

## From the Romans to the Reivers

For the period from the Roman occupation of the site in the 3rd century until the 16th century, we have no archaeological evidence and only a few references to Netherby in written sources. The lack of information for much of the early segment of this time is not surprising as this period of history is commonly known as 'The Dark Ages' owing to the lack of surviving contemporary written sources.

This does not, however, mean that literacy had completely disappeared from these shores with the departure of the Roman legions. As the few records that have survived demonstrate, priests and monks based in Britain continued to write to each other in Latin, compose lives of saints, and record historical events. A very small number of these have survived in the form of more or less good copies and more appear to have been available as sources for later chroniclers.

The destruction of monasteries from the eighth century onwards by Viking raiders may also have contributed to the darkness of Dark Age Britain because manuscripts would have been of little interest to the raiders as booty (unless in precious bindings) and also highly flammable. The situation is further complicated by the fact that we do not know what Netherby was called before the 13th century when the name Netherby first appeared in historical records<sup>1</sup>.

Archaeological discoveries, notably the excavations at Tintagel in Cornwall, have demonstrated that parts of post-Roman Britain continued to trade with the Mediterranean world and enjoyed the benefits of Roman technology. These islands of Roman-style civilisation seem to be exceptions, however, and the end of Roman rule in the fifth century appears to have been followed by the almost complete collapse of the material culture of Roman Britain<sup>2</sup>.

The earliest surviving chronicles suggested that the Romanised Britons invited Saxon warriors to settle in their lands to act as mercenaries against other barbarians, notably the Picts and Scots<sup>3</sup>. According to these accounts, this backfired as the Saxons overthrew their nominal masters and there was a violent displacement of the remaining British population with settlers from Saxony, Frisia, and Jutland. These 'Anglo-Saxon' peoples took over the whole of eastern and south-eastern England with the Britons confined to the western regions of the country, including Cumbria and Wales.

In recent decades the accuracy of the invasion story from the early chronicles has been questioned. The absence of signs of widespread violent death in bodies exhumed from burial sites is inconsistent with a violent transition. This led some academics to question whether there was an invasion at all and to suggest that what happened was the widespread adoption of Anglo-Saxon culture by the previously Romanised indigenous population. This argument has now been settled by the analysis of DNA from a range of burials<sup>4</sup>. This showed that the early chronicles were right in that there was a replacement of the indigenous population across eastern and southern England with immigrants from the regions named by the chroniclers. The absence of evidence of accompanying death and destruction in the archaeological record remains unexplained, and it appears that the incomers moved into a landscape abandoned by the Romanised Britons without much of a fight.

Netherby is located in one of the areas where the Britons hung on. There is also evidence that the inhabitants of the area retained some of their Roman culture from the story of a visit to Carlisle in the 7<sup>th</sup> century by St. Cuthbert contained in two 8<sup>th</sup>-century lives of the saint. On his visit in 685, Cuthbert was shown the Roman walls and a still-functioning Roman fountain<sup>5</sup>.

The place name Carlisle is also derived from the Roman name Lugavaliu (as described in the note on Roman Netherby) and, based on an extensive study of Cumbrian placenames, parish boundaries, and the dedications of churches, Charles Phythian-Adams<sup>6</sup> suggested that there is evidence that the inhabitants of northern Cumbria retained many elements of Roman civilisation including the focus of local populations on urban centres that retained elements of their Roman names.

One name identified by Phythian-Adams as probably being of this sort is Carwinley, on the basis that the modern name is found less than a mile from the Roman fort (caer) at Netherby<sup>7</sup>. Present-day Netherby and Carwinley are distinct, if adjacent, locations, but it is possible that the Carwinley burn took its name from Carwinley, as Netherby could have been previously known, and present-day Carwinley could subsequently have been named after the Carwinley burn that runs through it (possibly because this is the location of the Carwinley Mill). If this is correct, then before Netherby was known as Netherby it was called Carwinley<sup>8</sup>.

### Merlin and The Battle of Arthuret

One of the few dated events of the sixth century in Britain is that of a battle that took place in 573 (though some scholars believe this should be 577). It is described as the battle of Arthuret (also named the battle of Armterid, Arfderydd and Arderyth)<sup>9</sup> which is thought to have taken place somewhere in the vicinity of Arthuret, the name of the parish which contains Netherby. The losing protagonist was King Gwenddoleu and 'Caer-Gwenddoleu' (Gwenddoleu's fort) may have become over time 'Carwinley'.

The battle has an Arthurian association because there is mention of a Myrddin (Merlin) who was said to have gone mad and gone off into the forest. While the identification of Netherby with the fort of Gwenddoleu is speculative, a post-Roman occupation of the fort by a local or regional warlord in the 6<sup>th</sup> century is plausible as there is evidence of this happening at other Roman forts in the region, notably at Birdoswald<sup>10</sup>.

An alternative identification of Caer-Gwenddoleu has been made with Liddel Strength<sup>11</sup>, which lies approximately as far from Carwinley to the north as Netherby is to the south. Liddel Strength is, however, a former Norman castle, so this is only possible if the Normans built their castle on top of an older fortification<sup>12</sup>. There is no evidence for this, but, as Liddel Strength has not been excavated, it cannot be ruled out.

What is generally agreed is that the battle of Arthuret/Arfterid/Arfdydd/Arderyth took place somewhere in the vicinity of Netherby. This was a battle among the Britons rather than between Britons and Anglo-Saxons and is indicative of the breakdown of post-Roman Britain into warring regional groups or kingdoms.

### Rheged and Northumbria

One of these post-Roman entities is widely thought to have been the kingdom of Rheged. There is, however, no certainty that it even existed, let alone where it was. The only evidence we have is in the form of a few lines of medieval Welsh poetry, and its supposed location is based mainly on where it can be established that it wasn't rather than any hard evidence of where it was.

What can be stated with reasonable certainty, is that there was a British kingdom (or kingdoms) of some sort, speaking a language related to modern Welsh, that included much of what subsequently became Cumberland/Cumbria at the time of the establishment of the Anglian kingdom of Bernicia with its royal capital at Bamburgh on the North Sea coast. This Cumbrian British kingdom later came to be subject to the Anglian kings of Bernicia (which merged with its southern neighbour, Deira, to

form Northumbria, or 'lands north of the Humber'). This may have been through peaceful settlement or marriage between the respective royal houses rather than conquest, or through a combination of these means<sup>13</sup>.

There is an Anglian stone cross from this period at Bewcastle<sup>14</sup>, less than 15 miles from Netherby to the East, and there is another at Ruthwell<sup>15</sup>, a little over 20 miles to the West of Netherby on the northern side of the Solway. These crosses indicate the level of sophistication of the Anglian kingdom that would have included Netherby within its compass by the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Cumbria and Strathclyde

The Viking raids that began at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century were followed by invasions and ripped up the political map of the British Isles. Those closest to the North Sea initially suffered the most, but after the Vikings established bases in Ireland and the Northern Isles attacks could come from the West as well as the East.

The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the Eastern seaboard of England, including Northumbria, were largely annihilated, as were those of the Picts of North East Scotland whose culture and language were obliterated. In the West, the British kingdom of Alt Clut, whose royal centre was at Dumbarton, was also broken after a four-month siege of its fortress, with most of its ruling dynasty taken away to be sold as slaves in the Viking settlement in Dublin.

The surviving Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex emerged as a dominant force in England thanks to the destruction of its rivals and its leading role in the fight back against the invaders. This laid the groundwork for the emergence of England as a country and in Scotland, the demise of the Picts opened the way for the emergence of the Gaelic-speaking kingdom of Alba which would eventually become the kingdom of Scotland. The survivors of Alt Clut also regrouped to create a new kingdom based at Govan. This was the medieval kingdom of Strathclyde and it lasted into the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

There is disagreement among scholars about the extent of the new British kingdom of Strathclyde and whether references to Cumbria that begin to appear in records of events around this time refer to the same kingdom or to another British kingdom that emerged after the end of Anglian rule in what later became the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland. Tim Clarkson makes a plausible case for there having been a single British kingdom based at Govan incorporating land on both sides of the Solway and whose southern boundary in the 10<sup>th</sup> century was at the River Earmont in Cumbria<sup>16</sup>. Charles Phythian-Adams, on the other hand, argues for a separate Cumbrian kingdom whose core royal estates were within Cumbria<sup>17</sup>. Whether or not Clarkson or Phythian-Adams is correct, it is clear that most of the area that became the county of Cumberland was not part of England when it was conquered by the Normans in 1066 and so it is not included in the Domesday Book of 1086.

There is also plenty of evidence of Norse settlement in Cumbria. This settlement appears to have been mainly, but not exclusively, along the coast and in the Lake District. Many Cumbrian placenames have Norse roots reflecting the Norse immigration into the region. This might appear to apply to Netherby as the ending '-by' comes from Old Norse and means settlement or farm (hence Netherby means 'lower settlement/farm').

Unfortunately, the occurrence of this ending in Cumbrian placenames is not a reliable indicator of a Norse origin because it became widely adopted, even being attached to Norman personal names in cases such as Botcherby and Rickerby<sup>18</sup>, and, as noted above, there is no record of it being applied to Netherby before the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The exact circumstances of the end of the British kingdom of Strathclyde/Cumbria are not known. The last known king of Strathclyde, Owain the Bald, is generally believed to have died at the battle of Carham in 1018, but he may have had a successor or even survived for some time afterward. The northern part of Strathclyde was possibly taken over by King Máel Coluim of Alba (aka. Malcolm II) who died in 1034.

The 14th-century Scottish chronicler, John of Fordun, claimed that Strathclyde was a sub-kingdom of Scotland from an early date and that the heirs to the Scottish throne served an apprenticeship as kings of Strathclyde. This has contributed to some confusion among subsequent historians but there is little evidence to support Fordun's claim and it is regarded with considerable scepticism by modern historians<sup>19</sup>.

Thanks to an 11<sup>th</sup>-century charter known as Gospatrick's writ, we also know that around 1050 during the reign of Edward the Confessor the southern part of the kingdom was controlled by Earl Siward of Northumberland<sup>20</sup>. From this charter, we know that the inhabitants of Allerdale, which lies south-west of Carlisle, had enjoyed the protection of Earl Siward, who died in 1055. Thus it appears that whoever was nominally the ruler of the southern portion of Strathclyde/Cumbria, it was at this time controlled by Siward.

It is possible too that Strathclyde/Cumbria had already been cut in two before the division between Scottish and English rule by the eastward expansion of the Gaelic-speaking kingdom of Galloway which had emerged in formerly British and Anglian territories in South-West Scotland.

There may be a relic of this in a 12th-century land grant concerning Kershope (which lies northeast of Netherby), in which one of the boundary markers is referred to as 'the fosse of the Galwegians'. While it is not clear whether this was a ditch or a ridge, or exactly where it was<sup>21</sup>, the fact that some readily identifiable feature in the landscape was associated with the Galwegians (the people of Galloway) suggests that their sphere of influence extended that far at one time. If this is correct, then Netherby may either have been within the bounds of the kingdom of Galloway or on the border between it and the remaining southern rump of Strathclyde/Cumbria before the arrival of the Normans.

## The Normans

The Normans arrived in England and Scotland by different means. In England, they came as conquerors but in Scotland, they were invited in by the Scottish monarchy to bolster the military effectiveness of the King's army. An important similarity between the two cases was that both Kings granted lands to Norman knights which they held in return for an obligation to provide services to the King, most importantly by fighting for him. These lands were often geographically separated and it was not uncommon for individual Norman nobles to have estates in England, Scotland, and France.

The Scottish King at the time of the Norman conquest in 1066 was Malcolm III. He had spent 14 years in exile in Northumberland under the protection of the same Earl Siward who controlled the southern part of Cumbria from sometime around 1050. He had been granted lands in Northamptonshire and he may have come to the Scottish throne in 1054 with the military backing of

Siward and Edward the Confessor<sup>22</sup>. By 1058 he was definitely the King. His court became a refuge for survivors of the old regime after the battle of Hastings and the genocidal 'Harrying of the North' by William the Conqueror in 1069-1070. Malcolm married Margaret, the sister of an alternative candidate for the English throne, Edgar, from the old Anglo-Saxon royal family.

The following decades saw periodic incursions into Northumberland by Malcolm and retaliatory expeditions by William and his sons into Scotland. In 1091, in response to one of Malcolm's raids, the two elder sons of William the Conqueror, William Rufus (who had inherited the English crown) and Robert (who had inherited the Duchy of Normandy) invaded Lothian. Malcolm surrendered, swore allegiance to William Rufus, handed over his eldest son as a hostage, and in return received confirmation of his English lands. Malcolm thus became a feudal vassal (for Lothian) of the Norman king<sup>23</sup>. William Rufus seems then to have turned his attention to Cumbria, taking control of Carlisle in 1092.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle contains the following entry for 1092:

In this year King William with a great army went north to Carlisle and restored the town and built the castle; and drove out Dolfin, who ruled the land there before. And he garrisoned the castle with his vassals; and thereafter came south hither and sent thither a great multitude of peasants with women and cattle, there to dwell and till the land.<sup>24</sup>

From this description, it is clear that Cumbria was colonized. This involved the settlement of a large number of, presumably English, peasant farmers and not just the replacement of one set of landowners with another owing their allegiance to William Rufus.

Unfortunately, there is nothing to allow us to identify Dolfin who was driven out. One possibility is that he held Carlisle on behalf of Malcolm III (if the Scottish king had asserted control of the former Cumbrian lands south of the Solway as well as over those to the north). Another is that he was a descendant of a Northumbrian noble installed by Earl Siward who had not submitted to the Norman king.

The peace between Malcolm III and William Rufus did not last long and in 1093 Malcolm along with his son and designated heir, Edward, were killed while fighting in Northumberland. Margaret died very shortly after and Malcolm's brother Donald seized the Scottish throne (becoming Donald III). He then exiled Margaret and Malcolm's surviving children. William Rufus provided military support to Malcolm III's eldest son Duncan, who had been at his court as a hostage, but Duncan's reign lasted less than a year before he was assassinated and Donald was restored to the throne.

William Rufus then repeated the exercise more successfully with Malcolm's son Edgar, his second oldest surviving child by Margaret (the eldest having thrown in his lot with his uncle, Donald III). Edgar was King of Scotland from 1097 to 1107. He died unmarried and childless and his designated heir, his younger brother Alexander I succeeded him. Edgar had also made provision for his youngest brother, David, to be granted extensive territory in the South of Scotland under the title of 'Prince of the Cumbrians'.

William Rufus did not live to see the completion of the re-organization of his newly acquired territory because he died in a hunting accident in 1100. William Rufus was also unmarried and childless and his younger brother Henry succeeded him as King of England (becoming Henry I).

Henry I married Malcolm III and Margaret's daughter Matilda. Her brother David spent a lot of time at Henry's court and was made the Earl of Huntingdon by Henry who married him to one of the wealthiest heiresses in England (another Matilda, whose father, Waltheof, had been Earl of Northumberland). David was very much Henry's man and it appears that he was only able to take control of his inheritance in Scotland from his brother Alexander I through Henry's military backing around 1113, six years after King Edgar's death.

Henry I appointed Ranulf le Meschin, Vicomte of Bayeux, as his viceroy in Carlisle with the power to establish lesser lordships as well as dispose of Crown lands<sup>25</sup>. It was Ranulf who is believed to have created the English barony of Liddel, within which Netherby lies, sometime after 1102 and he is said to have granted it to a Fleming called Turgis Brundos<sup>26</sup>. The relatively late creation of the barony of Liddel probably puts it around the time that Ranulf le Meschim and David, as Prince of the Cumbrians, were settling the location of the border between England and Scotland.

It is worth noting that at this time both Ranulf and David were Henry's men and were essentially working together to implement the English King's border policy. This can also be seen in David's grants of border baronies to Normans with estates in England: Robert de Brus in Annandale, Turgis de Rossedale in Eskdale, and Ranulf de Soulis in Liddesdale.

Owing to its position on the border between England and Scotland, the fortunes of the barony of Liddel became entwined with the, often violent, dynastic disputes within and between both realms over the following centuries.

#### The Debatable Land

The origins of what became later known as the Debatable Land are probably to be found in an attempt by Ranulf and David to find a pragmatic solution to the problems created by making the border follow the Rivers Esk and Liddle.

The choice of the courses of these two rivers as the boundary made it easy to see on the ground where the border was, but, as the catchment area was more likely to have constituted a distinct territory, it had the effect of dividing what was most likely land that was grazed by the inhabitants on both sides of the new demarcation line. Their solution was to allow what was called the 'bateable' or 'battable' land to be used as a common grazing area for the people of both realms.

'Batten' is a Middle English word meaning to fatten and the adjective 'battable' means according to the OED:

*Of pasture-land: Good for the sustenance of flocks and herds; feeding, fattening; fertile in pasture.*

Oed.com

This intercommunal land was to be occupied only between sunrise and sunset and no permanent structures were to be erected<sup>27</sup>. The point of these restrictions was presumably to prevent creeping annexation by creating what would now be termed 'facts on the ground'.

Exceptions were made for religious orders and a house of Cannons was established at Canonbie (spelled in early documents as Canonby, another example of the -by ending being applied to a settlement that did not have a Norse origin), within the bounds of this area, together with churches at Kirkandrews-on-Esk and Arthuret.

Charles Phythian-Adams sees a parallel in the creation of the baronies of Burgh-by-Sands and Dalston out of what was probably a single territorial unit before the Norman annexation<sup>28</sup>. Local author Graham Robb, on the other hand, sees these Norman arrangements as incorporating established customary restrictions on the occupation of what would become known later as the Debatable Land which had their origins in pre-Roman times and Celtic religious beliefs<sup>29</sup>.

It was an arrangement that worked when relations between the English and Scottish monarchs were amicable. Unfortunately for the inhabitants of the newly-created barony of Liddel and their counterparts along the border, this was often not the case over the following centuries and, over time, the Bateable Land became a sort of no man's-land disputed between the two realms and the name morphed into 'Debatable Land'.

### Part of Scotland?

Following the death of his brother Alexander I in 1124, David succeeded to the Scottish throne. His claim to the throne was not very strong and Henry's support was once again the deciding factor, but it took him ten years to finally secure his position by overcoming Alexander's son Malcolm to secure control over the northern part of the kingdom.

Given that his advancement as Earl of Huntingdon, Prince of Cumbria, and then King of Scotland owed everything to his brother-in-law Henry I, it is not surprising that David I swore to support Henry's choice of heir to the throne of England, his daughter and David's niece, Empress Matilda, Henry's only surviving legitimate child. The period following Henry I's death in 1135 is known as the Anarchy as, despite Henry's wishes, a more distant relative, Stephen, was crowned King of England and civil war broke out between supporters of Stephen and Matilda. Acting at least nominally in the name of Matilda, David invaded northern England and took control of a substantial territory including the City of Carlisle which became one of his main royal seats.

A considerable amount of ink has been spilled over the nature of David's rule in what is now northern England. Did he hold these territories as the vassal of King Stephen, on behalf of Empress Matilda, or as part of an enlarged Scottish Kingdom? It is even sometimes said that at this time Carlisle was the capital of Scotland.

This last claim is easily dismissed as at this time Scotland didn't have anything that we would recognise as a capital. David died at Carlisle in 1153 and appears to have been there on many occasions, but only a minority of his charters were issued at Carlisle and it was only one of the places from which he exercised royal power. Untangling the other issues is more difficult, but the key to doing so is probably recognising that David effectively ruled alongside his son Henry as co-monarch<sup>30</sup>.

Henry but not David swore fealty to King Stephen, thus sidestepping the need for David to break his oath to Henry I to support the claim of Matilda. The co-monarchy was thus a sort of medieval Schrödinger's cat, neither fully committed to Stephen or Matilda.

One of David's key aims was to secure for Prince Henry the Earldom of Northumberland, previously held by Henry's grandfather, Waltheof, but subsequently defunct. This he achieved despite being on the losing side in a key battle known as the Battle of the Standard in 1138. The revived Earldom of Northumberland may have included Cumberland and Westmorland, as these had been part of the

earlier one, and, notionally at least, English law continued to apply and these lands remained part of the Kingdom of England.

David, however, had made no such commitment and supported the claim of Matilda's son, the future Henry II, to the English throne. In practical terms, it seems David ruled Cumberland as if it were part of his own realm. One of its attractions to him was as a source of silver from its mines for his coinage, the first to be issued by a Scottish king. When the future King Henry II of England was knighted by David at Carlisle in 1149 Henry committed to ceding Northumberland (which may have been understood to include Cumberland) to David and his heirs should he become king.

The Anarchy finally ended in 1153 with an agreement that Stephen would remain king but Matilda's son Henry would succeed on his death, which happened in 1154. By then both David and his son, Henry, were also dead (Henry died in 1152 and David in 1153) and David's young grandson, Malcolm IV was King of Scotland.

Once he became king, Henry II repudiated Stephen's grants on the basis that they had been made by a usurper, but his own promise to hand over territory was not so easily invalidated. His solution was to make the young King Malcolm IV 'an offer he couldn't refuse', surrendering his claim to the lands promised by Henry in exchange for the restoration of the valuable Earldom of Huntingdon, an agreement that was reached in 1157. This brought an end to the period of Scottish rule in Cumberland that lasted from 1135. Scottish kings, however, continued to hold baronies in Cumberland well into the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

It is probably wrong to say that Cumberland was part of Scotland at this time, that would be rather like saying that Normandy was part of England rather than France because it was ruled by the King of England. It would also be more consistent with David's obituary that described him as 'King of Scots and English'<sup>31</sup> to say during this period this part of England was ruled by the King of Scotland.

For the people of the barony of Liddel, this had the advantage of largely insulating them from the turmoil of civil war that afflicted much of the rest of England after the death of Henry I.

The barony of Liddel

As noted earlier the first holder of the barony of Liddel created by Ranulf le Meschin was Turgis Brundos. It has been suggested that Turgis Brundos was the same person who appears in documents as Turgis de Rosedale (or Russendale, both variants of Rosedale in Yorkshire)<sup>32</sup>.

The main evidence for this comes from 14th-century records concerning the restitution of the advowson (the right to appoint a clergyman to the living of the church) of Arthuret Church to the Abbot of Jedburgh Abbey. In one of these, it is stated that this had been granted to the abbot and convent by Turgis de Russendale "sometime lord of the manor of Lydale to which the advowson of the church belonged"<sup>33</sup> and also that the advowson had belonged to the Abbot of Jedburgh since "time out of mind"<sup>34</sup>, which shows that this was not a recent grant. If the identification of Brundos with de Russendale (Brundos being his surname and Russendale/Rosedale the land he or his family held in Yorkshire) is correct, it would explain how the barony came to be in the possession of the same de Rosedale family who had been granted lands in the adjacent barony of Eskdale in Scotland.

As was usual, the new Norman baron built a castle. He did not, however, build it at Netherby. Instead, he chose the point where the Liddle joined the Esk. This castle was known as Liddel Strength or Liddel Motte (from which the settlement of Moat takes its name). It is sometimes confused with Liddel Castle which was built close to present-day Castleton, which takes its name from Liddel Castle, in the Scottish barony of Liddesdale (and which was superseded by Hermitage Castle<sup>35</sup>).



### Holders of the barony of Liddel

Turgis Brundos (?= Turgis de Rossedale) - *from the creation of the barony in the period 1102-1120 to ?.*

Nicholas de Stuteville - *from some time before 1174 to c.1206.*

Robert de Stuteville (son of Nicholas)– *from c.1206 to c. 1213*

Nicholas de Stuteville (brother of Robert) - *from c.1213 to 1233 (but leased to his nephew Eustace, son of Robert).*

Eustace de Stuteville (son of Robert, nephew of the younger Nicholas, died without issue) – *from 1233 to 1241 (having previously been leased from his uncle).*

Johanna de Stuteville (daughter of the younger Nicholas), married to Hugh de Wake c.1229 – *from 1241 to 1275-6.*

Baldwin de Wake (son of Johanna de Stuteville and Hugh de Wake) – *from 1275-6 to 1281-2.*

John Wake, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Wake of Liddel (son of Baldwin de Wake, created Baron of Liddell 1295) – *from 1281-2 to 1300.*

Thomas Wake 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Wake of Liddel (son of John, died without issue), married to Blanche, daughter of Thomas, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Lancaster – *from 1300 to 1349.*

Margaret Wake, 3<sup>rd</sup> Baroness Wake of Liddel (daughter of the 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Wake and sister of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron), married to Edmond of Woodstock, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Kent (son of Edward I). Their daughter, Joan, married Edward the Black Prince (son of Edward III) and was the mother of Richard II– *1349 (died of the plague shortly after inheriting).*

John, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Kent (son of Margaret and Edmond, died without issue), 4<sup>th</sup> Baron Wake of Liddel. Blanche, the widow of Thomas, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Wake of Liddel, remained in possession of the barony under a 'life rent' until she died in 1380 – *from 1349 to 1352*

Joan, 4<sup>th</sup> Countess of Kent and 5<sup>th</sup> Baroness Wake of Liddel (sister of John). Joan inherited her brother's estates on his death in 1352 but Blanche remained in possession under the terms of her life rent. Before his death, John had made a conditional grant of the barony to his cousin Edward III following the death of Blanche (conditional on John not having a son), who had in turn granted it to his son John of Gaunt in 1357. – *from 1352 to 1380.*

On Blanche's death in 1380 the barony of Liddel was inherited by John of Gaunt, who by then was Duke of Lancaster, and it became part of the Duchy of Lancaster. This, in time, became the personal estate of the sovereign. Blanche's heir was her cousin John of Gaunt's son Henry Bolingbroke, the future Henry IV.

The barony remained in the hands of the monarch until 1604 when James I (James VI of Scotland) granted it to George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.

At some point before 1174, the barony passed to Nicholas de Stuteville (as a result, the forest within the barony became known as 'Nicholas's forest' or 'Nicholforest', the name by which this area is

known to this day). The mechanism by which this took place is not clear, but as there is no evidence of a family connection between the de Rosssdales and the de Stuteville it is possible that Henry II deprived the de Rosssdales of the barony and granted it to Nicholas de Stuteville<sup>36</sup>. The de Stutevilles also took over the de Rosssdale lands in Yorkshire.

In 1174 Liddel Strength was captured by the Scottish King Richard I (known as Richard the Lion), who had succeeded his brother Malcolm IV in 1165. Richard joined in a revolt against Henry II led by Henry's wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine and three of Henry's sons. Richard's aim appears to have been to regain Northumberland but the rebellion was unsuccessful and Richard himself was captured and forced to formally acknowledge Henry as his feudal superior; as well as to tax his subjects to pay for the occupation of Scotland by the English army.

The subsequent inheritance of the barony of Liddel is rather convoluted (see box) as it passed down first through the de Stuteville family and then by marriage to the Wakes, until it was eventually inherited by the crown through marriage as part of the Dutchy of Lancaster<sup>37</sup>.

As the barony was passed on it was valued and these 'inquisitions' as they are called contain descriptions of the various properties within the barony along with information about some of the inhabitants.

Of particular interest as they contain a lot of detail are two inquisitions from the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, the first from 1276, on the death of Johanna de Stuteville,<sup>38</sup> and the second from 1281-2 on the death of Baldwin de Wake<sup>39</sup>. The second of these contains a reference to Netherby. Some caution has to be exercised about this as the earlier inquisition refers to an enclosure within Nicholforest called 'Nethyrbaylli' (together with one called 'Bayllie', present-day Bailey, some distance to the northeast of Netherby). The Nethyrbaylli referred to in this inquisition is clearly not identical to Netherby because Netherby is not in Nicholforest. The reference in the second inquisition is to 'the heirs of Alicia de Netherby' in a list of freeholders within the barony and, allowing for the vagaries of spelling at the time, this could be a reference to the enclosure mentioned in the earlier inquisition. Another reference to a Netherby occurs in the inquisition following the death of John Wake in 1300 which would appear to place it within Carwinley<sup>40</sup> and this supports the identification of the Netherby referred to in the earlier one with present-day Netherby.

From the values placed on the various elements within these late 13<sup>th</sup>-century inquisitions, it is evident that the barony of Liddel was reasonably prosperous at this time. Many of the places named are recognisable today under the same names, including Arthuret, Carwinley ('Kaerwyndlo') and Haithwaite ('Haytwayt'), but the location of others is not known and some present-day settlements, including Longtown and Penton are absent.

The barony consisted of a single manor consisting of four divisions or 'members': Liddel, Arthuret, Stubhill and Randolph Levington with a 'ward' at Brackenhill. It also contained a forest called 'Nichole foreste', within which there were several named hedged enclosures. It is also worth noting that the freedom of men of 'Roceland and Salom in Scotland' to graze the fields of Arthuret is mentioned in these official documents.

Liddel Strength and its associated settlement appear to have been largely abandoned at this time. The bakery there was assigned a low value because 'no one hires it', as was the fulling mill 'for it has no wheel'. The castle itself, containing a wooden hall with two solars and cellars, a kitchen and a byre, a grange, and a wooden granary, was valued at nothing as the buildings were falling down and the yearly upkeep was judged to be more than the amount for which they could be let.

The manorial court was at Stubhill. This no longer appears on modern maps and despite it being still referred to in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, its location is unknown. T. H. B. Graham speculatively identified it with present-day Peth on the road between Longtown and Netherby<sup>41</sup>. This can, however, be questioned because Peth is not on a hill. 16<sup>th</sup> century records also refer to Stuble, Stublepath and Stubleholme as distinct places<sup>42</sup> and Peth is more plausibly identified with Stublepath than Stuble. We will return to this question when considering the 16<sup>th</sup> century in more detail.

Netherby may have been part of what is described as 'a land called Kaerwyndlo' which was stated in the second inquisition to have been held by 'certain freeholders'. This would be consistent with the reference to the heirs of Alicia de Netherby in the list of freeholders in the barony, as they could have been among those 'certain freeholders' holding land at Carwinley.

'Karwendelowe' also appears in a list of knights fees and serjeanties (a term meaning that the holder had to render a specific service, which could mean anything, but is most likely to have been service in the king's army, rather like that of a knight but without the full equipment). The holder is given as Robert de Carwendelowe and his co-heirs (referred to as parceners). A missing piece in the jigsaw is what relationship, if any, there was between Robert and his co-heirs and Alicia de Netherby and her heirs.

In the inquisition of 1300 (which is covered in more detail below), there are two tenants listed under the heading of 'Carwyndelowe'. One is 'William de Nethirby' holding 20 acres and the other is Walter de Ormesby, holding 40 acres. Ormesby is in Yorkshire so 'Nethirby' does not have to be in 'Carwyndelowe' (just the place with which William was identified), but it seems to be too much of a coincidence for this not to be a reference to Netherby forming part of the area known by variants of the name Carwinley.

#### Devastation

Over the following century, there was a dramatic downturn in the fortunes of the barony of Liddel, as shown by the inquisition following the death of Blanche, widow of Thomas Wake, in 1380. This valued the whole barony with all of its 'members, vills, hamlets and parcels' at nothing, 'because utterly ravaged by the Scots'<sup>43</sup>.

While the main cause of the decline was warfare between the English and Scots, this was also the time of the Black Death, which wiped out a large proportion of the population between 1348 and 1357. While it was the most dramatic, The Black Death was also only one of a wave of outbreaks of plague that affected the region in the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>44</sup>.

To understand the events of the late 13<sup>th</sup> century and the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Cumberland it helps to return to the narrative we left in the 12<sup>th</sup>.

Following his disastrous participation in the revolt against Henry II in 1174, the Scottish King William the Lion eventually purchased the independence of Scotland in 1189 from Henry II's successor, his son Richard the Lionheart, who needed to raise money to fund his participation in the Third Crusade (William also attempted to purchase Northumberland but the deal fell through).

Relations between the kings of Scotland and England over the following years were far from friendly: King John (Richard the Lionheart's brother and successor) marched an army to the border in 1209, William the Lion's son Alexander II joined a revolt against King John in 1217, and John's son Henry III threatened to invade Scotland in 1243; but it is unlikely that there would have been much impact of these events on life in the barony of Liddel.

There were also two civil wars in England in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the First Barons' War of 1215-1217 and the Second Barons' War of 1264-1267. One of the underlying causes of the battles between Kings John and Henry III and their rebellious barons was the imposition of taxes to pay for the Kings' foreign adventures. The burden of heavy taxation will have been felt in Liddel, as elsewhere in England, but the fighting took place further south.

Things changed at the end of the 13th century after Henry III's son, Edward I, was drawn into arbitrating between competing claimants for the Scottish throne.

Alexander II was succeeded by his son Alexander III but when the latter died in 1286 he had no surviving children and his nominated heir, his granddaughter Margaret, known as the Maid of Norway, died on her way to Scotland from Norway in 1290 and was never crowned. After Alexander III died, Scotland was run by a council of six nobles and bishops known as the Guardians of Scotland. The succession was disputed between 13 claimants, including two descendants of William the Lion's younger brother David, John Balliol, and Robert de Brus (grandfather of the future King Robert the Bruce), who had the strongest claims.

To avoid civil war, the Guardians asked the English King, Edward I, to take charge of the process of selecting the next King of Scotland. This Edward did, but on conditions that were subsequently disputed but which he clearly thought amounted to restoring the English overlordship of Scotland. The court set up by Edward I ruled in favour of John Balliol and he duly became King of Scotland in 1292.

In the words of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century historian, George Ridpath, 'Edward having, by virtue of his sovereignty, given the Scots a king, seems to have been fond of embracing every opportunity of making both the king and the people of that nation feel, in its utmost extent, their subjection to the power they recognized'<sup>45</sup>. Unsurprisingly this did not go down well with the Scottish nobility and matters eventually came to a head in 1294-1295 when Edward commanded the Scottish King and several leading Scottish nobles to take part in a war in France against the French king, Philip IV, as they were obliged to do as his feudal vassals. Far from complying with this demand, the Scots instead entered into a mutual aid treaty with the French king (the start of what would become known as the Auld Alliance).

Edward's response came in 1296 when he invaded Scotland securing a quick victory. He packed John Balliol off to the Balliol family home in France, removed the Stone of Destiny on which Scottish kings were crowned from Scone to London, put his own men in positions of power in Scotland, and earned himself the name 'hammer of the Scots'.

Early on in the conflict, as Edward prepared to invade Scotland from Northumberland, a Scottish army invaded Cumberland, and 'having wasted the country in their way to Carlisle, they burned the suburbs, and attempted to force that city'<sup>46</sup>. The Scots were repelled and quickly returned to Scotland, but this was just the first of many devastating raids suffered by people of the barony of Liddel and the surrounding area in the Wars of Scottish Independence.

While Edward had found it relatively easy to conquer Scotland, holding onto it proved much more difficult, and, as soon as he had departed for Flanders to take part in a European war, rebellions broke out in different parts of Scotland. The best-known of the rebels is William Wallace (portrayed by Mel Gibson in the film Braveheart). In 1297, after he defeated an English army at Stirling Bridge and before Edward I could return to do some more hammering of Scots, Wallace invaded Northern England and laid waste to large areas of the country including the barony of Liddel<sup>47</sup>.

The following extracts from the inquisition following the death of John Wake, the 1<sup>st</sup> Baron of Liddel(l), give an insight into the destruction caused by the Scottish invasions of 1296 and 1297:

'Lidel. A manor called the castle ...including a park now worth nothing on account of the war, and a fishery; divers messuages &c. are wasted and burned by the Scots.

Nicholforest. Where there many tenants before the war, but now few.

Stubhill. Where were many manses and tenants who have been slain by the Scots and the town burnt.

Easton. The township used to render 10s. yearly, but now nothing because it is burned and no one inhabits it.

Arthuret. The township used to render before the war 23l. 15s. 4d., and now 13l. 13s. 10d.

Randulflevigton. The township used to render before the war 8l. 9d., and now 60s 4 1/2d...

Northeston. The manor held by Sir Adam del Crokedayke by cornage, rendering 1d. yearly to Sir John Wake, but now worth nothing because wasted by the Scots' war.

Graynehou. The manor held by the son of Adam del Crokedaik, rendering 15s. yearly, but now worth only 18d. yearly because of the war...

Bryndscales. The manor held by Robert de Greshoppe by service of rendering 6s. 8d. yearly...it is now wasted by the war.<sup>48</sup>

As noted above, this inquisition is also interesting because it contains a reference to 'William de Nethirby' holding 20 acres of land in 'Carwyndelowe'. There is no accompanying reference to destruction or diminution of value or rent in the case of 'Carwyndelowe', but it is hard to believe that it escaped the devastation inflicted by the Scots on the rest of the area.

Further evidence of the lasting damage caused by these raids comes from the records of taxes due to the church. In 1301 there was a revision to take into account the losses inflicted by the Scottish invasions and the parishes of Arthuret and its neighbouring parishes of Kirkclinton and Stapleton are among 14 parishes that received total exemptions<sup>49</sup>.

At the end of a five-week-long rampage of murder, rape, burning, and looting (something airbrushed out of the Braveheart biopic), but not having taken any major castles, Wallace and his troops returned to Scotland<sup>50</sup>. Wallace was defeated by Edward I at the Battle of Falkirk in 1298 but escaped. He was eventually captured, tried for treason and committing atrocities against civilians, and executed in 1305.

When John Wake died in 1300 his son and heir, Thomas Wake, was only 2 years old and so not in a position to take over his inheritance which was therefore held by the King on his behalf. At some point before this Edward I had deprived the de Soules family of Hermitage Castle and their lands in Liddesdale and granted them to John Wake, who was therefore responsible for holding both Liddel Strength (also known as Liddel Mote) and Hermitage Castle (the latter was later returned to the de Soules family following a court case involving John Wake's widow and the de Soules heir, William<sup>51</sup>).

Following John Wake's death, Edward I appointed Simon de Lindsay, a Scottish nobleman loyal to him, as guardian of both castles<sup>52</sup>. An official record shows Sir Simon de Lindsay expending twenty pounds on repairs to both fortresses, which in the case of Liddel Strength appear to have been extensive<sup>53</sup>. Simon de Lindsay also seems to have attempted to appropriate property belonging to the late John Wake as there was a separate inquisition of his goods and chattels on 7 July 1300 at the end of which it states 'The goods were taken by the sub-escheator of Cumberland in the K.'s hand, at

the instance of Sir Henry de Bosco bailiff of said Sir John, to save them, as they were much wasted and in great part removed by Sir Simon de Lindesei keeper of Lidell.<sup>54</sup>

Despite Edward I's successes on the battlefield, the Scots continued to resist. Robert the Bruce (grandson of the Robert de Brus who had unsuccessfully contended for the throne when Edward I ruled in favour of John Balliol), broke with Edward I and emerged as the leader of the rebellion after the death of William Wallace. He murdered his potential rival for the throne, John Comyn, in a church in Dumfries and was crowned King of Scots at Scone in 1306.

The Bruce then found himself on the receiving end of Edward I's hammering. According to later legend, Robert was hiding in a cave when he was inspired by the example of a spider persevering in building its web to try again and in 1307 returned to the fray, this time using guerrilla war tactics.

Edward I, by then ailing, died at Burgh-by-Sands close to the Solway on his way north to deal with Robert the Bruce once again and was succeeded by his son, Edward II. Following the death of his father, Edward II made a brief foray into Scotland and received the homage of Scottish nobles loyal to the English crown, after which he delegated the campaign against Robert the Bruce and headed south<sup>55</sup>.

Edward II has gone down in history as one of the more incompetent English Kings and was eventually forced to abdicate in 1327 by his wife, Queen Isabella and her lover, Roger Mortimer. He cannot, however, be held responsible for all of the misfortunes of his realm during his reign. In particular, a series of severe weather events that led to back-to-back harvest failures in 1315, 1316, and 1317 across the whole of northern and central Europe that may have resulted in the death from starvation 10-15% of the people of Europe, and a pandemic among cattle that reached the British Isles in 1319 and which is estimated to have killed close to a third of the bovine population of England and Wales.<sup>56</sup> As ox ploughs and ox carts were central to agriculture and land transport, the devastation of the cattle population will have had a huge impact on a human population struggling to recover from the years of failed harvests.

It was against this background that the war between Edward II and Robert the Bruce was played out. It would have made it very difficult to sustain a large army for any length of time and Robert the Bruce would have known that if he avoided battle the English forces would have to give up the pursuit before too long.

Edward II refused to acknowledge Robert as the King of an independent Scotland even after his defeat at Bannockburn in 1314, and the war ground on. Robert the Bruce and his right-hand man, James Douglas, known as the Black Douglas, continued to raid across the border throughout the period, taking away goods and cattle and demanding protection money from the inhabitants of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumbria. Robert the Bruce and the Black Douglas behaved very much like the later Border Reivers with their demands for protection money from the unfortunate inhabitants.

The Lanercost Chronicle records how on one occasion in 1313 after the people of Durham and Northumberland had paid Robert the Bruce two thousand pounds each to leave them alone, the people of Westmorland, Copeland, and Cumberland could not raise the same sum, and had to hand over hostages as security for the balance<sup>57</sup>. This is evidence of the severe strain the Scottish raids were having on this part of the country and there is little doubt that this was a miserable period for those living close to the border in the barony of Liddel.

The war only came to an end after Edward II had been deposed and a treaty was concluded in 1328 on behalf of his son Edward III by Isabella and Mortimer. This recognised Scotland as an independent kingdom and as part of the deal Robert the Bruce's four-year-old son, David Bruce, was married to Edward III's seven-year-old sister, Joan.

The peace did not last long. David Bruce succeeded his father as David II when Robert died in 1329 and in 1333 a group of Scottish nobles who had been disinherited by Robert the Bruce defeated, with English backing, the forces of the Guardian of Scotland acting on David II's behalf and installed Edward Balliol, the son of the Scottish King John Balliol who had been removed by Edward I as King. This left Scotland with two Kings. From 1333 to 1341 there was a war in Scotland with the English supporting Edward Balliol and the French the party of David II, who from 1333 was in exile in France. The supporters of David II eventually won and he returned from France in 1341, but in the interim Edward III conducted several forays into Scotland that resulted in considerable destruction on the Scottish side of the border.

In 1346 David II invaded England in support of Philip VI of France who was attempting to fight off an invasion led by Edward III at the start of the Hundred Years' War (see below). David II was defeated at the battle of Neville's Cross and spent the following eleven years as a captive at Edward III's court, but on his way south he besieged and sacked Liddel Strength. The Lanercost Chronicle contains the following detailed account of taking of the castle:

"Impelled by pride and led by the devil, these [David's forces of over ten thousand] invaded England with a lion-like rush, marching straight upon the fortress of Liddel. Sir William of Douglas arrived with his army at the said fortress in the morning and David in the evening, laid siege thereto on the aforesaid day [17 October]. For three days running they lay there in a circle, nor did they during the days allow any attacks to be made on the threatened fortress. But on the fourth day, having armed themselves before sunrise with spears, stones, swords and clubs, they delivered assaults from all quarters on the aforesaid fortress and its defenders. Thus both those within and without the fortress fought fiercely, many being wounded and some slain; until at length some of the Scottish party furnished with beams and house-timbers, earth, stones and fascines, succeeded in filling up the ditches of the fortress. Then some of the Scots, protected by the shields of men-at-arms, broke through the bottom of the walls with iron tools and many of them entered the said fortress in this manner with more opposition. Knights and armed men entering the fortress killed all whom they found, with few exceptions, and thus obtained full possession of the fortress."<sup>58</sup>

One of those not killed during the taking of Liddel Strength was the governor of the castle, Sir Walter de Selby but, according to the chronicler, David II had him beheaded immediately afterward<sup>59</sup>. After this Liddel Strength appears to have been abandoned rather than re-fortified.

The inquest on the death of Thomas Wake, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Wake of Liddel, in 1349 refers to the 'site of the castle and manor destroyed', valued at only sixpence out of a total value of £70. 16s. 2d. for the barony as a whole<sup>60</sup>. This inquest is not particularly detailed, but it tells us that there were two water-driven corn mills (valued at 20 marks, 6s. 8d.) and it places a separate value on the fishery in the Esk (26s. 8d.).

Unfortunately, no evidence has been found that sheds light on the barony of Liddel in the period following this inquisition<sup>61</sup> (that of 1380 provides no detail of what was destroyed), and Netherby does not reappear in the historical records until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Owing to the alliance between France and Scotland, the border between England and Scotland was a border between the two sides in the Hundred Years' War (see the appendix below). Fighting took place when the two sides were engaged in open hostilities but these times were punctuated by periods of truce when there was supposed to be a ceasefire.

It was during one of these periods of truce between England and Scotland in the summer of 1380 that the Earl of Douglas invaded Cumbria, penetrating as far as Penrith which was sacked during its annual fair, and the Earl of March attacked Northumberland<sup>62</sup>. Ridpath attributes the lack of effective resistance on the western border in particular to a combination of incompetence on the part of the English government and the impact of the plague<sup>63</sup>. The Scots were reported to have taken the plague back home with them along with the goods plundered with the result that a third of those of the people in the areas to which they returned died<sup>64</sup>.

Despite the scale of these raids they were treated as a breach of the truce rather than an act of war. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, third son of Edward III and effective regent of the young King Richard II (who had succeeded his grandfather in 1377 at the age of 10) was dispatched to the border with a large army, not to invade Scotland but to negotiate the restoration of the peace. By this time there was also a new king in Scotland, the first Stewart monarch, Robert II, the son of Robert I's daughter, Marjorie and Walter Stewart, High Steward of Scotland, who succeeded to the throne in 1371 when David II died without issue.

Robert II and his son John, (who succeeded him in 1390 changing his name to Robert and so becoming Robert III), have not had a good press and are generally regarded as weak and ineffective monarchs with little or no control over the leading nobles of Scotland, such as the Earls of Douglas. This may, however, do the first Stewart kings a disservice. They inherited a country where much of the south was either garrisoned by English troops or held by nobles loyal to English kings and they are unlikely to have been unhappy to see these areas progressively liberated through the actions of their powerful barons, such as the Earls of Douglas who came to control most of the Scottish side of the western borders as well as Lothian, even if they occasionally overstepped the mark, as happened in 1380.

As these events demonstrate, even during the periods when fighting was officially suspended, there were those on both sides of the border who sought to profit from cross-border raids, so the two sides had to develop a system of cross-border justice for the periods of truce. In due course, this evolved into a detailed code of Border Law administered by Wardens of the Marches on 'March Days' when complaints would be heard and judgments handed out<sup>65</sup>.

One recurring dispute relating to the barony of Liddel in particular was the salmon fishery on the Esk. As noted above, this fishery was valued at 26s. 8d. in 1349. Rules restricting the taking of salmon from the Esk are recorded in 1278<sup>66</sup>, but it seems to have remained a continuing source of cross-border friction owing to the mouth of the river being in England while most of its course is in Scotland.

James Logan Mack recounts the history of what was known as the Fish Garth ('Garth' being Norse for an enclosure or yard with the Gaelic equivalent being 'gart')<sup>67</sup>. No one now seems to know exactly what this was, but it involved a barrier of some sort constructed on the English part of the river that intercepted the salmon attempting to move upriver into Scotland. The inhabitants of the Scottish side of the border took exception to the construction of the garth and destroyed it, leading to a debate in Parliament at Westminster in 1474. This resulted in a commission being established the following year led by the Bishop of Durham to engage with Scottish Commissioners to settle the dispute. By 1485 the garth had been rebuilt and was destroyed again by the Scots leading to another commission being established and this pattern was repeated in 1487, 1488, 1490, 1491 and 1494. In 1498 it was agreed that damaging the Fish Garth was not to be treated as a violation of the peace between England and Scotland and the pattern of construction and destruction seemed to have continued until at least 1543 when the matter was recorded to have been solved. The terms of the solution have not survived<sup>68</sup>.



The office of Warden of the March can be traced back to the appointment of Robert Clifford, the sheriff of Westmorland as 'captain and keeper of the Marches towards Scotland' by Edward I in 1296<sup>69</sup>. The border was subsequently divided into three Marches on each side: the West, Middle, and East Marches of England and the corresponding three marches of Scotland, to each of which the kings of the corresponding country appointed a warden. Within their marches, the wardens had extensive powers. It is said that the most important roles of a medieval king were fighting wars and delivering justice. In the borders, these functions were largely delegated to the wardens. The wardens were most often members of the local nobility or gentry, but there were notable exceptions, one such being Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the future Richard III, who was appointed Warden of the English West March in 1470.

The end of the Hundred Years' War did not end cross-border raiding and periodic larger-scale fighting. Neither England nor Scotland were politically stable at this time. The Wars of the Roses in England (see the appendix below) that followed the Hundred Years' War between 1455 and 1487 were largely fought further south, but Scotland briefly provided a refuge for Margaret of Anjou, Henry VI's queen, and a base for her to launch a short-lived invasion of Northumberland. The Scots took advantage of the civil war in England to recover some of the territory in the borders that they had lost to English control, including for a time, Berwick-upon-Tweed.

The English also intervened in Scottish affairs with Richard, Duke of Gloucester invading Scotland as far as Edinburgh in support of a rebellion against James III of Scotland in 1482, retaking Berwick in the process. Even when the English and Scottish kings preferred peace, powerful nobles on both sides of the border took a different view and the fighting never entirely died away.

The violence and insecurity that plagued the region are reflected in the buildings of the time. Given the high likelihood of being on the wrong end of a raid, the poorer inhabitants lived in mud huts that could be rebuilt relatively quickly and easily while their wealthier neighbours lived in fortified buildings ranging in size from quite small stone houses to castles. Many churches were also fortified.

Somewhere in size between the simple fortified farmhouses and the castles were the Pele or Peel Towers. The name 'Pele' applied to these structures suggests that they were originally made of wood (like the early Norman castles)<sup>70</sup> but the preferred building material was stone owing to the flammability of wooden structures. The Pele Towers in Cumbria were almost all built in the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and Netherby Hall is built around one of the later ones, dating from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. As well as providing a place of refuge these towers served as lookout and signal posts.

Towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, there is also a notable change in the names that occur in the contemporary records with those of the surnames or clans associated with the border reivers making an appearance whereas before we only occasionally come across anyone who is not at least a member of the lesser nobility.

Robert Bruce Armstrong searched the records for early mentions of these names and managed to find references to the Armstrongs in Cumberland back to the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but it is not until 1398 that there is firm evidence of their presence in their later stronghold of Liddesdale, with Elliots and others appearing at similar or later dates<sup>71</sup>.

It seems likely that many of the families now strongly associated with the area were living in more or less the same locations at which they appear in the historical records long before we find them mentioned. The Black Death led to major social and economic changes that can be seen across the county with peasants and particularly skilled artisans able to exploit the resulting shortage of labour and acquire property.

Edward III attempted to preserve the position of the ruling elite through restrictions on wages and prices but, even though the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 that can be seen as a reaction against this attempt was brutally put down under his grandson Richard II, the die was cast and a new class of non-noble minor landowners emerged. There is no reason to expect the situation in the north of Cumbria to have been any different, especially as we know that it was very hard hit by the plague.

Others seem to have been attracted to the area by its very lawlessness and violence. If you were an outlaw, this was a good place to be one. The Grahams appear to fall into this category, moving across the border from Scotland to escape the heat in their home country and coming to dominate the English side of the border in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

## Appendix

### *The Hundred Years' War*

*The Hundred Years' War of 1337-1453 was not a single conflict (and nor did it last 100 years) but a series of wars for the French throne between two rival dynasties, the House of Valois and the Plantagenets, punctuated by periods of truce.*

*It started when Edward III belatedly decided to assert his claim to the throne of France in opposition to Philip VI of the House of Valois. Philip succeeded after the last king's from the House of Capet, Charles IV, death in 1328. Edward's claim was based on the fact that, as his mother, Isabella, was the late king's daughter, he was the closest male relative of Charles IV. The French nobility were not happy at the prospect of being effectively ruled by Isabella and Mortimer and chose Philip, Count of Valois, instead, using as pretext a novel legal theory that as Isabella herself could not inherit the throne under French law because she was a woman, neither could her son. Edward III initially accepted this and gave homage to Philip VI for his lands in Gascony but relations between the two were poor and when Philip announced that he was taking Gascony from Edward in 1337, Edward renewed his claim to the French throne and invaded France. Edward and his son Edward the Black Prince defeated the French forces at the battles of Crécy in 1346 and Poitiers in 1356, with the French King, John II son of Philip VI, taken prisoner at the latter.*

*This was the high point of Edward III's success and he did not press his claim to the throne any further – securing a large ransom for the French king and additional territory in France instead. This resulted in the first peace between 1360 and 1369.*

*The pendulum swung in favour of the French after the death of John II in 1364 and the illness and subsequent deaths of the Black Prince in 1376 and Edward III in 1377. Charles V of France (John II's son) reversed the English territorial gains in France and fighting continued on and off until the second peace of 1389-1415, brought about by the unwillingness of the English nobility to continue to fund the war in France and their dissatisfaction with Edward III's successor, Richard II, son of the Black Prince.*

*This second peace was not particularly peaceful. In 1399 Richard II was deposed by Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster who was crowned Henry IV. This followed Richard's decision to seize Henry's lands (including the barony of Liddell). While removing Richard from the throne was popular with the English nobility, who feared that they might be next to have their property expropriated, Henry IV found himself having to fight on many fronts.*

*There was an increase in cross-border raids that escalated into a full-blown war in 1402 when a force of 10,000 Scots under the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Douglas laid waste to Northumberland. The Scots were intercepted on their way back to Scotland and defeated by Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland and his son, known to us from Shakespeare as Henry Hotspur. This was followed by a struggle for power between Henry Percy and Henry IV after the King refused to allow Percy to ransom his noble Scottish prisoners.*

*Henry Percy threw in his lot with Owen Glendower (Owain Glyndŵr), who declared himself Prince of Wales in 1400 and led a rebellion that lasted until 1415. This stage of the Hundred Years' War would nowadays be referred to as a proxy war with French and Castilian forces supporting the Welsh and English rebels on land and sea and Scottish pirates raiding English coastal towns while English pirates were encouraged to attack French ships in the Channel.*

*While the Welsh fought on, their allies fell away as first Henry IV and then his son Henry V defeated them on the battlefield and the French King, Charles VI, went mad. Charles VI's madness plunged France into a period of chaos that turned into a civil war between the Burgundians and the Armagnacs for the control of France. This presented Henry V with an opportunity to resurrect his family's claim to the French throne and, having formed an alliance with the Burgundians, he invaded France and famously annihilated a much larger French army at the battle of Agincourt in 1415, killing around 40% of the French nobility in the process. The Scots supported the Armagnacs and significant numbers of Scots fought in France against the English and their allies.*

*The fighting continued, but in 1420 the Treaty of Troyes was signed by Henry V and Charles VI as a result of which Henry V was declared to be heir to the French throne and married Charles's daughter, Catherine of Valois. Charles's son, the Dauphin and (plot spoiler alert) future Charles VII, was declared illegitimate and disinherited. Henry V never became King of France as he died in 1422, two months before Charles VI. He left a nine-month-old son, Henry VI, who was crowned King of France in Paris in 1431.*

*Rather than marking the final triumph of the Plantagenets, Henry's coronation was an attempt to shore up a deteriorating position as the supporters of the Dauphin had been rallied by Joan of Arc. Traditionally French Kings were crowned in Reims rather than Paris, but that city was in the hands of forces supporting Charles and he was crowned King of France there in 1429.*

*Joan was captured by the Burgundians and handed over to the English to be tried and burned at the stake, but the war continued to go against the English. When the Burgundians switched sides in 1435 the war turned decisively in favour of Charles VII. Fighting continued until 1453 when the French took control of Gascony, leaving Calais as the only English possession on the French mainland. The end of the Hundred Years' War did not bring peace to England as it was followed by what we now call The Wars of the Roses, a series of civil wars between 1455 and 1487.*

*As noted above, the Scots paid an active part in the fighting in France as well as carrying out raids into England. In particular, a force of around 6,000 was sent in the 1420s to fight under the command of the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Douglas, Archibald Douglas, who was made Duke of Touraine by Charles VII. The Scots won a notable victory at La Baugé in 1421 but Douglas and around 4,000 Scots died when they were defeated at the battle of Verneuil in 1424.*

### *The Wars of the Roses*

*The problem with Henry VI was not that he was a bad king (he is noted for his piety and the foundation of educational institutions), but that he wasn't capable of being any sort of king. This was not surprising at the start of his reign as he was only a baby, but he was plagued by mental health issues for his entire adult life, including a period in a catatonic state, and it appears that he was a puppet controlled by those around him.*

*To cut a long story short, a battle for control between Henry VI's wife, Margaret of Anjou, and Richard, Duke of York evolved which at times moved from the political sphere into open civil war. With Margaret in control of Henry VI and having produced an heir, Prince Edward, Richard upped the ante by asserting a superior claim to the throne. This was based on his descent from Edward III's second son, Lionel of Antwerp whereas Henry VI was descended from Edward III's third son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The two sides became known as the Lancastrians and the Yorkists, symbolised by the red and white roses respectively.*

*In 1460 Richard secured an agreement that he would succeed Henry VI, but this was not accepted by Margaret of Anjou as it disinherited her son. She fled to Scotland and started raising an army. On his way to deal with this, Richard was killed at the battle of Wakefield along with his eldest son, Edmund. His second son, Edward then defeated the Lancastrians at the extremely bloody battle of Towton, also in 1460, and was crowned Edward IV.*

*Henry VI was still around and was briefly restored to the throne in 1470-1471 following a revolt against Edward IV (probably fuelled by discontent among the established nobility with the advancement at their expense of the family of Edward IV's wife, Elisabeth Woodville). Edward IV rallied his forces and retook the throne, killing Henry VI's son Edward at the battle of Tewkesbury in the process. Henry VI conveniently also died in captivity in 1471 leaving England with only one king.*

*Edward IV fell ill and died in 1483. His 12-year-old son was proclaimed King Edward V but was never crowned as, along with his younger brother Richard, he was placed in the Tower of London by his uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Richard had them declared illegitimate and himself crowned King Richard III. The two princes then disappeared from view and are generally assumed to have been murdered on Richard's orders, though this has been disputed.*

*With everyone with a stronger claim to the throne presumed dead, Richard III's opponents, rallied behind Henry Tudor, whose claim was very weak but who was at least still alive in exile in Brittany.*

*Henry's mother, Margaret Beaufort, was descended from Edward III via John of Gaunt and John's mistress Katherine Swynford, and his father, Edmund Tudor was the half-brother of Henry VI through Henry V's widow's second marriage to the Welshman Owen Tudor. Inconveniently for Henry, although the Beauforts were legitimised by an act of parliament, Henry IV had issued a decree to say that their descendants could not inherit the throne. To shore up Henry Tudor's claim, his mother and Elizabeth Woodville, the Dowager Queen, agreed that should he succeed to the throne he would marry Edward IV's daughter Elizabeth.*

*Henry Tudor defeated Richard III at the battle of Bosworth in 1485. Richard died on the battlefield and ended up buried under a car park while Henry Tudor was crowned Henry VII and married Elizabeth. This is now regarded as marking the end of the Wars of the Roses but Henry still faced challenges from rival claimants during his reign.*

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<sup>1</sup> [Netherby :: Survey of English Place-Names \(nottingham.ac.uk\)](https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/research/heritage/england/netherby)

<sup>2</sup> Robin Fleming, *The Material Fall of Roman Britain, 300-525 CE*, 2021.

<sup>3</sup> The main early sources are *The Ruin of Britain* by the 6th-century monk Gildas and *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* by the 7<sup>th</sup>-century monk Bede.

<sup>4</sup> J. Gretzinger et al. *The Anglo-Saxon migration and the formation of the early English gene pool*, Nature 2022 <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-022-05247-2>.

<sup>5</sup> [Roman Fountain - Background Carlisle | Cumbria County History Trust](https://www.cumbria.gov.uk/heritage/roman-fountain-background-carlisle)

<sup>6</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996, p.83-84.

<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that at some point in the past, the Carwinley burn joined the Esk closer to Netherby than it does today. This can be clearly seen in Lidar images that show the earlier stream bed and is supported by British Geological Survey maps showing surface features, but determining when this change occurred would require a more detailed investigation than has been undertaken to date.

<sup>9</sup> [Heritage Gateway - Results](https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results.nsf/00000000-0000-0000-0000-000000000000?open=1).

<sup>10</sup> <https://doi.org/10.5284/1028203>

<sup>11</sup> [Liddel Strength motte and bailey castle and fortified tower house, Kirkandrews - 1007152 | Historic England](https://www.historicengland.org.uk/monuments-and-buildings/liddel-strength-motte-and-bailey-castle-and-fortified-tower-house-kirkandrews-1007152).

<sup>12</sup> Tim Clarkson, *The Men of the North: the Britons of Southern Scotland*, p.88-99.

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<sup>13</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996 p.87 – 106.

<sup>14</sup> [Bewcastle Cross – Bewcastle](#)

<sup>15</sup> [Ruthwell Cross | Lead Public Body for Scotland's Historic Environment](#)

<sup>16</sup> Tim Clarkson, *Strathclyde and the Anglo-Saxons in the Viking Age*, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996.

<sup>18</sup> These were the names of estates granted by Henry I to Norman knights called Bochart and Richard respectively who were responsible for maintaining two gates in the Carlisle city walls, Botchergate and Rickergate: Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996, p.150.

<sup>19</sup> Two experts in the field going as far as to say “the evidence for this seems to lie more in historians’ desire to identify such a system than in hard fact”, Thomas Owen Clancy and Barbara E. Crawford, *The Formation of the Scottish Kingdom* in R.A. Houston and W.W.J. Knox (eds.), *The History of Scotland*, 2001, Volume 1, p.158.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996, p.132.

<sup>21</sup> R.L. Bellhouse *The Fosse of the Galwegians* Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1991 <https://doi.org/10.5284/1061566>.

<sup>22</sup> This is not universally accepted. Tim Clarkson argues that the Malcolm installed by Siward in 1054 was a different person whose reign was a short one. Tim Clarkson, *Strathclyde and the Anglo-Saxons in the Viking Age*, 2014, p.150-151.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Owen Clancy and Barbara E. Crawford, *The Formation of the Scottish Kingdom* in R.A. Houston and W.W.J. Knox (eds.), *The History of Scotland*, 2001, Volume 1, p.166-173.

<sup>24</sup> Tim Clarkson, *Strathclyde and the Anglo-Saxons in the Viking Age*, 2014, p161.

<sup>25</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996, p.34.

<sup>26</sup> *Testa de Neville* vol 1 p.198. [Liber feodorum. The book of fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill, reformed from the earliest MSS : Great Britain. Exchequer : Free Download, Borrow, and Streaming : Internet Archive](#), Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996, p.35.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996, p.36. See also T.H.B. Graham, *The Debatable Land*, Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1912. <https://doi.org/10.5284/1063959>.

<sup>28</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996, p.36 and p.138-140.

<sup>29</sup> Graham Robb, *The Debatable Land*, 2018.

<sup>30</sup> G. W. S. Barrow *King David I, Earl Henry and Cumbria*, Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1999.

<sup>31</sup> *Annals of Tigernach*, 1153.4.

<sup>32</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins AD 400-1120*, 1996, p.36. T.H.B. Graham *Turgis Brundos*, Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1929

<sup>33</sup> Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) Volume II, 1916, no. 1035, p.257-258.

<sup>34</sup> Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office Edward II, 1891, p.496.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Bruce Armstrong, *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and The Debateable Land, 1883*, p. 123-124.

<sup>36</sup> T.H.B. Graham *Turgis Brundos*, Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1929, p.53-54.

<sup>37</sup> The earlier part of the descent through the de Stuteville and Wake families is traced in T.H.B. Graham *Annals of Liddel*, Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1913. In J. Bain, Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Volume III, 1881, p. 297, no 1633 dated 20 May 1357 we have “Grant by the K. to his son John earl of Richmond, and the heirs male of his body, of the castle lands and lordship of Lydell, both in England and Scotland, liferented by Blanchia widow of Thomas Wake the reversion of which had been granted by the late John earl of Kent to the K. – to revert to the K. after the death of Blanchia and his son, if the latter die without male heir of his body”. At this time the Earldom of Richmond was held by Edward III’s 4<sup>th</sup> son, John of Gaunt, father of the future King Henry IV. John, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Kent (1330-1352) was also the 4<sup>th</sup> baron Wake of Liddel. Thomas Wake (1297-1349) was the second Baron Wake of Liddel and John’s uncle. He died childless and his estates were inherited by his sister, John’s mother, but she died shortly

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afterwards of the plague, and so John inherited the barony along with the rest of her estates. It is clear from this and other documents that Thomas's widow was to remain in possession of the barony for the rest of her life. As John had died childless in 1352 the King (Edward III) was therefore able to assign the barony to his son John of Gaunt (then Earl of Richmond) possession to be taken when Thomas Wake's widow eventually died, which she did in 1380. In J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Volume IV*, no.292, p.63-64. 1881 the inquisition on the death of Blanchia, widow of Thomas Wake of Lydell named Henry, Earl of Derby (Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt and the future Henry IV), her cousin as her heir. The 1380 inquisition also refers to the barony being part of the estate of the wife of the Black Prince (Edward III's son and father of his successor Richard II), 'Johanna princess of Wales, the K.'s mother'. Johanna or Joan was John Earl of Kent's sister who inherited his estates on his death.

<sup>38</sup> J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Volume II*, 1884, p.18.

<sup>39</sup> J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Volume II*, 1884, p.63.

<sup>40</sup> J.E.E.S. Sharp and A.E. Stamp, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Volume III, Edward I*, 1912, no. 597, p.447-456.

<sup>41</sup> T.H.B. Graham *Annals of Liddel*, Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1913, p.53.

<sup>42</sup> Robert Bruce Armstrong, *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and The Debateable Land, 1883, Appendix XX p. xxvii-xxviii.*

<sup>43</sup> J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Volume IV*, 1888, p.63-64.

<sup>44</sup> John F Curwen, 'Appendices: The plague', in *The Later Records Relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby*, 1932, p.378-380. [Appendices: The plague | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/appendices-the-plague).

<sup>45</sup> George Ridpath, *The Border-History of England and Scotland*, 1776, p. 185.

<sup>46</sup> George Ridpath, *The Border-History of England and Scotland*, 1776, p. 194.

<sup>47</sup> C.J. McNamee, *William Wallace's Invasion of Northern England in 1297*, Northern History, volume 26, 1990. [William Wallace's Invasion of Northern England in 1297 » De Re Militari](#)

<sup>48</sup> <sup>48</sup> J.E.E.S. Sharp and A.E. Stamp, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Volume III, Edward I*, 1912, no. 597, p.447-456.

<sup>49</sup> C.J. McNamee, *William Wallace's Invasion of Northern England in 1297*, Northern History, volume 26, 1990. [William Wallace's Invasion of Northern England in 1297 » De Re Militari](#)

<sup>50</sup> C.J. McNamee, *William Wallace's Invasion of Northern England in 1297*, Northern History, volume 26, 1990. [William Wallace's Invasion of Northern England in 1297 » De Re Militari](#)

<sup>51</sup> Robert Bruce Armstrong, *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and The Debateable Land, 1883, p. 127-128.*

<sup>52</sup> J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Volume II*, 1884, no. 1154, p.294 and no. 1165, p.296.

<sup>53</sup> J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Volume II*, 1884, no. 1173, p.299.

<sup>54</sup> J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Volume II*, 1884, no. 1144, p.291-292.

<sup>55</sup> George Ridpath, *The Border-History of England and Scotland*, 1776, p. 233.

<sup>56</sup> Peter Frankopan, *The Earth Transformed p.299-302*

<sup>57</sup> *The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346*, Translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell 1913, p.200

<sup>58</sup> *The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346*, Translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell 1913, p.330-331

<sup>59</sup> *The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346*, Translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell 1913, p. 331.

<sup>60</sup> J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Volume III*, 1887, no. 1542, p.282.

<sup>61</sup> In particular, there is an absence of manorial records which might otherwise be a useful source of information. [Cumbrian Manorial Records - Cumberland: directory of baronies and superior manors \(lancaster.ac.uk\)](#)

<sup>62</sup> Alastair Macdonald [Approaches to Conflict on the Anglo-Scottish Borders in the late Fourteenth Century » De Re Militari](#) 2000.

<sup>63</sup> George Ridpath, *The Border-History of England and Scotland*, 1776, p. 350.

<sup>64</sup> John F Curwen, 'Appendices: The plague', in *The Later Records Relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby*, 1932, p.378-380. [Appendices: The plague | British History Online \(british-history.ac.uk\)](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/appendices-the-plague).

<sup>65</sup> Joseph Nicholson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 1777, p. viii - p. xxx.

<sup>66</sup> . Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, Volume II*, 1884, no. 146, p.38

<sup>67</sup> James Logan Mack *The Border Line (second edition)* 1926, p.102 – 106.

<sup>68</sup> Just how important this dispute was is illustrated by the lead-up to the battle of Flodden in 1513 when James V of Scotland challenged the leader of the English army, the Earl of Surrey, to single combat with the

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stakes being a King's Ransom should Surrey win and the removal of the Fish Garth on the West Marches and the restoration of Berwick on Tweed to Scotland should the King win. Surrey declined on the grounds that it wasn't within his power to grant the King's wishes. See James Logan Mack, *The Border Line (second edition)* 1926, p.106.

<sup>69</sup> Joseph Nicholson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 1777, p. viii.

<sup>70</sup> 'Pele' or 'peel' is said to be derived from Norman French 'pel', derived from the Latin 'palum' meaning wooden stake.

<sup>71</sup> Robert Bruce Armstrong, *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and The Debateable Land*, 1883, p. 175-185.