dome-like lantern or skylight; in practical architecture, the ceiling of a dome'. *OED*.
[836] This passage has experienced much deletion and interlineation. Thomas Machell was the architect of his brother Hugh's new pedimented front at Crackenthorpe Hall in 1685, one of the first attempts to introduce classical architecture into Cumberland and Westmorland. Reference to the pediment dates this page to 1685 or afterwards. In 1686-88 Machell worked at Appleby Castle for Lord Thanet, probably on the classical east range. For Machell as architect, see Lionel Cresswell, 'Crackenthorpe: its Manor, Hall and the Machell Family', *CW2*, 33 (1933), 113-32, at 123-25.

[III.65]

[Notes on Art at Crackenthorpe Hall]
{Besides rarity, the stack of chimneys at Crackenthorpe and sliding casements and footed principles; besides the contrivance of the house, which by the shutting of a door or two is all made private, and by opening, public.}

[I.335B]

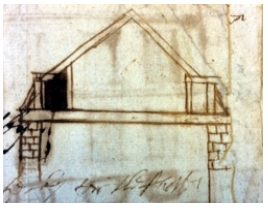


Figure 1.1.37. 'old timber footed … to make the garrets'. I.335A.

Art: a dillicate house in which shutting casements and the \ old / timber footed to such advantage as to make the garrets. {Of yards & feete?}[837]

[1.332]

{Situation}
~~The hall is a dillicate~~ But nothing commendeth this mansion more than its situation which is on a plane at the foote of ~~one~~ \ a / hill ~~& upon the top of a very high banke~~ \ on the S. of it / from which agane you have a descent down \ on the west side / down a steep banke (all coverd with wood) to the River Eden an beyond that a great plane or meadow to Buly Castle which stands in a wood. It hath 2 courtes before it, and a way which flanketh them from the town to the kitchen & other offices, so that none can com to the house upon \ any / occasion but they \ will / see the front & beauty of it \ & if the[y] be stranger or persons of q[uality, they] may enter in at the great gate. / On the back side southwards, where you have the prospect of Apleby Castle & Colby Hall, ~~you~~ there is a descent of about a 4^{r} of a mile in length to the River Eden, where there is a deep poole (or dub as they call them) of the like length, which carryeth a pleasure boate upon it, having on one hand a spacious meadow, and on the other a brave banke of wood \ and a noble plane called the Parke / {on the right hand where you may have a parrock[838] course (with the greyhoundes & hare to the Chaple wood whenever they please) and pleasure with the g[reyhounds] & hare.}[839]

[I.229]

In the Lordship of Crakanthorp are great store of ground – arable & medow – with much underwood upon the Bankes of Eden, and very rich Ground. The Towne, I thinke, was a great part demolish[ed] by the Scotts when Apleby, Lancton & Brough sufferd so by them. Upon the More is a Romane campe.

[I.330]

There are 2 altars with other monuments of antique in the east end of it; one found about the area of Whelp Castle at Kirkbythore, the other in Eden at Ellerkar in the Lordship of Crakanthorpe. Also, Lyons & Urnes near Kirkythore Bridge.

[II.449]

{Privilege of the Lordship of Crakenthorp}
The Machells of Crakenthorpe are sup[posed] to have had the priv[ilege] to execute malefactors and offenders in their owne Lordship, for all the far end of their pasture called the High-Ground is a place where gallows are thought to have stood & tis called by the name of Hang-Man Close, may-be because twas granted to som common executioner for performing that office. The Lord of this manner

[837] This scrap page also contains a title: 'Ad Parochiam de Kirkbythore & Bondgate in Apelby'.
[838] Parrock: 'an enclosed area of ground; a small field or paddock, especially one close to a farmhouse'. *OED*.
[839] Another, partly perished, description (MS.III.77), reads, '{The Hall … built but repared of late at the cost of H [...] Esq. / is a dilicate uniforme building with 2 cupilooe, one for pleasure, the other ~~made~~ of a stack of chimneys exactly like it. It is pleasant, seated ~~up~~on along Brock-ham Woody banke of the River Eden overlooking the parke & … fairer meadows on the S. & west side & having in […] 2 or 3 castles. There is a descent on the back side of it \ of a / ¼ of a mile to the chaple}.'

has such priviledges as are \ rare / to be found (in puto) in England againe, for on May the 8th, at which time there grass is very forward, he may putt as many cattle as he has \ pleases / a minde: his owne or others, into meadow ground called Elleker near Kirkby Thore from the forsaid time till after all which it yealds a good cropp of excellent hay which is some argument that those parts are so barren as former writers have ~~first supposed~~ \ represented / ~~and after related them really to be.~~ It is free also from severall rents, which others thereabouts are subject to, for it payes nothing de certo but quit rent to the king. ~~Ratio put because of~~ the […][840]

[Machell's Notes: II.449]

Query: An liceat cujlibet corporationi gladium præt[ores] habere pro libitu?[841]
N[ote] Sir W. Sanderson.[842]

[I.341]

A notable privilidge of the Lords. In Ellerkar, a diner & dogs dinner all[for] holding the yeat open & hatt off.

[III.87]

[The Midle Demaine and Roman Camps]

The midle demaine \ which chiefly bears that name / is as a gardine of very choyce herbs which nature hath planted by the water-sides, and is clad with ashes as the other with oake. There is a place calld Brockeholme: it & Brocholme Wood from brocks or badger frequenting these places, as my selfe has seen som; ~~And upon the cam~~ above which woods are the foundations of an hamlet of houses. And a greater than that, a little below upon the common \ on the West side / of Creakber Hill where many hand milstones have bin found; amongst other rubbish I observed one \ hewn / stone which beareth this figure [blank].[843]

This Creakebur, seems to have bin formerly clad with trees, & called so from the creakes or crows frequenting there, at the N. end of which is a vast Romane campe. And at a little distance from it is a prætentura, guardhouse or watch tower calld Maden Hold, where the Romanes seem to have pitched there tents when the[y] 1t came down into this part of Britan against Gallacum.

Close by these Rampiers on the E. side of them runns the Great Romane Way, which heads through Kirkbythore to Carleol; and about the midle of the long-lane, on the W. side of it, in a place which was formerly calld Maechells Banke but now belongs[844] to the Bridge End tenement, was a nest of urnes found.

This Tenement is in the Lordship of Crakenthorp and was given of it by Halth le Malchael and Eve his wife to the Priory of Carlile at the foundation of it, and so came to the Bishop of Carleol who is now Lord thereof under the Lord of the Manner of Crakenthorp to whom \ his tenants are obligd / ~~they~~ to doe him Hom[age]. & S[uit].

[I.547]

[Urns]

There were 3 of these urnes, whereof this is the least, which stood contiguouse or near adjoyning one to another in triangular form in such a Repository, as I have heard of for [blank].[845] They were hid in a circular hole or pitt, in clay […][846] 6 foote in circumference & about 3 in depth, the sides whereof were perpendicular; & herein they were covered up & left with ashes & burned boanes to within a foote of the surface of the ground, the remainder being closed up with earth.[847] In the 2 greater were

---

[840] 2cm of crossed-through text are unreadable from this point. See MS.III.81, which adds, 'In this Ellerkar the Lords of Crakenthorp have a notable priviledge. And the Bishop's Tenant is obliged to doe this homage of service.'

[841] 'Query whether it be allowed to any corporation to have a praetor's sword at will?'

[842] Written in different ink and in what appears to be a shaky hand.

[843] Space for an illustration has been left here, but it is empty.

[844] MS: 'belonks'.

[845] MS: '~~There were 3 of these, which stood triangular~~ There were 3 of these urnes where of this is the least, which stood contiguouse or near adjoyning one to another \ in triangular form. / In such a Repository, as I ~~never yet~~ \ have / heard of for [blank].' See Part 3. Chapter 3., 'Roman Antiquities', VI.200 *passim*.

[846] Some crossed-through words are illegible here.

[847] MS: 'They were \ hid / in a \ circular / hole or pitt, ~~2 foote in diameter~~ in clay 6 foote in circumference & about 3 in depth, the \ sides / whereof ~~sides~~ \ were / perpendicular ~~& made of clay~~ \ ~~composed~~ / & herein they

ashes & boanes \ butt / in the lesser black ashes onely. I have a piece \ great parte / of one of the great ones with its depositum now laying by me, & the little one \ ~~who figure I have here described~~ which here is described / was sent to Oxford by Mr Tod to [blank]

[III.51]

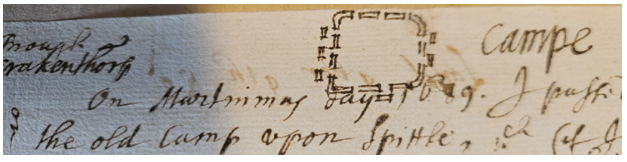


Figure 1.1.38. Sketch of Roman Fort. III.51.

Ad Brough

On Martinmas Day, 1689, I passed through the old camp upon Spittle, which (if I mistake not) was 16 score passes in diameter \ ab oriente in occasum[848] / of which to the mount with stanes opposite to the Rear Cross, 13 score and 14; but I accounted from the midle of the bulworkes. \ When I was a little beyond the camp and over the sike / I saw some stones on the highway Honey Comb*. And there is a sort of pretententura a mile distant from it, which they call Maden Castle, which is in breadth about 40 passes from the midle of the ruinous walls but it is much longer the other way. It has bin certanely a worke of Romans, for at the enterance which lookes towards Brough I discovered the walls to have bin 3 yards thick & strongly semented with lime some ~~gravel &~~ brick & mixture of gravel.

The same day I passed through an other camp of the same forme on Crakenthorpe Moore, 16 score passes ab. or. ad. Oc.[849]

[Machell's Notes III.51]

*{On this side blew-grass are diverse pebbles on the Highway, which are a blew-marble, som of them veined, others speckled with white; and there is a rock of it at this end of the hill \ where the sike runns / which gives hopes {of large ones if they were sought for.}

[I.327]

The Camp in the Lordship of Crakanthorp[850]

69 to the 1st entrance from the ditch whereof the bulwark is 10 {Sc}
20 the 1st entrance {17 – 0}
45 to the next
20 the 2nd entrance {16 – 10}
45 to the next
20 the 3 entrance & a holl in the mouth of it
55 to the nex
16 the 4th entrance
50 to the ditch
74 to the 1st
20 the 1st entrance toward Kirkby Ch[urch]
66 to the sike
13 the Sike way
8 score the bold side ditch

A sc[ore] to the; 4 sc[ore] & 3
To the 1t apparent entrance 8 score & 3
The entrance 23 without gard

were covered up \ & left / with ashes & burned boanes to within a foote of the surface of the ground: The remainder being closed up with earth.'

[848] 'From the east to the west.'

[849] 'From the east to the west.'

[850] From this point, the entries are written faintly in pencil.

To the next wher som sople[851] 4 score
Entrance 20 {19 score & 4}
Thence 4 score & 18
To the way 5 score & 10, in all to the 1st (13) score.
1 entrance garded 20 21 score
To the 2nd 50 5
2 enter 20 there to the[852]

[Machell's Notes: I.327 & I.238]

[I.327] {Bongate, Apelby; see more of Bongate sub titulo Apleby}
[I.328] Memorandum: the Urnes found in Machels Bank in 1684.[853]

[I.330]

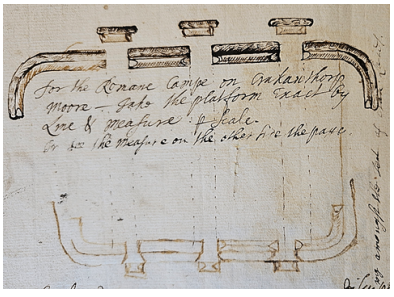


Figure 1.1.39. Roman Camp at Crackenthorpe. I.330.

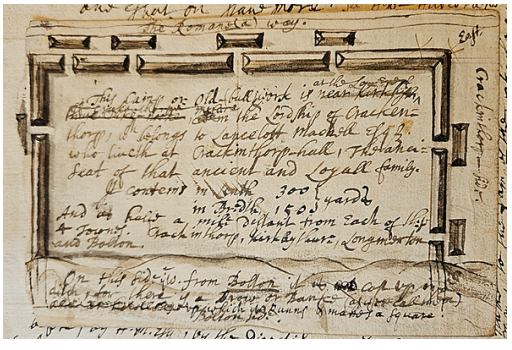


Figure 1.1.40. Roman Camp at Crackenthorpe 'I have seen this Romane Campe since and have drawn it out elsewhere. This doth onely express halfe of the campe and is rudely done.' I.330. [854]

{The Romane Way East: Crackinthorp Side Bolton Side}
This camp or old bulliwork is ~~near Kirkbythore, Dike Nooke~~ \ at the low end of Crakenthorpe \ infore[855] / & within the Lordship of Crackenthorp, which belongs to Lancelott Machell Esq. who liveth at Crackinthorp-Hall, the ancient seat of that Ancient and Loyall family.[856] It conteins in lenth 300, in bredth 150, yards, and is halfe a mile distant from each of these 4 Townes: Crackinthorp, Kirkbythore, Longmarton and Bolton. On this side, the west from Bolton it is cast up in a ditch, up which it runns & makes a square.[857]

[851] 'Sople' or sowple: 'Of a soft or yielding consistency; not rigid or hard.' *OED*.
[852] 6cm of text here are too faint to read, although '3 \ s / x' can be discerned.
[853] See *N&B1*, 351-52.
[854] This small sheet, pasted onto the page, lifts up to reveal this text on its reverse.
[855] 'Infore': variant of 'afore'. *OED*.
[856] As Lancelot Machell was still living, the drawing and text can be dated to before October 1681.
[857] MS: 'On this side, the west from Bolton it is ~~not~~ cast up in a ditch, ~~for there is a brow or banke (as wee call them~~) up which it runns & makes a square.'

[Machell's Notes: I.330]
For the Romane Camp on Crakanthorp Moore – take the platform exact by line & measure per scale. Or see the measure on the other side the page.[858]
See in Edmunds *Caesars Commentaryes*[859] a description of the Roman campes which may be corrected by this; and that on Stanemore. See also Hildebrand[860] and Rosinus[861] out of which it is taken.

[I.331]

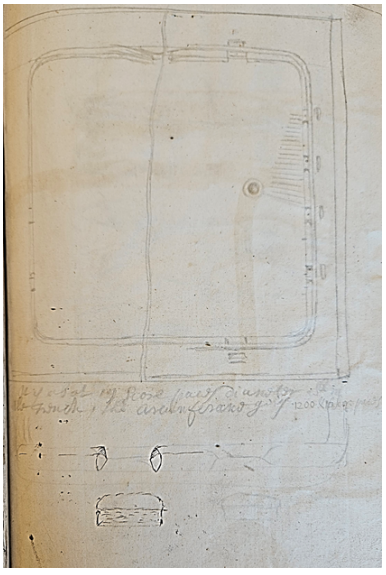


Figure 1.1.41. Faint pencil plan of the Roman fort at Crackenthorpe. I.331.

It is about 17[862] score paces diameter within the trench; the circumference is 1200 & 16 score paces.

[Descent of the Machells of Crackenthorpe]

[I.553C]
Ad Crakanthorp: A once famous family which yeilded 5 Consuls upon Record, one of which was an excellent Oratour in the Minority of Tullius Cicero, concerneing whom he speake thus in his [blank] Confidentius Loquor – quod Q. Catulus – see preface to the Chart. Antiq.[863]

[III.81]
The Succession of the Lordship[864]
The seniory or royalty of this Lordship has always belonged to the Machells of Crackenthorp, for anything I can finde to the contrary, there being no evidence when or how they came thither first, nor any record of any other family ever enjoying the same before them. Som, indeed, hav conjectured of late (& I was once of the same opinion) that it might have belonged to the family of Crakenthorps, who without difficultie tooke their names from hence. But now (doctiorem me dies reddidit)[865] I know other things; for one William Mauchael writ in \ the / Latine of those ancient dayes, Willelmus Malus

[858] There is no 'measure' on the other side of this page.
[859] Clement Edmonds, *Commentaries of Julius Caesar* (1677).
[860] Friedrich Hildebrand, *Antiquitates Romanae: in compendium contractae, et juxta ordinem alphabeti dispositae, bono juventutis* (1st edn, 1647).
[861] Johan Rosinus, *Antiquitatum Romanarum Corpus Absolutissimum* (Basel, 1583).
[862] The pencil marks are very faint. The number could equally be read as '19'.
[863] See I.759.
[864] For analysis of the Machell pedigree and history, see Bellasis, 'Machell of Crackenthorpe', 416-67.
[865] 'The day has made me better informed.'

Catulus gave by deed without date (but in the same character the *Doomesday Booke*) to Alexander de Crakenthorp \ his brother afterwards called Alex / iiii oxgangs*.
Their hous stood almost in the midle of the W. side row (onely distinguished from other houses by an ancient huen-stone doer of roll worke like unto a church [&] like unto which were found frames in the walls pasd dow[n] at Crackenthorpe Hall); and is now calld Hills House; not from scituation tho it stands upon the rise of [a]n hill, but from the inhabitant & owner of it.
So carry them on till Elizabeths time that they lef C[rackenthorpe].

[Machell's Notes: III.81]

*Deeds without date is a certain evidence that they were made long after the *Domesday Survey*. Deeds were generally dated till Henry 3[d] reign.[866]

[III.82]

Thus, having attend[ed] them out of the Lordship, I return to the rock out of which they were huen and they need not thinke it any disparage to derive themselves from such a family and soe long agoe; many persons of the greatest account contenting themselves with meaner originals.

The Family of the Machells
which I have found to be sometimes writ Mauchel, Maechael, Malchien & so in ancient Latin: Mali-Catulus

{Ration nom}[867] The greatest men of note whom I met with of this name and family* are[868]
1. Halthe Machel, who with ever &[869]
2. ~~John~~ \ William / Machel, the raiser of Alex his brother.
3. \ Roger Machell / who maryed Beaucha[m]p and brought an accession to the estate.
Jo. Machell, the 1[t] Esquire of the family, who whether made so by Collero SS[870] or from his father being a knight, I have (as I finde it) undetermined. Only this is certane, that he was a benefactor to ? & that all his successor till this day has been writ Esq.†.
Guy & Hugh, the warriers.
Henry, Doctor of Laws – Phil.
Lancelot & John his brother: the soljer.
Hugh, the builder.
& the last & the least[871] Thomas, the contriver \ rector of Kirkbythore, / who was somtime fellow of Queens College \ in Oxon, / afterwards of the Philosophie Society & Chaplain in ordinary to King Charles II.[872]

[Machell's Notes: III.82]

*{Take these in the history of succession according to their years wherein they lived.}
†{Inf. W. Waughs apud Culgath Sep. 10 1689} Sir Richard Musgrave told Mr W. Waugh of Culgath \ a well read G[entleman] / that he had met with several Knights of the Machells of Crakenthorp; and I have bin told by Mr W. Blen[kinsop] when wee were young that he had seen in his fathers study an MS booke of Northern Familiyes \ Gentlemen, / & mention therein of 4 or 5 Knights of this family.

[III.88]

The M[achells] of Crakenthorp tis said are descend[ed] from Whelp of Whelp Castle before the Conquest, and were calld Mali Catuli,[873] Mauchaels & Malchiens, q[e] malu' hostibus (normannis forsitar) intulerunt:[874] Sc. from their stout opposition. Sicq' Malum Marium Catulum dixisse

[866] This interjection is in an entirely different hand; see below, III.89.
[867] 'Reason for the name.'
[868] See also III.88-89, below.
[869] The rest of this sentence is obscured by the binding. MS.I.336 contains the following margin comment: '{The ancient noble & warlike family of M[achell] has these brave men Halthe Mal who …}'
[870] The phrase appears to read, 'collero [spelling of cholera in the 1700s], in the strict sense'. If this is the case, the meaning is unclear.
[871] The rest of this sentence is obscured by the binding.
[872] MS: '& Chaplain in ordinary to King Charles II. ~~Yet may mentioned for contriveing the fabric of it~~'.
[873] Mali Catuli: the name means 'bad dogs' (or puppies).
[874] 'The bad being a name given by enemies (Normans perhaps).'

putemus.[875] And ergo they always reteined that sirname as their greatest glory: Bene e facere et male audire regium est.[876] However, they so managed their business at the least by capitulation as to reteine the Lordship of Crakenthorp with ample priviledge: edat non per drengagium, sed per nobile cornagis servicium sicut ipsi normannu,[877] a tract of which Liberty may yet be seen in several grants of the Machel of Crakanthorp (who could not give that which they had not ~~injoy~~ to their friends & relations); in particular, one of Will[iam] Machel to his brother Alex[an]der (whom he suffered to take the sirname of Crakenthorp for distinctions sake, reteineing the ancient name to him selfe) where he gives him some demaine lands with this ample priviledge: adeo[878] &c.

[III.89]

The Descent of the Manner

This manner has bin in the name of the Machels beyond all record, so that tis not known when or how they came by it. Their oldest evidences are without date \ & if so not exceeding old[879] / and all I can say concerneing them is that som of them are in the very same character with *Doomsday Booke* \ which was writ in the time of William the Conqueror. / ~~And~~ it is a mistake (which I was once guilty of my selfe) that Crakanthorp once belonged to the Crakanthorps, for[880]

[I.330]

{The Town gave name to the family of the Crakanthorps who are descended from the Machels here, as appears from writeing amongst the tent. of Crak. Lands.}

[III.89]

The chief men of note in this ancient family that I have mett with are:
This Halth le Machell, of who above, who lyes interd, as I suppose, in the priory there.
Roger Machael – dom' custos magni Angliæ sigilli &c.[881] – whose monument is to be sought at Messana in Sicily.
William Machell, who gave diverse lands in the ~~forest of~~ demane to Alexander, his brother, who first assumed the sirname of Crakenthorp for distinctions sake – for [on my] shewing the deed to Sir William Dugdal, he sayd it appeard by his stile and seal, both, that he had bin a very great man in his time.[882]
\ Jo[hn] Machel Capitalis Dom. Feodi[883] – tho that maryed Beauchamp / John Machell Esq., who with Catherine his [wife] were so great benefactor to [Blank] at Karlile[884] that they[885] ingaged to pray for him &c. as for [blank] and there wee may thinke he was buried in their church and chaple.
Hugh of the Marshes[886] / & Guy, his brother.
Lancelot Machell Esq. lately disceasd,[887] who improved the estate &c.
& Hugh Machel Esq., the present owner of it \ Crakenthorp Hall / who new modelld the house & made it much better, than before by the direction of Thomas, his brother, Rector of Kirkbythore, sometimes Fellow of Q[ueens College] in Oxford, & Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles 2, and now Fellow of the Philosophic Society in Oxon.

[I.309]

The Armes of the Machells

The regester of Carlile gave this information anno 1674*: that he had seen an express from Queen Elizabeth to search the houses of the Machells of Crakenthorpe & Blenkinsops of Helbeck for popeish

[875] 'And so we may think that Marius said Bad Dog.'
[876] 'To do good and be evil spoken of, is kingly.' Also found in sermons of the time, such as *Forty Sermons Upon Several Occasions* by Anthony Tuckney (1676), 471.
[877] 'Not through drengage but through the noble service of cornage, just as the Normans themselves did.'
[878] 'To such an extent that […]' [as in the deed].
[879] This interlineation is in another hand; see above, III.81.
[880] Here the sentence originally ended in a blank space but continued in the margin of MS.I.330.
[881] 'Lord, Keeper of the Great Seal of England.'
[882] Digitisation of a deed 'of Willielmus Malus Catulus to Alexander his brother', at CAC(C), DCHA/11/3/1 (2R, 2V, Jpg).
[883] 'Lord of a chief fee.'
[884] A religious house? Machell neglects to give us its name.
[885] The clergy/monks.
[886] Marches.
[887] Thomas Machell's father, who died on 6 October 1681.

reliq[uaries]. N[ote] that I suppose the Machels were rendered suspitious upon the account of their match with the Blenkinsops who were then papists.[888] Item: that Phillip Machel was Doctor Decretorum.[889]

Att Crakenthorp Hall I tooke notice of the Armes upon [a] wooden shield:
Machel ~~impaled~~ i.e. Sable 3 grey hounds coloured Orang collerd Or. For the crest a stags head erased proper, tired Or.
Item impal[ed]
Wharton
4. Pickering
5. Crakenthorp
6. Thornburrow
7. Richmont
\ Machell /
8. Barwise
9. Fallowfield
10. Lancaster
11. Sandford
2. Blenkinsop
3. Barkar
13. John Machell, shireve of London
14. Sir James Maliverer[890] of [blank] in Yorkshire.

Anciently: canis \ indicus / malæ satis feriatæ naturæ, colore albus, erectus clypeo nigro in positus. Cum quo optime quadrat in scriptio hæc nemo me impune lacesset: suntque Arma furienti normanno satis congrua. Pro Crista Hyacinthus suae lilium. Hæc ad Willielmum Malum Catulum sive Mauchael. {È carta Willielmi Mali Catuli ubi Sigill e sigillo He[…] et Tho. Mali Catuli.[891]
Modern: Sable 3 greyhounds courant in pale Argent collerd Or†. Proved from the windows in Appleby & Bongate Church‡

[I.310]

as I judge (tho Mr Dugdal has putt them in his visit to Westmorland without collers & drawne them so from the glass window in Appleby church where they impale Thornburrow, calleing them Maliverers Armes) which may be disproved from the Marriage Contract (in Cista[892] evidence pen[e]s Mr Machell de Crakanthorp, temp. Richard 2, and soe they are drawne in a Booke \ of Armes / in 4^{0}.[893] intituled *The Visitation of Cumberland pro Westmorland & Cumberland*. Sc. Sable 3 greyhounds coura[n]t in pale Argent. Collerd Or. (Sed vide etiam sigillum Richardi Machel tempore Elizabeth apud Chartam de wardo Hugonis nepotis sui, ut ibi se habet.)⸸[894]

[888] During Machell's lifetime a list of local confirmations by the Catholic Bishop John Layburn (August 1687), mentions five people named Machell in Witherslack: Agnes, Jane, two Lancelots and Margaret. See Lance Thwaytes, 'Catholics of the Seventeenth Century in the Barony of Kendal', in Marie B. Rowlands (ed.), *English Catholics of Parish and Town 1558-1788* (London, 1999), Appendix 4, 209. Confirmations were carried out by Bishop Leyburn on 25, 28 and 29 August 1687. See also p.186, which relates to poll-tax payers in 1695: 'The names of Holm, Jackson, Machell, Summer, Tunstall and Wharton suggest they may have been customary tenants or tradesmen rather than the poor or labourers.'
[889] 'Doctor of Canon Law.'
[890] Mauleverer.
[891] 'Anciently, a dog (drawn in ink) of bad character, quite idle, coloured white, upright and placed upon a black shield, perfectly quartered; with this inscription: "Nobody shall provoke me with impunity." And there are arms quite concordant with a raging Norman. In front of the crest, a hyacinth as its fleur de lys. From a document of William Malus Catulus where there is a seal. From the seal of H… and of Thomas Malus Catulus.'
[892] 'In a chest.'
[893] Quarto.
[894] 'But see also the seal of Richard Machell at the time of Elizabeth in the charter concerning the ward of Hugo, Richard's nephew. As it appears there.'

[Machell's Notes: I.309 & I.310]

*{? Mr Pattison}
†{They are I believe without collars Or. Barnabyes seale.[895] Query of Johis & Richards.}
‡{È sigillo Hen[896] et Tho. Mali Catuli.}
[I.310]
⸸{Sir William called a Chaple of Heralds and corrected this mistake in his visitation from the original, & others also which I shewd him.}

[I.332]



Figure 1.1.42. Three greyhounds courant. I.332.

[Machell's Notes: I.332]

Desire my old friend Mr Logans or any graver in Oxford to bestow finish my stroakes upon this plate as I have corrected it, & take away the grossness of the hinderleg. Vet it altogether according to [blank].[897]

[I.643]

[Crackenthorp Descent]

1. Alexander 2 son of Radulfus de Crakanthorp, maryed [blank] whose Armes were [blank] and had Isue ~~Will~~.1. William: 2. Alan, who had Isue Walter. 3. Richard who had Isue Richard

2. William, son of Alexander de Cracantorp marryed [blank] whose Armes were [blank] and had Isue 1. William; 2. Gilbert; 3. Robert.
Gilbert de Crakintorp held of his father William 4 Acres of Land in Brockholm with other Land paying to his father & heredibus suis Radicem Gingibris at Xmas.[898] This shows that they came from William the Mauchal father […].[899] For those 4 acres in Long Brockholm, amongst other lands, were were given ~~to Alexander, grandfather of this Gilbert~~ By William Malus Catulus Lord of ~~Cras~~ Caracantorp: to Alexander His Brother, which Alexander was grandfather to this Gilbert & father of William. With him wer cotemporaris William de Warthecop, Thomas de Newbigging, Hugo de Bellocampo, Richard de Berewys (the 1ᵗ Times I have mett with that name) & Richard de Bertford. ~~This Gib. m~~. Then Gilbert de Quitteby Vicecom Westm'land. But Gilbert Quit his clame afterwards to William his brother. Witness, Sir Michael de Harcla, Sir Robert de Yawenwyth, Galfrid de Milkanthorp, Joh. de Helton, Johe Maachel;[900] and had Isue.

[895] Barnaby Machell.
[896] The page has perished here.
[897] The text on the rest of the page has been cut off.
[898] See CAC(C), DCHA/11/3/1/11V Jpg. On the reverse of the deed is written (in Machell's hand): 'William Son of Alexander … gives 4 acres of land in Long Brockholme to Gilbert his son, paying a race of ginger to him &c.'
[899] There is one illegible word here.
[900] A pecked line appears here, possibly as a reminder that more information was needed.

3.{1275} William, son of William, confirms to said gift of his father to Gilbert \ his brother. / This was I sup[pose] in the same yere. Witness allso Ad[am], the son of Paisn[901] de Morton. His seale was something like a floredeluce, but with severall flourishers. This William in \ anno / 1277 {20. Edward 1.} farmed the Lands which were given by his father ~~&~~ of his brother Gilbert for 12 yeres. Witness, Sir Michael de Harcla tunc Vicecom, Richard de Berewys, Johanne Mauchael, John de Helton.[902] Robert, who had \ a / release fin[e] with his brother of the gift of his father. Witness Thomas Mauchael & Joh the son of Adam de Kirkbythore. Sir Henry Hartley gave all his land in Crakanthorpe to Robert & Emme his wife. T[estament] Thomas de Musegrave tunc Vicecom. Thomas Mauchel John de Colleby, Hugo de Ormessheved. His seale being a plane crosse with a martlet in dexter point.

(2. William) 3. Richard – 138.[903]
Galfrid de Crakanthorp maryed the daughter of Mallbranche de Crakanthorp & had Isue Ellen & Agnes de Crakanthorp who passed their Lands to Walter, son of Walter de Mebrune 7. Edward. (Gilbert de Kirkinton, Vicecom.)

[I.644]

1. Alexander de Crakanthorp was 2 brother of William Mauchael de Crakanthorp by whose gift he had severall lands with great priviledges in Crakanthorp granted an[d] confirmed unto him; and amongst the rest 4 Acres in Longe Brockholme which I mention for a notes sake hereafter to be taken. He tooke his name from the name of the Towne for distinctions sake: his elder brother being called William, Dom[inus] de Crakanthorp, & sometime William Machel de Crakanthorp, sub midl Dom.[904] But Alexander his brother & their posterity were called de Crakanthorp without any addition of title or sirname; for the title belonged only to the Lord & the sirname contin[u]ed to him & his posterity as the other o[f] Crakanthorp did to Alexander & his.
He marryed & had Isue:
1. William.
2. Alayn, who marryed & had Isue: Walter,
3. Richard, who marryed and had Isue: Richard.

Generation 2.
William son of Alexander marryed and had Isue
1. William.
2. Gilbert* who marryed Ellen the daughter of [blank] and had Isue John who afterwards intaled his lands upon his ~~nephew~~ cosan[905] Richard, the second son of \ his / \ uncle / William his \ fathers / brother, & for defect of Isue upon ~~his nephew~~ Robert the elder (or 1[t]) son of William & for defect of Isue from him upon William son of William son of Alexander, who was elder, which was their father & his uncle.
3. William son of William son of Alexander de Crakanthorp vixit in 1275 and then sealed with some thing like a floredelice, as the Mauchels (at least the younger brothers) were wont to doe. But in 1308 I finde his seale to be a Crossbow, bent in an Ovel kinde of seale as before you have it drawne. He maryed & had
1. Robert 1308.
2. Richard upon whome he intaled his Estate in defect of Isue by Robert 1308.
4. Robert, son of William de Crakenthorp marryed Emma the daughter of Robert de Newbigging (for Crakanthorps Lands were infeofed upon him & reinfeofed upon Robert Crakenthorp & Emma his

[901] Or possibly, 'Payn'.
[902] These scored-through phrases then follow: '~~William witness 1298; 2 Will 1.~~'
[903] This date possibly represents, 3. Richard II (1379-80].
[904] 'Sub midle Dom': 'under the middle lord.' 'The great barons, holding large territories under the crown … frequently granted out of their great manors, smaller manors to be held of themselves … In imitation of this, the inferior lords made similar sub grants, the process being repeated downward ad infitum… The mesne or middle lords were the immediate superiors of the terre-tenant, or him who occupied the land.' See H. Broom, E. Hadley, W. Wait, *Commentaries on the Laws of England Vol. 1* (Albany, New York, 1875), 529.
[905] 'Cosan' has been superimposed over 'nephew'.

wife: 10. Edward 2. 1317). He sealed allso with a crossbow. Thus, Robert gott Hartclas lands in Crakenthorp, 1341.[906]

[Machell's Notes: I.644]

*N.B. This Gilbert de Crakanthorpe had of his father 4 Acres of Land in Long Brockholm, for which he was to pay to him & his heires 1 race of Ginger: which shoes planely they descended from Alexander the Brother of William Mauchael; who am[ongst] other lands gave 4 Acres in Long Brockhol[m] to him & his heires.

[I.645]

John Crakanthorp de Newbigging non comparant in Curia:[907] 15. Edward 4. [1475-76], Johannes Crakanthorp de Newbigging – 1. Henry 7. [1485-86], Johannes Crakanthorp \ de Newbigging / Armigeri non comparant in Curia, John Mauchel Armigeri &c. ad Henric. 8.

Thus, having presented you with an extract of this family […],[908] I shall in the next place \ […] et Tutta[909] / proceed to [a] more particular account of it, showing you the sucession of every Lord with his wife, Isue, & their Armes. But before I proceed, take a view of thes matches which I have mett with but cannot make out.

[Machell's Notes: I.645]

Method of the Sucession Relation:

1. The man, with an historical relation of him.
2. His marriage, his wifes father & mothers relation of her.
3. Their Isue, referring the 1ˢᵗ butt setting the rest downe in order with their matches.
4. Their matches.

These are the Isue of John Machel & Elizabeth his wife, Their Armes are presented in the following pages. You may doe the father and mother at large; the other in little.

Escutcheons

38 will compleat to my brother Hugh with his. They haveing:

Barwyse: ut autem[910] in Ilekirk church
Pickering: painted att Crakanthorp, ex infor [blank]
Crakanthorp: I am much mistaken if I saw not an evidence wherein the fre land in Crakanthorp was return'd in dower.
Lancaster: }
Fallowfield: } who either united with the Machells or the Machells with them

The N[ame] Pik may be a mistake upon the account of the kindred was contracted by marrying with Blenkinsops; for Pick maryed one of the 5 sisters & Machel another.

[I.646]

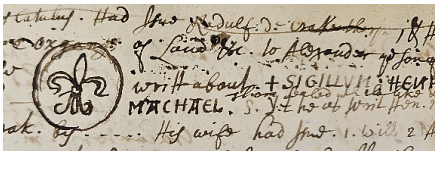


Figure 1.1.43. Seal sketch. I.646.

1. Galfrid Malus Catullus had Isue Rudulfus de Crakanthorp; & Henry {& Thomas} {Humfrey} who confirme 2 oxgangs of Land &c. to Alexander the son of Ralfe; & Hen. Seale[911] writt about + SIGILLVM HENRICI was thus: MACHAEL. S. \ Thomas sealed with the like & proper inscription / S. Yet he as writ Hen. Mal Cal.

[906] At the page foot is written: 'John 20 [the number '16' has been written above '20']. Rich[ard] 2.'
[907] 'They do not compare in the Court.'
[908] Two words have been obscured by the binding.
[909] 'and all.'
[910] 'As, moreover.'
[911] See the figure above.

2. Rad[ulphus] de Crakanthorp by [blank] his wife had Isue: 1. William; 2. Alexander \ de Crakanthorp; / 3. Mar {with Margerie Kirkbythore}[912]

3. William, the son of Ralfe gave those 2 Lands with others after the death of his mother with great priviledges to his brother Alexander otherwise called Alexander de Crakanthorpe, who was the begin[ning] of that family which till of late yeres injoyed the same Lands which are known to this day by the meets & bounds specifyed in the deed. This William lived before the reigne of King John [1199-1216]. \ He marryed Margaret & had Isue John \ dom de / (Lord of) Crakanthorp, et dom feo[dom].

4. John Mauchael was witness to a deed of Adam de Kirkbythore to Robert de Veteripont of the Advousans of the Church Anno 6. John [1204-05]. He was marryed to one Beatrix. 1298. & had Isue: Thomas & Walter de Crakanthorp vel Robert de Bedeford of Crakanthorp.
{Beatrix d[aughter] either of Simon son of Rogeri valoris de Crakenthorp vel Rob. de Bedeford of Crakenthorp with Wharton.}

5. Thomas son & heire of John marryed Emme the daughter of Gilbert de Querton, whose joynture was a messuage in Cracanthorpe which Margerie, his grandmother Held, together with a messuage & the Tenements at Kirkouswald. They had Isue ~~Thomas~~ Mr Walter & Thomas.[913]

6. {With Beauchamps} Walter son & heire of Thomas, during his fathers life marryed Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Bellocampo ~~of Lasingby~~, who conveyed all his Lands & Tenements in Kirkoswald & Lasingby dureing the life of T.M. his father to Thomas Beauchamp his father in law. The[y] Had Isue John. \ One of the Beauchamps came to be Earle of Warwick in time & bore for his Armes [blank] /

7. John son & heire of Walter Mauchel lett some lands to John Mauchael, put[o] his uncle,[914] for Terme of Yeres [in] 1293. i.e. 20. Edward I. He was Lord of the foe in 1290. Query? whether he did not mar[ry] Idonea de Berrford (or Maud) the daughter of Michael Carpenter by Matilda ~~the daughter of Comynes)~~ He had Isue Thomas who held of his father Carpenters lands, paying a Rose rent.[915]

8. Thomas Mauchel Lord of the foe of Crakanthorp. In his time \ tho the 1ᵗ[time][916] / I finde it exp[r]essed that John fil Agnetis held a messuage in Crakanthorp per Curialitate in Anglia.[917] Quaere de hoc?[918] Thomas the 1ᵗ was contemporary with Robert de Crakanthorp.

John 1. marry Beatrix the daughter of Roger Barkar, & Beatrix afterwards marryed to Robert de Bedford, whose widow she became. He was stild in […] confirm & quit claim, Dominus de

[912] A margin-note here contains, 'John, 22 H [perished] A[lex]ander 3. H. Thomas H. 8. T. were pledges for […]', but most of the note has perished.
[913] The rest of this sentence has perished.
[914] 'Perhaps his uncle.'
[915] A symbolic payment, like a peppercorn rent. 'In Worcester Cathedral Library there are thirty-four documents which include at least a mention of a rose rent. These documents appear to have three things in common: they are all from the 13th and 14th centuries, they all specify a rose as a rent payment and they all deal with ownership of land and property. Other things vary, such as the amount of land, the kind of land, whether agricultural land or inhabited buildings, whether it is in Worcester itself or merely fairly local. There seems to be no particular type of transaction to which a rose rent applied. The parties concerned can be male or female, individuals or groups, and the arrangement can be purely business or involve inter-familial relationships. The idea of a single rose being used in this way was obviously an acceptable convention at that time.' See https://worcestercathedrallibrary.wordpress.com/2019/08/21/the-game-of-the-rose/#_ftn1.
[916] Editorian substitution: a word has perished here.
[917] 'By the English Court.' In the MS, 'John fil Agnetis held a messuage in Crakanthorp per Curialitate in Anglia', appears twice on this page (I.646).
[918] 'Uncertainty about this.'

Crakanthorpp & capitalis dominus ejusdem foedi.[919] I thinke she had Lands of inheritance in Lasingby, for in her widow[hood] she bestowed all her Lands, Tenements there.[920]

Machel with Barkar per fess imbattled Or and Azure 3 martletts counter charged. Sir John Barkar of Grimston Hall in Trimlay in Suffolke Esq. was created Baron March 17. Anno 10. Jacobi 1612. I thinke the seale is a mole.[921]



Figure 1.1.44. 'Machel with Barkar' I.646.

[I.646B]

Gilbert had Isue.
John marryed Elen daughter of [blank] and had Isue John, who intaled his Land upon Richard the son of William de Crakanthorp, or in defect of heires to Robert son of William: And if he dye without heires to William son of William son of Alexander. Test[ament] John Mauchell & Adam de Kirkbythore & Robert de Newbiggin (Thomas de Hellebeck tunc Vicecom).

[I.646A]

Rad[ulphus] had Isue
1. William de quo infra.
2. Alexander, unde Crakanthorp family who had Isue William.
3. Barnard who marryed & had Isue Richard de Crakanthorp, who lived in Henry 3^{ds} time [1216-72].
William marryed Margarie daughter of Adam de Kirkbythore for he made his Land over to him durante vita as Tho[mas] did to Thomas Beauchamp when he maryed his daughter. His Armes were a pale very smale ut è sigillo.[922]
1. John, witness to a deed of Adam de Kirkbythore &c. 6^{0} Johannis [1204-05].
2. Alexander, qui vixit 31. Henry 3. [1246-47].
3. Thomas, who with Alexander Mauchael I find suretyes or pledges for the good Aggmnt[923] (accord to determination) of Richard the son of Bernard de Crakanthorp, & William the son of Alexander de Crakanthorp, but it is sans date.
{John} The seale of Richard is the same with that of Henry & [blank] Machaell except at the fote where it is split.[924]
Thomas father of Walter had allso Lands & Tenements in Kistlyfe [Blank] Meerton by Emma his wife, after wife …[925]

[III.79]

{Rarityes at Crakanthorp}

[In Nature]
A ma[gpie] that imitates the voyce of an olde woman & a young childe; the \ barkeing / of a little curr; the mewing & sphuting[926] of a cat so exactly if that being at the doore or out of sight, it can not be

[919] 'Lord of Crackenthorpe and tenant in chief of the same fee.'
[920] One line of text has perished here.
[921] A further line has perished.
[922] 'As from the seal.'
[923] Presumably, 'agreement.'
[924] There is a tiny sketch of the split here, 1cm x ½cm.
[925] As the next sentence has been sheered off, 'Emma' was possibly afterwards the wife of another. The name, 'Walter de Rawe' [or Raven] is just visible.
[926] Possibly, 'spitting', as in 'to bespew or bespit'. *OED*.

discovered to be a counterrfait & makes such an my[st]eriouse medley amongst them as is exceeding surpriseing; & lookes like witchcraft to those that know it not.

[Thomas Walker]
Here was ~~old man~~ liveing\ one Walker / not many yeares agoe, of 100[927] years of age; an expert smith who shoed King James the 1[t] his read cow. He went up to London on foot about a law-suit after he was 100 years of age, and would goe into the Lords wood & carry away ~~good~~ hansom young ashes upon his back: which in regard of his old age & the rarity of such admirable strength[928] …worked at by the Lord of the Manner.

[I.342]

Amongst things \ in antiquity which are / extraordinary I thinke fit to mention an old cuple in this Towne, who made betwixt them 221. The man, whose name was Thomas Walker, livd to 112 years of age and went on foote; and the woman, 109.

[I.507]

[Machell Family]
Fid[es].[929] The prodigious activity & \ strength / of the late Lancelot Machell of Crakanthorp Esq. & John, his brother {!} (whose son now liveing at A[r]dee in Ireland is not inferiour to his father)[930] who exceeded all merit in feats of their time ~~in strength and~~ \ in feats of Armes / Activity \ & Strength of Body. & having a Courage suitable thereto, / may well be recounted amongst the extraordinary effects of Nature; And the said John has a son now liveing at A[r]dee in Ireland whom that Kingdom doth boast of ~~for~~ \ there, for the like undertakeing \ exployts / as his father was there.

[I.547]

H.M.[931] a person of little stature but of great gallantry; of which I shal give you 2 pregnant proofe. The one was his conduct \ & courage at Brough / upon Mr T. Esqs offering to send a challenge by him unto his \ aged / father – upon which he tooke him through hands himself & beat[932] him to his owne satisfaction.
The other was by Martin church, where being challenged by his cosan W.S.[933] whose sword he hapned to break in the combat, he therewith threw away his own, ran in […] struck him […] heales, & […] him that […] which he would not aske.[934] This was on Tuesday the 23 Feb.!!! 1687/8. The day before my Lord Preston returned.[935]

[III.79]

[In] Art
2 great Romane Wayes meet in this place, one heading by to Carlile &c. into Scotland, the other coming from towards Newcastle & ending here. And the Castra Catulin[936] or Whelp Castle has bin a vast & stupendous building, as appears by the stone, which are now diged up from the sinkes only which carrye of[f] the water & som being in length* & \ some / brick walls of a whol yard brod, which the inhabitants have somtime discovered, & as the shattered bricks here & there with tiles &c. were som sort of testimony. But iam seges est ubi domus erat.[937]

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[927] A line over '100' suggests that he was older, as the text on the following page proves.
[928] Blots obscure the next few words, most of which have been scored through.
[929] An abbreviation, possibly of the Latin 'fides.' For the Romans, 'fides' was essential to the character of a man of public affairs, and a fundamental part of all social and political business. It meant 'reliability', was always reciprocal and mutual, and implied privileges and responsibilities on both sides.
[930] For both John Machells of Ardee, see Bernard Burke. *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland*, Online edn, Vol. 2, 52.
[931] Hugh Machell.
[932] MS: 'beat~~en~~.' The term, 'took him through hands', is still a Cumbrian dialect term for a thrashing.
[933] William Sanderson.
[934] Sadly, much of this exploit has been obscured by the binding. Having read the previous passage, the reader might enjoy filling in the gaps.
[935] 'Lord Preston': Richard Graham, first Viscount Preston (1648-1695), politician and Jacobite conspirator, was the eldest son of Sir George Graham, second baronet of Netherby. Preston was made Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmorland in 1687. See J. Callow, 'Graham, Richard, first Viscount Preston'. *ODNB*.
[936] MS: '~~Castra Catululin~~… Castra Catulin.'
[937] 'And now there is a crop where a house once was.'

[Machell's Notes: III.79]

*See my letter to Mill.[938]
Sewlby: Q. of Mr Hall, what remarke priviledges: 20^{s} & a purse.[939]
Letherwite &c.[940]
Q. Where Cliburn & Browham parish meet & how divided in Whinf[ell].

[Further Notes, largely concerning rarities]

I.340

Crakenthorp Hall – the camp there on Speedymore & Maden Hold. The Roman Way that divides the 2 L[ordship]s, & the outworkes of an old fortess at the White Burwens near a place cald Castrig[941] where milestones found in Brampton.
{Cumberland, in Kirkland p[arish], Culgaith. Last in the hands of one Vaughan, sold to the tenants free.}

[I.366]

In Art
Hic locus ~~St Magi speculum~~ est Catuli ~~speculum~~ spatium \ Zystum[942] / capetale Rogero.[943] Hic steterit Catuli Regia celsa senis.[944]

[I.337]

The outworkes of a fort calld White Burwens Hill, Merton – some urnes found – Romane Camp & Maden Hold.
For Crakenthorp Hall altars 2 lyons.
{Cupilo; Boate}
{Chantrey}[945] {Doubts}

And in nature
The soyle: gardine of Eden;[946] air healthful; exam[ine] old W.L. & J. &c.[947]
{Vines at Crakenthorp}

[III. 79]

Maiden hare, juneper berries, scurvy gras, bleaberyes.
Glo\o/bes, harts e\a/se, ladys mantl, wilde-time, burd ecence, buckthorne, buck hornes, old oake trees underground.

[I. 336]

[Rarities in Nature and Art: Environs of Appleby]

[Springs, Wells, Rivers, Tarns]

[Springs]
In Sowerby: severall spring[s] {As Turle well, Strand well, Denny well {Denny Well from Dian[a] or Dennis …}[948] But only 2 rema[r]keable: Sc. Lucyes Well by Acorn Banke, which they say is good for

[938] See the chapter on 'Roman Antiquities'.
[939] MS: 'purese'.
[940] 'Letherwite': 'any of various fines relating to sexual relations and marriage; especially a fine payable by a male serf to his lord for having illicit sexual relations with a female serf; also, such fines collectively'. *OED*.
[941] Castrigg, in the parish of Long Marton.
[942] Xystus (17th century: zystus). To the ancient Greeks, the xystus was a long, covered portico or court used for athletic exercises; to the ancient Romans it was an open colonnade or walk planted with trees, used for recreation and conversation. *OED*.
[943] 'This place is the colonnade of Catulus, chief court for Roger.'
[944] 'Here will have stood the lofty realm of old Catulus'. For the significance of this quotation from Ovid, see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.558.
[945] This word is an insecure transcription, as the text has been both blotted and obscured by a line below it.
[946] See also: MS. III.65, 'Herbs &c. The Garden of Eden.'
[947] Presumably, these names represent two of Machell's informants.
[948] The rest of this phrase is obscured by the binding.

sore eyes, & Aspeth Well in Aspers Close, on the S. west of Sowerby, which runns into Eden, to which in somer people resort to drinke for pleasure.

[Wells: Medical Cures]
Those at Browham calld Helly Wells once as they say, remd[949] breaste milke.
One at Dufton beyond the Pike which in 24 hores turns moss into stone.
Another ther is on the Chaple Hill calld Chaple Well, which hath sometime allso bin counted medicinal. I suppose it is dedecated, as the chaple was, to St Giles.[950] {This [chapel] has bin endowed as al other chaples anciently were; for in the deed of [blank] to [blank] of lands in Ellerker he sayes: proxim[e] terrae capel[lae] de Crakenthorp.[951] It was standing at least but \ newly/ demolished in Queen Elizabeths time}*.
M[achells] Well – good in feavours with vinegar as T.M. by experience – Marble Spar for sore eyes.
Crackenthorpe: C[ommon] P[ump] at the Hall, in digging of which a mixture lump of brass ore was found†, from which sort of minneral the water perhaps receaves its vertue. It cured Mrs E.M., the lady of the man[or];[952] of a great B[oil] which she had bin troubld with for 14 years – she drinkeing thereof in somer morneings, 3 dayes together in a week or a forth night for 3 somers \ successively / teste se ipsa[953] yet liveing.

[Machell's Notes: I.336]

*Se. Court Rolls.
†Copper, for brass is a mixture of c[opper] & t[in].
Iter[954] in the late Rebels wars,[955] the Kings party &c. Query of Vale Thwates – gave a defeat to [blank][956]

[I.340]

Tarnes [and Springs] in the demanes of Crakenthorp.[957]
This \ p[arish] all over / is intersperced with many rivulets which chase one another {strive to outrun one or another, which haisten swiftly} into the Great Channell of the no[b]le Eden & there intermix themselves with her waters. As also many curiouse Springs, the chief of which are:

1. St Giles, his well, which springs on the south side of an high hill at Crakenthorp in the demaine calld Chappel Hill, just by the edge of the chapleyard, which was called St Giles. Tis a dillicate water,[958] & hath not only as tis supposed serv'd for baptiseing their children*, but medicinal uses, being approvedly good to stop a Lax & heale soare leggs; belike St Giles left his cruches here in the possession of som old hermit who lived ~~some time~~ in and so gave name to the Hermitholm which is near to this place. To which wee may add:

2. The common pump at Crakenthorp Hall {in drying of which a lump of brass ore was taken up as big your head} because it wrought a miraculous cure upon Elizabeth Machell ~~now liveing~~ the lady of the manner &c. The pump at Crakenthorp – ab effectu[959] – extraord[inary] in nature.[960]

[949] Removed? Remedied?
[950] The Chapel of St Giles (named after Aegidius or Giles the Hermit) is in Crackenthorpe township.
[951] 'Land very near to the chapel of Crackenthorpe.'
[952] Elizabeth Whelpdale married Lancelot Machell of Crackenthorpe at Penrith on 30 November 1643; she therefore became 'lady of the manor' and was the mother of Thomas, the antiquary. See C. Roy Hudleston, 'Thomas Machell, his wife and children and his Whelpdale stepchildren', *CW2*, 70 (1970), 110-45, at 111.
[953] 'Witness, she herself.'
[954] 'Here.'
[955] The Civil War.
[956] Transcribed as seen; meaning unclear.
[957] This heading has been moved here from MS.I.341
[958] MS: 'St Giles, his well, which springs on the south side of an high hill at Crakenthorp ~~called the Sark Bankes by the~~ \ in the demaine / calld Chappel Hill, just by the edge of the chapleyard, which was called St Giles ~~in the tis~~. Tis a dillicate water ~~as hath bin accounted~~.'
[959] 'From the effect.'
[960] In the MS this last sentence is numbered '6'.

3. Lady Well in the Fryaridge groundes at Apelby, & which has bin so calld (as I suppose) from the Priory. Here dedicate to St Mary and might easily water, as it semeth to have don formerly, every house on that side.[961] \ & [on] the other side also is a conduit pipe / where it runs off the street calld Batlebur (the \ old / Blato Burgum Antoninus speakes of; a member of the Corporation of Apleby).[962]
4. Pike Well which waters the manner house at Murton, coming into \ Murton Hall / by a long divided channel.

[Machell's Notes: I.340]

*{Washing away spiritual impurityes by Baptism but corpo[ris] after by immersion or lotion.}[963]
A place called Plaster Scar over against Winderwath, which is very good plaster for makeing floores. Generous - & Apelby – iron which distroyd the far woods.

[III.80]

{ad Ellercar}
{Noster Martinus Lister clarisimus – in tractate *de Cochleis*; p.146, Cap.1.}[964]
Titulo XXIX. describit musculum Latum testâ admodum tenui, ex fusco vir[id]i descentem, interdum rufessentem. Cuj latitudo ad duas uncias, longitudo ad tres uncias et dimidium. Id genus maximum quem unquam vidit.
Ex his vero inquit ipsis musculis plurimos invenimus in fossis paludis Pottery Carr dictæ juxta Doncaster quibus longitudo fere 5 uncialis, latitudo paulum supra duas uncias et dimidium.
{vitæ, vel aculi Echinorum \ 11:50 / dicti, vel corallium}
Musculorum aliarumve cochlearum testæ si in acri lixivio coquuntur earum exteriores et decolores membrana separari possunt. Et 3a membranula margaritarum splendorem habet et accom[m]odatiss[ima] est ad medicamenta quæ vis[965] in quibus requiruntur vela.[966]

[I.336]

[Other Rarities in Nature]

[Fish]
Hawes Water eales as bigg as a mans thigh.{Infor. J. Wiber from Browham Castle, farmers.}[967]
The pike fish & golden trout in Tease pikedale.
U[l]sewater trouts and eales. 1 trout that was 7 quarter long taken 12 yeares since a[t] Powley Stanke, which ran away with the speare \ as big as an[968] pike / called a Lister twice 12 score ere she came to the shore: infor. eodem.[969]

[III.41]

Langton Tarne, replennishd with eale, tench & troute.

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[961] MS: 'Here dedicate to St Mary and / ~~has formerly watered~~ as \ might easily water / as it semeth to have don formerly, / every house on that side ~~where it runs of~~ \ the side'.
[962] As this passage is closely written, much scored-through and highly interlineated, the transcription given here is somewhat loose.
[963] 'Baptism by lotion': 'Danaeus: "Baptism signifies not only immersion, but also lotion and ablution; and not only are they baptized who are wholly dipped in water, but they that are tinged or whetted with water."' See Enoch Pond, *Treatise on Christian Baptism* (Boston, 1833), 26.
[964] 'Our most illustrious Martin Lister, *De Cochleis* [On Landsnails]' (London, 1685), and, *Exercitatio anatomica de Cochleis, maxime terrestribus & limacibus* (London, 1694).)
[965] MS: 'quae vit'.
[966] 'Under Heading XXIX he describes a broad mussel with a fairly thin shell, shading from a dark green colour, sometimes becoming reddish. Its breadth [is] approaching two inches, its length towards three and a half inches. This type is the largest that he ever saw. But he says that in the ditches of the marsh called Pottery Carr near Doncaster we find a great many of these very mussels, whose length measures almost five inches and breadth a little over two and a half inches. {For their way of life, either the spines, as they are called, of urchins, or coral.} If the shells of mussels or of other snails are cooked in caustic lye, their outsides and discoloured parts can be separated from the membrane. And a third little membrane has the lustre of pearls and is very useful for various medical treatments in which plasters are required.'
[967] Informant.
[968] A word here is illegible.
[969] 'The same informant.'

[II.464] [970]

A \ Mr Burbeck of Hornby / was in league with a Yorkeshire woman, who was very unwilling to come into Westm'land by reason that she had bin ~~told or att least supposed that they~~ \ informed it was a barren unfruitful countrey & / had no fish; whereupon, a day or 2 After […][971] \ Esq. Machell / sent his man over with an whole horse load of his \ own / takeing; and then she was satisfied that there were some, whence so many were brought. {Non Tanti.}[972]

[I.340]

[Birds]

Eagles or rather vultures – bread in Hikeupdale Skar, black in colour, their pulti[973] haveing larger limbes than the o[l]d eagle that was kept at Queens College.

[I.341]

In Bongate St Nicholas Wood, sparrow hawk nests.[974] In the bogg at the bottom of Thornbur[975] Hill, wild ducks build; as also at Spittlemire in the demane or high groundes at Crakenthorp. Herinsew[976] nests in the other end & q[uery] of ospreys[977] – cranes in Flakebrege. Wild duck at Spittle. Eagles.[978]

[Beasts]

Martes in Flakebridge

[I.229]

[Minerals]

(Remarkes)

1. In the Lordship of Bongate is a qaurrie of he[w]n ston[e], for the bankes of Eaden are a reed[979] rock here; but besides the Church there is no place remarkeable and there is \ not now / any manor [house].

[I.340]

[2.] Allso blew stone like Irish slate, which make very \ good hoanes[980] / under ground. There are very rich mines, in the fell & mountanes, of lead & coale – but little sought after – especially in a place calld Scordell – concerneing which Gillmans wife, alijs Mother Shipton, as has bin said, deliverd this rime when she passed over that beck which run due [blank]

[I.342]

{She put her finger ith Beck}

Is in this Scordell
Has riches more
than tong can tell.
They that awn'd to open Dunfell sneck
May shovell out ther silver in a peck.[981]

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[970] This passage from MS.II.464 has been placed here, as Machell suggested: {'Prefix this to Crakenthorp, benef. of the lordship.'}

[971] 2cm of illegible text are crossed through here.

[972] 'Not so many.'

[973] A reference to the young of these birds, 'pulti' being derived from either 'puler' (17th century), 'a young bird, a fledgling'; or 'pult'/ 'pulter': 'an edible fowl: (collectively) poultry'. *OED*.

[974] MS. 'Sparrow hawks' is repeated elsewhere on this page.

[975] Thornbarrow.

[976] 'Herons': derived from Old French heronçeau. Other former names were heronshaw and hernshaw.

[977] MS. Repeated: 'Hernisews in Flakebrige wood as – of ospreys.'

[978] In the MS, this paragraph also contains a quotation, 'Up weel Spink & Draw well Sparke'. For the source of this reference, see Machell's Preface (II.469).

[979] Red sandstone.

[980] Sharpening stone.

[981] MS: 'Is in \ this / Scordal, ~~Arre~~ \ Has / riches more than tong can tell. ~~But~~ They that awn'd to open Dunfell sneck May shovell \ out ther silver in a / ~~soldett … a~~ peck'. MS. I.340 contains the words, 'Skordell Has riches more Than tongue can tell.' This reference is to the Yorkshire prophetess and soothsayer, Mother Shipton (Ursula Southeil c. 1488-1561). 'She had made her debut in print in the 1640s, but this appears to be the first indication that her legend was already being grafted onto landmarks in specific communities and woven into the fabric of their parochial lore.' Extracted from Adam Fox, 'Vernacular culture and popular customs in early modern England: evidence from Thomas Machell's Westmorland', *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 9, 3 (2012), 329-347, at 336.

[3.] Stone at Murton and Bongate, but none at Crakenthorp; what built that house being fetch from far
[I.341]

Murton Fells – and others
Rarityes: There are a sort of blewish thin stones, like unto the Irish slate, & I am perswaded of the same vertue, but have experimentally found them to be good for sharping of rasors; no way inferiur to the Irish hoane. There are allso a sort of cristall stone, but very flakey. The same I suppose which those that are found in Muscovia and Saxony, called by the names of specularis, selenites, alumen, scaiblæ: usefull in medicine, which they render in English, the specular stone.

[I.340]

Murto[n] Pike – 2 miles high – is mad[e] of a pyrm[982] in the front of that gra[n]d ridge of mountane which resemble the Alpes.

[I.339]

{The Soyle}
The soyle is here (as in most other places) of diverse sortes, but generally claiy, and is very fertil, especially by the bankes of the River Eden & places adjacent, which are impregnated & inspirited with it. It produceth good corne, cattle & sheepe, these on the mountanes, those in the bottom & more champeon ground.[983] It is also adorned with wood in some partes,[984] but very rare, the most being as \ at / Crakenthorp* which is famous for ash & the strongest grad[e] oake in the Kingdom of England. For a smale nale being but entered into it can hardly be pulled out agane, & if the quantity did but answer the quality & were nearer the sea, no timber could be like it for ships.[985] Perhaps it may derive its strenth from the nature of the soyle being a strong clay.

[Flora]
Here \ are / also in the same wood, which I never saw elsewhere, wilde cherry trees; also rasp berry & wine berryes in the bankes [ab]out Troutbeck, naturally growing†. {~~But before~~ & here I must also observe unto a rarity in Nature which shows the benignity of the soyle & \ comfortable / tempertor of the air. He had in his floore gardene about – the present rector has had in his garden \ at Shrovetide / since he came to this place, double gillyflores, in their full blossom, ~~at shovetime~~ and here I cannot but take notice a rarity in nature which showes the benignity of the air & ~~fertility~~ of soyle. The present rector ~~hath~~ had in his floore garden not many years since, double gilliflowers in ful blossom at Shrovetide.}[986]

[Machell's Notes: I.339]

*(Query. Where Flakebrig?)
†{Query. If not in Murton parish.}

[I.70]

Crakenthorpe furne & woods: demoll.

[I.341]

At Crakenthorp, which is very remarkeable for its verdure and greenness, being a springy place, ~~are all manner~~ \ is great / [store] of dillicate physicall[987] herbes, the demanes & wods being as a garden.

[982] Pyramid?
[983] Variant of Champion (Champagne) country: level, open land or fields. See John Morrill (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 2000), 2.
[984] MS: Written in pencil in large letters at right angles to the main text: '{In nature trees […] buck [t]hornes, hazels.}'
[985] MS: 'if the quantity did but answer the q. ~~it would be the best fetch~~ & were nearer the sea, no timber could be like it for ships.'
[986] This comment refers to the rectory at Kirkby Thore, see Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.537.
[987] Medicinal.

~~Birdse~~ Mellilot,[988] addertong,[989] epithimus,[990] golden globes[991] & Birds Een[992] – concerneing which see a Rem in Kirkbythore.[993]

[Fruit]
Rasp-berryes & hindberryes at a place calld Scalehowses in Murton Demaine, & bleaberryes at Meal Fell, a pasture thereto also belonging. Wineberryes at the south corner of Flakebrig Wood {formerly a parke replennishd with deere} in a place called the Springhead, by the beckside.
Allso cherry trees, which grow wild & bear fruit in the Chaplewood near Roger Head.

[I.339]

I shal conclude with ~~an~~ \ this / observation ~~(if it be not common & \ rather / a thing over general to the whol county that peculiar~~.) \ of rarityes in nature / which is rather generall {to these} throughout the whol countrey, then peculiar & proper to this one parish \ place alone /: that here are such floores growing in our medows, commons and wasts, as in the south partes are \ ~~most~~ highly / esteemd of ~~as raritye~~s, sc. go[l]den globes & pansey, or hartsease as they are som where calld, to which I must ad, that delicate bunchd pinck colourd flooer calld the Pink.'

[I.310]

Accidents

{Bongate}
In 1675 att a place called Dowcoate Flat by Bongate was an ashtree removed of about 3 yards under bowes[994] & 8 inches diameter; i.e. 2 foote in circumference) with a parcel of earth therewith 12 yards square[995] & 3 yards deepe, after a wonderfull manner as seemed to some; for it was caryed upright in the earth & slid downe an hill over some Eller (i.e. Alder) copses or bushes; and there being a plane at the bottome of the hillside about 16 yards in breadth, it continued its course over this plane into the River, there being a great flood then, [and stopped] 10 yards within the bankes of the Eden, where it stood & stands still erect, save only that it inclines a little westward. The winde was high that night but blew contrary, that is to say against the hill \ which made the thing more wonderful to som / which might be a meanes to keep it upright. And there were some showers of raine but noe great ones, neither any water course near the place where this tree stood; onely so much water as rann of the lands downe along a furrow,[996] and that is all the \ naturall / reason can be give for this accident; but a man dyed that night, whose name was Kiplin, that lived upon Stanemoore & was reputed a conjure[r],[997] to whose translation[998] it was chiefly imputed by the credulous multitude. {I give the story to rase admiration then the reason to solve the phenomenon} but indeed shows a natural reason for it, & solves the phenominon, for the root being brought down by force of the warter & descent of the hill, the contrary wind kept it upright & kept it from falling.

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[988] Melilot: sweet clover.
[989] Adder's tongue fern.
[990] Epithymum is the 'dodder', 'the common name of the genus Cuscuta, family Convolvulaceæ, comprising slender leafless plants, like masses of twining threads, parasitic on flax, clover, thyme, furze, and other plants. *OED*. It was used as a herbal remedy, e.g. for 'melancholic passion': 'Take Epithymum one ounce and a halfe, Azure stone, Agaricus, of each one quar|ter of an ounce, Diagridion one drag. 20 Cloves, this being beaten together and tempered, you are twice a wéeke to give thereof … To moisten the drie braines in this Melancholia … take the flowers of Borage, of Buglosse, Thymus, Epithymus, of each a like quantitie, séeth this together, and wash the head therewith.' See Christof Wirsung, *The general practise of physicke conteyning all inward and outward parts of the body, with all the accidents and infirmities that are incident vnto them, euen from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foote: also by what meanes (with the help of God) they may be remedied* (London, 1605), 'The twelfth Chapter. The Braines, and all that concerneth them,' 133.
[991] Globeflower.
[992] Bird's Eye speedwell.
[993] 'Rem' here might stand for (Latin) 'matter or material', but equally it could be a contraction of the word, 'remarkable'. Machell treats 'bird een' more fully in Part 1, Ch.14, Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin, I.566.
[994] Boughs.
[995] MS: Machell drew a square shape here.
[996] Drainage channel.
[997] 'One who practises conjuration; one who conjures spirits and pretends to perform miracles by their aid; a wizard'. *OED*.
[998] Death.

[I.328A]

Appleby St Michaels ad Crakanthorp
Action of a whirlwind on waters, March 14 1685/6
Thomas Soulby informed me of a strange accident which hapned by a winde att the head of Ellerker, over\a/gainst Stega Lands yeat; when he & others were makeing hay there, all the water in Eaden from side to side was taken up in the winde by a whirlepuft,[999] the bredth of an house, so that he fairly discovered the channel & stones in the bottom without any water. This was about 14 years since.[1000]

[III.75]

{Ad Burton Lordship about 15 years agoe}
Anthony Stephenson found a man – in the last great frost & snow save one – in a gill above Brampton & Hilton call'd Grena-Gill, lying & moaning in the snow, who gave this account concerneing himself. That he came from Durham to the Nether Pit on Stanemore to see som of his acquaintance ~~who were~~ working there; and thence intending for High Ubanke he miss'd his way (or was missed for) a \ whol / weeke together twixt Sunday & Sunday, never resting, eating nor sleeping \ all the while / nor knowing whether it was night or day all that time but that \ there / ~~were~~ was something like a black dog sometimes running before him. His leggs were so perished in the cold that they ~~perished by it & were both~~ cut of just under the knee about 3 monthes after.

[I.340]

{Anything extraord[inary] in Art or Nature}

A monstrous birth about Friday 15 February 1686/7.}[1001]

[III.75]

{A milston caryed over Wharton Park wall without injury.}

[I.339]

[Extraordinary Things of Antiquity]
{Amongst these ancient things of antiquity which are extraordinarie I thinke fit to mention an ingeniouse old woman who lived in this town til she was 120 years old. Her names were Sanderson whom in a byname they called Cowsonsy – a compound old word which signifyes unhorned but lucky and signifyes a good lucky cow that wante shed her hornes.[1002]

[I.341]

Below the ca[mp] & nearer Kirkbythore at a place calld Machells Banke near the High Street on the left hand as you goe to K. there were urnes found in this Lordship with ashes in them &c: see one in amongst my paper sent to the Repository at Oxford by Mr Tod, & query farther of T. Long & his son.[1003]

[Other General Notes]

[I.262b]

The Lordship of Burrells.
Lordship of Skattergate.
Soulfield p[art] of the dem[ain] belong[ing] to Apleby Castle in the Lordship of Bong[ate].
Langton Field p[ar]cell of the dem[ain].
Land belonging to Apleby Castle.
Lordship of Wood Side.
In 1628 tis said that the forge in the demain lands of Browham had there been lately built.
The long warren of Lancton.

[999] Whirl-puff: puff or gust of wind such as raises dust in a whirl or eddy; also a whirlwind. *OED*.
[1000] MS.1.340 refers to these phenomena in a short note: 'a tree which ran down into Eden; a thunder shower in Brampton.'
[1001] This number could equally well read '18'.
[1002] The word 'wante' is unclear. More material on Cow Sonsy occurs in the Parishes of Kirkby Thore and Newbiggin (I.538-546).
[1003] See Part 3, Ch.3, Roman Antiquities.

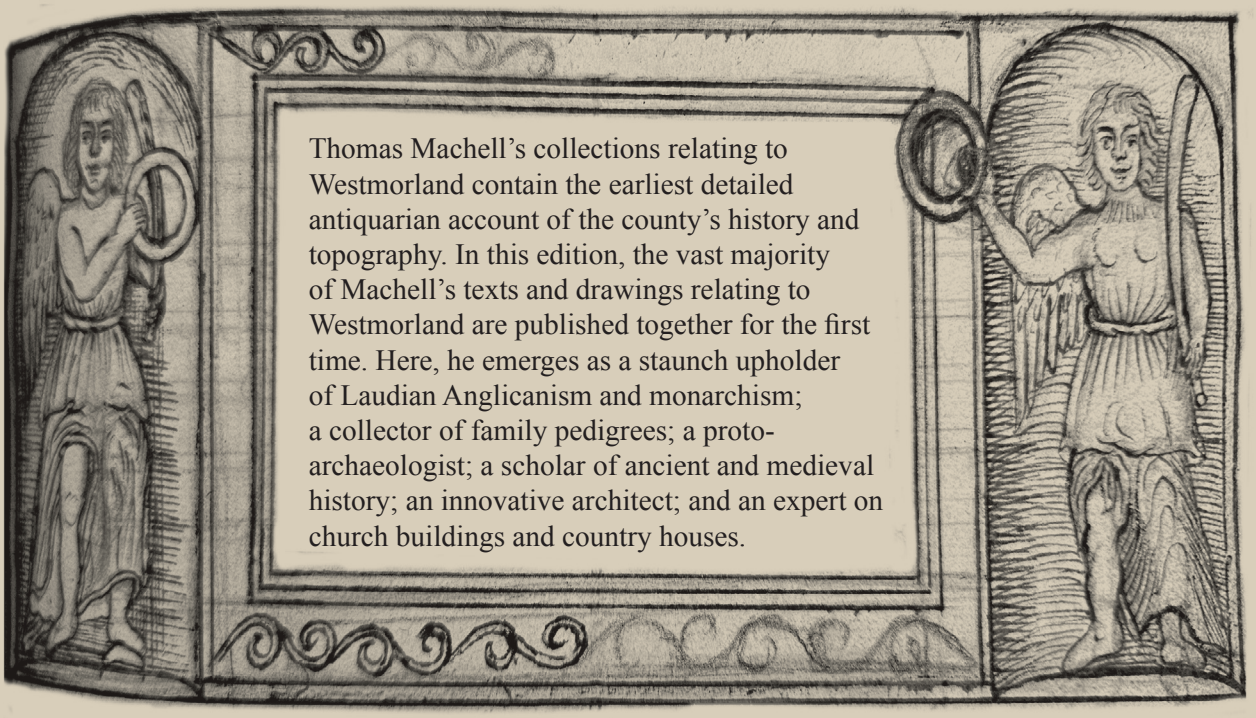
[II.369A]

The other side adjoyneing the Lyde of Bolton Fields &c. To be calld & known by the name of Rowland Close, scituate lying and being within the Lordship, Township & Territories of Crakinthroppe aforesaid: And lying & being within the Spedings of Thone Side, and the water of Eden on thother side adjoyneing unto the side of.[1004]

[1004] The text ends here.

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CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND
ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY



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.