The church and religion in the Anglo Scottish border counties, 1534 to 1572

Keeling, S. M.
ABSTRACT

The 16th century Borders have been viewed traditionally as violent, feudal and catholic, but their feudalism is now questioned. The verdict on their religion seems often to be based either on general impressions or on lack of evidence. Recently the value of studying the social and political life of the English and Scottish Borders together has been recognised, and this approach is also viable for their religious life. The scattered evidence shows that in terms of material wealth and personnel the Border church was badly served, and that the changes of the Reformation often made the situation worse. Moreover it suffered from too close an association with the violent aspects of Border society. Popular religion in the area seems to have been more concerned with the magical aspect of the church's ceremonies than with orthodox Catholicism or Protestantism. At the same time there was a realisation of the problems, and there were educative and civilising influences at work. By the end of this period they were beginning to have some little effect, while at the same time the weakened traditional Catholicism was declining through lack of organised support. The 1569 revolt, which at first sight might suggest that the situation had changed little since 1536, in fact by its failure demonstrates the changes which had occurred. However the problems of the Border church went too deep to be solved easily, and the Borderers' independence in matters social, political, and religious would have to be overcome to achieve any great measure of success. Throughout this period both English and Scottish governments were by turn unable or unwilling to effect the necessary changes, and the inadequate church organisations were left to struggle on alone.
The Church and Religion in the Anglo-Scottish Border Counties, 1534 to 1572

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PREFACE

My thanks are due to the many people who have assisted me in the preparation of this thesis, especially to my supervisor, Dr. David Loades, for his initial encouragement, and continual advice and enthusiasm. I must also thank the staff of the libraries and record offices listed in the bibliography for their interest and assistance; and the owners of the Berwick Mss., the Alnwick Castle Mss., and the College of Arms Mss. for permission to consult these collections.
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INTRODUCTION

In a review of G. M. Fraser's book *The Steel Bonnets*, Professor Trevor-Roper commented, "Mr. Fraser tells us all about the secular life of the sixteenth century Border. What of its spiritual life? Alas this seems to have been somewhat defective. ... Neither the Reformation nor Counter Reformation seem to have made much headway in those delightful valleys."¹ This sort of conclusion is the one generally reached in works dealing with the sixteenth century Borders. In 1887 F.H. Groome wrote "But iconoclasm for religion's sake, suffering for conscience's sake, and retaliation on the persecutor find no place in our Border annals, where at this time religion, true or false, is chiefly conspicuous by its absence."² Somewhat later D.W. Tough concluded that the desolation of the church was the most noticeable factor in the English Marches, and that, "In the history of the Scots Reformation the Borders were a backwater and a refuge, and played no prominent part."³ Sir Walter Scott, whose name cannot be dissociated from the Scottish Borders, had been equally damning. "Upon the religion of the Borders there can very little be said. We have already noticed that they remained attached to the Roman Catholic faith rather longer than the rest of Scotland. This probably arose from a total indifference upon the subject."⁴ Those most fruitful sources of Border lore, the ballads, tell us practically nothing about the people's faith. "... in nine


Border Ballads out of ten, there is no religious motif; ... The supernatural world consists of ghosts of the departed, and of the fairies.  

James Reed remarks that religion occurs so rarely in the ballads, "that when we do meet with it we suspect the intervention of some later moralising hand, as in Dick o' the Cow."  

These conclusions all agree with each other, but few of them were based on any detailed research into the Border church. They were rather an overall impression, gained from a study of the more secular aspects of Border history, and although they must not be completely discounted, they can be compared with the results of more detailed research. Some detailed work has already been done on the Border church. Older antiquarian works, which are usually concerned with one small geographical area, or one family, often touch upon the church as it is relevant to their subject. More recently work has been done on particular areas. 

These works however all have one thing in common, namely that they are concerned with only a limited area, and none except Tough, have tried to look at both sides of the Border. Even he has dealt with the churches of the two sides in isolation. This indeed has been a feature of most published works on the Border area, that they deal with Scotland or England, but not with the Borders as a whole. G.M. Fraser has recently shown that to regard the Borders as a single entity is a viable approach, and that since the English and Scottish Border

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5 G.M. Trevelyan, The Middle Marches, Newcastle, 1934, p.27.
6 Reed, Border Ballads, 39, 77.
communities were so closely interwoven with each other, it is much better not to continue the artificial division created by the frontier itself. It is hoped that this study will show the value of this approach for religious history, as well as for social and political matters. The Scottish and English Reformations were very different in many respects, but they met on the Borders, and because they were there faced with the same problems and difficulties, the course of each movement in the area has relevance for the study of the neighbouring church.

There are naturally problems to this approach, perhaps the greatest being in the different sort of sources available for the English and Scottish churches. In most respects the English records are much fuller. From Durham diocese there are episcopal registers, and church court records for the whole period. In Carlisle the episcopal registers do not begin until 1560, and the court records somewhat later, but these are supplemented by copies of earlier dean and chapter records, and other material which has been preserved in the notes of local historians. In Scotland however there are no episcopal records or local church court records for the Borders. The Acts of the General Assembly of the reformed Kirk, which start in 1560 are the first systematic record of church matters. There is however a considerable amount of information to be found scattered in government records, in the Registers of the Privy Seal and of the Privy Council, and in letters which passed between government and officials, as well as in private family records, and those of Border towns. Most of the documents connected with the Scottish Religious Houses were collected and published during the

last century, as was a considerable amount of similar English material. Lastly the Accounts of the Collectors of the Thirds of Benefices are an invaluable source for the history of the Scottish church. For the English side too there is much to be found in the State Papers, and the fact that the state of their Borders, both religious and otherwise, caused so much concern to both the English and Scottish governments, has ensured that a considerable amount of information has come down to us. However the difference in kinds of material has caused some problems of comparison. It is to try to minimise these that all of the detailed information about parish clergy has been used to compile an appendix which traces the incumbents of all the Border parishes throughout this period, as far as is possible. 8a Professor Donaldson had already, in 1953, published this sort of list for Galloway, 9 and D.E. Easson later remarked that investigation of a similar sort was necessary in other areas. 10 In 1972, when this study had already been started, the Scottish Record Society published such a list, compiled by Dr. C.H. Haws, covering the whole of Scotland. 11 In many cases my researches have produced the same names and dates as Dr. Haws, but as there are a number of differences; and as the printed lists only start in 1540, and contain few details of the clergy other than their dates of appointment, I felt it was worth continuing the compilation of my own list, for the Border parishes. Since this appears alongside a similar list for the English Border parishes it allows

8a See App. I.
9 Donaldson, Galloway Clergy, op. cit.
for a detailed comparison of the two churches at parish level. It seems that only by such a detailed study of every parish incumbent who can be traced is it possible to reach any accurate or valid conclusions about the Border clergy at this time.

The other problem caused by the adoption of this supra-national view of the subject is that of dates. The different timing of the two reformations means that a date which holds significance for one country would probably be of little importance for the other. Moreover it is particularly difficult to try to set terminal dates on the Reformation in Scotland. As J.H. Burns has said, "A beginning is still harder to locate than an end". On the other hand, as soon as changes began in the English church they had their effect in the Scottish as well as the English Border areas. Consequently dates have been chosen which include the beginnings of the reformation in the North of England, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the lead up to the Pilgrimage of Grace, and which also include the other great rising in the North of England, the Rebellion of the Earls, and the period after this when punishment was meted out, not only to the North of England, but also to the Scottish Marches, for the parts they had played in the rising. After 1572, although many of the same problems remained, there had been some changes which were not to be reversed, and which make the years around 1572 a natural breaking point.

The course of religious change was of tremendous importance to the history of the sixteenth century. To governments of the time the Border


13 See chapter IX.
problem was also an important one. It was rarely that they could feel happy about the situation on the frontier, and feel no anxiety either about the actions of their English or Scottish neighbours, or about the wilder exploits of their own Borderers. Because of the tense political atmosphere of the frontier, it was important that the religion of the area should be controlled closely by the government. And yet this ideal was never fully realised. A considerable amount of thought, and much paper and ink were devoted to the solution of the problem, but apparently to little avail. The study of these attempts, and the problems they encountered are important enough to receive a detailed analysis, rather than reliance on generalised statements about the irreligion or conservatism of the area.
The Anglo-Scottish Border counties in the sixteenth century were a hard
and warlike world, the world of the Border Ballads, of reiving and murder,
of midnight raids that took away cattle and sheep, and hostages if they could
be found, and left burning houses and haystacks; a world in which men were
always ready to fight in defence of their lives and their property, because if
they were not they would soon be either destitute or dead. It was a society
in which the sort of events described for instance in the ballad 'Jamie Telfer
of the Fair Dodhead' were a common occurrence, and where the immediate
reaction to a raid was to raise a party to pursue the thieves, as this was a
surer method of getting one's goods back than trusting to the processes of
the law. Indeed this pursuit, under the name of 'hot trod' was fully recognised
by the Border laws. This ballad also shows the importance of paying black-
mail to the right leader, so that help would be forthcoming in such a case.
The Borders were, to a large extent, run by a system of organised gangsterism.
The violence of the society set it apart from the rest of England and Scotland,
but gave it strong links with the similar world just across the Border. This
is why it is usually possible to speak of 'the Borders' and refer to counties
on both sides of the dividing line. Both were something different, set apart
from the rest of the realm, and recognised as such by the two governments
which gave them both separate, and similar, governing powers. Their
difference, and wildness, was due partly to geographical considerations,
partly to historical accident, and partly to government policy, for with a
hostile nation across the Border it was well to have as hardy and warlike a

1 See Reed, Border Ballads, pp. 105-9.
race as possible inhabiting the Border region. Thus the natural violence was at times encouraged by governments which at other times tried to control it.

If violence was the dominating characteristic of the Borders, this feeling of isolation from the rest of the realm, and yet unity with the opposite Border was also very important. It was one society divided by an artificial boundary, which the governments tried to make a reality but which the Borderers ignored whenever they chose to. After all, they lived the same kind of lives, in the same conditions. They shared prejudices and codes of behaviour, as well as the system of wardens, and social organisation. As Fraser puts it, "English and Scottish Borderers had everything in common except nationality". The other side of the coin, of this acceptance of each other, this fellow feeling, was a dislike and distrust of everyone and everything from outside the Border. This was an understandable reaction. Usually what came from outside was unpleasant. It might be a sudden access of armed power designed to beat the Borderers into obedience. It might be a judicial raid, or a Warden raid to bring them to justice for stealing their neighbour's cattle, even though they had been encouraged to do this very thing when the two countries were at war. It might be an invading army fighting out a quarrel in which the Borderers had little or no part. Sometimes it suited them to involve themselves in the international struggle, sometimes not, but they never benefited from the presence of armies, whether their own or the enemies'. These armies devastated as large an

2 See below, p. 326 ff.

3 Steel Bonnets, 66.
area as they could on the opposite Border by fire and sword, and achieved very much the same result on their own side simply by trying to feed themselves. The English Borders in particular suffered when their government brought in foreign troops.  

4 In October 1549 Lord Dacre wrote that a band of Italians at Morpeth "do so unreasonably behave themselves that the inhabitants do rather mind to leave the town and seek other dwellings than to sustain such intolerable unquietness and misorder".  

5 If these were the results of outside intervention, it was no wonder the Borderers resented them. They were themselves certainly lawless, but at least they showed themselves reasonably amenable to control by those whom they accepted as their own leaders.

6 Apart from being wild and insular, the Borders are usually also dubbed 'backward'. Even writers trying to dispel the old image of the North tend to fall back on the fact that it was credited with characteristics which in fact applied only to the extreme North, the Borders. "Like most delinquent minorities the Borderers made a great impression but they can hardly be counted as representative of Northern Society".  

7 Here however it is the 'delinquent minority' with which we are concerned, and it is difficult to defend them against the charge of backwardness. But at least some explanation of this is possible. The Borderers' undoubted clinging to tradition was surely due to the need, even in their violent society, to find some stability and

4 See A.P.C. I, 170; Rutland Mss. H.M.C., 24, 45; College of Arms, Talbot Papers, A, f. 123.

5 Rutland Mss. 44.

6 See below, p. 29 ff.

security. Indeed, it was because of their violence that this must have been so necessary. In their world, material things were generally shortlived; life itself was more precarious than elsewhere; the government provided no really stable institution. Its wardens were too often part of the violence and instability, simply because they were too weak to oppose it, and in time of open war or general hostility, the government positively encouraged the instability. Thus it had to be to 'tradition' that the Borderers turned for something to cling to. This term embraces all the popular opinions of the Borders, which again are so well exemplified in their Ballads: their devotion to their surname or clan, since that was permanent, and existed as long as did any of that name; devotion in particular to the great families of the Borders, since although they might individually be highly unsavoury characters, although they were very likely to meet an early death, it still seemed that there would always be an Earl of Northumberland, a Lord Dacre, Maxwell or Johnstone. The importance of such men was far more than a personal one. In the field of religion, which of course will be discussed in much greater detail, we find it is again the traditions which matter, the outward performance of ritual, the feeling that there was something almost magical in the performance of services, something which had little to do with the theological controversy of the day, but much more to do with the pre-Christian traditions echoed in the Lyke Wake Dirge, and other ballads concerned with the supernatural. Magical rites, and traditions about the dead figure far more frequently in the Border Ballads than any recognisably Christian motif.  

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8 See Reed, Border Ballads, ch. V; M. E. James, Family, Lineage and Civil Society, Oxford, 1974, pp. 52-3.
be understood if the sixteenth century Borders are to make any sort of sense, for they coloured the Borderers' actions and reactions in matters both of religion and politics. 9

It is necessary now to define what is meant, in this study, by the term the Borders or the Border counties. It is used in general to refer to the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland in England, although since we are primarily concerned with ecclesiastical matters, that portion of Cumberland which lay not in the diocese of Carlisle, but in that of Chester, has not been considered in detail. North of the Border, it is concerned with the counties of Berwickshire, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, the Western boundary of the Borders being taken as the river Cree. These bounds do not necessarily coincide with those of the six Border Marches, since in theory the county of Westmorland was included in the English West March, and Galloway west of the Cree was sometimes said to be under the jurisdiction of the Scottish West Wardenry, but as both these areas were so far from the Border line they have been omitted as not typical of the Borders as such.

It is obviously beyond the scope of one introductory chapter to go into great detail about the government and society of the sixteenth century Borders, but I hope here to provide the necessary background for the understanding of the following chapters, as well as details of the events which were particularly significant for the Border church and the society in which it worked. 10

9 Interestingly at least some of the prejudices seem to survive, and many books dealing with one family or surname either exaggerate its exploits, or argue for their legality. See e.g. W.A. Armstrong, The Armstrong Borderland, Galashiels, 1960.

10 For a detailed picture of government and society in the 16th century Borders see Tough, Last Years of a Frontier; T.I. Rae, The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, Edinburgh, 1966; R.R. Reid, The King's Council in the North, London, 1921; Fraser, The Steel Bonnets.
Most of the Border country was an upland area. The exceptions to this were the coastal plains on the west and east coasts of England, and the continuation of the latter in the Merse, which formed most of the Scottish East March. This fertile area extended also into Teviotdale. \(^{11}\) But even the English coastal area, in the Barony of Alnwick, was described as 'hard of nature' and it could be cultivated only by 'continual travail'.\(^{12}\) Camden said of Northumberland, "The country itself is mostly rough and barren and seems to have hardened the very carcases of its inhabitants".\(^{13}\) Bowes and Ellerker, in 1542, described the hills in the Middle March as being wet, mossy and marshy, and although there was, in the valleys, reasonably good pasture in the summer, "there is no quantity of corn ground that ever was arable or that by our estimation may be made to bear corn to serve one plough together in one place".\(^{14}\) Tynedale they thought was a better prospect, and there were, there, "a great number of good grounds both fertile and commodious for tillage hay and pasture the which truly occupied and laboured for the most profit would sustain and bear a good number of people". Unfortunately however they also reported that there were still more inhabitants there than the land could uphold, as was the case in the rather less fertile Redesdale.\(^{15}\)

In the fells and hills the characteristic settlement would be the hamlet or

\(^{11}\) Rae, 3-4.

\(^{12}\) W.W. Tomlinson, Life in Northumberland During the Sixteenth Century, London and Newcastle, 1897, p.213.

\(^{13}\) Camden, Britannia, ed. R. Gough, 1806, III, 489-90.


\(^{15}\) Ibid.
single farm. The land use on such farms would produce little corn, and explain the perennial shortage of this commodity in the Borders. The main concern of these farms would be the breeding of sheep and cattle, and the practice of transhumance was widespread. The isolation of such farms, and the potential mobility of their produce were both important elements in the reiving which was so typical of the Borders, and which will be discussed shortly. Even in the lowland plain, animals were the main concern, and the bulk of the field crops went to maintain livestock. Grain for the English Borders came by sea from Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Lincolnshire, and the depredations of armies and reivers alike made these imports of vital importance. Equally important were the foodstuffs which were imported from the Merse. Unlike the English Marches this area produced sufficient food for itself and for export, and the garrison at Berwick in particular relied upon this source of supply. But apart from the Merse, the Borders shared the problems of survival in a harsh and barren region, and this was one of the many links between them. It was also one of the reasons why reiving was so much an accepted part of everyday life in the borders. "Tynedale is overcharged with so great a number of people ... (that) most praises and cherishes such as begin soonest in youth to practice themselves in thefts and robberies and other semblable ungracious enterprises ...". This judgement was repeated in a survey which Bowes made

17 Tough, 45
18 Ibid.
19 Bowes and Ellerker, op. cit., For the population in the Borders see Tough, 26-8.
for the Marquis of Dorset, in 1550. "But surely the greatest occasion of
the disorder of both these countries is that there be more inhabitants within
either of them than the said countries (i.e. Tynedale and Redesdale) may
sustain, to live truly for upon the fine of a noble rent there do inhabit in some
places three or four households so that they cannot upon so small farms with­
out any other crafts live truly but either by stealing in England or Scotland.
And the people of that country (specially the men) be loth to depart forth of
the same but had rather live poorly there as thieves than more wealthily
in another country." 20

Looking at the question from the Scottish point of view, Bishop Leslie
pointed out that in the uncertain conditions of the Border counties farming
would be no guarantee of survival. "For when in times of wars through
invasion of enemies daily they are brought to extreme poverty, in time of
peace, the ground albeit fertile enough, fearing that shortly the wars oppress
them, they all utterly contemn to till. . . . Neither give they them much between,
whether the Scots or the Englishman, steal or reive or drive away prays of
horse, oxen or sheep behind backs." 21 This was another link between the
English and Scottish Borderers. Neither cared from which side of the Border
his stolen booty originated. Occasionally it might be useful, in pursuing a
private raid, to be able to pose as the defender of one's country against the
national enemy, but if this was so it was incidental to the quarrel, not the
reason behind it. "Both feud and friendship ignored the international
boundary. . . . In this society where national feeling was almost meaningless,

20 Bowes Survey, B.L. Cott. Ms. Titus F. 13 printed Hodgson, III, part 2,
pp. 171-248.

many men refused to recognise the suzerainty of the monarch on either side of the frontier and swore allegiance to one or another only when forced to do so, or when they found it convenient. On both sides of the frontier the boundary had meaning only for those in very close contact with their respective central governments in Edinburgh or London.  

Naturally this community of interests was galling to the two governments, for there were few years in this period when Edinburgh and London were in complete amity. Because of this, by their own actions they continued to encourage those very aspects of Border life which they also tried to control. At the same time the almost constant military operations in the Borders, not just during this period, but for many years before, meant that warfare was looked upon as a natural way of life. This point is stressed by Camden several times. Teviotdale "is inhabited by a warlike people, who by reason of the frequent encounters between the Scots and English in former ages were always very ready for service and sudden invasions". In Annandale, "the inhabitants were a stout warlike people, and in former times the bulwark of the kingdom". Nithsdale, too, "breeds a warlike sort of people, but infamous for their depredations. For they dwell upon Solway, a fordable arm of the sea, through which they often made excursions into England for booty". Once this warlike way of life was established, it was bound to

22 Rae, 10-1.
23 See below, ch. VIII.
24 Camden, Britannia, IV, 31.
25 Ibid., 60.
26 Ibid., 65.
become the rule, since in such a society only the fittest survived. This is demonstrated in the survey made of the Earl of Northumberland's estates in 1567. The tenants of Ellingham are said to be poor men, and unable to give service on the Borders. They say this is because of the sterility of the ground there, but Clarkson, the surveyor, thought, "the especiall cause is the disquietness and hatred that is amongst themselves, the great thefts that ... is continually about the said town, and disorder amongst them in neighbourhood". Any community which could not act together for its own protection, and probably in attacks on others, would be a prey to both English and Scottish neighbours. Thus in Rudgely too most of the tenants were poor men, "and are many times overrun and spoiled with the Scots as also by other evil disposed persons Englishmen as well in time of war as in the time of peace".

This refusal to acknowledge the existence of the Border applied to feuds and alliances alike. A Scot might be quite happy to attack a fellow countryman with the help of an English family and vice versa. The Scottish judicial records are full of charges of 'bringing in Englishmen'. Likewise there were many complaints from English officials, like that made by Lisle in 1543 that "the spoils ... upon the Tyne and in Hexhamshire are due to Tynedale and Redesdale men bringing in the Scots". Naturally the fact that reivers could always find a refuge across the Border, if things got too hot for them in their own March (and the giving of refuge was regarded as a fundamental

27 Alnwick Mss. Clarkson's Survey, pt. VI, f. 34v.
28 Ibid., p. VIII, f. 4.
obligation) made the task of controlling them even more difficult than it would otherwise have been. But it was anyway next to impossible within the social organisation of the Borders.

"The social organisation of the border people had a dual character. One element of it was, like the social structure of the rest of lowland Scotland, built on the basis of the feudal tenure of land. The other element was based on the family, and kinship was the effective social link." This was not a purely Scottish phenomenon. The need for security in the war-torn Border lands, and the geographical nature of the country, "when coupled with the existence of strong natural family ties led to the development of these kinship groups or surnames on both sides of the political frontier". The leaders of these groups used both family ties and more feudal ties of landholding to build up units of social and political power. This is not to suggest that the Borders were organised solely on an anachronistic feudal basis. The feudal links were there as the basis of the pattern of landholding, but the surname was equally, if not more important, and the ties drew their strength not from a medieval survival, but from the fact that they has been developed to fulfil the needs of security and protection in the highly individual Border society. Fraser has compiled a compendium of Riding Surnames which shows that the family tie was as important to great nobles like the Lords Hume and Maxwell or Scott of Buccleuch as it was to the smaller riding families. The strength of these groups caused two main problems for the

31 Rae, 4.
31a Ibid, 6.
32 Steel Bonnets, 57-65.
governments. First when a man was supported by such a group it became almost impossible to act against him except on the basis of military superiority. At the same time if, as so often happened, feuds sprang up between two or more surnames, it was impossible to get them to act together in defence of the country. Neighbourly assistance was not the Borderers' strong point. As Lisle wrote in 1543, "there is such envy, hatred, disdain and malice amongst them that one of them would see another's throat cut rather than they will rise to go to their doors to save their neighbour's goods". 33

This brings us to the question of the traditional romantic view of the Borderers, which regards them as warlike through no fault of their own, violent certainly, but in a highly colourful way, and atoning for this to a large extent by a reluctance to kill, a strong sense of honour which led them always to keep their word, and of course a strong streak of nationalism. We have already seen that the nationalism was almost non-existence. The other attributes were not just an invention of the nineteenth century, although they were much stressed in writings of that time. We find them also mentioned in the writings of Bishop Leslie: "... they shed not their blood who are in their contrare. For they are persuaded that all the goods of all men in time of necessity, by the law of nature, are common to them and others: but slaughter and such injuries by the law of God forbidden. ... Let this moreover be added to their first virtue that to once they give their faith, though to an enemy it be, they keep it most surely, in so far that he who once breaks his faith nothing is thought more ungracious than he". 34 A few other con-

33 L. and P. XVIII pt. I, 141.
34 Leslie, op. cit., 100-1.
temporary comments echo this attitude. The report of an English spy sent to Scotland after the 1569 rebellion reported on the feeling against the regent and Hector of Harlaw for having betrayed the fugitive Earl of Northumberland. "I heard that the Regent would not for his own honour nor for the honour of his country, deliver the Earls if he had them both, unless it were to have their Queen delivered unto them, and if he would agree to make change, the Borders would start up in his contrary, and reive both the Queen and the lords from him, because the like shame was never done in Scotland, and that he durst better eat his own lugs than come again to search Fernihirst, if he did he should be fought with ere he came over Sowtrayedge. Hector of the Harlaw's head was wished to have been eaten among us at supper."35 These sentiments were no doubt sincere, but it must be remembered that most of the Borderers involved were members of Mary's party, and so would anyway have a grudge against the Regent, especially since he showed such a strong desire to curb the actions of the unruly Borderers.36

The annals of the Borders in the sixteenth century however leave one with strong doubts both about the honesty and the reluctance to kill. Leslie admittedly does say that there was an exception made to the latter scruples when deadly feud was involved. If this was the only exception there must have been even more feuds than would otherwise appear. Both documentary evidence in the form of official reports, and the evidence of the Border Ballads show that killing was almost as common as robbery. If the Borderers

35 C.S.P. Scot. III, 84.
36 See below, p. 29.
were at any time reluctant to commit murder it was probably out of reluctance to start a feud, as it assuredly would do, or because 'a corpse had no ransome value'. 37 The tradition about Border faithfulness also has little to bear it out. It may well have been an ideal to which lip service was paid. In an area of such lawlessness it would certainly be an ideal which was encouraged as the only practicable means by which a government could maintain control, but this is not to say that the ideal was attained. One of the main methods employed by the Scottish government in the governance of its Marches was the taking of bands. By these, landlords and the leaders of families bound themselves to keep the peace and obey royal authority, to act against rebels and thieves on their lands, and acknowledged themselves responsible for the activities of their tenants and members of their family or clan. 38 If the 'faithfulness' was worth anything then presumably this system would have worked, but the whole of border history shows that it enjoyed only a limited success, and that Borderers were ready to break these bands whenever it suited them and they felt they had a chance of getting away with it. In November 1538 for example a number of leading Borderers were charged and convicted of receiving Border thieves and rebels, 'thereby breaking, transgressing and violating their obligation and Band to the King'. 39 This is only one of many such examples. In 1550 Sir Robert Bowes reported that every surname had "certain headsmen that leadeth and answereth for all the rest, and do lay pledges for them when need requireth for good rule of the

37 Steel Bonnets, 121-3.
38 Rae, 116; see e.g. R.P.C. Scot. I, 651-3.
39 P.C.T. 208.
country and there be some that have never stolen themselves which they
call true men, and yet such will have the rascalls to steal either on horse-
back or foot when they do reset and will receive part of the stolen goods." 40
This might have been 'faithfulness' to the letter of the law, but was certainly
not true to its spirit. The untrustworthiness baffled and exasperated officials
from outside. In the 1580's Sir William Bowes wrote they "both can and will
say more for a falsehood, than for my own part I can do for the truth". 41
Wild and lawless the Borders indisputably were, and the fact was widely
known. In January 1532 the papal nuncio was scared to come from England
into Scotland "for fear of armed men reported to be at large on the Borders".
King James soothingly replied "that bands of armed men in Scotland do not
wander at large with so much licence as to attack a friend of the nuncio's
eminence". 42 And yet in the same year the King's pursuivant was attacked
and robbed in Nithsdale, not even one of the wildest of the Border dales. 43

One important characteristic, and cause of the endemic violence in
the Borders was the large number of feuds in which the Borderers became
involved. Fraser has tried to give some idea of the complexity of these in
diagrammatic form, 44 and the difficulty in distinguishing between one branch
of a family and another, and keeping up with the ever changing patterns of
feud and alliance is apparent. When the feuds acted across the international

40 Bowes Survey, op. cit.
41 Steel Bonnets, 46.
42 Letters James V, 206.
44 Steel Bonnets, 181.
boundary, this only added to the confusion, and it happened frequently, especially with such families as the Grahams which spanned the Border line. In 1550 Bowes reported on the undetermined quarrels at that time being pursued in Northumberland, and was able to list half a dozen, as well as the most important one between the Herons and the Carrs, "for these countrymen be much given to fighting, and frays upon old quarrels whereof groweth murder and many other inconveniences". Leslie tells us that deadly feud usually arose over the slaughter of a friend or cousin, but feuds could arise over matters other than murder. That between the Carrs and the Herons was over the claim to the lands of Sir William Heron of Ford, which was contested between George Heron of Chipchase and Thomas Carr, whose wife was heir to Sir William. As we have seen, the dispute was noted in 1550, and was still smouldering in 1557. In March of that year the Carrs were in possession, but one of the Constables of Berwick, with some of the garrison, succeeded in taking Ford castle for Heron. A few days later a larger party, including the Mayor of Berwick went to ensure that it was held against the Carrs, but were attacked by Robert Carr and a small party, and in the skirmish the Mayor was killed and a number of others wounded. Both sides were summoned for trial at Morpeth, and Lord Wharton heard that they were both assembling large parties of armed men to accompany

45 Richardson, *Reprints of Rare Tracts*, (Historical), Newcastle, 1849, IV, 65-6.

46 Ibid.

47 Heron's brother Giles was treasurer of Berwick.

48 College of Arms, Talbot Mss. D. f 8.
them there. 49 The actual murderers had apparently been sent to safety in Scotland, 50 but what the authorities were concerned with was not so much the killing itself, as the effect of the inevitable feud. Since the event it was said "almost no person rideth unarmed but as surely upon his guard as if he rode against the enemy of Scotland. Whose doings at this present evil considered war have, God knoweth, little need of any civil or domestic division or disention amonst ourselves. . . . This hundred years forepast never happened there so perilous a feud of maliceful disention and hatred to be sown in this country as is presently in planting and like to take root if the same be not hastily met withall and prevented, by grudges and hatred growing upon the premisses almost through the whole country. 51 In a county where feuding was almost the norm, this must have been something of an exaggeration, but it would be easy to panic when faced with the whole county ready to take sides on the issue.

Those in authority were not exempt from this practice. It was quite possible that the entirely legal arrest and execution of a thief or murderer could cause a feud between his family and that of the Warden or other official who had acted against him. In 1553 it was said that during his time as Warden of the West March the Master of Maxwell had "become under deadly feud with divers clans of the same, or at least the most part of them, wherethrough he is not so able to serve as of before". 52 Equally it was by no means unknown

49 College of Arms, Talbot Mss. D. f. 5.
50 Ibid. D. f. 6.
51 Ibid. D. f. 8.
for a warden, sheriff, or other official to use his office to pursue private

for a warden, sheriff, or other official to use his office to pursue private
grievances. Because of this, especially in Scotland, the government from
time to time explicitly excluded from an official's jurisdiction those men with
whom he was known to be at feud. In 1557 Shrewsbury, the President in
the North, was concerned about the "controversy and strife as were grown
between my very good Lord, the Lord Wharton, and the gentlemen of North-

umberland". Such strife would make what was always a difficult job next
to impossible.

Perhaps here it would be best to go into some detail about the system of
government on the Borders. The ordinary systems of local administration
in fact operated on both sides of the Border, as elsewhere in England and
Scotland, but in such an area as the Marches, this was not enough. Justices
of the peace could not be relied upon in the North and their work was made
doubly difficult by the martial tendencies of the area. In Scotland too
local officials were usually too much a part of the Border world to enforce
any outside control upon it. The Borders needed officials backed up by
their own bands of armed men to wield any effective power; and, being a
frontier region had their own peculiar problems. Thus the office of Warden
was developed on both sides. These wardens were appointed and removed

53 R. B. Armstrong, History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Wauchopdale and
the Debateable Land, pt. I, Edinburgh, 1883, 7; see Correspondence of
Sir Patrick Waus of Barnbarroch, Knight, 1540-97, ed. R. Vaus Agnew,
Edinburgh, 1832, 66, where the Earl of Cassilis and his dependents are
exempted from the authority of the sheriff of Wigtown because "there
stands some variance, discord and unkindness between them".

54 College of Arms, Talbot Mss. D. f. 24.

54a Ibid. f. 5. F. W. Brooks, The Council of the North. Hist. Ass. G.25,
1966, p. 22.

54b Rae, 12-18.
by the crown; they were backed by armed forces, in England at least in the pay of the crown, and their purpose was to maintain law and order within their wardenry. To do this they had to cooperate with the Wardens of the opposite Marches, to obtain redress for crimes committed by inhabitants of the other realm, and they presided over their own Warden courts which dealt with violations of the Border code, the Laws of the Marches. These were intended to cover all the circumstance peculiar to the frontier region, and had been compiled by consultation between officials of both realms. They included such crimes as breaking a truce, and receiving rebels and fugitives from across the Border. The Wardens also had particular jurisdiction over March Treason, which from the English point of view could cover conspiring with Scots thieves, as well as marrying, or even meeting a Scot without the Warden's permission. In times of peace, then, the Warden's task was to try to keep order within his own March, to seek redress for any damage done from across the Border, and to give similar redress for damage done by his own men. It could never be an easy task, and particularly when the Warden was himself a Borderer, to whom the violence was the ordinary way of life, the peacekeeping activities could easily be forgotten in eagerness to uphold the honour of his March against another. This attitude is well illustrated in the Ballad of Kinmont Willie, when Buccleuch, the Keeper of Liddesdale obviously regards the capture of the Armstrong thief, who should have

55 For a fuller discussion of the office, see Tough, ch. IV; Rae, ch. II.

56 These are discussed in detail in several printed works. See T.I. Rae, The March Laws, Miscellany I, Stair Society, XXVI, 1971, pp. 11-77; Tough, ch. VI, IX, X; also C.R.O. Bell Mss. History of the Borders.

57 Printed, Steel Bonnets, 386-91.
been protected by the amnesty of a day of Truce,\textsuperscript{58} as a personal insult.

"And have they ta'en him, Kinmont Willie,
Against the truce of border tide?
And forgotten that the bauld Buccleuch
Is keeper here on the Scottish side."

In time of war the role in theory changed, and far from seeking redress or providing it, the Wardens became important military officers, subordinate to the lieutenant who would be sent down from London or Edinburgh, but invaluable as men who knew the area and its inhabitants, and particularly useful in leading those semi-official raids which were so common in Border warfare. In other words they were expected to act in a way which they often followed, with less legality, in peacetime.

From the government point of view the system of Wardens was by no means ideal. They had to appoint someone with the strength or local standing to be effective, but often this was what made such men so unamenable to government control. The choice too often became one between an effective warden over whom they had only imperfect control, or a loyal government servant, who was of little practical use. On the Scottish side certain families seem to have obtained a virtual monopoly of the Wardenships at an early stage. In the East Marches this belonged to the Humes, and on the odd occasions in the sixteenth century when it was given to someone of another name, he did not last long.\textsuperscript{59} In the Middle March there was a little variety, but for most of the sixteenth century the office went either to Kerr of Cessford or Kerr of Fernihirst, and rivalry for this post was often the cause of feud between

\textsuperscript{58} A day when the Wardens met to dispense justice, and take and demand redress.

\textsuperscript{59} List of Wardens, Rae, 237-8.
the different branches of this family. In the West the wardenship went
generally to either Lord Maxwell, or his brother Maxwell of Terregles
(later Lord Herries) or else to a Douglas of Drumlanrig, although the name
of Johnstone of that Ilk also occurs occasionally. Only in the post of
Keeper of Liddesdale was there more variety. This position, in charge of
what both Scots and English regarded as the most unruly section of the Borders
was sometimes joined with one of the wardenships, but more often held
separately, and was really a sort of fourth wardenry. Holders of this position
rarely stayed in office for any length of time. In the list of names there is
a predominance of Maxwells and Earls of Bothwell, but a number of other
names also occur. Eventually in 1594 the office was granted heritably to
Walter Scott of Branxholm as he wielded most power in that area. The
experiment of appointing an outsider to office in the Borders was rarely tried
on the Scottish side. In 1516 a Frenchman, Anthony de la Bastie was appointed
lieutenant and warden in the East March to restore order there after the
execution of the Lord Hume. Understandably his presence was resented in
this Hume stronghold and within a year he had been murdered by David Hume
of Wedderburne. The Scottish government seems to have learned its
lesson, and generally appointed Borderers after this.

It was particularly important that Scottish Wardens should be men of

60 Rae, 238-40; Steel Bonnets, 183.
61 Rae, 240-3.
62 The Earls of Bothwell were hereditary Lords of Liddesdale.
63 Rae, 36, 243-5.
64 Ibid. 104, 237; Steel Bonnets, 132.
local standing, since until the reformation it was unusual for them to have the support of Crown troops. Their strength had to come from their own following, and that of their allies, and they were left very much to get on with their task as best they could, with little close supervision from the government. 65 This seems to have been because any sort of government aid could so easily be used by the wardens to extend their own power. It was therefore granted sparingly, and only when considered absolutely necessary. On the other hand, it was easier for the Scottish government to keep in close contact with its wardens than it was for the English, simply because Edinburgh was so much nearer to the Borders than London was. Wardens could be summoned there to receive instructions, answer complaints or discuss policy, and as many of them were members of the council they would, anyway, have to be in the city quite frequently. Their generally higher political and social standing than their English counterparts, as well as the geographical differences mattered here. 67 They could also be controlled by the threat of dismissal, and by the appointment of officials who had superior authority. Such were the lieutenants of the Marches who derived their power from the fact that they were acting on behalf of the King "either as leader of the fighting forces or as the mainspring of the administration". 68

As well as the Wardens however there was also the place of the central judicial bodies, which had authority over crime and disturbances within the

65 Rae, 82-5. This is in contrast with the English situation.
66 Rae, 89.
67 Ibid., 90-1.
68 Ibid., 104.
Marches as they had elsewhere in the realm. The only difference was that since a strong measure of force was needed to bring the Borderers to justice, the justice ayres in the Borders acquired some military features. An armed force would be levied to act as the military arm of the judicial expedition. 69 The force would be under the control of either the monarch, or a lieutenant. The Regent Moray in particular made frequent use of these judicial raids, and indeed seems to have been one of the few people who had any success in controlling the Borders, even temporarily. It is significant that only the day after his death the Border began to "shake loose" again. 70 The English Northern Assize circuit included the English Borders, but its sessions held once a year at Carlisle and Newcastle were not enough. In this case the jurisdiction of the Council in the North substantially duplicated that of the circuit judges. 70a Once again the normal forces of law and order were insufficient in the Border situation.

The governance of the English Borders involved many problems similar to those encountered in Scotland. The region south of the Border was just as lawless, and needed strong men, backed up with armed force, to control it, and to fulfil the other duties of a Warden in cross-border affairs. Many contemporaries agreed with the apparent attitude of the Scots, that only local men could properly serve in the area. In 1542 Hertford was not at all pleased to hear he had been appointed warden general in the North parts: "... he that shall serve here had need to be both kin and allied among them

70 Steel Bonnets, 304.
of these parts and such one that hath and doth bear rule in the country, by
reason of his lands or otherwise; who may hereafter, occasion serving,
consider and help them that shall serve under him according to their doings.
And further it may engender a grudge or untowardness among those noble-
men here whose men, if I shall remain, I must of necessity use to serve
his grace under me, when they shall perceive me, a stranger, to have the
charge committed to me and they to set still, and also cause their said men
to be much less willing to serve under me whom they know not, than they
would under their own lords and masters. 71 His comments underline the
dilemma faced by the government throughout the sixteenth century. There
were certain leading Northern families, notably the Dacres, Percies,
Cliffords and Nevilles, who felt that it was their right to fill the offices in
the North parts. The crown however for most of the century 72 was dis-
trustful of them, and unwilling to augment their already great power. Thus
the choice was between appointing lower born local men, who would not have
the military strength or the connections to oppose the great families, should
they have to; or appointing outsiders, who would be unpopular with all ranks
of Border society, and who would have even less resources at their disposal
in the Borders. It is from this dilemma above all else that comes the
popular picture of an anarchically feudal society still flourishing in the
Borders. That is was a different society is undeniable, but this was not
necessarily due to a feudal hangover. Certainly it was based to a large
extent on military service, but this was because the crown needed to be able
to call upon an armed force at any time in case of war with Scotland.

72 The significant exception of Mary's reign will be discussed below.
Consequently it could not afford to break completely the power of the great families until there was something to put in their place; something which could be responsible for the defence of the frontier. At the same time, while this military preparedness was necessary, it meant that there was further encouragement to the lawless society of the area. Men who had horses and arms for the defence of the realm would not hesitate to use them to revenge a theft or murder by another Borderer, be he Scottish or English. The Borders were in a permanently explosive state, and consequently the government could not afford to ignore any force which tended towards some sort of stability. The Dacres and the Percies might be hand in glove at various times with some of the more notorious Border gangsters, but they were also the only ones who had any sort of controlling influence over these people, and as such were invaluable. Their power was twofold, they could exercise some controlling influence if they were so inclined, but they could equally well express their displeasure and opposition by encouraging, or at least allowing, as much disorder as possible. Thus in the 1520's the Lisles, the Herons and other families who were themselves excluded from the subordinate Border offices in Tynedale and Redesdale, and were attached to the Percy interest, were well able "to bring home to the government that the Marches could not be ruled without the Earl of Northumberland". The counterpart to the lawlessness was a willingness to give at least some obedience to a respected local figure. The wildest

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73 M. E. James, Change and Continuity in the Tudor North, Borthwick Paper 27, York 1965, p. 8.

74 M. E. James, A Tudor Magnate and the Tudor State; the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, Borthwick Paper 30, York, 1966, p. 9.
Border reivers were of course unlikely to respect any authority unless it was at the other end of a lance, but other families would attempt to curb their activities when ruled by their natural leader. They knew him, trusted him, and were used to look to him for justice and protection. Thus they would acknowledge that such a relationship demanded in return a certain obedience and a readiness to give assistance. A similar relationship could never be built up with an outsider, whatever his standing. With a lower born Borderer they would be likely to contrast unfavourably his ability to reward loyalty with that of the Percies or the Dacres.

The history of the English Borders in the sixteenth century is therefore largely that of the government's attempts to solve this problem. As we have seen in the late 1520's the government was obliged to appoint the Earl of Northumberland as Warden of the East and Middle Marches, since it appeared that no-one else was able to rule them. Northumberland here was the obvious leader, but in the West March there was rivalry between the Dacres and the Earl of Cumberland. Dacre was perhaps an obvious choice for Warden since he, and indeed all his family, were closely involved with a number of the reiving surnames, but this did not necessarily recommend him to the government. Cumberland on the other hand could be trusted to be loyal, but was not really a Border magnate, and when he was Warden tried to rule the West March from his castle of Skipton, far too far away to exercise real control. 75 He held the Wardenry at first for only two years, and in 1527 Dacre took over, but by 1534 he was disgraced and Cumberland reappointed. Dacre had been accused of using both English and Scottish

75 M.E. James, The First Earl of Cumberland and the Decline of Northern Feudalism, Northern History, I, 1966, pp. 43-69, p. 46.
Border raiders to terrorise his personal enemies; of seeking the destruction of the Earl of Northumberland by an agreement with Scott of Buccleuch, and of failing to fulfil his duties as warden. In fact his peers acquitted him of the charges, many of which were too far fetched to be proved. But by this time he had been deprived of his office and disgraced. It is obvious that his activities had been suspicious enough, and created enough enemies to cause him great trouble. 76 Cumberland now held the office of Warden until his death in 1542, but from 1537 he had little more than the title. From that date Sir Thomas Wharton, a rising crown servant, was appointed deputy on the West March, and given in fact more power and authority than his superior. 77 A Borderer himself, and originally a Percy servant, he proved an efficient Warden, and in 1544 was appointed to that office in his own right. But he was still not backed by the network of power which the Dacres had, and in 1549 he was removed from office, and Lord Dacre appointed in his place. The feud in the West Marches now became a three cornered one, and Dacre, Wharton and Cumberland were almost continuously at variance. 78 Dacre's position was not secure, however, as the struggles in the Council during Edward's reign had repercussions for the North. Dacre, like most of the Northern magnates, had supported Somerset, but with his downfall Wharton's fortunes improved, and when Dudley made himself Warden General, Wharton became his deputy in all three Marches. 79

76 L. and P. VII, 967; VIII, 310; Hodgson, III, pt. I, pp. 31-40; James, Change and Continuity, 16-7

77 James, Change and Continuity, passim.


79 James, Change and Continuity, 39.
With Mary's accession however the situation changed again. Her policy was to restore the old order, in government as well as religion, and so Dacre again became Warden in the West March, and Wharton had to share power with the newly created Earl of Northumberland in the other two. In the West March then, there had been first a struggle between two acknowledged leaders for the Wardenship, and then between Dacre, the representative of the old order, and the new man, Wharton. By the time of Elizabeth's accession, with Dacre once more in office, it seemed that any changes had been completely reversed.

This same pattern is discernible in the Middle and East Marches. The Earl of Northumberland had been appointed Warden here in 1528, and he kept the post until January 1537 when he resigned it into the King's hands. This was of course during the aftermath of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the King had decided that something must be done about the government of the North. The correspondence between the King, the Duke of Norfolk and others on the Borders gives us a good idea of the theories and ideas considered at the time. It soon became apparent that the Duke of Norfolk had his own axe to grind, and was seeking, through the many hints he dropped, for his own appointment as Warden General, in the hope of filling the space left in the North by the decline of the Percy interest. His constant refrain therefore was that only a great nobleman would be able to hold office in the Borders, varied by unflattering comments on the men the King chose to appoint as deputies. Wharton, Eure and Widdrington were all said to be unsuitable.

80 James, Change and Continuity, 39.
and not of sufficient standing. For some time the council replied patiently to his comments. They thought it unwise to appoint either Dacre or Cumberland to great power in the West, as this would cause trouble from whichever one was neglected. In the East and Middle March they had offered the task to both the Earl of Westmorland and the Earl of Rutland, but both had refused it. Then on 12th March Norfolk received a strong rebuke, reminding him that if the King should appoint the meanest man to rule there, the King's authority should be enough to make him respected. \(^{82}\) Shortly after the King called his bluff, with the statement that "we would be glad ... that my Lord of Norfolk shall name a nobleman that he thinketh meet for that office."\(^{83}\) Norfolk was undaunted, and still harped on the necessity for a nobleman, but the King's patience was wearing thin. In September he wrote himself, with a detailed answer to all of the Duke's comments and objections, closing with a thinly veiled threat. "Finally you are to call before you all the gentlemen and honest yeomen of those parts and tell them they must cast away dissention and be ready to serve as under such officers as we have now there or shall hereafter appoint. Else we shall make an example of the obstinate; for you may plainly tell them that anyone of what degree so ever who will not humbly serve under such as we put in authority we shall not look upon as a good subject."\(^{84}\) Henry had not rid himself of the Percies only to replace them with the Howards, there were quite enough rival claimants to power in the north already. He stuck to his plan to appoint

\(^{82}\) L. and P. XII, pt. I, 636.

\(^{83}\) Ibid., 667, printed Dodds, II, 237.

\(^{84}\) L. and P. XII, pt.II, 712.
lesser men who depended upon himself for their position, and to maintain
control over them through the reorganised Council in the North and a
supplementary council in the Marches. The men he chose to appoint,
Wharton, Eure and Widdrington, were not however completely obscure
outsiders. They were Borderers, who knew the traditions and problems of
the area, who had some support through family links and because they had,
even before these appointments, begun to rise in the royal service: but they
did not have, and were never to achieve the sort of power wielded by the
Percies or Dacres, which could enable them to challenge that of the Tudors
in their own Northern lands. As we have seen, towards the end of Edward's
reign, Wharton became deputy in all three Marches, and he retained office
in the East and Middle Marches in the first years of Mary's reign. However
in May 1557, Thomas Percy was raised to the restored Earldom of North-
umberland and not only to the title and lands of his uncle, but to his local
position too. Two months later the Privy Council wrote to Wharton "declaring
the sending thither of the Earl of Northumberland to join with him in the
room of Warden of the East and Middle Marches", and also to Sir James
Crofts who was asked to persuade Wharton to be satisfied with this decision.
In fact he had little choice but be satisfied, either then, or when he was
completely replaced by Northumberland.

With Northumberland and Dacre sharing the Wardenries between them,
while the Earl of Westmorland was Lieutenant in the North, things seemed

85 See Reid, _op. cit._ and below, pp. 40-1.
86 _Pat. Rolls_, Mary vol. III, 495.
87 _A. P. C._ VI, 137.
to have come full circle, but this state of affairs did not last for long.

Mary may have wished to bolster up the old nobility, to support those who were the traditional governors of the localities, and who also happened to be supporters of the old religion, but her sister's policy was very different. At first Dacre and Northumberland were confirmed in the positions, but it was not long before the new Queen turned to the old Henrician policies. In August 1559 Sir Ralph Saddler reported that the Earl of Northumberland was "a very unmeet man for that charge". By September he was writing about both the Wardens, with the damning comment that "more unmeet than these be you cannot lightly put in their place". He thought the Borders had never been ruled so well as in King Henry's time, when there was a Warden for each March. His recommendations were now Sir James Croft for the East, Sir John Forster for the Middle, and either Lord Wharton or Sir Thomas Dacre of Lanercost for the West Wardenries. 88 His recommendations were not followed exactly, but Northumberland was forced, by a series of slights and insults, to resign his wardenships. He was replaced, briefly, by Lord Grey of Wilton who was in the North only during the military operations against Scotland, and who died in 1562. Forster was appointed to the Middle March in 1560, and in the East the Wardenry went first to the Earl of Bedford, and then in 1568 to Hunsdon.

In the West changes did not come so quickly and Dacre retained his office until 1563. His days as Warden were however obviously numbered, and the years up to 1563 are filled with complaints about him which echo those made against his father, and go far to explain the distrust with which

88 Sadler Papers, I, no. LVIII.
successive governments regarded his family. The complaints had begun long before Elizabeth's accession. After it the complaints concerned his whole attitude to the government, as well as his actions as a Borderer. His aim seems to have been to stir up trouble rather than prevent it. The English Grahams were making incursions into Scotland which Dacre could have stopped if he had wished, but instead he "lieth at Carlisle and winketh at the matter". He had also sent to the Scottish Regent to ask her to appoint a warden in the West to make redress and keep order. "But why My Lord Dacre should send to her to desire redress we see not, for the Englishmen have now done so great hurt to Scotland, that, as we be informed, they be not able to make redress for it, and the Scots, which would fain be quiet, have done nothing to England. And therefore my Lord Dacre hath no cause to complain, nor to seek for any redress. What the cause is why he should send to her we know not, but what he is you know, and to say our opinion to you, we think he would be very loth that the Protestants in Scotland, yea, or in England, should prosper, if he might let it." In 1560 Norfolk advised that he should be removed, saying that Maxwell was finding it impossible to get redress from him, although he would not speak openly against Dacre, since, Norfolk thought, they were allied together. Indeed the cooperation between Dacre and Maxwell was well known, but even so the Scottish Warden eventually had to make complaints. He forbore to blame Dacre outright, but said he must ask for redress since between six

89 e.g. A. P. C. II, 473; V, 326-7.

90 Sadler Papers, I, no. XLV.

91 C.S.P. For. Eliz. II, 933; and see below, pp.304, 392.
and seven thousand marks sterling were at stake, and there were forty or fifty murders to be answered for. The complaints continued for over a year, coming from both Maxwell and his government, but in vain did the English council write to Dacre to mend his ways. In 1562 it was said that he allowed "sundry outlaws both to remain in quiet upon those Borders and withall to permit them by their wives and other friends to make sale of such goods as they rob and spoil in Scotland, in open market at Carlisle, contrary to the treaty of both realms". He still refused to give redress for crimes committed by Englishmen, and apparently when he did agree to a day of truce, used obstructive tactics so that few bills could be filed. As Randolph, the English Ambassador in Scotland, wrote, "Always the opinion is here that there will never be good quietness upon these Borders so long as he or any son of his occupy that charge". The truth of this was apparent to all, and in April 1563 Lord Scroope was appointed Warden in Dacre's place. Thus by the 1560's the situation had changed again.

"Thereafter the bureaucrats Hunsdon, Scrope and Sir John Forster ruled, men whose authority had its roots not in the soil of the Marches themselves, but in London. The course of events had, after all vindicated Wharton and his kind. The future lay with the 'new men'". These new men were not a perfect solution to the problem; Forster's actions in particular were seldom above suspicion; their successors were not necessarily Borderers,

93 B.L. Lands. Mss 5, f.159; C.S.P. Scot. I, 1132.
95 James, Change and Continuity, 39.
born and bred, and had difficulties coming to terms with the society, but one victory had been won for the crown. It was in full control of its Border affairs and officials, and never lost this control again.

One other institution which must be remembered when studying the Borders was of course the King's Council in the North. As we have seen, in redirecting the government of the North after the 1536 revolt, Henry determined that it should be ruled not by the great magnates, but by lesser men who would be controlled through a reorganised Northern Council. Since the members of this council had, during the first rising, offered only a token resistance, if any, and then taken control of the rising, it was apparent that some reorganisation was necessary. It did not however take the form of a complete purge. Instead Henry made his peace with most of the gentry, and reappointed a number of them to the council. Isolated from their former allies, they there relied entirely upon the King's goodwill, and consequently proved very good servants. 96 After Norfolk was recalled from the North, the Presidency of the Council was given to Bishop Tunstall, an old crown servant, and he and the council became the supreme executive body North of the Trent. 97 It seems that for the rest of Henry's reign most of these policies met with success. After the rebellion and the decline of the Percy family, the King's authority and power steadily increased in the North. The council's supervision of the Wardens however was an exception, and the drawbacks were particularly noticeable as relations with Scotland deteriorated. Norfolk must have felt his views were to some extent

96 Reid, 140-51.
97 Ibid., 151.
vindicated when in 1541 he had once more to be sent north as Lieutenant, and the control of the Marches was taken from the Council and given in time of war to the leader of the army against Scotland, and in time of peace to the Wardens themselves who were to communicate directly with the Privy Council, not the Northern Council, on March affairs.

During the next reign, the Council, like the Wardenries, became involved in the struggles at the centre of government. Somerset was very strong in the North, and so during his protectorate there was no hesitation in strengthening the Council, to carry out both his religious and agrarian policies. After his downfall however the Presidency went to the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, as a Catholic, was popular in the North, but who was not entirely trusted by Northumberland. Consequently he was not given the lieutenancy of the North, and his actions were watched by Northumberland's ally, Wharton, who became vice president. The power of the Council was thus deliberately limited, and at the same time, since from 1550 it ceased to hold sessions outside Yorkshire, its jurisdiction was further restricted. In fact it seems that its links with the Borders were only continued by gentlemen pursuing some feud, who found that they could cause much annoyance to their enemies by involving them in a suit, often a frivolous one, at York, and who would be able to do much mischief in their absence. Mary's reign brought no change. The Catholic Shrewsbury continued in office, and while the interests of the great Northern houses were restored, nothing was done to increase the powers of the council. There was some attempt to

98 Reid, 162.

increase its efficiency in 1555 when the state of the Borders began to cause alarm, but even so it had very much the same personnel on Elizabeth's accession. 100 The President was an avowed Catholic, who voted against the new acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and the members refused the oath of Supremacy; but at first the new Queen did not wish to offend moderate Catholics, and it was not until the establishment of Protestantism in Scotland made her Northern frontier somewhat safer that she dared to make changes in the North. In 1560 Shrewsbury died, and the Protestant Earl of Rutland was appointed in his place. The new instructions made it obvious that the council was expected to enforce the religious settlement, and since it was included in the Ecclesiastical Commission for the Northern Province, became in effect the Court of High Commission for the North. 101 But it also became firmly fixed at York, far from the Borders. Rutland died in 1563, and was replaced by the Archbishop of York. Young however proved far from satisfactory, he was accused of corruption, and certainly did not do the work necessary in the North. 102 He was followed in 1568 by the Earl of Sussex, but his connections with Norfolk caused the Queen to mistrust him. He remained loyal during the 1569 rebellion, but this was apparently not enough, and it was not until the appointment of the Earl of Huntingdon in 1572 that Elizabeth felt entirely happy about the President of her Northern Council. A staunch puritan, he could be relied upon to do his utmost to root out Catholicism in the North, and under him the Council became active in this

100 Reid, 183.
101 Ibid., 187-8.
102 Ibid., 193-6.
His personality, plus the growth of penal legislation, meant that the council soon began to regain general administrative functions. It had of course lost its control over the Marches through the Wardens, but it gradually became once more the supreme judicial and administrative authority North of the Trent. This development however takes us outside the period of this study, and it is as well to remember that before 1572 the council never regained that control over the Marches which Henry VIII had envisaged for it.

With the Wardens and the Council in the North, we have seen the main external secular agencies which tried to impose order upon the disordered world of the Marches. But it must not be forgotten that there were some forces for order within the Borders themselves. Most of the reports of violence and wildness come from the country districts, but there were also some towns in the Borders, and we might expect these to show a rather higher degree of civilisation, and respect for law and order. This expectation in fact is fulfilled only in part. The Border towns seem to have had a two-fold character; at times they suffered from, but held aloof from the general characteristics of the area, at others they seem very much to have taken on the appearance of their surroundings. There are a number of places which were in fact market towns, but obviously "most of these awoke to some measure of commercial activity only once a week". 104 Leland's comments on most of the Northern towns are so brief as to be fairly damning: "In

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Westmorland is but one good market town called Kendal"; "Appleby is the shire town, but now it is but a poor village"; "The City of Carlisle is in compass scant a mile"; "a little poor market town called Keswick".

The Northumberland towns get even less attention, for the most part simply being mentioned by name, except for Morpeth which was "long and metely well builded with low houses. The streets paved. It is far fairer town than Alnwick".  

Newcastle was really not a Border town. Camden described it as "the eye of the North" and Beckingsale adds that the eye was fixed on the continent, London and the rest of the realm. Certainly the burgesses tried to turn their backs on the Borders and refused to allow Borderers to become apprentices in their town. On the other hand there are reports of riots, fights and affrays within the city which show that at times the worthy citizens were little different from their hot-tempered neighbours. 

Towns nearer to the frontier found it less easy to turn their backs on it if they wished to. Even Bywell, not so far from Newcastle, was described in 1569 as a town of hardy craftsmen, who worked in iron to supply the horsemen and borderers "and are subject to the incursions of the thieves of Tynedale and compelled winter and summer to bring all their cattle and sheep in the street and when the enemy appeareth to raise hue and cry whereupon all the town preparing for rescue of their goods which is very populous by reason of their trade and skill and hardy by continual practice against the enemy."  


106 Beckingsale, op. cit., 79.

107 e.g. College of Arms, Talbot Papers, C. f. 91; Tomlinson, Life in Northumberland, 144-5.

Rather than having any civilising influence, Bywell had trouble holding its own against the Borderers. This problem was not quite so great in the walled and garrisoned cities of Carlisle and Berwick. But even they could not keep the Border thieves out. In 1568 Lord Scrope, the Warden, had to be warned to "suffer none of Liddesdale to have access to the market town of Carlisle".  

We have already seen that in Dacre's time the Border thieves were even able to come and sell their booty in Carlisle. Despite its outside defences, its cathedral, schools and markets, it still fell victim to the ways of the Borders.

In Berwick too there were endless problems. Here the very size of the garrison would be likely to create difficulties. In 1565 it had 3,511 inhabitants, of whom over 2,000 were either soldiers or workmen occupied on the fortifications.  

There was inevitably trouble between the military and civilian authorities, and the details which come down do not suggest an ordered community with a civilising influence. Complaints about the provisions for the troops occur all the time. In 1552 the Captain asked that the burgesses "be compelled to pave the streets which are so foul that on alarm the soldiers cannot pass through to repair the walls".  

In 1548 John Brend wrote, "I think better order is used amongst the Tartars than in this town. No man shall have anything unstolen, no soldiers nor stranger nor in manner any man shall

109 C.S.P. Scot. II, 647.
110 Tough, 26.
111 Rutland Mss. H. M. C. 24, 53.
be harboured but by force except he be a Scot. No order for the market, strangers utterly undone, and unable to live for the want and excessive prices of victuals. The poor soldiers that come sick from Haddington and other places be shut out of every house, unprovided of victuals, and so for want of relief die in the street against all good order of all towns and against all Christian charity. For between the Mayor, the Marshall and the Captain whiles every one claim the singular privileges, every good thing is undone”.

Even as a stronghold it was apparently inefficient. "Prisoners escape or be let go here I know not how. Sir David Sinclair was gone one month before it was known."114 As we have already seen, the town officials could easily get involved with the Border feuds. In general Berwick too was far from being the influence for law and order it might have been.

The Scottish Border towns were if anything, even more caught up in the life of their neighbours. As the frequent recipients of English raids, especially in time of war, they had to be as ready to defend themselves as any rural community, and they were equally ready to fight against intervention from outsiders, be they English or Scottish. Jedburgh was for long involved in a feud with the Kerrs, and was noted for the toughness of its inhabitants. Dumfries protected its interests by entering into agreement

114 P. R. O. S. P. 15;3, no. 18. This inefficiency is found throughout the annals of the Borders. In 1562 the Earl of Rutland received the extraordinary report that "here is Lord of the May Game, and there comes the Lord of the May Game of Cornwall before the watch was discharged in the morning of the walls, gave the assault and entered Wark Castle, which was but an evil example for the enemy to understand the weakness of the same piece". Rutland Mss I, 80-1.

115 e.g. C. S. P. Scot. I, 1123, for Hawick; R. M. S. III, 2207 for Selkirk.

116 Steel Bonnets, 55.
with England during the "rough wooing" and received a pardon for this in 1548. In 1567 they again chose their own path, and were severely reprimanded for allowing the herald announcing the accession of King James, and the Regency of the Earl of Moray "to be violently plucked down and his highness letters reft and taken away, the Provost, Baillies and inhabitants of the said burgh, being for the most part present and of sufficient power to resist the authors of the said contemptuous usurpation and offences". The implication is of course that they had approved of the action, and indeed Dumfries remained loyal to the Queen and the old church for many years.

Another Burgh which felt it expedient to support the English was Peebles, which although on the edge of the Borders, was still influenced by Border considerations. It too received a pardon for its treasonable offences, and later was more amenable to government pressure. Its distance from the frontier was no great discouragement to thieves and the town had to make arrangements for a nightly watch, and to fortify its steeple. None of the Scottish Border towns was fortified like Berwick or Carlisle and thus they would all have to organise their own defence. This in itself is a sign that they were having to accept the ways and values of the rest of the Borders, rather than influencing them for the better. They, like their English counterparts had schools, ecclesiastical foundations, markets and systems of burgh

117 R.S.S. III, 2830.
119 See below, ch. VII
120 Peebles Chrs. 65; see below.
121 Peebles Chrs. 234, 241, 248, 249.
government, but these did not alter the fact that when faced with a raid from English or Scots, they would react no differently from other Border communities. In that society failure to conform to the pattern meant failure to survive, for a town just as much as for a Warden, or an individual Borderer.

We have seen then, the violence and lawlessness of the Border. We have also seen that attempts by local and national governments were rarely able to control this violence, in fact that any lawful, or civilising force was more likely to be converted by the Borders to their way of life, their set of values, than to do any converting. We must now turn to see where the church stood, and what its impact was, in this society.
II PAROCHIAL ORGANISATION

As the parish is the basic unit of church organisation, this study must be very largely concerned with the church at parish level. It is therefore important to have a clear picture of the parochial organisation of the border counties, and to see how well they were provided for in personnel, buildings and material wealth. The first enquiry must be into the nature of the parishes and their settlements.

On the Scottish side of the border, in the West, i.e. those parts of the diocese of Galloway which lay to the East of the river Cree, there were 26 parishes. Only three of these, Dalry, Kirkchrist and Parton were free parsonages. Out of the remaining 23, 13 were vicarages and the other 10 were pensionary vicarages. One change occurred in these numbers in 1555 when the perpetual vicarage of Dunrod was annexed to Biggar collegiate church, and the cure became a vicarage pensionary. Thus approximately 12% of these cures had their revenues unappropriated, 50% had their rectories appropriated, and 38% had their rectory and vicarage endowments diverted to other uses.

On the opposite side of the country, in the deanery of the Merse the picture with regard to the rectories is similar: out of a total of 45 parishes and parochial chapelties, there were 5 unappropriated rectories, Foulden, Hilton, Polwarth, Upsettlington and Whitsome, just over 11% of the total. The 15 perpetual vicarages formed just over 33%, while the 23 pensionary vicarages accounted for somewhat over 51%, the number being made up by

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1 The diocesan organisation is discussed in ch. V.

2 Where no reference is given for details about parishes or their clergy, see App. I under the parish in question.
2 chapelries. Here then the proportion of perpetual and pensionary vicarages has been reversed.

In the deanery of Peebles, in Glasgow diocese, there was a similar sort of ratio, although here the case is complicated since 4 chapels out of a total of only 19 churches formed just over 21% of the whole. Another complication is that in 1541, with the erection of the collegiate church of Peebles, the perpetual vicarage there was annexed to the provostry, and the cure became a vicarage pensionary, while at the same time the parsonage of Lyne was also annexed to the provostry, and the cure became a vicarage. At the start of the period however there were 2 rectories, Lyne and Skraling, which in such a small deanery still formed between 10% and 11% of the whole. At the same time there were 4 perpetual vicarages, and Stobo which was a portionary, which together accounted for something over 26% of the whole. The 7 pensionary vicarages, along with Ettrick which was served by a curate, formed another 42% and the rest of the 19 is made up by 4 chapelries.

In the deanery of Teviotdale there were rather more unappropriated rectories, 10 accounting for over 26% of a total of 38. There were the same number of perpetual vicarages, which were again outnumbered by the 14 cures served by vicars pensionary or curates, and which formed almost 37% of the whole. Once again the total was made up by 4 chapelries.

The deaneries of Nithsdale and Dessenes/Nithsdale, unlike the others in the diocese of Glasgow, show proportions similar to those of Galloway. Again out of a total of 32 there were only 3 rectories, Garvald, Kirkgunzeon and Kirkmichael, 9.4% of the whole. The perpetual vicarages numbered 16, exactly 50% and the remaining 40.6% was made up of 13 cures served by vicars pensionary or curates.
The deaneries of Annandale and Eskdale, in some of the wildest areas of the border country, however, have their own different and distinctive pattern. Here a full 75%, i.e. 27 out of 36 parishes were unappropriated rectories; 4 perpetual vicarages account for another 11% and only one pensionary vicarage, Sibbaldbie, and 4 chapels make up the remaining 14%.

These figures must be compared with those for the rest of Scotland to discover whether they have any particular significance for the Borders. I. B. Cowan has estimated that over the whole of Scotland there were only 148 free parsonages, forming about 14% of the total. Thus we can see that in most of the border areas the number of rectories was rather under the national average, but in Teviotdale there was almost twice this average, and in Annandale and Eskdale over five times the national figure. Indeed the number of rectories was so high in these two areas that the Borders can claim a third of the rectories in the whole of Scotland; 50 out of 148.

Cowan gives the number of cures which had their parsonage revenues diverted elsewhere as 890, and estimates that at least 56% of these had their vicarage revenues also annexed. The comparable percentages for the Border Counties, i.e. the number of pensionary vicarages and curacies as a percentage of the total number of cures which were not rectories, do not correspond very closely to the national average. For Galloway and Nithsdale it falls below the national figure, being 43.5% and 44.8% respectively. The other areas are somewhat above; Merse 62.5%, Annandale and Eskdale 63.2%.

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4 Ibid.
Teviotdale 64.3%, and Peebles considerably above the average at 70.6%. These differences do cancel each other out, since the percentage over the whole of the Border area works out at between 57% and 58%, only a little over the national average, but the regional variations from the national norms remain interesting. Cowan has already noted the preponderance of free parsonages in Annandale, a situation paralleled by that in the equally remote regions of the Isles, and suggests that it is indicative of the poverty of the parishes and the scarcity of religious houses in that area. The Priory of Canonbie, a cell of Jedburgh, was the only house actually within the deaneries of Annandale and Eskdale.

We must now compare the provision on the Scottish side of the Border with that on the English side. Starting again with the West side of the country, in those parts of the diocese of Carlisle which were within the county of Cumberland, (i.e. those parts included in the appendix), there were altogether 92 cures. When this figure is broken down one of the most noticeable facts is that almost a quarter consists of 21 chapels which were dependent on other parishes. This fact is attributable to the size of some of the Cumberland parishes which could not possibly have been served from only one centre, especially in the wilder areas of the county where travel was often unsafe or impossible. Of these 21, 9 were attached to just two neighbouring parishes, easily the two largest in the county. In 1563 Crosthwaite parish, with its chapels of Borrowdale, Newlands, Withburn, Thornthwaite and St. John's was said to contain 320 households which were spread over a huge area.


6 See Map; B.L. Harl. Ms. 594, f. 86.
The second of these parishes, Greystoke, with its chapels of Threlkeld, Matterdale, Mungrisdale and Nethermillock (or Watermillock) served 200 households, spread over a similar area.  

Only 71 of the total therefore were true parishes. Of these 25, about 35% were rectories, and another 27, or about 38% were vicarages. There is not, in the English church, the distinction between perpetual and pensionary vicarages which occurs north of the Border, since there was never the system of 'double appropriation' which is found in the Scottish church. There are however 19 cures in Cumberland, about 27% of the whole, which have not yet been accounted for, and on closer examination there seems to have been in these a situation comparable with that in those Scottish parishes where both parsonage and vicarage had been annexed. The difference between these and the ordinary kind of vicarage is explained by Makower as being the result of two different kinds of appropriation.  

In the more limited sort, which produced a vicarage, the bishop had made good his right of institution, and this in itself made the vicarage perpetual. Here the religious house which had appropriated the rectory, although it received the full ecclesiastical income of the parish was able to act only as a patron in respect of presentation to a cure of souls. In these cases the bishop was also able to get recognition of the principle that the cure must be permanently endowed by the appropriator. Those who served the cure in this sort of benefice were called vicars, and this type of cure in England is paralleled exactly by the perpetual vicarage in Scotland. The 'perpetual' has simply been dropped

7 B.L. Harl. Ms. 594, f. 86.
because in the English church all benefices called vicarages are perpetual. The second type of benefice arises, not as so often in Scotland because there was a second wave of appropriations, this time of the fixed vicarage revenues, but because a more extensive form of appropriation had taken place originally. In this case the cure was to be served either by members of the appropriating monastery or chapter, or by some clerk appointed by it whose payment was settled by a special agreement. These are the incumbents who in England are called either curates, perpetual curates, or occasionally stipendiary priests. They obviously differ from the Scottish vicars pensionary in that there was not a set payment for them decided at the time of appropriation, but as in fact their payment often became fixed by custom their position was not really very different, and it seems that in comparing the different levels of appropriation a vicar pensionary and a perpetual curate must be classed as very much the same thing.

There were in Carlisle diocese 19 cures which fell into this category, amounting to about 27% of the total number of cures, and just over 41% of the cures that were appropriated in some way or other. Of these 19, a full 15 were attached to Carlisle priory, including St. Mary's and St. Cuthbert's, the two churches in the city of Carlisle. Three of the remaining four were annexed to the priory of Lanercost, and one to either Hexham Priory or St. Mary's Abbey, York.  

When we turn to the Eastern side of the English Borders, to Northumberland, we find an even higher proportion of dependent chapelries. Just under a half of the total they number 59 in all. Again this was due to a number of

9 Renwick, see Bouch, Prelates and People, 472.
very large parishes. The whole of the city of Newcastle and some of the
surrounding areas all came into the parish of St. Nicholas', dependent upon
which were Allhallows, St. John's and St. Andrew's within the city, and also
Gosforth and Cramlington. By 1563 they were said to contain 1,838 house-
holds between them. Other parishes with large numbers of chapelries were
Bamborough, which contained Lucker, Tuggal, Belford and Bednell, 380
families in 1563; Hartburn containing Cammo, Harterton, Thornton and
Witton, the latter of which served 700 communicants alone in 1548; Holy
Island with the chapelries of Tweedmouth, Kyloe, Ancroft and Lowick, 738
families in 1563; Chollerton parish containing Birtley, Kirkheaton,
Chipchase, Gunnerton, Colwell and Swinburne, 155 families; Eglingham
containing East and West Lilburne, Brandon and Bewick; Woodhorn,
containing Newbigging, Widdrington, Horton and Chivington, 1,020 communi-
cants in 1548; and finally Simonburn parish, containing Haughton, Wark, Fal-
stone and Bellingham, 401 families in 1563. This last parish covered an
exceptionally large area, stretching from the Border to the Roman Wall.

10 B.L. Harl. Ms. 594, 191v.
11 Ibid., 194v.
12 Ibid., 193; P. R. O. E/301/62.
13 B.L. Harl. Ms. 594, 195.
14 Ibid., 192v.
15 Ibid., 194.
16 P. R. O. E/301/62.
17 B.L. Harl. Ms. 594, 192v.
In 1542 Sir Robert Bowes recorded that it was to Bellingham that "the inhabitants of Tynedale resort for the most part to their divine service, and there have all their sacraments and sacramentals ministered unto them." This report also notes that at this time Falstone was a private chapel used for private masses. Haughton and Wark seem to have fallen into decay in the sixteenth century, and in the eighteenth century it was said that it would be most convenient to erect another chapel at Wark, since the place was four miles away from the mother church, and Bellingham could not be reached when the North Tyne was high, a fact which no doubt applied to the sixteenth century as well.

Having accounted for the unusually high number of chapels, we are left with a total of 72 benefices. Something over 19% of these were rectories, 14 cures having none of their revenues appropriated. The remaining 58 were divided between 44 vicarages, and 14 perpetual curacies. The vicarages, therefore, formed a little over 61% of the whole, or 76% of those cures appropriated in any way at all, the curacies forming 24% of these benefices. There was no one body which held the revenues of an overwhelming number of these curacies, as there was in Cumberland, but it is noticeable that the three parishes in Hexhamshire were all annexed to Hexham Abbey and served by curates, as was Slaley. A number of the other churches of this sort were attached to religious houses. Into this category came Alnwick (whose abbey also owned the church of Alnmouth), Bamborough, Brinkburn, Holystone (which also owned Corsenside), and Lamley. The church of Holy

20 N.C.H., XV, 296.
Island belonged to the cathedral of Durham, in whose officiality it lay. The one remaining church, Carham, was annexed to Kirkham priory in Yorkshire.

When writing about the rate of appropriation in Scotland, Cowan compares the situation with that in England, where he says the rate of annexation was only 37%. It is not clear if he is here referring to the number of vicarages as a percentage of the total number of benefices, to the number of curacies as a percentage of all benefices annexed in some way or other, or to the number of vicarages and curacies as a percentage of the total. These alternative percentages are for Northumberland 61.2%, 24% and 80.6%; for Cumberland 38%, 41% and 72%. The figures are interesting when compared with each other. In Cumberland there is a much higher percentage of rectories, but when looking at the appropriated benefices, many more of those in Cumberland have all their revenues appropriated, while more of those in Northumberland have a vicarage settlement.

Since Cowan makes no reference to the English curacies which are similar to the Scottish pensionary vicarages, it seems unlikely that he bases his conclusions on any calculations involving them. This suggests that the percentage he speaks of is that of the vicarages as a percentage of all benefices, and if so, although the equivalent figure for Cumberland is very much the same, the 61.2% for Northumberland is very much higher than the national average which he quotes. If however the 37% is meant to refer to the percentage of vicarages which had also had their vicarage revenues annexed, then the relevant figures are 24% for Northumberland and 41% for Cumberland, both of which are different from the suggested national average.

Even the 41% however is below the lowest figure on the Scottish side of the Border, i.e. 43.5% for Galloway, and considerably below the average over the whole of the Scottish Borders, which was found to be between 57% and 58%. If however it is the third comparison which is being made, it is obvious that the figures for both counties are well above the suggested percentage.

One thing which these figures undoubtedly show is that the problems caused by double appropriation were not necessarily peculiar to the Scottish side of the border, and that the extent of at least a similar situation was in Cumberland almost as great as that in two of the areas of the Scottish church which are being examined. The number of crown leases in the post-reformation period which contain statements as to how much the incumbent of one of these cures should be paid by the layman who rented the rectory shows that such problems were to continue in the reformed church in England, rather in the way the reformed kirk was troubled by vicars and rectors who were reluctant to pay the thirds due from the cure which they held. 22

The most important aspect of appropriation was of course that of finance. What really mattered at the parish level was how well paid was the man who actually served the cure. The figures contained in the 'Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices' 23 provide some idea of the comparative values of different benefices in Scotland, since they give the value of the thirds paid by holders of free rectories, and in a number of places the amount paid by the holders of appropriated revenues. Thus as far as Annandale is concerned, the figures available show that only one of the unappropriated


rectories was of any great value. This was Kirkpatrick Juxta Moffat, whose third amounted to £28, making the value of the rectory £84. None of the other rectories which are included in these lists are worth more than £30 or £35. Two of the rectories which were appropriated however, Lochmaben and Moffat, were worth £133-6-8 and £160 respectively. As would be expected this tendency is to be found in the other areas too. There were of course some examples of valuable unappropriated rectories as well; Kirkgunzeon (Nithsdale) at £93-6-8; Dalry (Galloway) at £220; Whitsome (St. Andrew's) at £100; and Wilton (Teviotdale) at £120. But generally it was the appropriated ones which were worth most. Out of 31 in the Borders for which values are available, 25 were worth more than £50, and 19 of these were worth over £100, some such as Kirkandrews (Galloway) at £300, or Glencairn (Nithsdale) at £740 being particularly noteworthy. In a few cases we find perpetual vicarages which were still valuable despite the annexation of their parsonage revenues. In Nithsdale the vicarage of Kirkbean was worth £100, that of Tynron £91 and Kirkconnel £80. Occasionally the thirds paid from pensionary vicarages are given, and in one or two cases the amounts were surprisingly high. Thus the pensionary vicarage of Selkirk was worth £66-13-4, and that of Greenlaw £80. In a few instances the record gives us the value of the appropriated parsonage and vicarage, and of the pension of the vicar who actually served the cure. We know therefore that the parsonage of Durisdeer (Nithsdale) was worth £113-6-8 while the pensionary vicarage amounted to £26-13-4, and that the parsonage of Kilbucho was valued

24 T.B., 22-3

25 Ibid. All the values discussed below come from T.B.
at £80 while the vicar pensioner received only £12. In both cases the appropriator was obviously getting a large proportion of the revenues.

It is not often however that the pensionary vicarages appear in this record. It would seem that their values varied considerably. In 1549 it had been laid down that vicars pensionary should receive at least 20 merks Scots and the statutes added that "in those sees or places wherein scarcity or dearness of victual prevail in consequence of the raids and invasions of enemies, the ordinaries of the place shall intimate in their synods the causes of this scarcity and dearness of victual, and in charity augment the stipends". This proviso seems almost expressly designed to fit the circumstances in the Borders, but it is doubtful that this, or the statute of 1558-9 which raised the minimum sum to 24 merks in most dioceses had any practical effect. Even if these recommendations had been carried out, they would hardly have led to a very satisfactory situation at a time when it has been estimated that "a reasonable competence for a professional man was somewhere in the region of £80 to £100 a year Scots money of the time".

It is difficult anyway to estimate the exact income of this section of the clergy since it depended not only upon the value of the vicarage settlement, but also upon the value of offerings and other duties with which it could be supplemented. The wealth of any one incumbent would also depend upon

26 Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559, ed. D. Patrick, S.H.S. 1907, 112.
27 Ibid, 169-70
29 Contemporary writings contain many complaints about the severity with which the clergy exacted such dues, e.g. Lindsay, The Three Estates in Works, II, ed. D. Hamer, S.T.S. 1932; The Complaint of Scotland, (1549) E.E.T.S. extra ser. XVII, 1872.

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what other offices or benefices he held, and also upon what financial burdens he was expected to bear. Finally it must be realised that even unappropriated cures were often served not by the rector but by curates who were unlikely to be any better paid than the pensionary vicars.

It is interesting to see whether the values of the appropriated and unappropriated cures in England reflect the patterns found in Scotland. The values quoted here are taken from the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus'. Starting with Cumberland, there are certainly a number of rectories which would have been of little or no value to anyone trying to appropriate them. The rectories of Stapleton, Kirklinton, Bewcastle and Arthuret, valued at 29s., 21s., 40s. and 40s respectively were reported to be worth nothing in time of war. A similarly realistic attitude to the effects of warfare is seen on the Scottish side of the border when in 1562 the Parson of Whitsome granted a tack of the parsonage and vicarage teinds for 5 years to David Hume of Wedderburne for £100 Scots per year, which sum in case of war was to be modified by mutual friends. Even in Stobo, which was much further away from the actual border line it was noted of the revenue of the prebend to which the rectory and part of the vicarage were annexed that, "in time of

30 See Ch. III for extent of pluralism.

31 In comparing these figures with those given for Scotland it must be remembered that in 1560 Scots money was worth about a fifth of sterling. Donaldson, Reformation, 12.

32 V. E., v, 278.

33 This tack was granted in gratitude for the kindness shown by Hume to the parson "in all this troublous time notwithstanding all the great cummers being through this haille realme of Scotland, specialie amangis kirkmen". David Milne Home Mss, H. M. C., 57, No. 77.
war and waste by the thieves it is not payed". To return to the four Cumberland benefices, as they lay in the extreme north-west corner of the diocese this poverty is understandable, and they certainly would not have been attractive to any appropriating body. The other cure found in this corner is Kirkandrews, and although this does not have the same note about its wartime value it is only worth £3-11-5, and is also unappropriated. The most valuable rectory in the deanery of Carlisle (the most northerly deanery), was Bowness, and even this was worth only £21-13-9½. In fact throughout the whole of the diocese there were only a few rectories which were at all valuable: Caldbeck £45-13-6; Greystoke, where the rectory belonged to the master of the college, £40-7-8; Skelton £43-2-7; and the rectory of Kirkoswald, again associated with the mastership of the college, £27-18-0. The remaining rectories were all below £23, most of them considerably below this figure. In fact the most valuable living in the area was a vicarage, that of Crosthwaite, in 1535 valued at £50-8-11½. On the whole however, the average value of the vicarages is somewhat below that of the rectories as would be expected, but as the difference is only between £2 and £3, and the appropriating body would be likely to secure a sizeable part of the revenues for itself, it once more becomes obvious that it is the more valuable cures which have been appropriated. The result of this is that by the 1530's 13 of the Cumberland cures shown in the Valor were worth £5 or less, obviously a far from adequate provision.

34 S.R.O. Book of Assumptions of Benefices, f.250v.
35 V.E. v, 279.
36 Ibid., 278-91.
In Northumberland the value of cures actually bordering on Scotland varied between the huge parish of Simonsburn whose rectory was valued at £34-6-4, and the vicarage of Kirknewton which was worth only £3-6-8. None however was labelled nil in time of war as some of the Cumberland ones were. Only one living was more valuable than that of Crosthwaite in Cumberland, and this was also a vicarage, that of Rothbury worth £58-6-8. This, the most valuable living in Northumberland, was much nearer to the Border than any of the wealthy cures on the west of the country. Again there were only a handful of valuable rectories: Morpeth £32-16-8, Ingram, Ford and Bothal all between £24 and £25, and again there were a few vicarages in the same class. As well as Rothbury there was that of Newcastle worth £50-0-0. If the average value of the rectories and vicarages is calculated, that of rectories in Northumberland is found to be slightly higher than the equivalent figure for Cumberland and that of the vicarages rather lower; so that in the eastern diocese the difference between the values of appropriated and unappropriated cures is higher, about £6. Lastly it is worth noting that of the cures for which the valuation is available, 17 in Northumberland were worth less than £5.

One demand upon incumbents and rectors of churches which was alike on both sides of the Border was responsibility for the upkeep of the chancel and the manse or vicarage house. This question is also important in a study of how well the parishes were provided for, since an adequate church was almost as important as an adequately paid incumbent to minister in it. In both countries the upkeep of the chancel was in theory the responsibility

37 The figures for Northumberland are from V.E. v, 327-30.
of whoever held the rectory, but in Scotland at least, the efforts made from
time to time to enforce this obligation suggest that many rectors were reluctant
to fulfil their responsibility.  
This was particularly likely to be so when the
rector had set the parsonage teinds in tack, for then responsibility passed to
the tacksman, whose interest was in financial profit rather than the upkeep
of the church. One of the few detailed records about the state of churches in
pre-reformation Scotland is concerned with churches in the Merse.  
In April 1556 Archbishop Hamilton wrote to the rural dean of the Merse com­
plaining that during his visitation of the deanery, twenty-two of the churches
there were found to be in a particularly bad state of repair. The churches
in question were Fogo, Greenlaw, Hume, Langton, Nenthorn and Simprin
belonging to Kelso; Auldcambus, Ayton, Earlston, Ednam, Edrom, Fishwick,
Lamberton, Stitchill and Swinton belonging to Coldingham; Merton and
Smailhome belonging to Dryburgh; Duns, Ellom and Mordington all of which
were appropriated to collegiate churches, and two rectories, Foulden and
Whitsome. The archbishop had found much to complain about. In some both
the chancel and nave were said to be levelled to the ground; in others the walls
or roofs were in danger of collapse; some had no windows or fonts, no vest­
ments, no missals or manuals so that mass could not be said. Both parish­
ioners and parsons were held responsible for this state of affairs. Another
Merse church, Channel Kirk, is not included in this list, but by the seventeenth
century it was said of it, "It is a shame to see the choir so long without a roof,

38 Patrick, Statutes, p. 119, 168.
40 There was a total of only 45 in the whole deanery.
neither can the parishioners get half room in the kirk". 41 A particularly
detailed account survives concerning the situation at Ayton. 42 In 1555 the
choir there was "weill theikit with dovettis". After the harvest straw was to
be added to these divets or turves. It was thatched in this way we are told
"because of fear of the Inglismen", and although a temporary cover, the roof
was described as "apparendlie Watterteycht". Despite this however "It
remanit nocht swa lang, bot fell in the Lentren thaireftir; and thairefter thai
put up thre stouppis above the hie altar and said mass there in wet weather,
and na man mycht stand thair but the curate and the clerk, and when it was
fair weather the curate said mass whiles at the Lady Altar and whiles in the
kirk yard". Certainly Ayton was particularly vulnerable to the "Inglismen",
lying on one of the main routes to Scotland from the south. But it was not only
English armies which were to be feared; even that under Lord Wharton which
in 1544 claimed to have destroyed 192 towers, stedes, barmekins, parish
churches and bastel houses was outdone by Sym Armstrong and his companions
who in 1528 boasted of having "laide down 30 parishe churches; and there is
not one in the realme of Scotland dare remedy the same". 43 The boast seems
to have been exaggerated in the telling, since in Feb. 1529 Magnus told the
Scottish king that "the said Armstrongs had avaunted themselves to be the
destruction of two and fifty parish churches in Scotland". 44 It is impossible
to say how many or which churches were destroyed, but it is obvious that the

41 Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland, Maitland Club,
1835.


43 Armstrong, Liddesdale, App. XXIII.

44 L. and P., IV pt. 3, 5289.
parsons and parishioners of Liddesdale and its surrounding areas would be likely to have unusually frequent calls upon their pockets, and that they would be unwilling to spend good money on churches which would probably be in need of repair again as soon as Border reivers or English troops were once more on the rampage.

As what was often the only fairly strong building in the area, a church would be a prime choice for attack, as the case of Annan steeple shows so well. When the garrison defending this stronghold in September 1542 finally surrendered, the steeple was found to have been sheltering a captain and 57 men. To effect the surrender the English forces under the command of Lennox and Wharton had already "cut the wall of the east end of the choir ... and caused the whole end to fall". The next day, after the defenders had been taken prisoner, "we cut and raised down the church walls and steeple and burnt the town not leaving any thing therein unburnt; which was the best town in Annandale". 45 The inhabitants of the town obviously learned something from the experience. By the 1560's the church had been rebuilt, but this time outside the town, on the other side of the river, and a fortlet or tower had been constructed on the defensive site where the church had once stood. 46

Annan church was by no means the only such casualty. In November of the same year, 1542, there is specific mention of the burning of the church of Upsettlington, 47 and many other brief descriptions of the burning of this or that border town must include the destruction or damage of other churches.

45 C.S P. Scot. I, 42.
46 Armstrong, Liddesdale, App. LXX.
47 Hamilton Papers, App. I, xx.
In 1560 when the church of the Trinity Friars in Peebles was taken over as the parish church this was necessary because "our paroche kirk wes brint and distroyit be Ingland 12 yeres syne or thairbye and the same may on na wayis be biggit at this present but lang process and greit expensi". Churches which were attached to religious houses and were also used as parish churches seem to have been particularly vulnerable to destruction or damage by this means.

In 1557 we once more see the Scotsmen themselves causing damage, when a "convocation of the lieges to the number of two hundred persons, armed in warlike manner"... came "to the church of St. Mary of the Lowis and breaking up the doors thereof, and searching for Sir Peter Cranstoun therein for his slaughter upon ancient feud and forethought felony; committed on April 16 last." The chief culprits on this occasion were the Scotts, including the young laird of Swinton, and members of the Harden, Thirlestane and Howpaslet branches of that surname. Again this seems likely to be typical of the sort of treatment which Border incumbents might expect to be meted out to their churches, and it is not surprising that under the circumstances they were reluctant to spend any of their probably meagre resources on repairs.

The attempts which the councils of the old church had made to see that their obligations were fulfilled were continued after 1560. In 1563 the Privy Council, "understanding that the parish kirks of this realm partlie by sleuch and negligence of the parishioners, and partly by oversight of the Parsons,

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48 Peebles Chrs., 264.

49 See Ch.IV.

50 P.C.T., 400.
daily decays and becomes ruinous, and part of them are already fallen down",
ordered that all parish churches were to be rebuilt or repaired, "and after
that they be sufficiently mended in windows, thatch, and other necessaries, to
be intertenyt and upholden upon the expense of the parishioners and parson".  
In March 1570, Adam Bothwell was charged with neglecting the 27 churches in
Lothian and Galloway which were dependent on Holyrood. Among the Border
churches this included Anwoth, Balmaghie, Galtway, Kelton, Kirkcormack,
Kirkcudbright and Twynholm. It was said that "all the said kirks for the most
part, wherein Christ's Evangell may be preached, are decayed and made, some
sheepfolds, and some so ruinous that none dare enter into them for fear of
falling". Bothwell's defence was that he was newly come to the benefice, "and
the most part of these kirks were pulled down by some greedy persons, at the
first beginning of the reformation, which have never been helped or repaired
since, and few of them may be repaired by his small portion of living".  
Thus there appears yet another threat to the fabric of churches, although this
one was not of course peculiar to the Borders.

After the religious changes of 1560, the holders of rectories, whether they
were adherents of the old faith or laymen out for financial gain were unlikely
to spend their income on repairs unless forced to do so. Such an example
occurs in the Borders in 1575 when the abbot of Jedburgh refused to see to the
necessary repairs in Jedburgh church, "express against all reason and equity,
taking no regard to the said complainers, who minds daily, God willing, to
assemble in the kirk to hear God's word and call upon his holy name". The

52  B. U. K., I, 163, 167.
complaint was brought by the "Provost, Baillies, Counsal and Communite" of the town, who stated that the church was partly consumed and decayed in the roof and timber thereof, and within short process of time will utterly decay and fall down". It was suggested that since the timber of the frater of the abbey was in much better condition, this should be taken down and used to repair the church. This suggestion was adopted, with the proviso that part of the expense was to be borne by the townspeople, and that the commendator "be not charged to make any further expenses upon the reparation of the said kirk or quire ... except the same be demolished and cast down by England or by such other accident be made ruinous". Obviously those responsible for the upkeep of Border churches could feel no more secure at the end of this period than they could in the 1520's or 1530's.

There is also a considerable amount of evidence about the condition of the church buildings on the English side of the Border, although almost all which has survived relates to those in Northumberland. The first and most obvious sources of such information are in the charges of dilapidation brought against incumbents. Thus in 1567 the bishop issued a commission to enquire into the state of the church at Morpeth. The incumbent, Thomas Warwick, had complained that since the time of the last incumbent, John Dacre, both the walls and roofs of the chancel and the rectory house had been defective and ruinous. In 1569, the executors of Ralph Tod, who had been vicar of Hartburn and Woodhorn, found themselves faced with charges of dilapidation in both parishes. In Hartburn however they were able to put up a successful

54 Durham, Hunter Mss, VI, f.215.
defence and witnesses testified that in fact Tod had improved the state of the
vicarage rather than anything else. His nephew stated that while it was claimed
that it would cost £60 and more to make the necessary repairs "he believeth
that not to be true for £60 will build a new house, saying further that the
mansion house is much better than it was at his said uncle's coming thereto,
for there was a cross chamber new builded and the chimney therein made of
free stone of his said uncle's charges, which also builded a new water corn
mill that yearly yieldeth more profit to the vicar there than the charge of the
decays cometh to". He also pointed out that during his time there Tod had not
received all the profits to which he was due since the parishioners there "are
very evil payers of their duties". 55

Also within the diocesan records there are instances of the dean and
chapter fulfilling their obligations as rectors of a number of churches. In
1545 they made repairs to the chancel of Bedlington church, including the
purchase and fitting of new window glass. 56 In leases of rectories they also
took note of their obligations in this field. A grant of the rectory of Norham,
and a later grant of the rectory of Berwick both stipulated that the lessees
were to uphold the chancel and carry out repairs when necessary at their own
expense. 57 Crown leases too, contained provision for the maintenance of the
church fabric. In 1568, John Marley obtained a lease of the Rectory of
Whelpington, "because he will undertake the repair and maintenance of the

55 Durham, South Rd. DR/III/2, 167, 199 sqq; DR/V/2, 196v. Bishop
Tunstall had given the benefice of Hartburn to Tod "in recompence of
part of the ransome he paid in Scotland".


Chancel of Whelpington Church now in great ruin". 58

As in Scotland, the Durham records show concern for the state of church fabric continuing well after the reformation. In 1579 charges were brought against Haltwhistle and Ovingham. In the former the churchyard was unfenced, a piece of a window not repaired and the church was unwhited; in the latter "Their church is in great decay in the body, and glasse windowes and sclates, that service cannot be said in wet weather". 59 The York records contain details about another case of dilapidation, this time at Rothbury, after the death of Thomas Magnus in 1550. The bill of repairs to the church includes 26s 8d for glass in the chancel, the same amount for "timber and workmanship" in the choir, £5 for 'lead and workmanship in the same choir", and 6s 8d. for lime. There are further details of repairs to the rectory house including the erection of a number of partitions and doors, and the boarding of "the great chamber above the stable". There is also the deposition of the Durham carpenter who viewed the dilapidations and testified that "he thinks the fault of the said ruins was in the last parson there which had made no reparations there of long time". 60

Yet another source of information is the survey made in 1566 by George Clarkson of the possessions of the Earl of Northumberland in that county, and which includes comments on the state of churches on the Earl's lands. The vicarage of Chatton is said to be in great decay, and the church and chancel should be provided for by his lordship's means. Moreover it is suggested that

58 Pat. Rolls Eliz. IV, 1604.
59 S.S., 22, p. 123, 126.
60 Borthwick, Cause Papers, C.489. Magnus was also arch-deacon of the East Riding which would account for the case being heard at York.
the Earl should cause "every vicar in his time to repair the said vicarage for
when the same was in good reparation it was a great strength to the whole
town in the time of war". ⁶¹ The church and steeple of Longhoughton are
also said to be a great strength in time of war. Because of this the Earl should
see to it that the parishioners should keep the church in good repair, and
request should be made to the Queen's officers to repair the chancel when
necessary, thus the Earl would seem to be saved any expense. ⁶² The comments
made about the church at Alnmouth suggest that although Clarkson did not
approve of the provision for service there at least the building was in a
reasonable condition, "all covered with lead for the most part". ⁶³

This preoccupation with the church as an important strength in war time
is of course echoed by the case of Annan and other places in Scotland, and by
Holme Cultram in Cumberland. The 1,800 communicants of that parish
"within the waste border in the northern parts of this realm of England",
addressed a plea to Cromwell "for the preservation and standing of the
church of Holme Cultram . . . which is not only unto us our parish church and
little enough to receive all us your poor orators, but also a great aid, succour
and defence for us against our neighbours the Scots . . ." ⁶⁴ On some occasions
however the military connection was a handicap to both the church and those
concerned with defence. At Tynemouth the parish church had been the nave
of the priory church, and after the dissolution although the conventual buildings

⁶¹ Alnwick Mss, Clarkson's Survey, pt. 7, 15v.
⁶² Ibid, pt. 5, 15v.
⁶³ Ibid., pt. 12, 5.
were allowed to fall into ruin, the nave continued as the church. Presumably
the £20 allowed in 1546 "towards the making of a church in Tynemouth"
was for repairs to this nave, but it did not always fare so well. In 1558
Tunstall wrote to the Privy Council to complain that it was being used to store
artillery, and order was given for this to be removed. 65 The situation was
obviously unsatisfactory since Tynemouth Castle which had originally been a
possession of the monks, and formed the outer defence of their monastery,
became a royal castle and a home of the Percies. 66 In 1566 Sir Henry Percy
wrote to Cecil about "the annoyance to this house by the parish church being
within it and much frequented by the strangers who visit the haven. At my
request Sir Richard Lee has inspected it, and can report on the cost of a new
one, and the value of this towards it". 67 It seems however that nothing was
done about this inconvenient situation, as at the beginning of the seventeenth
century the church was still within the castle and was said to be in great
decay. 68

In Berwick also the state of the church caused anxiety to the government
as well as the townspeople, although this time it was because of the inadequacy
of the building, not because of its position. In 1543 Sir William Eure wrote
that the cause of the great plague which had been raging for so long in Berwick
"is by reason of the great multitude of people and the straightness of the little
church; as the whole multitude of people will testify". He added that the best

65 A. P. C. I, 316; VI, 382.
68 N. C. H. VIII, 128.
place to build a church would be on the site of the old one since some of the walls and foundations still remained, a remark which gives some idea of the state of the church by that time. The Mayor and Council asked that the Duke of Suffolk would be an intermediary for them with their request to the king for the rebuilding, and it was pointed out that the church would be made with a low roof so as not to be prejudicial to the defences of the town. 69 The request was not met however, and in October 1560 the 'New Orders for the Town of Berwick and the Garrison of the Same', stated that "it is most necessary that all our people as well men of war as of peace residing within the town do live in due service and fear of God... And we will that the church and place of divine service within the said town being now desolated shall be repaired by the surveyor of the works and kept and preserved to the use only of prayer, ministration of the sacraments and preaching of God's word, and no other profane use". In this document it was also noted that the church was too small to contain all the people and the garrison at the same time, but as the town and walls could not be left unguarded there was to be a rota system devised whereby each company should attend divine service once a week. 70 That this last provision was necessary is obvious from the comment made by Sir Francis Leek the previous August that "their assembly is not so great but that a less church than this will easily hold them, and yet it will not hold half the extraordinary soldiers...". 71 Despite the inadequacy of the church, and the government's insistence upon the necessity for a new one, there was

69 L. and P. XVIII pt. 2, 475; Hamilton Papers, II, 133.

70 B.L. Lands. Ms. 155, f. 274 sqq. Another copy is among the Berwick Mss. G.E. 11, and it is printed in J. Scott, Berwick, op. cit.

71 C.S.P. For. Eliz. III, 537.
none built until the Commonwealth period.

On the whole then it seems that Border churches in Scotland and England were more than usually likely to be in need of repair. This was due not so much to the poverty of the livings or the recalcitrance of the rectors, factors which could after all operate to a greater or lesser degree in other areas, but to the wildness of the Borders and to the frequency of military operations there.

Yet another aspect of the adequacy of provision made for the border churches, and a reflection of their wealth, is the subject of church goods. There is elsewhere a reference to the vestments and chalices belonging to the altars in the church of Peebles, but this is one of the few references to church goods which have survived among the Scottish records. The complaints made about the churches in the Merse in 1556 included the fact that many of them had no fonts, vestments, missals or manuals. Two more of the few surviving references also refer to the town of Peebles. In 1559 there is mention of a silver chalice and patten, the latter having been "theftuously stolen". The chalice was said to be worth £10. In March 1562 the council ordered that the town's vestments, which were likely to be numerous as a result of the number of chaplains there had been there, were "to be ropit and who will give most thairfore to be answerit thairof betwixt this and Wednesday next to come, and the money gotten for them to be distributed to poor householders by advise of the council and baillies". The other reference which

72 See below, p. 85.
73 See above, p. 64.
74 Peebles Chrs. 255.
75 Ibid., 277.
relates to the Scottish Borders also comes from a town's records, this time Dumfries. In November 1567 the vicar of Dumfries, Sir John Brice, appeared before the Provost, Baillies and Council of the Burgh and protested that in times past gifts had been given to his predecessors in the vicarage, "in the honour of God and to the High altar in the choir of Dumfries divers silver chalices, vestments and other ornaments of that altar and a great Euchrist of silver, which silver work and ornaments the provost, baillies . . (of the) . . . burgh had intromitted with and especially with the said euchrist and three silver chalices, two ungilt and one gilt chalice double gilt which was present in place with the stand of purple valous and ( ) of work of gold . . .". The council, he said, intended the "roping or dispersing" of these things, but he asked that the silver should continue to be used for its original purpose. 77

Needless to say his plea was unlikely to meet with any success, its only value being that it bears witness to an adequate provision of utensils in at least one Border church. However neither Dumfries nor Peebles church, both situated in prosperous towns, is likely to have been typical of the Borders.

Fortunately the evidence for the English Border churches is much fuller, since there are the returns to the 1552 enquiries into church goods. Neither the report for Cumberland nor that for Northumberland is complete, but there is sufficient evidence to give a good idea of the situation in both counties.

In Cumberland, 78 as would be expected the Cathedral of Carlisle had the

76 Note not used.

77 The protest is recorded in the Protocol Book of Herbert Cunningham, Reid Mss. Prot Bk. Cunningham, 82.

78 H. Whitehead, Church Goods in Cumberland in 1552, Trans. C.W.A.A.S. VIII, 1885-6, pp. 186-204 prints the inventory in full and fills by conjecture the gaps caused by damage to the Ms.
greatest number of valuable goods; 7 silver chalices and 13 sets of vestments. Other churches were less fortunate, Kirkbampton, Nether Denton, Stapleton and Arthuret, and 4 unidentifiable churches possessed only a tin chalice. As Stapleton and Arthuret lay on the border this is understandable, but Kirkbampton was somewhat further south, and its two neighbours on the Solway Firth, Bowness and Burgh-by-Sands were both better provided for, having one and two silver chalices respectively. Denton also had neighbours better off than itself, Farlam and Brampton each having a silver chalice, and Brampton having six sets of vestments as well. Along with Burgh there were 10 other churches possessing more than one silver chalice; three of these are unidentifiable, Bolton, Bridekirk, Kirkoswald and Penrith had 2, and Dalston, Crosthwaite and Greystoke had 3. Greystoke was also particularly well provided with vestments, having one set of blue velvet, one of blue silk, one of black chamlet, two of damask, one of green satin and six more unspecified sets. It also had 2 of the 4 crosses noted in the area. Of these one was of silver, but this was broken; the other was of copper gilt. The others were in the cathedral and Melmerby, but they were only of latten. Apart from a large number of bells, both great and small, there were a number of other ornaments. The unidentified churches in Cumberland ward had between them 2 tin cruets, one canopy, one pyx of copper and gilt, and a pair of censors. Orton, Thursby and Beaumont each had 2 brass candlesticks; Skelton had 2 candlesticks and Addingham a pair of censors, and parishes in Eskdale ward had 2 brass censors and 2 pyxes. In the ward below Derwent there occur three more pairs of censors and a pair of latten candlesticks; Plumbland also had latten candlesticks and a latten pyx. Isel and Holme Cultram had candlesticks, and the latter had a brass holy water vat
as well, while Bridekirk had just one latten candlestick. Dacre and another parish in Leath ward also had pairs of these, and Dacre had a pair of censors of the same material. Hutton and Kirkoswald had latten candlesticks, and Kirkoswald a holy water vat of brass. Greystoke as well as its crosses boasted 2 brass candlesticks, one pair of censors and 1 ship of brass. Crossthwaite is particularly interesting because there is also a later reference to its church goods. In 1552 it had three silver chalices, and 2 more at its dependent chapels. They also had between them three sets of vestments in velvet and 3 of white silk, 3 altar cloths, 3 porch bells and 3 little bells, 4 brass candlesticks and 4 old damask copes. In 1571, after complaints had been made about Gavin Radcliffe, the parish clerk, and other of the 18 men and parishioners there, 79 the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes in the province of York interested themselves in the parish. The bishop of Carlisle, Lord Scrope, Sir Simon Musgrave, Richard Dudley esq., and Gregory Scott and Thomas Tookie, two prebendaries of Carlisle, as well as concerning themselves with the duties of the 18 men and the church wardens also considered the church goods in the parish. They ordered that before next Christmas there should be purchased 2 silver communion cups with covers, 1 fine napkin for the communion and sacramental bread, and 2 fair flagons of tin for the wine. The money for these purchases was to come from the sale of the chalices, pipes, paxes, crosses and candlesticks which the church still possessed. These "popish reliques and monuments of superstition and idolatry" are further detailed. "... namely 2 pipes of silver, one silver

79 The local government functions of the 18 men, and of similar bodies found in the North West, such as the 16 of Holme Cultram are discussed in Bouch and Jones, pp. 150-5.
pax, one cross of cloth of gold, which was on a vestment, one copper cross, 2 chalices of silver, two corporax rests, three hand bells, the scon whereon the Pascall stood, one pair of censors, 29 brassen or latten candlesticks, of six quarts large, one holy water tankard of brass, the canopies which hanged and that which was carried over the sacrament, two brass or latten chris- matories, the veil cloth, the sepulchar clothes, the painted clothes with pictures of Peter and Paul and the Trinity; and all other monuments of super- stition and idolatry remaining within the said parish." Nor was this the end of the list; there were also the "... four vestments, three tunicles, five chasubles and all other vestments belonging to the said parish" which were to be "presently defaced, cut into pieces and of them, if they will serve thereunto, a covering for the pulpit and cushions for the church made and provided; and likewise the albes and amyses gold and fail linnen cloths for the communion table, and a covering of buckram fringed for the same to be bought". They were also charged to buy decent communion cups of silver or tin for the chapels in the parish, and to provide "a decent perclose of wood, wherein the marriage and evening prayer shall be read, to be placed without the choir door", furnished with seats and desks. Lastly the church was to be provided with a large bible, one or two communion books, 4 psalters, 2 tomes of Homilies, the Injunctions, the defence of the Apology, the Paraphrases in English or the Evangelists, and 'Beacon's Postill' and 4 psalters in metre. The list of things to be provided is interesting as showing how the commissioners expected a parish church to be furnished, and the list of goods to be sold or altered perhaps even more so since it contains many items which did not occur in the 1552 inventory. Since it is unlikely that they were all acquired in Mary's reign, this would seem to support Bouch's understand-
able theory that a number of possessions were either concealed from the
commissioners or kept out of the inventory with their connivance. 80

The commissioners for Cumberland were Sir Thomas Dacre (of Lanercost), Sir Richard Musgrave, William Pickering, Thomas Salkeld, Richard Lamplugh and Anthony Barwis, and they were authorised to "receyve, taik, and dispone" the plate as well as listing it. With Mary's accession however their work was interrupted. In April 1556 they drew up a schedule of "The whole goods, plate, jewells and ornaments by us taken. And in whose hands the same remaineth presentlie and of what value the same be". This schedule shows that of the plate they had taken, 265 ounces were now in the possession of Lady Anne Musgrave, the widow of Sir Richard. This plate was "rated at 4s., and by cause of certain lead and other trash £53". There is no further evidence as to the fate of this plate, but as the Crosthwaite evidence shows, a considerable amount of pre-reformation church goods may well have stayed in use until well into Elizabeth's reign. Certainly the general policy was to return it to the parishes. 81 It is possible from a few other sources to learn a little more about the furnishing of Cumberland churches. The church wardens' accounts from Great Salkeld record the purchase of a "byble buke" for 7s. in 1548, and of a communion book for the same sum a year later. Obviously the parishioners here were not so remiss about carrying out their obligations as those at Crosthwaite. Entries dated 1584 include payment to "John Dobson for making the Lord's table and the pulpit", though it is uncertain whether this denotes a lack of pulpit up until then, and continued


81 Ferguson, Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle, Carlisle, 1882, App. D.
use of a pre-reformation altar, or whether the payment was simply for repairs. Lastly old church plate which has survived into modern times can shed light on the way churches were furnished in the sixteenth century. A survey of such plate in the diocese notes a number of communion cups dating from between 1565 and 1571. These are at Hayton, Orton, Bolton, Holme Cultram, Ireby, Uldale, Cammerton, Isel, Lazonby, Newton Reigny and Great Salkeld. The existence of several cups dated 1571 or thereabouts, along with the injunctions for Crosthwaite suggest that Bishop Barnes was quick to enforce Archbishop Grindal's injunction of that date for the replacing of chalices by communion cups. There is only one cup which bears an earlier date, that at Bridekirk which has the London date letter for 1550-1, but it is unlikely to be one of the two silver chalices recorded there in 1552 because of its secular appearance. It seems possible then to make at least two conclusions about the furnishing of churches in Cumberland; first that very few of them had much more than the very minimum of necessary ornaments and goods, and secondly that many of them continued to use their old pre-reformation possessions until the church authorities forced them to acquire trappings which were thought to be more suitable for the service in a Protestant church.

As with Cumberland, the inventory for Northumberland is also damaged, and all that remains is information concerning 22 churches, of which about a third are not parish churches but chapels. Of these, 8 or 9 have silver


83 Ferguson, Old Church Plate, passim.

84 Printed in Inventories of Church Goods for the Counties of York, Durham and Northumberland, ed. W. Page, S.S. 97; also S.S. 22, App. VII.
chalices: Heddon, Felton, Whitfield, Ovingham, Stannington, Corbridge, Bedlington, Bywell St. Andrew and, perhaps, Lilburne. One unnamed church had a chalice of silver gilt and another of tin, and Bywell St. Peter, Brinkburn, Chipchase, Chollerton, Colvell, Gunnerton, Church Hetton, Birtley and Bothal also had tin chalices. The chapel of Framlington had no chalice and, surprisingly, neither did Ponteland, although it was otherwise well provided for, having 2 sets of vestments, 2 albs, 7 altar cloths, 7 candlesticks of latten, a holy water pot of brass, 2 bells, 4 handbells and 4 'trene' candlesticks. Of the churches listed Morpeth was obviously the most wealthy; having 2 silver chalices, 2 copper chalices, 2 crosses - one of copper gilt and one of copper - a pair of copper censors, 6 candlesticks, a brass holy water pot, a brass laver, 2 cruets with a brass pax, one sacring bell and 2 great bells. As well as all this it had a pair of organs, the only ones which appear in the borders, 15 sets of vestments, amongst which are specified those of red velvet, green silk, and white damask; a cope and 3 altar cloths complete the list. There are only 3 other crosses listed, one at Stannington, a copper one at Bedlington, and a tin one at Chollerton. Morpeth has the only pax, but there are a number of candlesticks, holy water pots, cruets and censors, all made of brass, latten, tin, copper or iron. The list contains nothing made of silver apart from the chalices. 85a There are also lists of ornaments and goods belonging to the chantries in the county. Those for the chantries in Newcastle show them to have had numerous possessions and especially numbers of rich vestments, but these can hardly have been typical of the county at large, and especially not of the

85 Perhaps this was a case of concealment of a valuable chalice similar to that at Crosthwaite.

85a S.S. 22, App. IV.
more northerly, border areas. The chantry in the Castle of Alnwick, since it presumably would owe its wealth to gifts of the Percies would also be atypical, but it is interesting to note that in this border castle, so near to the wildest parts of the county, there were such riches as vestments of tawney damask with leaves of gold, of white damask with gold threads, of tawney silk, of red satin, of 'chaungeable silk and of silver thread. There were also sarcenet, linnen and satin hangings for the altar and candlesticks, cruets and corporax cases, as well as mass books and bibles. 86

As well as these inventories from the 1550's there are some records of complaints made about the state of churches and their furnishings in the late 1570's, which show how far the churches in Northumberland had complied with their bishop's monitions. In 1577 these had set out the furniture and books which should be in every church, a list very similar to that given to Crosthwaite. Each church was to have a decent communion table and font, a convenient place for the minister to say divine service at, and a chest with three locks for the poor. There was also to be a linnen cloth for the communion table, and a buckram covering, also a surplice and a silver communion cup and lid. The necessary books were a large volume of the Bible, a similar volume of the Communion Book, 2 psalters, 2 Homilies, the Postils, the Queen's Injunctions, a table of degrees of consanguinity, a register book, the Defence of the Apology and a copy of the Bishop's monitions. 86a In 1579 it was said that Warden church lacked the Paraphrases, and Simonburn had neither Bible, Communion Book nor silver cup. 87 These are however the only two such

86 S.S. 22, App. VII.
86a Ibid., p.25.
87 Ibid., p.125.
entries for Northumberland churches, and so we must conclude that either the Bishop was successful in enforcing his injunctions, or that lapses in the more remote areas of the diocese were able to go undetected. Since it seems unlikely that most of the Northumberland churches were ever wealthy in their possession of church goods, it is perhaps the second explanation which is more accurate, especially in the light of the standard of provision for Border churches in other respects.

To return to the provision of personnel in the Border church it is necessary to look at the size of parishes and the number of clergy in relation to the size of the population. This question will be dealt with further in the next chapter, but one aspect will be examined here, that of the number of secular clergy at work in these borders who were not incumbents of parishes, but were chaplains in the small number of collegiate churches, or who served altarages or chantries in the larger parish churches. The town of Peebles boasted a number of these. In 1543 the parish church was erected into a collegiate church, with one provost whose endowment consisted of the parsonage of Lyne and the perpetual vicarage of Peebles, and 12 prebends which comprised the 11 altars already existing in the parish church and the altar in a separate chapel in the High Street. The staff of the college was completed by two young persons "having a youthful voice to chant divine service with the provost and prebends". The names of a number of these chaplains can be found in The Ministry of the Presbytery of Peebles. At first sight it would seem


that these clergy, whether in their earlier guise of chaplains of altars, or later as prebendaries, would have been an important addition to the clerical staff of the area, helping in the parish where their altarages were situated. They do not however seem to have been assiduous in fulfilling their ecclesiastical functions. In February 1556 all chaplains were warned to "mak residence at their altars conform to their foundation within 41 days, and failing thereof to hear the said altarages discernit vacand". At the same time they were ordered to "bring in all their vestments and chalices and deliver them to be laid in the common kist within 15 days". In January 1557 however the order with respect to the chalices had to be repeated; and in the January of the next year, 1558, the town council authorised representatives to go to Edinburgh for consultations about how to enforce residence upon the recalcitrant prebendaries. The threat of sequestration of the fruits of the altarages was obviously ineffective, since exactly a year later, in January 1559 new representatives were sent on the same errand with the same complaints. It is interesting that even in 1564, some time after the reformed faith had been established in Peebles, it was "statut and ordanit that all prebanderies whatsomever of the college kirk of St. Andrew keep the exhortation three days in the week and sing the psalms and do God service, under the pain of 6d. each day that they fail". If nothing else this marks a considerable change of opinion in the town authorities which in March 1560 had sent two of the baillies to "John Wallace als appostate and dischargit him to use any new novations of common prayer or preaching because ... the said baillies would not assist him nor none of his sect or opinion, because the said baillies would stand under

90 **Peebles Chrs.** 226, 235, 242, 253, 297.
the faith and obedience of their Prince". The particular interest of this order to the chaplains is that the council seems to have been trying to force them to take part in reformed services not simply as members of the congregation, but as some kind of singingmen, because of the prebends which they held. Since it was not until 1572 that the kirk proposed that clergy who did not accept the reformed faith be deprived and not even then was it suggested that possession of a benefice in the old church must entail service in the reformed one, it seems that in this instance the Peebles town council was acting upon its own authority to press into service the chaplains over whose appointments they had always exercised control, and whose reluctance to serve had exercised them for many years previously. It is not possible to say how successful these attempts were in Peebles, but certainly they are not typical of the general situation.

The other collegiate church in the Scottish borders was Lincluden. This had started life as a Benedictine nunnery, but in 1389 the house had been suppressed and a collegiate church erected, with a Provost, eight priests or prebendaries and 24 bedesmen. In 1561 it was said to be worth £423, and some victual, and as the money third of the provostry and prebends was £161-2-5, this was more or less accurate. These figures are in pounds

91 Peebles Chrs. 258.
92 B.U.K. I, 212.
93 Peebles Chrs. passim.
95 W. M'Dowell, Chronicles of Lincluden, Edin., 1886, p. 78.
96 T.B., 22.
Scots; an English estimate of its value in the 1560's was £100 sterling.\textsuperscript{97}

In so far as the Prebendaries here usually held a parochial cure as well, their service in the church did not necessarily depend upon the continuance of the college, but they put up a determined fight for its existence. In the 1550's it had apparently been in not too good a state, and charters record the raising of money for the repair of the Church "in thatch, glass, ornaments and other necessaries" or "for the making and repair of the ornaments and other vestments ... and also for the repair of the collegiate church".\textsuperscript{98}

The Provost, Mr. Robert Douglas, was apparently a hindrance, and unpopular with the prebendaries. In 1559 one of them complained that after he had kept the College's common seal for twenty years it had been forcibly taken from him by the Provost, and that nothing sealed, without his consent, ought to be valid. With the Reformation their troubles increased. Douglas persuaded them to sign away to him large portions of the College's possessions, in return for a promise to look after their worldly interests, but he then entered into agreements with Lord Maxwell behind their backs, and they protested. They refused to agree to measures against the interests of the College, but despite this the Provost seems to have got what he wanted. He secured for himself a pension of £200, and an appointment as deputy collector of thirds, as well as a life interest in much of the College's patrimony.\textsuperscript{99}

From the religious rather than the financial point of view however the

\textsuperscript{97} M'Dowell, Lincluden, 78.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., 120-1.
\textsuperscript{99} T.B., 102; M'Dowell, Lincluden, 134-40.
College was more fortunate than most, in that its religious life seems to have continued for a number of years after 1560. In 1564 the College was granting charters to William Douglas younger of Drumlanrig, who had spent large sums on the repair of the house, and, with his friends and relatives, defended "the said church from subversion in the time past of the dissolution and devastation of the monasteries and places of Scotland, without whose protection the said college would have been utterly demolished". When it is remembered that Lincluden lies just outside Dumfries this continuance of Catholic worship becomes understandable, but it was not able to continue indefinitely, and seems to have ceased by 1567. After this there was some attempt made to put its prebendal revenues to a useful purpose. In November 1569 within a few days of each other two of the prebends were granted to students to support them at the schools for seven years, and another such grant was made in October 1570.

The numbers of pre-reformation clergy who did not serve a cure of souls were on the whole numbers lost to the kirk. It was as much as it could do for many years to provide one reader or exhorter for each parish, and enough ministers to oversee them all, let alone find qualified men to serve these sorts of posts. Their original purpose, the performing of mass at

100 *Essays*, 449.
102 See below, pp. 323-5.
103 M'Dowell, *Lincluden*, 139.
104 *R.S.S.* VI, 787, 803, 980.
particular altars for the good of the soul of the founder was of course anathema to the Protestant churchmen, and was thus a purpose which they would never try to fulfil; but in so far as they formed what might be called an auxiliary body of clergy, who could supply help in what were too often understaffed parishes they were an important loss. One such example was the parish of Sanquhar in Nithsdale. Here as well as the vicar pensionary who served the cure, there had been the holders of five chaplainries. The vicar went on to become the first reader in the parish, but there could be no provision made to take over what pastoral work may have been done by the chaplains. This factor was not of course peculiar to the Borders, but it was in such areas of large or wild and remote parishes that such losses were particularly important. This can perhaps be seen most clearly by looking at evidence concerning the similar problem on the English side of the Border.

Here the only two collegiate churches which can be called Border churches were those of Greystoke and Kirkoswald, both in Cumberland. Greystoke college served that parish and the two dependent chapelries of Watermillock and Patterdale, an area of over 48,000 acres. They were said to contain 3,000 communicants, and there was a staff consisting of a master and six priests to serve the area. By 1563 this had been reduced to the rector of Greystoke and two curates. The college of Kirkoswald served that parish and Dacre, about 11,000 acres with a master and seven priests.

106 V.C.H. Cumb. II, 204.
107 P.R.O. E 301/12.
108 B.L. Harl. Ms. 594, p. 86v.
110 P.R.O. E 301/12.
and this number was reduced to one vicar in each parish.

Both colleges put up a certain amount of resistance against their dissolution. In April, 1547, letters were addressed to the provost of Kirkoswald, Roland Threlkeld, warning that the college was to be altered to another use, and assuring him that the commissioners would order reasonable pensions for its members. A letter dated in June of that year however tells us that the Master and Fellows had been both contumacious and disobedient, and as a result had all been summoned to London. Not surprisingly by the time they appeared before the Privy Council they were "both conformable to that surrender and whatsoever besides should be required of them on the King's behalf, and also repentant for that stubbornness". As a result of this change of heart the council decided not to make an example of them as they had previously intended, and judged "their coming up and going down again to have been in a manner of a punishment unto them". They were accordingly sent back to Cumberland again, and once they arrived the commissioners were to obtain from them "a sufficient surrender in writing" and to allow them to continue as before, still receiving the revenues of the house and enjoying its possessions, "foreseeing they reserved the same stuff and other things forthcoming to his majesty's use, according to the inventory by them taken, til such time as other order should be taken by his majesty for their pensions and further disposition of that College and all things pertaining to the same. 111

No doubt Master and Fellows felt they had got off fairly lightly, and they were allowed to remain until, in the following year, the government was able to act on a sure legal footing. It must be noted in passing that Threlkeld's

111 A.P.C. II, 484, 504.
defiance was by no means due to economic necessity. When the College was
eventually dissolved he received a pension of £35-19-6, but he was also
rector of Dufton in Westmorland, Rector of Melmerby and vicar of Lazonby
in Cumberland. According to the Valor these last two livings were worth
£12-11-4 and £13-0-4 respectively. 112 On top of this he may well have
been in receipt of some fee from Lord Dacre, since he seems to have been
acting as some sort of financial officer for him in 1534. 113 He had previously
appeared in the national records when Towneley's confession had thoroughly
implicated him in events at Carlisle during the Pilgrimage of Grace, although
it was uncertain whether his participation was voluntary. 114 He appears
to have been a prominent local figure, for Richard Singleton, writing in 1677
was able to record quite a lot of information about him passed on by tradition.
Some of this information is obviously wrong; he was not Rector of Houghton-
le-Spring in Durham (this idea may have sprung from the fact that his will
mentions a curate at 'Halton') nor did he hold a prebend in Carlisle cathedral,
but he did hold the other offices Singleton ascribed to him. The rest of the
description is interesting as giving an idea of the way he had been regarded
in Cumberland. "Twas he that built a bridge at Force Mill for his own con-
venience to passe between Melmerby (where he most resided) and Lazonby.
He was not married, nor did he admit any woman to manage about his house,;
but kept, as I have heard by some, a dozen men, by another, sixteen men
to wait on him, and for every man he usually killed a beef at Martinmass.115

112 V.E. V, 289
113 L. and P. VII, 281.
114 Ibid., XII, pt. I, 687; see below, p. 370-1.
115 The Present State of the Parish and Manor of Melmerby in Cumberland,
from Mr. Singleton, Rector there; bound in Machel Mss. VI, and printed
The master of Greystoke also put up a spirited defence when ordered to surrender his house. In 1548 a survey was made of its property, but in July 1549 it was reported that the master, John Dacre 116 had claimed that it was in fact not a college but a parsonage. The Court of Augmentations had not yet been able to find proof to the contrary, and so "it is ordered by the advice of the learned council of the same court, that the same John Dacre shall remain in peaceable possession thereof until such time as more plain and full matter shall appear unto the said court". Meanwhile he had entered into a recognisance, binding himself to give up to the crown all the profits and revenues received from "the commencement of the King's Majesty's title by vertue of the late Act of Colleges and Chantries", if it should be proved to be a college, or if the King should be entitled to them by any other means. 117 The value of the two Cumberland Colleges as given in the Valor was £82-18-0 for Greystoke and £78-16-6 for Kirkoswald, and by this time the crown officials must have been wondering if they were worth all the trouble they were causing.

The chaplains of the more humble chantries and altarages were much less able to put up any resistance. In 1546/7 when reports were drawn up on the chantries in Cumberland there were found to be 5 in Carlisle Cathedral, 1 in the church of St. Cuthbert in Carlisle, and 20 in the rest of the county. Only 13 of these were in Carlisle diocese: Skelton, Hutton, Bromfield, Wigton (2), Edenhall, Great Salkeld, Penrith (2), Crosthwaite and Torpenhow (3). Out of the diocese's 26 chaplains, 15 were still alive.

116 Also Rector of Skelton and Morpeth, he held another benefice in the diocese of Lincoln.

117 P.R.O. E 315/186.
and receiving pensions in 1556, and a number survived considerably longer. In 1570 or 1575, Sir Barnaby Haistie, late chantry priest at Hutton in the Forest was living in Shropshire and still in receipt of his pension of £6 or £7. His colleagues, such as the chantry priests of Edenhall and Skelton, who were dead by this time, had stayed rather nearer home.

Only six chaplains seem to have continued to serve in the area. Hugh Barker, chaplain of the chantry of St. Alban in Carlisle occurs as the vicar of Arthuret. Nicholas Goldsmith, chaplain of a chantry in Carlisle Cathedral, and still receiving 55s pension as such in 1556, was also vicar of Crosby on Eden. His successor there, Robert Dunn, may well have been his colleague at Carlisle, since the chaplain of the altar of St. Crux in the cathedral was in 1548 named as Robert Dun. He was given the same name in the survey of 1546, but by 1556 the name of the recipient of the £4 pension was given as Robert Dacre. It is not surprising to find one of the members of the college of Kirkoswald continuing to serve as vicar there. John Scale was recorded there in 1547; in 1548 he was receiving a pension of 10 marks, but by 1556 he had disappeared from the list, and he was not present at the visitation three years later. Two other members of this college also continued to work in the Cumberland church. William Lowden or Lowthyan was a

119 P.R.O. E 178/3247.
120 P.R.O. E 301/11, 12.
121 P.R.O. E 101/75/7; E 164, vol. 31, f. 71v.
122 P.R.O. E 101/75/7.
123 P.R.O. E 301/11; E 164, vol. 31, f. 71v.

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chaplain there in 1535 and was still receiving a pension as such in 1556. In 1563 he was presented to the rectory of Aikton by Lord Dacre who had also been patron of Kirkoswald. There must have been some doubt about the provision as in 1571 the Patent Rolls show him being presented to the same benefice by the crown. In the same year however it was reported that he had been buried at Kirkoswald. His colleague, Robert Thomson, who occurred as a member of the college in 1548, and in 1556 when he was receiving a pension of £5, seems likely to be the Robert Thomson who in 1562 was deprived of the rectory of Beaumont, another cure in Dacre's gift, for refusal to subscribe to the Oath of Supremacy. Someone of the same name occurs as curate of All-hallows, a chapel of Aspatria, in 1574, but there is nothing to connect him with the rector of Beaumont. Lastly there was Percival Wharton who in 1556 was getting a pension of £6 as late chaplain of the free chapel in the Castle of Penrith. According to the Patent Rolls, he was presented to the vicarage of Ivel in 1554. He does not appear again in connection with this parish, so it is uncertain whether the presentation took effect. He does however appear in connection with the vicarage of Bridekirk, which in 1559 was in dispute between Wharton and William Gray, Wharton having been deprived for marriage in Mary's reign. We do not know when this happened, but Gray was ordained at Durham in 1556 on a title of £4 given by Robert Lamplugh, the patron of this vicarage. It is possible that Wharton was presented to Ivel after being deprived of Bridekirk

125 P. R. O. E 178/3247.
126 Pat. Rolls Mary II, 165.
in consequence of the government policy of readmitting, to a different benefice, priests who had separated from their wives. If this is so, he did not remain long at Isel, for another crown presentation was made in 1557, and it was to Bridekirk that he was restored in 1559, remaining there until 1564 when he resigned.

On the eastern side of the English Borders there were no collegiate churches to compare with Kirkoswald and Dacre, but there were chantries, and as in Cumberland the largest concentration of these was in the area's largest town, in this case Newcastle. The parish church of St. Nicholas had 12 chantries, and 1 more in the chapel on the Tyne bridge made 13 in this parish. The other churches within the city were in fact counted as chapels of St. Nicholas', and they had 13 chantries between them, 7 in All Hallows, and 3 each in St. John's and St. Andrew's. In the rest of the county there were 24 more chantries: Ovingham, Prudhoe, Corbridge, Alnwick (3), Great Benton, Norham (2), Morpeth (3), Widdrington (2), Kirkwhelpington, Berwick (2), Morpeth, Mitford, Stannington, Rothbury, Bywell St. Peter, Ponteland and Holy Island. The chantry certificate for Northumberland from which this information is taken also lists the provisions made for schools in the county and a number of chapelries. In Long Benton parish there was the chapel of Whyteslayd, which had "no incumbent at this present". It was one mile from the parish church, and the parish contained 307 communicants. The two chantries listed under Widdrington belonged, with that chapel, to the parish of Woodhorn; they were four miles from the parish


128 P.R.O. E 301/62, printed, S.S. 22, App. VII.
church, and the parish contained 1,020 communicants. There was another chantry in the chapel of Witton, parish of Hertborn, two miles from the mother church, and with it serving 700 communicants. The chapel of Cambo, Bedlington parish, was without an incumbent at the time; it was three miles from the parish church and helped to minister to 505 communicants. In three cases where the chantry was vacant the church wardens had taken the revenues and used them for the repair of the parish church (Stannington, Mitford and Rothbury). As was the case in Cumberland not all the incumbents of these chantries and chapels were lost to the church after their dissolution. Sir Walter Mildmay and Robert Kelway were commissioned to take orders "for the maintenance and continuance of schools and preachers and of priests and curates of necessity for serving of cures and ministrations of the sacraments ...". They recommended that four of the Newcastle chantry priests should be retained as assistants, one in each of the churches there. William Clerke of St. John's chantry in St. Nicholas' was to be assistant to the cure there, and be paid £6-16-8. Robert Baker of the chantry of Our Lady in the same church was to serve as assistant in All Hallows, for a stipend of £4-16-4. Miles Swalwell of the chantry of St. Catherine in All Hallows was to assist the cure in St. John's church, receiving £4-10-0. Lastly, John Sadler of the chantry of St. Thomas in St. Andrew's church was to remain in the same church as assistant, for £5-5-5 per year. As well as these four, Edward Thompson, incumbent of one of the chantries in Widdrington was to

129 A Miles Swalwell who was a monk of Durham was vicar of Bywell St. Peter from 1541 to 1557, and Ann Forster, in Bishop Tunstall's Priests, Recusant History, IX, 1967-8, pp. 137-205, p. 183 identifies the two.
continue there, and Lambert Clerk, incumbent of the chantry of Our Lady in Berwick was to remain there as assistant. It would be interesting to know by what criterion these assistants were chosen, since in the report of 1548 only one of them, William Clerke, was judged to be "well learned", John Sadler was "somewhat learned", and the remaining four were only "meanly learned". A few other chantry priests continued to serve in Northumberland in other capacities. George Hyndmers, chantry priest at Kirkwhelpington in 1548, occurred in 1559 as vicar of Alnham, when he was absent from the visitation. By 1560 his successor had been appointed. George Johnson, a priest in Norham church in 1548, had been vicar of Bolam since 1539, and possibly continued as such until 1562. One of this name was also curate of Kylo in 1578. Bartram or Bartholomew Bartley, who was a chantry priest of St. John's, Newcastle, was from 1546 rector of Whalton. In 1569 he was one of a number of priests who submitted themselves to Bishop Pilkington, and subscribed to certain articles, no doubt because their loyalty to the Protestant faith was in doubt. He must presumably have kept out of trouble after that as he was still rector in 1578 when he was excused attendance at a visitation because of illness. He would by then have been 67. Again these three are among the number of "meanly learned". Ralph Eltringham, chantry priest in Corbridge seems to have remained in the parish acting as a curate for Richard Marshall, who in 1559 was said to be non-resident. Eltringham also failed to appear at this visitation. He was one of the seven who were described by the 1548 survey as "well learned", only two of whom continued

130 P. R. O. E 319/1 File, item 20.

131 S. S. 22, App. VII; P. R. O. E 301/62.
to serve. Two more were "somewhat learned", and the remaining thirty-one on whom judgement was given were all only "meanly learned". Although only a few continued to serve many more remained in Northumberland for some time since in 1556 there were over 30 pensions paid to ex-chantry priests in the county.

It would of course be wrong to give the impression that none of the holders of Scottish chantries and altarages continued to serve at parochial level, but since there is for Scotland no comprehensive list of chantries, it is not possible to know exactly how many of these there were, let alone who were their incumbents. Because of this there are only a handful of cases where this continued service can be shown to have occurred. John Jameson, who served as an exhorter in Glencairn from 1563, and later as a reader at Dunscore seems likely to have been a chaplain in Dumfries in 1543. 132 In 1581 Donald Mure who was vicar pensionary of Kells, and had been reader there, also occurs as chaplain of the altar of St. Michael in Wigton, although it is not possible to say if he held this before the reformation, or if it was simply an additional source of income which for him had never involved any actual service. John Moffat, who was reader at Kirkchrist in 1563, and at Kirmambreck from 1567, had been a chaplain in Kirkcudbright in 1550. 133 Mr. Walter Pyle who was an exhorter at Foulden in 1563 and at Southdean in 1567, had been a chaplain in Jedburgh. 135 Mark Carruthers was rector of


133 R. C. Reid, Wigtownshire Charters, S.H.S. 1960, 106.


135 Essays, 141.
Mouswold and a prebendary of Lincluden, and after his death in 1569 we learn that he also held the altar of St. Nicholas in Dumfries. Thomas Duncanson, minister and vicar of Bowden in 1568, was a chaplain in Stirling as far back as 1525. Cuthbert Adair, reader at Dalry from 1569, had been a chaplain in Whithorn in 1550. There are a few instances of men serving in the same parish as a chaplain and then as one of the parish clergy. The John Sinclair who was reader at Dumfries from 1574, was probably the same Sinclair who held an altarage in that town. John Dickson who was minister at Peebles from 1560 was likely to have been the Sir John Dickson, chaplain of St. Martin's altar there in 1545. Similarly, John Lichtbodie, reader at Lennel in 1574, had been a chaplain there in 1559. Two more chaplains from Peebles can be traced in the parishes in that deanery. Sir John Bullo first appears as a curate in Peebles in 1534; in 1548 he was a chaplain of the altar of St. Martin there, and from 1563 was reader at Kailzie. Sir John Allan also occurs first as a curate in Peebles in 1544; In 1558-9 he was presented to the altar of St. James. In 1562 he was said to have been elected minister in Peebles, and also occurred as minister of Manor until his death in 1572.

136 R.S.S. VI, 803, 832.
137 Haws, Parish Clergy, 268.
138 Wigt. Chrs. 320.
139 Essays, 141.
140 Gunn, Min. of Presb. of Peebles, 5.
141 Haws, Parish Clergy, 158.
142 Gunn, Min. of Presb. of Peebles, 5, 6; Peebles Chrs. 275.
As in England then, some chaplains were prepared to serve in the reformed church, and in this sense were not lost to the Borders, but with the dissolution of all these chantries and collegiate churches, there was bound to be a significant drop in the total number of churchmen working in the Borders, and as has already been said, this sort of drop would be particularly important in areas of large parishes and scattered communities such as the Borders were. Provision of the Border parishes in other respects was obviously far from ideal. Widespread appropriation in all the dioceses meant that the profits from the valuable livings were diverted from the parishes, and the cures which were left unappropriated were generally worth as little as most of the vicarages. The material condition of the churches also left much to be desired, often as a result of circumstances which were peculiar to the Borders, and the possessions of many of the Border churches seem to reflect their poverty in other respects. It now remains to look into the numbers and standard of the clergy who served these parishes.
III PARISH CLERGY

The extent to which the work of the church was carried out in any area depended above all else on the quality of the incumbents who served at parochial level, and any study of a particular area's religious life must take into account the qualifications, and the doctrinal sympathies of these men as far as they can be known. The difference in the nature of the evidence available about the Scottish and the English parish clergy means that it is not possible to produce exactly the same sort of survey for both sides of the Border. Although the break in the episcopal registers of Carlisle does cause some difficulty, it is relatively easy to discover who served the English cures, but perhaps less so to discover the religious views of all these men. On the Scottish side the problem is first and foremost to discover who served the cures, and the information which enables one to establish this is diverse and scattered. However the different course taken by the reformation in Scotland means that if one can trace the incumbents of parishes it is perhaps easier to deduce where their religious sympathies lay. As to a general view of the extent and quality of the ministry in the Borders, there are numerous references in the State Papers, all of which are far from flattering. Almost all of these refer to the English side, but the similarity of conditions in other respects suggests that they are probably a fair indication of the situation in the Border districts of Scotland as well.

A letter written by the Bishop of St. Asaph to Cromwell in 1535 suggests that it is in quality rather than in numbers that the clergy in the Borders are lacking. "... there is no knowledge of Christ's gospel although there are plenty of priests, sundry sorts of religious, multitudes of monks, and flocking
companies of friars". 1 After the Pilgrimage of Grace there was a widely held opinion that "ignorance and error have been the cause of all this business, so it were good some wise preachers were sent abroad to win the people to know what obedience and love they owe to God, their Prince, and his wise council." 2 Another report suggested that "as the rebels made the maintenance of the Faith one of the grounds of their rebellion, it would be well to send some of the most virtuous and learned men of the kingdom to preach and teach in all parts there, and to appoint the bishops of York, Durham and Carlisle to be present at their sermons". 3 Norfolk too put great faith in the idea that preachers would encourage obedience to God and the King at the same time. Two of the preachers working to this end were named as Mr. Layton and Mr. Adenson, and the Duke believed that "If three or four such preachers had been continually in these parts instructing the unlearned no such follies would have been attempted". He also referred to the sort of evils which might result from the practice of appropriation: "Those with such great livings should not regard the filling of their purses and neglect their duty in instructing the people". 4 However two years later one of Cromwell's correspondents was telling very much the same story. "Newcastle and the country round is also destitute of good pastors". "The King's people in Northumberland are very ready and glad to hear the word of the Lord. ... It is a great pity that there is never one preacher betwixt Tyne and Tweed". "As to the setting forth of God's word

1 C.S.P. Scot., I, p.33.
2 L. and P., XII, part 1, 5.
3 L. and P., XI, 1410.
4 L. and P., XII, part 1, 1158; part 2, 9.
and the King's supremacy, I hear of no preacher between Newcastle and
Berwick, and very few in all Westmorland, Cumberland, Durhamshire and
the West of Yorkshire".\(^5\) Almost ten years later, Lord Grey writing from
Berwick expresses the same thoughts. "Vouchsafe us one or two good
preachers; these parts need them as much as Scotland, for the people know
neither God nor the King, nor their laws." The next year Lord Wharton,
also writing from the North complained, "the best benefices hath the incum-
blets in other parts".\(^7\) At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the government's
attitude was still very much the same. In 1559 Valentine Brown was instructed
that since the Northern parts lacked ecclesiastical governance and teaching,
£200 was to be allowed out of the revenues of the bishopric of Durham, vacant
at this time, to maintain four preachers, one about Berwick, and the other
three about Carlisle.\(^8\) Sadler too advised that "It were mete also that 2 or
3 godly and well learned men should have convenient entertainment, either
by yearly stipend, or by some spiritual promotion of the said bishopric (i.e.
Durham) to preach and teach the word of God, for the better instruction of
the ignorant people, which is a thing most needful and necessary in the Northern
parts and especially in the town of Berwick where it were to be wished that
one of the said preachers should be placed".\(^9\) The Earl of Rutland travelling
North in 1561, when he had been appointed President of the Council in the North,
also reported that the people were far out of religion and that lack of

\(^5\) L. and P. XII, part 2, 953; XIV, part 1, 334; part 2, Appendix.
\(^6\) C.S.P. Scot., I, 73.
\(^7\) P. R. O. S. P., 15/3, no. 17.
\(^8\) C.S.P. For. Eliz. II 500.
\(^9\) Saddler Papers, vol. 2, 5. The case of Berwick will be considered a
little further on.
preaching was the greatest trouble. 10

From the same year we have Bishop Best's analysis of the situation in his diocese of Carlisle, where the standard of the clergy obviously far from pleased him. "The priests are wicked imps of Antichrist and for the most part very ignorant and stubborn". Only three had absented themselves from his visitation, "of which 2 belong to my Lord Dacres and one to the Earl of Cumberland", but he thinks it is only fear which had made the rest obedient. 11

A few years after this a letter from Bishop Pilkington goes far to lay the blame for the inadequate service on the Queen. He reports that the vicarages of Felton and Kirkharle, both in royal patronage, have been vacant for four years, and goes on to say:

"But there be many parishes in Northumberland specially where the vicars have very small livings and yet some of them have five chapels, some four, many three, and every one almost two and so far distant from the parish church that it is not possible they should come to church and if they could come the church would not hold the third part of them. These chapels are as big as parish churches and as many resorts to them, and yet have no livings at all and many of them never a priest and those that have any be Scots, vagabonds and wicked men which hide themselves there because they dare not abide in their country and serve for little or nothing. The county is willing to take them that will serve best cheap. They are able to conduct all Scotland into the realm. Many of the parsonages in these parishes are impropriated to Abbeys and while they stood they were better served. Now they be in the Queen's Majesty's hand or else sold." 12

This letter was a reply to an enquiry into vacant livings in the different dioceses, and it is unfortunate that there is no return for that of Carlisle.


11 P.R.O. S.P. 12/18, 2124.

12 P.R.O. S.P. 15/12, 108. The number of Scottish priests serving in the county can be seen in appendix I, and will be referred to again later in the chapter.
Again however it proved that an understanding of religious needs of the area did not go very far towards the fulfilling of them. A report made by Robert Arden from Berwick in 1587 expresses very much the same sentiments.

"First because the greatest number of the parishes in the said country be impropriate, whereby they either belong to some bishopric or were of the religious houses in that shire or within Yorkshire so as the vicar's livings or parsonages be very small and none of any learning do seek the same. Whereupon there are not passing three or four preachers in the whole shire, and so the people for want of teachers have been brought up in ignorance. ... It were very expedient in my simple judgement that there should some speedy order be taken that good preachers may be appointed to endeavour by sound doctrine and examples of integrity of life to reduce and draw them from their blindness to the right knowledge of God." 13

Thus in the 1580's there was the same call for more preachers which had been made ever since the 1530's. We must now see how the reality matched up to the impressions such reports have given. To see the government trying to fulfil some of the requests made it is convenient to look at the history of the church at Berwick in this period. Although as a garrison town, and so of especial interest to the government, it is not typical of the Borders as a whole, since there is a great deal of surviving information about it, it is useful as showing the government's aims and preoccupations. Also of course as the most important town in the English East and Middle Marches, and a centre of trade, it would act as centre for the dissemination of new ideas, and


The reluctance to serve in Border livings which is mentioned here is well illustrated by the case of Simonburn in 1595. The rectory was in the gift of the crown, and Lord Eure asked permission to present his son's tutor, Mr. Crackenthorpe, M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, but he declined the living "deeming his body unable to live in so troublesome a place, and his nature not so well brooking the perverse nature of so crooked a people". C.B.P., II, 183, 208. Simonburn was one of the wealthier and therefore more attractive Border livings.
so developments there would be of more import for the Borders as a whole than developments in any other one place.

From 1541 to 1565 the vicarage of Berwick was held by Robert Selby, who also held the neighbouring vicarage of Norham. From 1548 if not before he was assisted at Berwick by a curate, Lambert Clerke, who had been a chantry priest there. In 1560 Sir Francis Leek wrote that the curate in Berwick (we do not know if it was still Clerke or not) was a very simple man, and the vicar was even more ignorant. He doubted "whether he can say his Pater Noster truly either in English or Latin", and called on the Dean of Durham to witness to Selby's unaptness to take any cure of Christian people. With this sort of man filling the cure, and probably not resident anyway it is not surprising that the advent of John Knox in 1549 should have had such a great effect. He came as a preacher appointed by the government and his past history made him most suitable for the post. His time at St. Andrew's had given him experience of service in a garrison town, and as a Scot he was particularly suited to serve in Berwick which contained so many of his fellow countrymen. As in a time of warfare the garrison would be larger than usual, and frequently changing, so the preacher at Berwick would come into contact with even more people than usual. As time went by he moved on to preach at Newcastle as well, and in other areas of the Borders such as Widdrington. Knox himself certainly thought his ministry there to have been of great value. Years later he told Mary Stuart,

14 See above, p. 97.


"I ashame not Madam, to affirm that God so blessed my weak labours that in Berwick (where commonly before there used to be slaughter by reason of quarrels that used to arise amongst soldiers) there was as great quietness all the time that I remained there as there is this day in Edinburgh." He seems to have taken full advantage of any freedom allowed to him by the Prayer Book in the administering of communion. The letter which he wrote in 1552 to the congregation of Berwick makes it clear that "To touch the point, kneeling at the Lord's Supper I have proved by doctrine to be no convenient gesture for a table which hath been given in that action to such a presence of Christ as no place of God's Scripture doth teach unto us. And therefore . . . I thought good amongst you to avoid, and to use sitting at the Lord's table which ye did not refuse . . ." Another Letter of Exhortation written to the congregations of Newcastle and Berwick in 1558 reminded them that "ye feared not to go before statutes and the laws; yea openly and solemnly ye did profess by receiving the sacraments not as man had appointed but as Christ Jesus . . . had instituted . . . How oft have ye been partakers of the Lord's table, prepared, used and ministered in all simplicity, not as man had devised, neither as the King's proceeding did allow, but as Christ Jesus did institute and as it is evident that St. Paul did practice." It does not seem that he met much opposition from the authorities in this, and when he was called upon to give a public confession about his teachings on the mass, because of the complaints of the Bishop of Durham, it was on a subject about which his views were far

18 Printed Lorrimer, p. 263.
19 Ibid., p. 73-4.
more acceptable to the government than Tunstall's were. His teachings obviously reached not only Northumberland but over into Scotland as well.

In 1551 John Ab Ulmis travelled to Berwick, which he seems to have thought was a Scottish town, and was most impressed by the "great firmness and no little religion among the people of Scotland", of whom he thought "that greater numbers of them are rightly persuaded as to true religion than here among us in England". The Scots he came across had no doubt been influenced not only by Knox, but by the preachers who went in to Scotland with Dorset's armies.

He also commented upon Holy Island where he found the inhabitants were "rightly instructed in religion", although since he also reported that the island abounded in gold perhaps his observations should be treated with some caution.

Unfortunately Knox's preaching only caused additional problems for the authorities, since it encouraged Scots to come not only to Berwick, where they had almost resigned themselves to a large number of illegal immigrants, but also to Newcastle. Nor was his nonconformity universally accepted; the mayor of Newcastle obviously objected to his presence, and in January 1552 Northumberland wrote to Cecil that "I think it very expedient that his Highness' pleasure should be known as well to Lord Wharton as to those of Newcastle that his Highness hath the poor man and his doings in gracious favour, otherwise some hindrance in the matters of religion may arise and grow amongst the people ... and that some things might be written to the mayor for his greedy accusation of the poor man ...". Knox himself said later that it

22 Ridley, John Knox, p. 102.
23 P.R.O. S.P. 10/18, 5.
was his preaching against the fall and death of Somerset which had upsetSir Robert Brandling so much.  

After Knox's departure we hear nothing about the service of the church in Berwick until Elizabeth's reign. The vicar, Selby, must have accepted all the religious changes which took place as did the majority of the county's clergy. Knox apparently did not forget his old flock, for in 1559 he wrote to Cecil, "True and faithful preachers in the north parts of England can not but greatly advance this cause - if a learned and godly man might be appointed to Berwick, with licence also to preach within Scotland, I doubt not to obtain unto him the favours of the most part of the gentlemen in the East and Middle Borders".  

It was not long before government representatives in the town took up the same cry. In August 1560 there apparently was a preacher there as Leek wrote that he was almost weary, he could not bring some of the officers to hear a sermon, and he felt it was necessary that the town should have a permanent preacher. In less than a month followed more complaints of the unfitness of the curate. "If preaching be needful in any place in Europe, the like and more is it to be had in this town, with straight commandment to the captains not to be absent from sermons". In September it was decided that there should be a quarterly levy on the captains, officers and soldiers of the garrison for the maintenance of a minister. The town should have "a preacher, £80 per annum; a curate £40; a coadjutor £33-6-8; 2 singing-men and otherwise to assist the administration, at £13-6-8 apiece; a clerk

24 Lorrimer, p. 83.  
26 C.S.P. For. Eliz. III, 471. Sir Francis Leek was Governor of Berwick.  
27 Ibid., 537.
Leek was overjoyed to find the officers were "very willing to the allowance for a preacher, if it had been much greater", and hoped no time would be lost in appointing suitable persons who would be a good example to the town. He had great hopes of the plan since the short time that the Dean of Durham and Mr. Sampson stayed and preached there had such a good effect that now Cecil would "marvel to hear that every holiday in the church are sung sundry psalms and prayers only by gentlemen and soldiers ... Berwick has become a civil town almost void of vices". He adds the pious hope that the soldiers who have been turned out of the town do not infect the rest of the realm.  

His optimistic mood did not last long however, and before the month was out he was complaining that "Here are neither ministers, clerk or sexton that I know meet to be presently placed; there be good pupils in this town, who, if there may be such a school master sent hither shortly as Mr. Sampson or Mr. Dean of Durham, will prove good scholars and meet to be ministers. But if ye tract time and do not send a preacher hither shortly, I doubt they will return to their old vomit and become too much oblivious".  

Next Dr. Horn, the dean, was brought into the question. He expressed regret that there was such a lack of worthy men in the ministry, in the North and elsewhere, and gave it as his opinion that if men could be appointed they should


29 Ibid., 600.

30 Ibid., 683. The work of cleaning up the town was obviously still going on as he reported that he had turned out of Berwick and Tweedmouth "269 abominable damoselles, and some Scots out of Berwick".
be paid rather more than had been suggested; £100 for the preacher, £60 for the curate, and £40-13-4 for the coadjutor. He hastened to add that this would not necessarily mean more expenditure for the Queen. One of the prebendaries of Durham could be appointed as coadjutor, and some of the cost could be met by the Durham chapter. He suggested Sanderson of Christ's College, Cambridge might be made curate there, since being born in Northumberland he would be most suitable. 31 Lord Grey as well as Leek seems to have had great faith in the good which would be done by the appointment of a preacher, thinking it would make the people more devout and of a better life since both the gentlemen and the soldiers seem willing to observe good order. By the time this particular plea had reached London, Cecil was able to note that a preacher and coadjutor had already been sent, and that it was intended to follow up the good work by enlarging the church next summer. 32 By February 1561 the new men, Stephenson and Sanderson had arrived and taken their places, and Grey was happy to report that they seemed well pleased with their 'entertainment', and felt confident that religion in the town would soon benefit from their presence. 33 This happy state of affairs was to last for no more than a year. In January 1562 Sanderson wrote to Cecil that he felt he had to resign. Although he had put away all his servants he found he could not afford to feed himself, his wife and child. He had been promised that if he took the post he would be given the vicarage of Berwick, or a prebend in Durham when one fell vacant, but now the prebend had been given to someone

32 Ibid., 735. c.f. Ch. II, p. 74.
33 Ibid., 956.
else, and the vicarage had not come vacant. Not, he complained, that it would do him much good if it did, for there was an advowson out of it. Moreover he had understood that he was to go there to preach, not to serve the cure which was held by another, but now he learned from Lord Grey that he had been expected to serve as a curate.\textsuperscript{34} Stephenson had apparently been less disillusioned, and he went south at the end of the year with praise for his diligence in setting forth the word of God.\textsuperscript{35} But as far as Berwick was concerned what mattered was that they both left, and by August Grey had once more taken up the now familiar appeals: they wish for a preacher as soon as possible, the people there are quiet and given to the following of God's word and they wish for a preacher above all else. He also pointed out one of the drawbacks of having a preacher supported by contributions from the garrison, namely that as the number of troops was reduced, for instance by some of them being transferred to Ireland, then if a minister was still to be paid, some of the cost would have to be borne by the Queen.\textsuperscript{36} Once again the responsibility was passed on to the Durham chapter. In August the new dean, Ralph Skinner, wrote to Cecil to excuse himself, as he had heard Cecil was offended that no order had been taken for preaching in Berwick.\textsuperscript{37} It would seem that Stephenson must have returned for a time, as in March 1563 Sir Thomas Dacre says that he served there "until Christmas last". Since his departure there had been no permanent preacher, but Bernard Gilpin

\textsuperscript{34} C.S.P. For. Eliz. IV, 774.

\textsuperscript{35} Scott, History of Berwick, 352.

\textsuperscript{36} C.S.P. For. Eliz., V, 422.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 992.
had preached there several times, as had a Scot called Douglas. There had been an unsuccessful attempt to persuade Gilpin to stay there. Douglas was described as being "very zealous, and worthy of the room, and willing to remain"; but they were unsure if this was a good idea in view of his nationality. The Queen's reply was that he could remain there. No doubt experience had proved that where Berwick was concerned she could not afford to be too choosy. 38 Exactly a year later however, because of "the abatement of his living" Douglas went south with a good report, and Berwick was once more in need of a preacher. 39 This time it was Bedford who took up the cry. In 1565 he suggested that it would be easy to find a minister if "they were not bound to the tippet and cap". He wished to know "whether they shall continue as they do, or else observe the order now commanded", which sounds as if the puritan traditions of Knox's days there still had some influence. 40

In 1565 Selby had at last died, and the bishop had appointed John Blackhall in his place, but he seems to have been no more satisfactory than his predecessor. We hear nothing of his ministry in Berwick, and by December 1567 he had been deprived, although no reason is given for this. It seems he cannot have been the "honest, learned and sufficient man" which the bishop had been required to appoint. 41 For a while the bishop and Bedford seem to have favoured the appointment of Sampson, although Bedford was still worried about the question of vestments. He had heard that the "cap and tippet" were

38 C.S. P. For. Eliz., VI, 399, 1128.
39 Ibid., 626, 627.
40 Ibid., VII, 1196.
41 A.P.C., VII, 232.
never used in "these rude parts". In 1567 the final solution to the problem seems to have been reached with Thomas Clerk's presentation to the vicarage. According to Scott he had been a preacher here as early as 1565. At last it seems that a satisfactory incumbent had been found; he was still serving in the cure in 1578 when he was excused the performance of the task set for the visitation because of his acknowledged learning.

In the Scottish Borders the parish where we are best able to trace the history of the ministry in this way is Peebles. Although by no means of such military and political importance as Berwick, it was one of the largest towns in the Scottish Borders, and as with Berwick an external authority interested itself in the affairs of the church, this time the town council, and it is through their records that we are able to follow the course of religious changes in the burgh's church. The parsonage of Peebles belonged to the prebend of the archdeaconry of Glasgow, and in 1541 the parish church was erected into a collegiate church, the perpetual vicarage was annexed to the new provostry, and the cure was to be served by a vicar pensionary who was instituted as one of the prebendaries. In 1559 the vicar was named as John Wardlaw, and the curate was Sir John Allan. At first the Baillies of the town were obviously reluctant to accept the new church order, but by November 1560 they were willing to send to Edinburgh, to the Lords of the Congregation, "to provide ane minister and preacher" and eight days later they were ordering £40 to

42 C.S.P. For., Eliz., VII, 1304, 1330.

43 Scott, 352; S.S., vol.22, p.77. He also came to hold the vicarage of Felton and the rectory of Ford.

44 See above, pp. 85-6.

45 Peebles Chrs, 263.
be paid to John Dickson, minister of the Common Prayers. He cannot have served in this capacity for long however, as although he appears in connection with Peebles in the Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds, and in the Register of Ministers, he is called either exhorter or minister. Indeed as early as December 1560 Dionysius Elphinstone of Henderstoun recorded that he wished to serve as minister as Dickson had done "because he did not know any minister had been elected by the Lord's of the Secret Council or otherwise by the parishioners". His plea seems to have gone unheeded, since he does not occur again, and in February 1562 the bailies recorded the election of Elders and Deacons who chose "John Allane to be their minister in times coming", and asked that he should be admitted to that office. Allan served also at Manor, where he was minister from 1565 until his death in 1572. How long he acted as minister of Peebles, or whether he was ever admitted as such is however uncertain as he does not occur again in this connection.

In June 1562 Dickson again occurs, having been admitted as reader and exhorter, and it is said that he is to "continue in Peebles where he has dwelt for the space of three years past". Dickson was obviously not too happy with the state of the town and a month after this he required the bailies to appoint

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46 Peebles Chrs., 263.
47 Ibid., 265.
48 Ibid., 275.
49 Ibid., 278. It should perhaps be explained here that the parish ministry of the new Kirk was organised on a three-tier system, consisting of Ministers, exhorters and readers. The intermediate rank is described in the Book of Discipline as "the other sort of Readers, who have long continued in godliness and have some gift of exhortation, who are in hope to attain to the degree of a minister, and teach the children". See Knox, History, II, App. VIII, p. 290. This contains explanations of the roles of ministers and readers as well.

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elders at once for the correction of the town, warning that if this was not
done the town would become "ane very Sodom and Gomorrah ... and so if
you omit this undone God will punish you who is hinderers of the said purpose".
The document is said to exonerate the exhorter from all blame for the situation,
since he has often reproved them in this vein. 50

The town apparently did without a minister until 1571 when Mr. Thomas
Cranston wrote to the baillies of his wish to "show the Word of God truly".
By April he was styled Minister and was to be paid the third of the parsonage
of Manor and the vicarage of Peebles. 51 While here he was expected to
"minister the sacraments to the whole shire". 52 Like his predecessors in
the ministry here he did not remain long, for in 1574 the minister here and
at Manor was Mr. Archibald Douglas, who held the Archdeaconry of Glasgow
as his stipend. 53 Peebles then seems to have had as much trouble as Berwick
in finding and then keeping suitable preachers, and it seems that those who did
serve here owed their presence to the Burgh authorities as much if not more
than to the Kirk. As the council had always had a large measure of control
over the religious life of Peebles 54 it was natural that their concern should
continue, despite religious changes to which they very quickly accustomed
themselves.

It is not possible to trace the succession of clergy in all the Border

50 Peebles Chrs., 279.
51 Ibid., 325, 327.
52 Reg. Min., 42.
54 Peebles Chrs. and Gunn, Ministry of Presb. of Peebles, passim.
parishes in this sort of detail, if only because such detailed information is very rare. There are however enough details from different sources to enable us to gain a rather less detailed but well authenticated impression of the general situation in both countries. We can thus have some idea of the standard of service in the pre-reformation church on the Borders, the standard in the same churches after the changes of the reformation, and lastly an idea of the degree of continuity of service; how many clergy in the Scottish catholic church were prepared to serve in the reformed kirk, and how many of their English counterparts accepted one or more religious change.

On the Scottish side of the Border circumstances make the task of a general survey rather more simple than that on the English side in one respect, in that there is only one change to be considered, but considerably more difficult in that it is less easy to produce any comprehensive list of the clergy who served the Scottish cures. Since there are no episcopal records of institution, no visitation records to rely on, the survival of the names of incumbents depends upon their occurring in national records, upon the survival of their witness to a charter, their inclusion in some notarial protocol book, or a town's or a family's records. From these sources it is rarely possible to produce a full list of incumbents of any one parish, often only one name occurs in the years between 1530 and the reformation, perhaps no name at all. Because of the nature of the evidence it is impossible to say with certainty that those parishes for which no incumbent is recorded were continuously vacant during the period in question, but it is certainly true that where there was a continuous succession of incumbents some names are more likely to

55 Appendix I contains this information listed under parishes and there detailed references are made to the source material.
have survived, and so those parishes for which no names have survived are much more likely to have been inadequately served. Since the post reformation records are much fuller and more systematic, the absence of any minister, exhorter or reader after 1560 is much more likely to be a proof of lack of service.

A comprehensive survey of the clergy in Galloway diocese has already been made. Here we are concerned only with those parts of the diocese actually within the Scottish Marches, i.e. those 26 parishes to the east of the River Cree, within the rural deanery of Desnes and Glenken/Desnes. Of these there are only two for which there are no details of pre-reformation incumbents, Crossmichael and Galtway. The latter was annexed to the cell of St. Mary's Isle and the cure is said to have been served by one of the canons, so that although there is no evidence of service it is unlikely that the parish was left without an incumbent altogether. The earliest mention of reformed service here is in 1563, and as the minister then mentioned is not known to have any earlier connection with the parish it seems unlikely that there was any continuity. At Crossmichael there was no reformed service recorded before 1567, and so again continuity is unlikely. Of the remaining 24 parishes there are a number where continuity of service did occur, or at least seems likely to have done so. John Stewart who had been presented to the vicarage of Minnigaff in 1541 served as exhorter there until 1572. Mr. Richard Balfour, parson of Kirkchrist was also minister there until 1582. Sir John Parker, vicar of Buittle served there as reader and then exhorter. Sir Robert Muir of Girthon, Donald Mure of Kells, and Sir Thomas Regnal of Kirkdale all

occur as vicars and readers of their respective cures by 1567, and it seems likely that they were in office before the reformation, and remained to serve as readers in the same cures. Lastly Mr. Malcolm McCulloch vicar of Anwoth from 1558 finally became reader there in 1572. By this date his action was probably prompted either by fear of deprivation, or by a certainty that the reformed Kirk must be firmly established.\footnote{G. Donaldson, The Galloway Clergy at the Reformation. \textit{Dumf. Trans.} 3rd series, vol. 32, 1953, pp. 43-4.} At Parton if Charles Geddes who was parson there from 1555 can be identified with the servitor of the Master of Maxwell of the same name who was captured by the French in 1559, then he will certainly have had sympathy with the religious changes, and although there is no evidence of his serving in the reformed church, the fact that there is no reader or minister recorded in Parton between 1563 and 1570 may indicate that he did serve the cure there during those years.\footnote{Ibid., 41.}

At Tongland the cure was usually served by one of the canons, and the fact that William Scharpro, who was reader there in 1563, and eventually became minister there, had been a canon of that abbey suggests that he may well have been the pre-reformation incumbent as well. The vicar of Kirkcormack in 1560 was Sir Herbert Dun who had held the cure since at least 1521. He had also been vicar of Kirkmabreck, and served as commissary of Kirkcudbright, but by 1562 he was "ane old blind man", and though he was allowed his third he obviously could not continue to serve his cure. By 1567 however his son Mr. Michael Dun, who had also been a priest before 1560, was established there as vicar and exhorter. The vicar of Kelton, Sir Herbert Anderson, did not serve the reformed church in this parish, but while still holding the
vicarage there acted as reader at Troqueer, Glasgow diocese from 1579.

In the same way Mr. Robert Blindshiel who at his death in 1576 was vicar of Kirkandrew's and may well have held this office before the reformation, served the reformed church not there but as minister of Wigtown. The vicarage of Sennick is something of a puzzle. Mr. Andrew Davidson was a claimant from as early as 1553, but there is no record of him actually acquiring the cure, although he did get both Kinnettles and Dalkeith in 1566, when he was styled preacher. Three years before however he had been accused as a mass-monger. 59 At all events he did not serve the reformed church in Sennick. In the remaining cures, Balmaclellan, Balmaghie, Borgue, Dalry, Dunrod, Gelston, Kirkcudbright, Kirkmabreck, Kirkmadrine, Rerrick and Twynholme, we can be almost sure that the incumbent in 1560 did not serve the reformed church in the same cure. On balance then it seems that about half of the incumbents of the Galloway parishes are likely to have continued to minister under the new regime, mostly in the same parishes. Also when considering the origins of the diocese's reformed clergy it must be remembered that a further 13 who served in the reformed church up to 1574 seem to have been members of the pre-reformation clergy, either regular or secular, outside this diocese. As far as provision of clergy after 1560 is concerned, Galloway seems to have done very well. By 1563 there were 18 ministers, exhorters or readers working in the area in question; by 1567 this number had increased by only one, but by 1574 it had risen to 27, in other words a very adequate provision for the 26 parishes. In fact only two cures, Dunrod and Rerrick had had to wait until after 1570 to be provided with a reformed

incumbent.

In the east, in the deanery of the Merse, St. Andrew's diocese, there were 45 churches. For 2 of these, Hirsel and Strafontain there is no evidence of service either before or after the reformation. For 12 more there is no proof of pre-reformation service, and so it seems unlikely there was continuity of service in these cures. The one exception is Nenthorn. No incumbent is recorded here until 1574, but William Ormiston who was reader then had in 1569 been among a number of priests summoned before the Privy Council. On this occasion he was styled 'in Nenthorn', and so it is possible that he had been the chaplain there, and that he continued for some time to serve there, practising the old religion until the authorities forced him to conform. In only three cases can we be fairly sure of continuity of service. At Ayton Sir John Flint who occurs as vicar in 1563 was reader there in 1574 when he was summoned before the General Assembly for irregularities in administration of the Sacrament, and ordered to abstain from all ecclesiastical functions until he had been examined as to his ability and learning. He must have conformed and been found satisfactory as he was still reader in the 1580's. Martin Rutherford, vicar of Makerstoun in 1560, served as reader there from a very early date. In the third case, Swinton, the vicar in 1560, Sir John Forrest, only conformed after a number of brushes with authority. In 1569 he was one of a number of priests summoned before the Privy Council. In February 1573 he is reported as having made a recantation before the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's, and a month later a complaint was made in the General Assembly that the Archbishop of St. Andrew's had "admitted a popish priest called Sir John Forret, to minister the sacrament of Baptism in the Mers in Swinton, to whom the Superintendent of Lothian had given certain
injunctions which the said priest had not yet fulfilled". The recantation at
St. Andrew's was not considered enough and like his colleague of Ayton he
was discharged of all office and function in the church until he had appeared
before the Superintendent and received his injunctions. He too must eventually
have given a satisfactory account of himself as he occurs as reader at Swinton
in 1574 and 1576. Thus there is only one case where the pre-reformation
incumbent went immediately and apparently willingly into the new church.
About some of the parishes there can be less certainty. For Abbey St.
Bothans, Aldcambus, Fogo and Mordington we have no proof of the identity
of the incumbent in the years immediately before or after 1560 and therefore
it is impossible to be sure whether or not there was continuity, although it
seems unlikely. The first reformed incumbent of Bunkle and Preston, John
Black, although certainly not the pre-reformation incumbent in either of these
places, seems to have been a priest in the old church since he was one of
the number called before the Privy Council in 1569. At Foulden the rector
was Alexander Ramsay, and although he certainly did not continue to serve
the cure himself it is possible that Mr. George Ramsay who was minister here
in 1574 was his son. The first exhorter here, Mr. Walter Pyle, had
previously served the old church as a chaplain in Jedburgh. At Greenlaw,
Whitsome and Merton there appears to have been no continuity, but the
readers of Whitsome and Merton were among the old priests summoned
before the Privy Council in 1569, as was "Friar John Affleck in Greenlaw",
and so all three must have been connected with the pre-reformation church
elsewhere. At Stitchill no reader is recorded until 1574 but it was then said
to be William Hude, a monk of Coldingham, the house to which Stitchill had
been annexed, and so there may well have been some earlier link here.
In all of the remaining 17 cures continuity of service can either be shown not to have occurred, or to have been highly unlikely. At the most then it seems that only in 6 or 7 cases did the pre-reformation incumbent continue to serve in the same church; in a number of cases there is some uncertainty, but in the majority of parishes for which we have the necessary information, there seems to have been no continuity, a marked contrast with the situation in Galloway. There is however one similarity, in that about the same number of reformed incumbents in the area had served elsewhere in the pre-reformation church. The reformed church was rather slower in filling cures in Berwickshire than it had been in the West, by 1563 there were only 12 reformed clergy working in the dioceses, little over a quarter of the number of cures. By 1567 this had risen to 17, still under half of the total, and it was not until 1574 that there was an adequate provision for reformed service, when for the first time the area had 47 readers and ministers, a full staff for its 45 churches.

An area with a rather better record was the deanery of Peebles. Of its 19 churches there are only 4 chapels for which there is no record of a pre-reformation incumbent: three of these, Broughton, Dawick and Drummelzier were all dependent on Stobo, and in fact it is possible that Walter Tweedie who was reader and exhorter at the two former might have been the catholic incumbent of Broughton. Thus there is a possibility of continuity of service in at least one of the three. The fourth chapel was Kailzie, dependent on Innerlethen. Here there is no hint of who might have been the incumbent before 1560, but the reader who first appears there in 1563 had served the

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60 Scott, F.E.S., VIII, 52.
old church as a chaplain in Peebles. At Lyne and Kilbucho the vicar went on to become reader in his old church. At Linton it seems that the rector may have served as minister while his curate became reader there. At Eddleston the rector, Mr. George Hay, also became minister, while holding the same office at Rathven (Aberdeen diocese) where he also held the prebend. He was allowed to hold the two offices as long as he provided for service at his own expense in the church where he did not reside, and in 1568 was sharply rebuked by the General Assembly for failure to do this. However he had obviously been ready to embrace the reformed faith from the first. At Manor the first minister, Sir John Allen had certainly served the old church as a chaplain in Peebles, and seems to have been a curate in Manor as well. At Stobo Thomas Neilson who had been a curate there as far back as 1538 became the first exhorter, serving there until at least 1574. Lastly, Mr. Alexander Tate, who was reader and vicar at Tracquair in 1567 had probably held the vicarage before this date, and so once more continuity of personnel seems likely. At Glenholm there was a rather similar situation. George Tod who appears as reader here from 1563 was allowed the third of the vicarage pensionary from 1569, and in the absence of the name of any other holder of the vicarage before this date it seems likely that Tod may have held the cure prior to 1560. Thus in at least 5 and possibly in 9 churches we can see continuity, a figure which is about half the total as in Galloway. At Newlands the John Thomson who was reader in 1574 is said by Scott to have been a pre-reformation vicar pensioner, but I have found no proof of this, and he certainly did not continue to serve in the cure from 1560 as Thomas Pattinson occurs as reader in the intervening years. The case of Peebles has already been discussed, and apart from Sir John Allen there is no sort of continuity;
certainly the holder of the vicarage did not continue to serve there. At Yarrow we have no name for an incumbent in 1560, but as the first reader is not recorded until 1568, and as he seems to have no previous connection with the parish, any continuity seems unlikely. In the remaining 4 churches, Ettrick, Innerlethen, Kirkurd and Skirling it is certain that there was no such continuation of service. In this deanery the number of pre-1560 incumbents who continued to serve in their old churches is, as we have seen, quite high and this is echoed by the fact that by 1563 there were already 14 reformed clergy working in these parishes, over two thirds of the total necessary. The number rose very gradually after this, until by 1574 there were 19, one for every parish, although of course the distribution was not so simple since there were some vacancies, while several ministers had oversight of a number of parishes.

In the larger deanery of Nithsdale, and Dessenes/Nithsdale, out of a total of 32 churches, there are 6 for which no pre-reformation incumbent can be found, although all of these were served by the reformed church. Only one cure was not served by the Kirk, Dungree which was marked vacant from 1567 to 1576. David Welsh who was vicar until 1566 did not continue to serve here. Kirkmichael too was without any reader or minister until 1574 when the minister of Closeburn was said to have oversight there. Andrew Charteris who was rector in 1553 was charged with treasonable dealings with the English in time of war, but by 1560 he was either dead, or his sympathies with the English and protestant cause were not strong enough to lead him to give any active support to the reformed church. At Kirkbride we do not have the name of the incumbent in 1560, but there is nothing to suggest that Thomas Weir, the first reader, had served there before. At Kirkpatrick
Irongray the first exhorter, Patrick Whitehead, is recorded in 1567, and the year before the vicar pensioner there is named as Sir Henry Whitehead. It seems there must be some connection, but whether he should be identified with the exhorter, Patrick, or whether he was perhaps his father or some other kinsman it is impossible to say. Of the remaining parishes there are seven where we can be certain that no continuity occurred. In an eighth, Durisdeer, Lyon Brown who had been exhorter there since 1563 was, in 1570, allowed the third of the vicarage pensionary. In the absence of any other vicar being identifiable in or immediately before 1560 it is possible that he had held the cure at that date, but if this were the case he would surely have been allowed the third considerably earlier. At Glencairn John Jameson who was exhorter from 1563 was also vicar in 1574, and may well have held the benefice before 1560. He had been a chaplain in Dumfries in 1543 and so had certainly served in the old church in some capacity. Likewise for Tinwald there is no vicar recorded in or immediately before 1560 and so it is quite possible that Andrew Rentoun reader and vicar from 1567 might have been the pre-reformation vicar. The situation in the parish of Dunscore is somewhat uncertain. The vicarage here was served by one of the canons of Holywood. Since 1550 the vicar had been Sir Andrew Haining the sub-prior, but in 1562 Sir John Welsh was presented to the cure, vacant by Haining's death. Welsh was also a canon of Holywood and served as exhorter for that parish from at least 1563. It is possible therefore that he had been serving the cure by 1560 and continued to do so under the new regime, although not being officially presented to the vicarage until 1562. In Dumfries the pre-reformation vicar did not continue to serve, but the first minister, Sir Patrick Wallace had served there as a curate in 1545. For Lochkindeloch or Newabbey we have no name for an incumbent in
1560, but since the vicarage was served by one of the monks of Sweetheart Abbey, and since Patrick Colvill, reader from 1563, had been a monk there it seems very likely that he was continuing to minister in the same place.

In 1562 Mr. Ninian Dalzell was both vicar and reader at Colvend and it seems likely that he was already serving here by 1560. In the cases of the remaining 8 churches, Caerlaverock, Holywood, Kirkconnel, Morton, Penpont, Sanquhar, Southwick and Tynron, a quarter of the whole, we can be fairly certain that the pre-reformation incumbents continued to serve their cures in the new church after 1560. Continuity therefore occurred in at least 8 cases and possibly in another 6, in all a little short of half of the total. Apart from these there were 7 more men who served the reformed church in this area and had served the pre-reformation church elsewhere. Here it seems that it was some time before the gaps were filled up. The total number of the reformed clergy in 1563 was only 19, but by 1568 this had risen to 28, and by 1574 to 33.

The remaining deaneries in the Scottish Borders, those of Teviotdale, Annandale and Eskdale, never reached a full quota of reformed staff even by 1574. Four of the churches in Teviotdale, Castletown, Ettletown, Lempitlaw and Maxwell had no reformed incumbent between 1560 and 1574, and a fifth, Rankilburn, had no reader or minister of its own but was under the oversight

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The case of Sanquhar is particularly interesting. In 1560 the rectory which was annexed to a prebend in Glasgow Cathedral, was held by Mr. Robert Creichton, and the vicarage pensionary by Sir John Young. Young had in 1546 been implicated in the murder of Cardinal Beaton, so it is no surprise to find him serving in the reformed church as a reader. Creichton's earlier history might have suggested similar sympathies, since in 1548 his possessions were forfeited for his passing into England in time of war, but he later received remission for the offence, and his sympathies obviously lay with the old church when in 1563 he took part in the attempt to restore the Mass in many parts of the West.
of the minister of Ashkirk in 1574. This church and Ettletown have no pre-
reformation incumbent recorded either. The chapels of Nisbet and Crailing have
no pre-reformation service recorded and nor does Hounam, where no reformed
service is recorded until 1576. At Mow there was a vicar, Sir John Young,
who died in 1579, but there is no record of him serving under the new regime,
and this parish seems to have had no service until 1579 when the presentee
to the vicarage was to be examined as to his fitness to serve as reader. At
Kelso there is no evidence concerning the service before 1560, the first
reader is recorded in 1567 and so continuity seems very unlikely. At Lillies-
leaf too there is no evidence before 1560, but the fact that the second reformed
incumbent there, who was reader in 1574 was one of a number who were several
years later charged with abusing the sacraments, suggests he may have had
some connection with the old church. Mr. William Johnston who was vicar
of Ancrum in 1566 and exhorter and then reader there from 1563 may well
have been vicar there in 1560 as there is no record of any other incumbent
there at that date. If so however his adherence to the reformed church was not
as strong as might at first appear, as in 1569 he was among those old priests
summoned before the Privy Council. Another of these was Sir David Turnbull
who is designated 'in Minto', but there is no other trace of him in connection
with this parish either before or after the reformation. He was vicar at
Hobkirk from 1550 but did not serve in the reformed church there. Also
summoned in 1569 was Sir John Ker, vicar of Old Roxburgh. He had presumably
been the incumbent here before 1560, but does not appear in the reformed
ministry there. However the reader there in 1574 was a Thomas Ker, who
was also vicar pensioner, and who in 1582 was one of those charged with
abusing the sacraments and deprived. It seems possible that this could be
the same man, or at least that there is some connection between them. Yet another of those summoned in 1569 was Sir James Williamson in Yetholm. He was reader there in 1563, and although it is certain that he did not hold the rectory of Yetholm at the reformation, he could have served there as curate or chaplain. At Oxnam Sir James Ainsley was vicar at the reformation, and seems eventually to have come to serve in the reformed church, but does not appear as reader there until 1574, or perhaps 1569. In Melrose before 1560 the cure was usually administered by one of the monks. We do not know the name of whoever held the cure at that date; it was certainly not the first minister there, James Pont, who was sent there by the General Assembly, but John Watson who was the minister there by 1568 had been a monk of Melrose and may well have ministered there before the religious changes took place. He obviously had not welcomed these changes as in 1569 he too was summoned before the Privy Council with so many others. His successor, Thomas Haliwell who was reader in 1574 had likewise been a monk there. With Maxton again there is some uncertainty. The vicar there in the 1550's had been Sir William Tailfer, but by 1561 he had died and Sir William Ainslie was presented in his place. He was obviously a supporter of the catholic church since in 1569 he too was among the accused priests, but by 1574 he must have conformed since he was serving as reader at Maxton, and perhaps had been doing so before this, at the time of his summons. Hassendean too is something of a puzzle. In 1550 a Sir John Scot who was then vicar of Hawick was involved in a dispute over this vicarage. There is no further reference to him in either parish until in 1574 a John Scott occurs as the first recorded reader at Hassendean. If it is the same man (and with such a common name this is not certain) he was certainly not vicar by then as
Mr. Thomas Watson held the vicarage from 1568 to 1576 when it passed to Scott's successor as reader, but it is possible that his connection with the parish had continued from the 1550's and that he had been serving there rather longer than the records suggest. Out of the total of 38 cures in this deanery there is only one, Lessuden, where we can be certain that the pre-reformation vicar, Sir John Turnbull, continued to serve in the reformed church, and even here we cannot be certain that he conformed at once. In the 17 remaining cures we can be fairly certain that there was no continuity of service at all. This fact meant that it was long before the deanery was at all adequately staffed. Six men who served the reformed church here can be traced as members of the old church elsewhere, but even they cannot have come in immediately, for by 1563 there are only four or five members of the reformed church recorded as working in the area. By 1567 this had doubled but nine or ten men were still hopelessly inadequate to serve 38 cures, and even by 1574 when the other deaneries had acquired an adequate provision, Teviotdale still only had thirty men to serve all its parishes.

Even this however was much better than the situation in Annandale and Eskdale. Out of 36 cures here there are ten for which there is no evidence of service either before or after the reformation. For Dalton Magna we have no name for a pre-reformation incumbent after 1520, and for Dalton Parva only that of John Carruthers who was reader and vicar in 1567. There is no way of knowing if he served here before 1560 or not. For neither Corrie nor Tundergarth is there the name of a pre-1560 incumbent and since neither has a reformed incumbent recorded before 1574 any continuity is extremely

62 Canonbie, Carruthers, Over Kirk of Ewes, Gretna, Kirkconnel, Luce, Middlebie, Sibbaldbie, Wauchope and Westerkirk.
unlikely. Annan, Applegarth, Dornock, Nether Kirk of Ewes, Hutton Magna, Kirkpatrick Fleming, Penersax, Staplegorton and Wamphray all have no reformed incumbents recorded before 1574, and so again there can have been no continuity. At Dryfesdale the last incumbent is recorded in 1548 and the first reader in 1576, and they are quite unconnected. It seems unlikely that anyone coming in between should have served in the catholic and protestant churches and left no record in either. Slightly more information is available for Ecclefechan, Hoddam, Johnstone, Kirkpatrick Juxta Moffat, Moffat, Mouswald, Redkirk and Trailtrow and it all suggests that there was no continuity of service in these cures. James Maxwell who was rector of Castlemilk in 1558 did later serve the reformed church there in a supervisory capacity while he was minister of Lochmaben. In the latter parish there was continuity since Maxwell had been vicar there from 1548 and continued as minister from at least 1568 if not before. The rector of Cummertrees at the reformation was John Tailor who certainly went on to serve the new church as a reader and exhorter at Penpont (Nithsdale Deanery). Because of this he was allowed the third of his rectory here, and it is possible that he also served as a reader at Cummertrees, although there is no proof of this. Only at Ruthwell do we have a case of uninterrupted service in Sir John Ireland, rector and then reader there. Even he however did not prove satisfactory to the kirk and in 1572 he was 'deposed', for what offence we do not know. With so few men continuing to serve in this area, where there seems already to have been a number of vacant cures, the reformed kirk obviously had a very difficult task. In 1563 there were four or perhaps five reformed clergy working in Annandale and Eskdale. By the late 1560's this had risen to nine or ten, but by 1574 it had fallen again to three or four. In that year the only
minister in the area was Maxwell at Lochmaben. He had oversight over five
parishes, the rest were without supervision and generally without readers
as well. The Register of Ministers and Readers in the Kirk of Scotland for
that year reads as a long list of vacancies as far as Annandale is concerned. 63
The situation did not quickly improve. In the Register of Stipends for 1586
only the names of three readers are given for Annandale, and the Annandale
entries are marked "All non residents". 64 In 1596 the King "understanding
that the indwellers of the country of Annandale (are) for the most part
barbarous people without religiouin" gave a commission for the planting of
kirds there, and ordered that the commissioners were to "take with them such
persons as they think meet and able to deal with the charge of the ministries
in their bounds". Obviously such a barbarous region could not be expected
to have suitable men of its own. An interesting echo of the pleas of English
officials for more preaching in the Borders is heard in the hope that "the said
work tending to the advancement of religion among so barbarous a people,
whereupon being effected no doubt will follow a better obedience in them to
his Majesty and his Highness' laws". 65 Armstrong writing about the parish
of Ewes records a tradition that in the days before the reformation "friars
were wont to come from Melrose or Jedburgh to baptise and marry in this
parish. And these friars being in use to carry the mess-book in their bosoms,
they were called by the inhabitants book-a-bosoms". 66 After 1560 of course

63 Wod. Misc., 388.
64 I owe this reference to Professor Donaldson.
this kind of ministry would cease, and it was a long time before the teachings of the reformed church would penetrate into these remote dales.

It will be obvious that even in areas such as Galloway where there was an unusually high proportion of continuity the figures are well below the corresponding ones for English benefices. This must be the result of the different course of religious changes in the two countries. In Scotland although incumbents had to give up a third of their income, unless they were among those fortunate enough to have their thirds remitted they still were left with the other two thirds and unless prompted by their conscience, or by pressure from the local laird, or in Galloway the bishop, could well live in retirement on the amount remaining to them. The members of the monasteries too received not just a pension as their counterparts in England had done, but also the rest of the portions to which they had always been entitled, as well as retaining their chambers and yards in the abbey precincts. In England there was no financial compensation for the secular clergy who would not accept the religious changes dictated by the government, and so the pressure to conform would have been much greater. Clergy would of course be subject to personal pressures as well as financial ones. Prof. Donaldson has pointed out that Bishop Gordon's acceptance of the reformed faith must have had considerable influence in Galloway, but has also said that the influence of

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67 For English border benefices see below. Over the whole of Scotland about a quarter of the clergy conformed and ministered in their old churches Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, p. 85, Essays, p. 135.

68 c.f. Thirds of Benefices, pp. xvii-xx, and passim.

69 e.g. monks of Glenluce received meal, beer, butter, cheese, peats and money to the total value of about £60 Scots. Essays, p. 137.
local lairds would have been important as well. ⁷⁰ There could of course be conflicting influences in one area. In Dumfries for instance there was considerable local support for the Book of Discipline, and in 1558 a protestant preacher was introduced into the town under the patronage of Alexander Stewart of Garlies, ⁷¹ and yet in the same town there were others who were prepared to protect catholic worship right up to the end of the century. ⁷² Moreover it was apparently not always the case that Protestant lairds would discourage Catholic preachers. The Jesuit Robert Parsons reported that in 1581 he had been received in the house of the Warden of the Western Marches, William Kerr, "a Galvinist", and there had entered into religious discussion with Kerr and a minister. Since Parson's next comment was on the frigid nature of the support given by those who were supposed to favour the catholic cause, there must have been little difference at times between the behaviour of at least some of the catholic and protestant gentry. ⁷³ On the whole then it seems that it is likely to have been the dictates of conscience which decided the Scottish clergy on whether or not to serve in the reformed church.

As a result of this the Scottish reformed church had a much harder task in providing staff for all its parishes. The fact that many of those who had been vicars or curates in the old church were only found able to serve as readers at first does suggest that the standard of provision in the old church had been far from satisfactory, but it could perhaps be argued that it was

⁷⁰ Essays, 136.


better than that of the new church which, especially in areas such as Teviotdale and Annandale left so many parishes unstaffed for so long. No doubt the cause was not only the lack of suitable candidates for the ministry but also lack of money with which to pay them, but the important fact was that because of this the wilder areas of the Borders continued for so long with an inadequate, or often non-existent ministry.

The comments of English government officials quoted at the beginning of this chapter suggest that the situation cannot have been much better south of the Border, and we must now examine the standard of provision of clergy in Northumberland and Cumberland to see how far this is true. A noticeable feature of the English Borders is the extent of pluralism. One notable pluralist was Cuthbert Ogle who appears in Northumberland. From the 1520's he held Ford, Kirknewton and Ilderton in Northumberland and Stanhope in Durham. In 1538 he resigned Ilderton but was presented to Bothal and he held these four benefices until his death in 1546. As a member of a prominent local family, and a wealthy pluralist he was obviously one of the notable men of the county. In 1518 he was said to have the finest pair of greyhounds in the county, as well as a cast of good falcons. His preoccupations were most certainly not all clerical. In 1523 he was amongst those ordered to join an expedition to burn Kelso and other places under his kinsman Lord Ogle,

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74 For a survey of the financial problems of the Scottish Church c.f. Thirds of Benefices, introduction.

75 He came from the Eglingham branch. Sir H.A. Ogle, Ogle and Bothal Newcastle, 1902, p.191.

76 L. and P., II, 4258.
and he was also with him when the Scots were preparing to attack Wark and Norham. 77 His interests were several times brought before the government. In 1532 John Williamson asked Cromwell to remember "good parson Ogle" when disposing of certain vacant benefices and the next year Ogle himself promoted his own cause by writing to Richard Cromwell, with gifts for both him and his uncle, pointing out that he had no profit from some patent he had from the King, and expressing the hope that if he were to gain another promotion it should be without cure of souls. 78 Cromwell must have interested himself enough to write to Northumberland concerning him since in August 1533 the Earl replied that the parson had gone up against Northumberland's will, that he had only once served against Scotland, and he had served the King as ill as any man. 79 Others however must have valued his service more highly for in the course of 1533 he received a payment of £40 as one of the King's chaplains. 80 The next year he received a grant of £5 per year from the barony of Bolam and the wardship and gift of marriage of its heiress, Mary Ridley. 81 Still however he was not satisfied, and in February 1535 sent two seals to the King and Cromwell, along with the request that he might be excused the payment of his tenths for his benefices which were on the Border as they were waste in time of war. 82 Such a local notable would be expected

77 L. and P. III, 3135, 3468.
78 Ibid., V, 1435; VI, 286.
79 Ibid., VI, 1019.
80 Ibid., VI, 1232, 418 (7).
81 Ibid., VII, 147 (20).
82 Ibid., VIII, 261. 

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to appear in some guise or other in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and we learn that during the course of the rebellion Sir Thomas Percy tried to obtain from him money and plate left in his keeping by Sir Reynold Carnaby. After the troubles were over the crown requested the bishop of Carlisle to present him to the vicarage of St. Nicholas' Appleby which was now vacant after the resignation of Bernard Towneley, but although the bishop was willing to comply the provision does not seem to have taken effect. In 1538 he was included in the Commission for the Peace of Northumberland and in the same year was ordered to continue in his public service by joining a rode into Tynedale and bringing ten men with him. He obviously took part in the battle at Haddon Rig and was taken prisoner, though he seems to have been lucky in his captor, for when Pringle was himself later taken by the English, Ogle insisted that he had treated him so well that he could not do other than entreat for his release. It is also recorded that in 1545 Ogle was exchanged for the Scottish prisoner, James Pringle, so he may have been in the battle of Ancrum Moor as well. Lastly he occurs making a report on the happenings after the battle and the identification of Sir Ralph Eure's body. He does not however write as an eye witness but is reporting the words of a friend "vicar Ogle" who was taken in the battle and asked to identify the body of the Warden.

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83 L. and P., XII, part 1, 1090.
84 Ibid., part 2, 521.
85 Ibid., XIII, part 1, 646 (27); part 2, 355.
86 Ibid., XVIII, part 1, 700, 959, 978; Hamilton Papers, I, 437.
87 L. and P., XX, part 2, 1010.
88 This was perhaps Robert Ogle who was vicar at West Lilburn in 1538. Parson Ogle's connection with Lilburn will be noted later. Hamilton Papers, II, 418.
Obviously he was not the only Northumberland cleric who took an active part in Border warfare. Not all his interests were warlike however. He must also have been a considerable landowner. Early in the century he appears as one of the Earl of Northumberland’s tenants; in 1526 he received a grant of the manor and advowson of Ingram along with other lands from Lord Ogle. His grants from the crown have already been mentioned. A survey of 1538 names him as the builder of the towers at Downham and Ford. In 1550 it was said that until he bought the former township it was waste because of war. He also owned property in Eglingham and a tower in West Lilburne. Lastly we know that he had a lease of the corn tithes at Alnham from the canons of Alnwick Abbey. 89 Ogle was not by any means the only pluralist. Amongst those incumbents listed in the appendix 30 cases of pluralism can be traced in Northumberland but only 6 or 7 in Cumberland. Ogle stands out however not only for his pluralism but also for his non-clerical preoccupations. It seems that the conditions on the Borders either attracted or forged such notable characters.

Of that other evil, a large number of vacancies, which was so rife in some of the Scottish areas, Northumberland also had its share. Since there was no sudden and definite break between the old and new churches in England, and since there are no lists of clergy in any one year such as the Register of Ministers and Stipends, vacancies are less easy to trace. Records of institutions to benefices give the reason for the vacancy, but not the date from which it occurred, and so it is impossible to tell how long a particular benefice had been vacant from these records; however some information does

89 Ogle and Bothal, passim; Hodgson, III, vol.2; G. Tate, History of Alnwick, II, 29.
still survive in other places. Bishop Pilkington's letter suggests a far from satisfactory state as far as the Northumberland parishes are concerned. The Dean and Chapter Register in an entry concerned with the collection of tenths in 1560-1 notes that in Northumberland the rectory of Ford and the vicarages of Felton, Branxton and Shilbottle were vacant. Although three of these were filled fairly quickly, Felton was less lucky and was repeatedly described as vacant until 1568 if not longer. Kirkharle was also unfortunate; it was marked as vacant in 1561, 1563 and 1565, and in 1578 was again vacant. As no name for a vicar survives throughout this period it is possible that there was none for over 15 years. In 1573 both Whittingham and Bolam were said to be vacant and Bolam was still noted as such in 1578, although by July of that year it had a vicar. The rectory of Bothal and the chapelry of Bednell were also found vacant in this visitation. The Visitors of 1559 had found the church of Gosforth without a curate and the vicar of Newcastle was ordered to provide one within two weeks on the pain of losing his right of appointment, and profits accruing to him. Their haste suggests that by this date the vacancy might have been of long standing. Apart from those cures where we have positive proof of vacancies there are eleven for which we have no information concerning the incumbents. Two of these, Allendale and St. John's Lee were annexed to the Priory of Hexham, were served by curates, and were in Hexhamshire, and thus less likely to be traced than other Northumberland incumbents. This also applies to the stipendiary priest who served Thockrington, whose rectory belonged to a prebend in York. The remaining

90 See above. P.R.O. S.P. 12/18, 2124.

91 Durham P.K.D. and C. Register B, 134v.
eight were dependent chapelries which would be served by curates always more
difficult to trace than beneficed clergy, and so the lack of names of incumbents
does not necessarily imply that these eleven cures went unserved throughout
the period. There are many other cases where although a survey shows a
curate or chaplain serving a particular cure no name is given and so nothing
further can be discovered about the man. This most often applies in cases
where the cure was served by a Scottish curate. The phenomenon of Scots
coming to serve cures which had been unable to attract a suitably qualified
English incumbent has already been mentioned. 92 This was not the first
time that Bishop Pilkington had drawn attention to the subject. In 1563 he had
declared that one of the things which were a hindrance to religion in his
diocese was "The Scottish priests that are fled out of Scotland for their
wicked ness and here be hired in parishes on the Borders because they take
less wages than other, and do more harm than other would or could in
dissuading the people. I have done my diligence to avoid them but it is
above my power". 93 From the information he received in Scotland, Randolph
was already warning the government that such an influx was likely. In May
he reported that the Popish clergy did not know "where to hide their heads,
and many of them are cropen into England". 94 Two months later he again
warned that "Many other priests, summoned to a day to underly the law, see-
ing the good treatment of their marrows (i.e. fellows), take the nearest way
over the water of Tweed, minding I am sure to do no less mischief in England

92 See above. P. R. O. S. P. 12/18, 2124.
93 Camden Misc., IX, p. 67. See also ch. VIII.
94 C.S.P. Scot., II, 8.
than they have done in Scotland. I am sorry so many Scots are received in our country; it will be the common refuge of papist offenders that continually live here and are unworthy to live anywhere". He draws particular attention to Friar Black who had at one time engaged in dispute with the protestants in Scotland and had been banished for 'avouterie'. He is said to have found refuge with Lady Percy, "the old lady I mean, where he said mass at Easter, and ministered to as many as came". This Black was thought to be living within four miles of Newcastle and within another mile of him a similar fugitive "as honest as he" who was serving a cure, although this is not named. Randolph's suggestion was that the Bishop of Durham should be warned of the situation so that he could discover such men and make them return to their "old kind a begging". He proposed to write himself, and to warn the Wardens to be on the lookout for such men. Pilkington knew of the situation but as he said himself could do little about it whilst he could find few others willing to minister in these areas. Scots occur 32 times as curates and chaplains in the period in question and the small number of ordinations recorded in Pilkington's episcopate in comparison with Tunstall's show that there were by no means the number of new men coming into the church to fill vacancies as they arose and at the same time replace all these Scots, however much of a threat they represented to both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. If they had been forced to flee their own country they would almost certainly have been opponents of the protestant church and almost automatically would oppose the English interest with which it was linked. At least the cures

95 C.S.P. For., Eliz. vol. 6, 839; C.S.P. Scot., II, 9.

96 These Scots seem to have been confined to the East of the country. Only one occurs in Cumberland, at Kirklington in 1571, and he was then about to be sent back across the border.
thus served had an incumbent of some kind. We also find evidence of churches whose service was greatly diminished by the religious changes which were taking place. Clarkson in his survey drew attention to this in two places. The inhabitants of Guizance and Barnhill, it was said, "ought to go to no other church than to the chapel of Braynshaugh for it is the parish church in the which ought to be divine service of God ministered three days of the week. They ought only to Christen and baptise the children at Shilbottle and now the said inhabitants have no service at the said chapel of Braynshaugh but at Easter only, so that in late days as well as in ancient times there was the Master and his fellow with others that used to do solem service as if before recited, now is there not one priest either to sing or to say anything ...".

The surveyor was similarly dissatisfied with the situation at Alnmouth. There "in ancient times there was always three priests and one clerk". Two of these, the master or vicar and his fellow, had their living from the abbot of Alnwick, and the third priest and the clerk were supported by the inhabitants of the town. Now there was only one priest and no clerk, and his income was very small since "the Prince hath letten all the rest by lease and receiveth the yearly rent thereof so that if it be not by some means foreseen after the death of the vicar that is now 97 who hath also one pension of the Prince there will be no priest of any understanding or knowledge take upon him the said cure and all for lack of living". 98

Spence who was the curate at Alnmouth was one of the 28 ex-religious who served cures in Northumberland, and one of a number of these who continued

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97 Roger Spence.

98 Alnwick Mss, Clarkson's Survey, Part 11, 30v; part 12, 5r-v.
to serve through all the religious changes into the 1560's or 1570's. Others were Henry Spragen, canon of Blanchland and vicar of Bywell St. Andrew from 1535 to 1564; William Morton, canon of Hexham and vicar of Ovingham from 1532 to 1567; and Thomas Brown another canon of Blanchland who was rector of Whitfield from 1546 to 1571. Other clergy, both secular and regular in origin, who served through one or more religious change can be traced in the appendix. A further study of those incumbents who were deprived for their religious allegiance shows the number to have been very small. Only four deprivations are recorded in Northumberland in the Marian period. No reason is given for three of them and so it is not possible to be certain whether they were because of marriage or not. We do not have the dates of the deprivations, only of the appointment of successors, but these make it at least possible that marriage was the cause. Of Alexander Brown who was deprived of Sheepwash we have no further information except that he had been instituted to the benefice in 1548; Ralph Galland who was deprived of Alnham was an ex-religious of Alnwick; Nicholas Lawes who had been a prebendary of Auckland and had held the vicarage of Haltwhistle since 1535 was also deprived. According to the Patent Rolls he was then presented to the vicarage of Shilbottle. As there is no reference to him in this connection in the Durham records we cannot be certain whether the presentation ever took effect, but there is no record of anyone else holding the benefice at this time, so it is possible that here is an instance of a married cleric being appointed to another living after separating from his wife. 99 In the last case we have rather more information. The rector of Bothal, who was deprived in 1554 was William Heryson, who

99 c.f. Frere, Marian Reaction, 78.

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had been Abbot of Alnwick at the dissolution, and in 1546 had been styled the King's chaplain. At the 1559 visitation Heryson was appointed deputy to the Royal Commissioners, who naturally ousted Robert Payse and reinstated their deputy. As Heryson was married at his death in 1563, by which time he held Chatton as well, there seems little doubt that this had been the reason for his deprivation. This was the only case in Northumberland where the visitors had to intervene to restore a deprived incumbent, suggesting that the new idea of clerical marriage had been slow to catch on in the conservative North. However despite their conservatism, the Northumberland clergy did not give the visitors a great deal of trouble. The presence of the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Henry Percy among the commissioners, both of whom were of doubtful orthodoxy may well have persuaded a number of waverers that there was no reason for them not to accept the settlement. The fact that their visitational powers were, in Newcastle, delegated to Heryson, an ex-abbot, and to Bernard Gilpin could also have had a similar effect. Several years later, in a letter to his brother George, Gilpin said that he had not been happy about all of the articles he was asked to agree to, but he decided to subscribe because "If I shall refuse, I shall be a means to make others to refuse, and so consequently to hinder the word of God". Whoever it was that exerted the greater influence, most of the Northumberland clergy followed Gilpin's example. William Carter, Archdeacon of Northumberland and rector of Howick repeatedly refused to subscribe and so was deprived. Twelve rectors and vicars, and five curates failed to appear, but thirteen of these are found in

100 All information comes from P. R. O. S. P. 12/10. Specific references will be found in appendix.
benefices subsequent to 1559 and must have eventually conformed. Giles Robinson, vicar of Newborn was to cause further trouble however; in 1563 he had a Scottish priest serving his cure, and in 1565 he was said to have been absent for many years. He was ordered to return to his cure but we have no means of knowing whether he complied. He had been deprived by 1572.  

It is interesting that in 1559 the incumbents of Corbridge, Morpeth and Sheepwash were marked not just absent but non-resident. The curate of Corbridge who was also absent disappears from the records after this so we cannot tell whether he eventually conformed or not. The case of Bothal has already been discussed. At Ford the only other reference to William Collingwood, who did not appear at the visitation, is that his successor was appointed in 1561 on a vacancy due to his death. However the cure had been said to be vacant several months before this so it is uncertain when Collingwood died, and for how long, if at all, he served in the Elizabethan church. Finally, the absent vicar of Alnham was George Hyndmers. He had been sub-prior of Hexham before the dissolution, and later a chantry priest, and so would be likely to oppose the new regime. He does not appear after 1559 and his successor was appointed in 1560 although the cause of the vacancy is not given.  

At Bedlington the vicar, William Watson certainly continued in his benefice for many more years, and so he must have conformed, but it seems that his catholic sympathies remained and he appears to have taken part in the 1569

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102 Newborn seems to have suffered repeatedly from non-resident vicars. In 1532 Mr. Richard Senoys had to be warned to come into residence, and in 1574 William Dean was ordered to reside, on pain of deprivation.

103 It is likely to have been death as Hyndmer would have been 70 by this date.
rebellion.

There were others who must have appeared at the 1559 visitation and conformed, but were later to prove a problem to the ecclesiastical authorities. The vicar of Embleton who had held the cure since 1551 was deprived in 1565 although no reason is given. During the year of the Rebellion of the Earls the incumbents of Long Horsley, Bolam, Stannington and Wharton all made submission to Bishop Pilkington and subscribed to certain articles. These are not given, but the timing of the submission and the fact that all four had been in possession of their benefices before 1559 makes it likely that they had been suspected of Catholic sympathies. In the course of the rebellion John Robinson who had been rector of Ford between 1561 and 1565 was one of those who said mass in Durham Cathedral, and the curate of Whittonstall was charged with churching women and marrying by the Latin rite in the same period. He must have conformed later as he was still curate there in 1578. At Haltwhistle Nicholas Crawhall who had been vicar there since 1554 was in 1562 suspended and then excommunicated for failure to appear before the bishop and by 1564 had been deprived. Again however it is uncertain what his original offence had been. In other cases the cause of deprivation is easier to discover. John Hall held the vicarage of Kirknewton from 1554 (he had a Scottish curate there in 1561) and in 1561 was also collated to the vicarage of Wooler. In 1564 however he was deprived of this living, but he continued to hold Kirknewton, and in 1577 on the death of his successor he was restored to Wooler. This did not last for long; by 1579 he had again been deprived, this time for non-payment of the Queen's tenths.

At Ingram the deprivation of John Shares which seems to have occurred around 1570 was due to the fact that Shares also held the rectory of Uldale
(Carlisle diocese). He had also been chaplain to the Earl of Cumberland, and in 1544 had received a licence to hold another benefice. In 1563 the living was said to be served by a Scottish curate, and two years later Shares was said to have been absent from the Northumberland benefice without a licence, and was ordered to return on pain of sequestration of fruits. The process against him states that he had been admonished to return over the last eleven years, and adds that he has not committed the cure to a suitable minister. After his deprivation he continued to serve in Carlisle and may have become the bishop's chaplain there. A deprivation which occurred at Kirkwhelpington in 1565 was also due to absenteeism. William Resely, who had held the cure since 1557 was warned that because he had absented himself from episcopal visitation, and had been absent from his vicarage for more than six months he was to appear immediately before the bishop or his official. He obviously failed to do this and consequently was deprived.

These benefices suffered from only one unsatisfactory incumbent, but there were others less fortunate. The case of Berwick has already been discussed. Another parish which had great problems, but which was also atypical, because of its annexation to the archdeaconry of Northumberland, was Howick. From 1531 it was held by Robert Davell who also held the cure of Bedlington, the rectory of Ryton, the Mastership of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Newcastle and three prebends. He did not hold all these benefices concurrently, but always enough to be fairly certain that the archdeaconry let alone the rectory can not have occupied his attention very much. His successor was William Carter who has already been mentioned. He was followed by William King who held the cure for five years, but was then charged with plurality and non-residence and deprived. In 1566 he was
followed by Ralph Lever who was soon to become a prebendary of Durham.

He stayed until his resignation in 1573 brought about by a dispute the previous year over his refusal to summon the clergy to a visitation as ordered by the bishop. A certain amount of continuity may have been provided within the parish by curates. Robert Ladyman who filled this post in 1563 and was still there in 1567 obviously served under at least two of the incumbents. We do not know how much longer he remained there but by 1578 the curate was named as Christopher Pearson who was found to have no licence and gave no account of the task set for the clergy at that visitation. Another parish which was equally unfortunate was Mitford which seems to have attracted pluralists and vicars who courted deprivation. Between 1531 and 1546 it was held by Thomas Burton who was also vicar of Woodhorn and Master of Ellishaw Hospital.

He was followed at his death by Mr. John Crawford who held a prebend in Durham cathedral and another in Chester-le-Street. He had been the guardian of the Franciscan House in Newcastle, and in 1559 was reluctant to conform. He first asked for more time, and then refused to subscribe, only later deciding to submit and retaining his benefices. In 1560 he resigned and was followed by Roger Venys who was involved in the 1569 rebellion, and in 1570 was charged with gross neglect of duty. He was then said to have been absent for about a year, and at the moment to be "absent among the rebels". He had left a Scottish priest to serve the cure, but the archdeacon had sent him packing, and now there was only such service as the parishioners were able to procure for themselves. Venys was deprived and is afterwards heard of in Rheims, later returning to England and occurring as an "old priest" in 1588. He was followed at Mitford by William Duxfield, but he already held Bothal and in 1571 was instituted to Sheepwash, and so resigned Mitford the
following year. His successor, Gavin Bron lasted little longer and was deprived in 1575 although we do not know the reason. He was followed by William Herte who was still in possession in 1578, but was, at that visitation, unable to complete the set task in the time given.

The much fuller nature of the English records, and especially those for the diocese of Durham means that we can trace the full succession of incumbents in a way which is impossible for most of the Scottish benefices. From this material we can see that the amount of continuity through religious changes is obviously greater in Northumberland than in any part of the Scottish Borders. However the other problems of service, absenteeism, pluralism, lack of suitably qualified clergy prepared to work in the wilder Border areas were common on both sides of the Border.

When we turn to the diocese of Carlisle the identification of clergy becomes rather more difficult since the episcopal registers are missing until 1560 and the dean and chapter and consistory court records are nowhere near as full as they are for Durham. Despite this there are only 5 cures for which the name of no incumbent can be traced. There are a further 24 for which only the incumbent in 1573/4 can be supplied, but all 29 of these are dependent chapelries or churches served by a stipendiary curate, and this class being the most elusive of the clerical population, lack of names should not necessarily be taken to mean lack of incumbents. At all events in the visitation of 1573/4 only 3 cures are marked as vacant. As with Northumberland there is no evidence of any great upheaval caused by the different religious changes. There is little to tell us of the clergy's reaction to the restoration of catholicism.

104 There are 47 cases of service through one or more of these changes.
under Mary. There does however survive a mass-book which belonged to Henry Brown, curate of St. Cuthbert's in Carlisle with an inscription triumphantly stating that mass began to be celebrated there again on 3rd September, 1553. Although obviously a supporter of the Catholic cause Brown appears at first to have accepted the settlement of 1559, but by 1562 he was appearing before the High Commission at York, and submitting himself to their judgement. In the same year the Commission found itself dealing with another Cumberland priest, the vicar of Penrith. Thomas Ellerton, who had previously been a chantry priest, was to go to Cawood to have conference on religious matters with the archbishop of York or his chaplains.

As for clergy who married before Mary's accession, there is only positive proof of this in one instance, that of Bridekirk. In 1559 the Royal Visitors restored Percival Wharton who had been deprived because of marriage and was disputing his right to the living with his successor William Grey. In November 1554 the Patent Rolls show Wharton being presented to the vicarage of Isel, presumably because he had separated from his wife and done penance, but as another presentation to the same cure is recorded a month later it cannot have taken effect. Perhaps Wharton's repentance was not long enough lived. This is in fact one of a number of examples which are noted in the appendix where presentations recorded in government records, especially under Mary, either simply do not take effect, or are of a contradictory nature, and seems to prove that the central government had only a limited idea of what was going on in the church in these remote areas. There is one more parish where deprivation for marriage might have occurred, although it is

104a See above, p. 94.
uncertain. This is Edenhall where Christopher Blenkow had held the vicarage since 1535. His will which is dated 1565 shows that he left three children, and since the benefice was held by Alan Scott by 1559, Blenkow is likely to have been deprived under Mary.

From that part of Carlisle with which we are dealing almost the same number absented themselves from the 1559 visitation as did in Northumberland, i.e. 12 rectors or vicars and 6 curates. Of seven of these there is no further trace; ten of them appear in possession of livings at a later date, and there is proof of the deprivation of only one, Hugh Hodshone, rector of Skelton. Even this deprivation did not take place until 1561, when it is said to be for refusal of the Oath of Supremacy. He had already been deprived, in 1559, of his provostship of Queen's College, Oxford. There is extant an account of his arrest in August 1561 on the orders of the Council in the North. Those authorised to effect the arrest were greatly hampered by the fact that he was found in Lord Dacre's house at Kirkoswald, and Dacre refused to give him up. Indeed one of those involved, Hugh Dudley was so scared of his Lordship's displeasure because of this that the Council had to write to Dacre asking that he should bear no grudge against him for carrying out their orders. This helps to back up the frequent complaints of the Bishop of Carlisle that he was greatly hindered by the fact that the Dacres and other Catholic families protected the clergy with Catholic sympathies. On the whole Bishop Best was satisfied with the results of the visitation he made in 1561. "Only three absented themselves in my visitation and fled because they would not subscribe.

105 As there were about 40 fewer cures in the Western parts of the English Borders this number of course represents a much higher proportion of the clergy; about 20% in this case; about 13% for Northumberland.
Of the which two belonged to my Lord Dacre and one to the Earl of Cumberland. Unto which I have assigned days under danger of deprivation. About 12 or 13 churches in Gillesland all under My Lord Dacre do not appear. But bearing themselves upon my lord refuse to come in and at Stapleton and sundry of the others hear yet mass openly. At whom my lord and his officers wink."

There are three other instances apart from that of Skelton where the incumbent was deprived for refusal to subscribe: Beaumont 1562, Dacre 1571 and Dereham 1573. Significantly Beaumont was in Dacre patronage, and Dacre would be strongly influenced by that family.

A number of other incumbents can be shown to have had Catholic leanings. Hugh Sewell, who was rector of Caldbeck in 1560 and still held the cure in 1574, was also a canon of Carlisle from 1549, but by 1584 he had fled to Rheims, and in 1590 he was ordained in the Catholic church. In 1574 the incumbents of Addingham, Denton, Kirkandrews and Scaleby were among seven minor canons of Carlisle suspected of Catholicism, but as they all appear in possession of their livings after this they must have conformed. On the whole all the different religious regimes seem to have been able to command at least passive acceptance from the Carlisle clergy. There are about fifteen instances where there is proof of continuity of service through one or more change of religion, and although sometimes those involved were later brought to book for their religious views there was not a great deal of active clerical opposition to be dealt with. What there was seems to have been generally passive, and it was only those churches under the direct protection of a catholic nobleman where the incumbent could afford to risk open defiance.

106 Hodshone must have been one of these.
107 P. R. O. S. P. 12/18, 2124.
108 It should perhaps be added that this passive resistance, less (cont. p.153)
The major contrast which appears between the situations in Scotland and England is the much greater degree of conformity among the English clergy; this difference must be traced back to the different course taken by the reformation in the two countries, and to the very basic fact that English clergy who refused to conform were deprived and left without any income, whereas their Scottish counterparts could refuse to serve in the reformed church and still enjoy two thirds of the income from their benefices. However the corollary which this might suggest, that all those who went on to serve the reformed Kirk in Scotland must have been sincere in their adherence to it, does not seem to apply. A number of those who served as ministers and readers were later charged with being mass-mongers, just as several of those English incumbents who for some reason or other felt themselves at first able to accept the Elizabethan settlement were later to be suspected of catholicism, or perhaps gave proof of this during the rebellion of 1569.

The other important question about the parish clergy which still has to be answered concerns the ability and learning of the men who served at this level of the church. Only very occasionally are there comments such as those made by Sir Francis Leek about the vicar of Berwick to give us a contemporary judgement. Pilkington and later Arden wrote generally about the lack of learned men in Northern livings but gave no detailed information about the problem. The comments made on the learning of chantry priests have already been discussed in the previous chapter. A note of 1571 informs us of the " ignorantia ... in rebus divinis" of the vicar of Kirkoswald, but this is an

108 (continued) easy to trace and root out, was probably even more dangerous to the protestant settlement than open catholicism which could be found and dealt with.
isolated instance. Indictments such as that of the curate of Edenhall who was "presented to wear his hose loose at the knees", or the curate of Holme Cultram who was charged with drunkenness and playing at cards suggest that at least some of the clergy were not wholly concerned with spiritual matters, but again these are isolated instances. The best indication which we have of the level of learning among the clergy on the Borders is to be found in the record of the 1578 visitation in the diocese of Durham, when the clergy were examined on the task they had been set of studying and giving an account of St. Matthew's Gospel, in Latin if they knew that language and if not, in English. 109 It is unfortunate that no similar survey exists for the other areas of the Borders. No visitation records survive for the Scottish parishes, and those for Carlisle diocese note only attendance, licensing of curates and such matters. 110 Of the Northumberland clergy, 99 of whom were cited at this visitation, 12 were of acknowledged learning and thus excused the task. A further 16 were excused attendance because of sickness or old age, and ten failed to attend for whom no reason is given. Of the remainder, 16 neglected the task completely, 22 had performed it imperfectly and were given more time, and only 23 had completed it satisfactorily. Thus just over 30% of the county's clergy were able to prove themselves suitably well-learned, a figure in marked contrast to the equivalent percentage for Durham, almost 60%.

Obviously the comments made about the inadequacy of the Border clergy were


110 About the low standard of education among clergy from all over Scotland there is much comment. This is perhaps best exemplified by the instruction issued in 1552 that priests should practice in private before reading the new catechism aloud, so as to avoid ridicule from their hearers. Patrick, Statutes, p.146. c.f. Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, pp.14-5.
well founded. As the case of Mr. Crackenthorp and Simonburn\(^{111}\) has already shown, well educated clergymen were unlikely to accept a relatively poor living in so difficult an area. Naturally this does not apply to all livings in the Borders; the appendix shows a number of men with university degrees serving in the Border counties. They form about 30% of the total number of clergy identified in the English Borders in this period and about 25% of those on the Scottish side. They were however usually confined to the more valuable livings which the Borders could offer, and they often held these in plurality with others elsewhere in Scotland or England, so that the Border parishes would not always get the benefit of their learning. It is interesting that if these figures are split up into those being appointed or first occurring before and after 1560, then in both countries the percentage of those with degrees is lower after this date. In Scotland this drop is of about 4% but in England it is over 10%. This must in part be due to the fact that for both the English dioceses the visitation records of the 1570's give the names of many curates who are less easy to trace before 1560, and this section of the clerical population would be far less likely to have degrees than the more frequently traceable rectors and vicars. Even allowing for this however there is still a drop which perhaps bears out the point that English cures were being served by refugee Scottish priests, and not by newly appointed and better qualified men; and that in Scotland, as the Jesuit de Gouda claimed, "The ministers ... are either apostate monks or laymen of low rank and are quite unlearned, being tailors, shoemakers, tanners or the like".\(^{112}\) Whatever the cause

\(^{111}\) See above, p. 105n.

it is obvious that even those areas of the Borders which, unlike Annandale or Teviotdale had a reasonably full quota of parish clergy, did not have enough suitably qualified men greatly to change the situation described at the beginning of this chapter.
IV RELIGIOUS HOUSES

One of the most obvious ways in which the late medieval church manifested itself in the Borders, then as now, was in the buildings of the great Border Abbeys. The houses of nuns and canons provided a large number of the religious personnel in the Borders, even after their houses had ceased to exercise their original spiritual function. Indeed in the Scottish Borders where very few of the medieval church buildings have survived till the present day the ruins of Melrose, Jedburgh, Kelso or Sweetheart are some of the few tangible remains of the sixteenth century church. The 18 English houses and 14 Scottish ones, not to mention the 15 communities of friars must have made a substantial impact on the Border areas. There seem to have been around four hundred men and women in the Border houses before any of them had been suppressed, a number not far short of the total number of churches in the area.

For a general, if biased, description of their place in the life of the Borders, we must turn to Robert Aske's deposition given after the Pilgrimage of Grace. "The abbeys in the North", he said, "gave great alms to the poor men and laudably served God in which parts of late days they had small comfort by ghostly teaching." Now that they are suppressed as well as the decrease in faith and spiritual comfort there is a decline in hospitality and charity, both of which were very necessary in the wilder and more remote areas, and because rents now go to landlords out of the north there is a decrease in the amount of money available in those areas. There is no longer anywhere the children of the gentry can be educated; no where for them to leave their valuables for safe keeping; no one to see to the maintenance of sea-walls and dykes, bridges and highways "and such other things for the commonwealth". ¹ As has been noted

¹ L. and P., XII, pt. 1, 901.
Aske was obviously a biased observer, but all the claims he makes for the abbey can be substantiated from other evidence. In 1536 the archbishop of York wrote to Cromwell with a plea that Hexham should not be suppressed. "... wise men, that know the borders think that the lands thereof, although they were 10 times as much can not countervail the damage that is likely to ensue if it be suppressed, and some way there is never a house between Scotland and the Lordship of Hexham, and men fear that if the monastery go down, that in process all shall be waste much within the land. And what comfort that monastery is daily to the country there, and specially in time of war, not only the countrymen do know, but also many of the noble men of this realm, that hath done the King's Highness service in Scotland."^2 Even Baskerville admits that the "disappearance of the monasteries was a cause of great inconvenience to many travellers, rich and poor". ^3 In an area such as the Borders where travelling was hampered by the climate and geography of the region, as well as the nature of its inhabitants, the disappearance of these houses must often have been more than inconvenient. Of their importance to the spiritual welfare of the Borders, such phenomena as the "book-a-bosoms" in Liddesdale, and the number of religious, especially canons, who served in parish churches even before the reformation, bear ample witness.

In the reports of government representatives there is support for Aske's comments about the shortage of ready money. Even in the 1560's the government "marvel at the scarcity of new money in those parts". ^4

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4 H.M.C. Rutland Mss. I, 73. see also L. and P. XVII, 713; Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. IV, p. 18. It is fair however to say that only a small proportion of the Border monastic lands went to landlords outside the area. See below.
the use of monasteries as a safe place to keep valuables, even the government used them as such. The prior of Durham regularly acted as treasurer of government funds during the Border wars.\(^5\) Likewise in the Scottish houses, when Hertford took and burned the priory of Coldstream in 1542 he recorded the capture of "above 60 horses, 480 head of nolt, three thousand sheep, with a great substance and insight and stuff of household which it is thought was the best booty that hath been gotten by any mans remembrance in these parts. For by reason the prioress took herself to be pattissid, all they of the country had conveyed their corn and goods unto her". Another letter explains that they would have taken even more, but somehow news of the attack had leaked out, many horses, cattle and sheep had been taken away before they arrived, and the plate and money had also disappeared. Despite this attack the countrymen seem to have continued to use the priory for this purpose, and in 1563 there were still some sheep and cattle left there for safe keeping.\(^6\) For Aske's last point, about the upkeep of sea walls, bridges, etc. there is supportive evidence from Holm Cultram. In the Valor there is record of payments for

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6 Hamilton Papers, I, 245, App. XXIII; T.B., 280. The whole of the attack in 1542 seems to have gone badly from the English point of view. Not only had a lot of the booty disappeared before they got there, but another party had already arrived and begun to take prisoners, "so that the prioress and the priests being ravished taking the cross with them met our men at the gate". Bulmer, who was making this report, records they were very disappointed at this since they could not now "do any slaughter unless we should utterly have shamed ourselves for ever". They even had some scruples about burning the place under the circumstances, but decided that it would be expected of them. The letter continues with a particularly sadistic description of the nuns on their knees begging for mercy, "and we so earnestly cried for fire for we nothing esteemed their pitiful song to the serving of the king and the keeping of your lordship's commandment". Descriptions such as this do much to explain the Borderers' abhorrence of outside interference, since every action across the Border brought similar scenes.
the repair of water courses, sea dykes and so on, and a survey of the Holm made in 1573 reported that the sea banks had then decayed and many acres of land been overblown with sand, sea floods had destroyed half of the salt pans and wasted arable land, and four wooden bridges were in decay.  

Religious houses then played an important part in Border life in several ways, but the main question is how important were they to the spiritual life of the area. It must be said that in this respect the argument of silence weighs fairly heavily against them. The charges made against the English monasteries by their opponents are well known, and even allowing for partisan exaggeration there was obviously much that was wrong. Numerous details suggest that in many respects the Border houses were no better than the rest of the country. At Holm Cultram in 1532 one of the monks was suspected of having murdered the prior after losing the contest for that office. Another monk, Thomas Graham, refused to obey the abbot, and became chaplain to the Earl of Northumberland without his permission. He later was to give evidence against the next abbot who was so thoroughly implicated in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Hexham, the other Border house to put up a strong opposition to the religious changes which were overtaking it, had also been found wanting, and this not just by the royal visitors but by the archbishop of York who later was to plead for the survival of the house. He issued injunctions in 1534 which stated that both the prior and the canons had been suspected of consorting with women

8 Report on the state of monasteries in the York Province, P.R.O. S.P. 1/102.
10 L. and P., VI, 781; XII, part 1, 1259.
who were in the future to be kept out of the abbey precincts to prevent such
gossip, while the door of the cloister was to be kept locked after certain
hours. There were also strict instructions about the management of the
priory's finances.  

In a similar way the most damning general condemnation of the Scottish
monasteries comes from one of their supporters, Cardinal Sermoneta in a
report to Pope Paul IV. 12 He is particularly harsh about the houses of nuns.
Another telling source, also from supporters of the monastic ideal, comes
from the Statutes of the Scottish reforming councils. They were anxious that
monasteries should be visited and reformed, that apostate monks and nuns
should be recalled, and that something should be done to improve the standard
of education among the religious, but the fact that successive councils had to
repeat almost exactly the same statutes shows that little or nothing was done
to implement these proposals. 13 In the 1530's there was some attempt to
reform the Cistercian order in Scotland. In 1530 Walter Malin, Abbot of Glen-
luce, was appointed visitor-general of the order for Scotland, and his vigorous
action soon drew protests from, among others, his predecessor as visitor,
the abbot of Melrose. This abbey, along with Newbattle and Balmerino, was
causing particular concern because instead of holding the property of their
house in common the monks were each allowed pensions and portions for food
and clothing, their own chamber, garden and so on. In 1534, backed by the
General Chapter, abbot Walter ordered, on pain of deposition or excommuni-

12 Pollen, Papal Negots., App. II, no. 3.
13 Patrick, Statutes, pp. 94-6, 105-7, 167, 176.
cation, that reforms must be carried through immediately. The monks con-
cerned produced a petition against this, claiming that the abuse had the
sanction of tradition, that the system to be imposed on them was perhaps
suitable in France, but not in Scotland, and eventually they were allowed a
number of concessions. They could keep their private gardens, but the produce
of these was to be held in common. They could keep their portions but no one
was to have a double one, and whatever was left over was to be dispensed by
the proper officer. After this the matter died down, but it must have caused
a great deal of worry to those who were profiting from the abuse of the system.

Despite all this however there is no great amount of evidence to suggest
that the Border houses of either nationality were totally corrupt. One 19th
century writer, concerned with the Scottish Borders, claimed that the great
medieval monasteries had sadly degenerated and as a result "whole districts
lapsed practically into barbarism". 15 The true picture seems to have been
less spectacular. What is particularly noticeable about the Border houses is
how much they were absorbed with the secular preoccupations of the Borderers.
This seems to be their greatest condemnation; that instead of trying to uphold
alien values they adopted the values of the society in which they found them-
selves. In the Borders such an adaptability was a precondition of survival,
and the monasteries did survive, until not Border, but external forces brought
them to an end.

Before going into further detail about the history of the Border monas-
teries, it will be helpful to clarify the difference between the Scottish and

14 B.L. Harl. Mss. 2363; Essays, 217-8.
15 R. Borland, Border Raids and Reivers, Dalbeattie, 1898, p. 52.

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English houses. Although belonging to the same orders, and therefore in theory subject to the same rule, and the same external authorities, there were very real differences. These sprang largely from the different attitude adopted towards religious houses by the Scottish and English crowns, and from the fact that in Scotland both the crown and the lay nobility had enough control over monastic revenues to be in no hurry to follow the example of Henry VIII, however eagerly he urged it upon them. As one writer has put it, "Scotland however could boast of one abuse to which England has no parallel". For a description of evils resulting from the commendatory system we can again turn to a contemporary who was more in sympathy with the Catholic than the Reformed church. As Bishop Leslie wrote "Quhen secular persones war begun to haue place in Closteris, and through the kings force, in a maner, and his authoritie, began to rule and haue dominium in Religious places, then tha burnt in ambition craueng to be Abbotis all, and kirkmen, to possess the kirkleiuengs; than in Religious places crap ydlenes, deliciousnes, and al bodylie plesure, feltirte in wardlie effayres, than Godis service began to be neglectet and kuil, than Hospitalitie, afor sa mekle commendet bayth in heuin and erde, began to be contemnet, and quhat Cloistris respected maist was warldlie welth. Now Alms deidis abuset, ar turnet into plesures, no quhat laid up was, to help the miserie of the pure is gyuen to satisfie the volupteousnes of the ryche. The mounkis now electis nocht Abbotis quha godlie ar maist and deuote, bot kingis chesis Abbots quha ar lustiest, and maist with thame in fauour. Now for S. Bernard and S. Benedict,

16 e.g. Hamilton Papers, I, 500.
diligat courteours ar placet". These lay commendators had little or no
concern for the religious side of the communities over which they ruled; their
sole interest lay in the revenue on which they could draw. It is perhaps fair to
say that when the heads of Border houses are found engaged in non religious
pursuits, the evil is to some extent mitigated in that they were laymen, but
when the head of a house was wholly occupied with secular concerns, then the
community could not remain immune from them. There are numerous instances
of commendators dragging their abbeys into their own political and financial
affairs.

Probably the most famous abuse of the system was the appropriation of
Kelso, Melrose, Coldingham, St. Andrew's and Holyrood to illegitimate sons
of James V, and since they were all children at the time the revenues above
those needed for their maintenance were to be diverted to the crown. James
Stewart, Commendator of Kelso and Melrose, when he was old enough to take
over in person, caused endless trouble to the inhabitants of the latter house.
The history of his rule is one of a struggle by the monks to secure sufficient
funds to maintain themselves, the service of the monastery and its fabric while
the commendator "bled Melrose through a lay chamberlain and deputy baillies,
who defied the monks to their faces". On one occasion these baillies barri-
caded themselves in the abbey church and put a stop to the services for some
time. The convent was led in its resistance by the successive priors,

20 Essays, pp. 218-9.
21 Melrose Regality Records, 159-61.
Thomas Mersar and Ralph Hudson. At last in 1555, with the help of the visitor Walter Malin, they wrung from Stewart a confirmation of a fixed pension to be paid to the sixteen monks out of certain specified lands, which provided rent and victuals amounting to about £30 for each. The battle however was not won and the disadvantages of the situation soon became apparent. In 1557 the commendator required the convent to agree to a feu charter of certain of the abbey lands, but they replied that he had already promised them 500 merks from these lands for repairs to the abbey, and they could consent to no other charter until this had been paid. His answer was simple. "My Lord Commendator forsaid as apperit be his wult and exterior mowing of his body grew crawbit, and said gif the convent wold nocht consent to subscrive the said Adam Aird chartour and utheris the chertouris of Kylesmuir, nocht ells past the selis, he wald discharge the fermeraris and utheris tenentis of the lordschip to anser thame of thair assignatioun of pensioun assignit to thame for thair living and sustentatioun." The convent had no choice but to sign and seal as requested, but they did enter a protest that they did so only through fear. The Commendator's continual concern was for his own profit, not the abbey's interests. In 1555 he owed £800 in taxation, and even though the lords agreed to accept only £550, his financial position was still precarious. In 1556 and 1558 the convent complained that he had even sold the lead from the church roof. They eventually took their protests to the Justice Clerk who assured them that the Commendator

25 Essays, 219; Melrose Reg. Recs., 158.
would be made to pay them the promised 500 marks, and another £60, and he himself would send them 20 marks and some pots and pans of which they were in immediate need. In 1558 Stewart died and the convent was relieved of him and his spectacular rages whenever he was crossed, but the situation did not improve. His successor as commendator was the queen's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who would know and care even less than Stewart about the interests of the abbey. Moreover when he was appointed the house was burdened with pensions totalling £1070 per year. What is surprising is that despite all these troubles monastic life was maintained in Melrose until 1560 and that the monks were assisted in their perseverance by their tenants and neighbours. In 1557 one of these promised "out of his benevolence" to contribute to the repairs of the church. It would have been understandable if the monks had been held responsible for the unpopular leases and rack renting inspired by the commendator's financial needs, but some of the protests against the depredations were made from Drygrange, the home of one of the families which was suffering from these actions, but were obviously sheltering and supporting the prior.

26 Stewart's commendatorship was also a burden to Kelso. In 1552 we find the convent raising money to repair the abbey which had been burned by the English, and to pay for the commendator's journey to France, rather as if the two were equally disastrous. A.L.C.P.A., 616.

27 Essays, 220. Pensions were a frequent burden imposed on the monasteries, seemingly in an attempt to ensure that no one should suffer great financial loss from any changes. If a commendatorship was needed for one of the crown's appointees, whoever was displaced to make way for him would be recompensed with a substantial pension, and the abbey's revenues would in effect have to support two commendators. e.g. Stewart's predecessor at Melrose, Andrew Dury, got a pension of 1000 marks a year. J. Morton, Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, Edin., 1832, 243; P.R.O. 31/10/14, Acta Cam., vol. 3, 116.


29 Essays, 220.
had more in common with the monks whom they knew, and who were probably local men, who served in their churches and settled their disputes in the regality court than with a royal commendator or his officers.

At Dryburgh the result of a series of Commendators was to involve the abbey in a feud with the Haliburton family, their neighbours and tenants. This began soon after James Stewart, a canon of Glasgow, became Commendator. An attempt was made to effect a truce by marrying Stewart's daughter to Walter Haliburton, but trouble broke out again over the daughter of this match. The Haliburtons wished to marry her to a cousin so as to keep her property in the family, but the commendator had other ideas. He carried her off and married her to Alexander Erskine. The revived feud lasted as long as the abbey did since Stewart's successor in the commendatorship was a member of the Erskine family, who seem to have had a monopoly of that office until the abbey was erected into a temporal lordship for them in 1604. 30

Equally detrimental was the appointment of a head who was too much occupied with other affairs to be able to show any great concern for the house he ruled, even if he had wished to. There was a series of such men at St. Mary's Isle. From at least 1539 to 1547 the commendator was David Paniter who held the offices of Auditor of the Exchequer, Secretary to the King, and ambassador. At one time he was out of Scotland for seven years and could have had little time to devote to the interests of his house. He was followed by Robert Stirling whose commendatorship was also a political reward, and who must have had interests other than the spiritual welfare of the house. Next came Mr. Robert Richardson, who was also treasurer to the queen and

30 Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh, pp. xxii-iv.
and so again inevitably occupied with political considerations. At some time after the reformation he seems to have resigned the position at Trail, but retained a substantial life interest in its revenues, and was called usufructuary, although by this time the abbey had ceased to have a spiritual existence. 31

It was the considerable lay interest in monastic lands as a result of the commendatory system, as well as the heavy taxation of the church’s wealth which led to that other typically Scottish practice of feuing land to raise ready cash. 32 By this the granters received a large downpayment, and an immediate increase in rental, but of course the ultimate beneficiaries were the feuars who secured heritable possession and a fixed feu duty in a time of rising prices and land values. 33 In the end it was the church which suffered. On the whole land alienated in this way seems to have gone to the small men, those one rank lower than the lairds. This, it has been suggested, shows a preference for a good gressum from a substantial tenant rather than granting a feu to a noble kinsman on easy terms. Moreover many feus went to sitting tenants, the Browns at Sweetheart, the Edgars and Welshes at Holywood, Dundrennan and Lincluden, families of a middling rank who found the opportunity to enhance an already long record of tenure. 34

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32 Clerical taxation has been called the "Scottish Alternative to dissolution of the monasteries." It is discussed in an article by W. S. Reid, in the Catholic Historical Review for 1948, pp. 129-53. This details the different taxes which were levied on clerical income, by means of which the Scottish crown was able to maintain the church on whose support it relied, while "tapping the Church’s wealth, without destroying the reservoir from which it flowed". ibid., 135.


34 Ibid.
Melrose the feus also went to those who already occupied the lands. Apart from feuing there was much leasing out of land on more familiar terms. It was not unusual for the whole of an abbey to be leased for a number of years. In 1539 William Hamilton of Sanquhar received a five year tack of Kelso and its cell of Lesmahagow for £308 per year. The fact that such practices might be frowned on by the church was no deterrent. In 1551 the commendator of Dundrennan set the abbey in tack for three years to Sir John Maxwell of Terr-regles with the recorded provision that "if it shall happen that the said venerable father (i.e. the commendator) to be pursuit and put out for the fulfilling and observing of the statutes made by the clergy at the last convention in the provincial council wherethrough he may incur of the fruits thereof ... Maxwell and his sureties ... overgives this present contract ... to the commendator". In other words Adam Blackadder, the commendator, knew quite well that his actions were against the statutes of the provincial council, which he had attended himself, but rather than comply with these he simply made sure that if found out he would not suffer unduly. Dundrennan's lands continued to be depleted by tacks and feus, and the last abbot, Edward Maxwell, who had helped Mary after the Battle of Langside, had feued and alienated almost all of them by his death in 1605.

The commendatory system was almost universal in Scotland. Only four of the men's houses had regular abbots by 1560, and it is perhaps significant

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36 R.S.S., II, 3155.
37 A.L.C.P.A., 607; Patrick, Statutes, 86
39 Essays, 221.
that one of these, Sweetheart, was the only Border house to show any
resistance to the ending of monastic life. Abbot Brown was a monk of the
abbey at the reformation, and was only appointed abbot in 1565, but he was
a strong opponent of the Kirk, and in 1578 was said to be instructing the family
of Lord Herries and others in the catholic faith. In 1590 he was said to be
a "famous excommunicat, foirfaultit and perverting papist, who evir since
the reformatioun of religioun had conteinit in ignorance and idolatrie allmost
the haill south west pairts of Scotland, and had been continowallie occupiyit
in practising of heresy". 40

Many of the drawbacks of lay commendators were common throughout
the country, but some of their un-spiritual preoccupations have a peculiarly
'Border' flavour. The head of the canons of Jedburgh seems to have been
particularly concerned with the military aspects of Border life. In 1530 he
received a tack of the whole of the abbey of Coldingham on the condition that
he should dwell there with 24 horse men, ride with the lieutenant when required
with 60 spears, and keep the area "scatheless in those parts from thieves,
traitors, rebells, broken men and from the enemies of England". 41 In 1537
Norfolk was complaining to the Scottish government that the murderers of
Roger Fenwick, the keeper of Tynedale, were being harboured by the abbot
of Jedburgh in the abbey. 42 In 1542 when the news of the king's death reached

40 R.P.C. Scot. IV 522; Essays, 230. In 1577 it was he who made a grant
to Lord Herries, who had been educated at the abbey, because he had
refused to demolish the house on the orders of the Lords of the Congregation.
Herries is said to have given similar protection to Dundremman. Dalrymple, Five Great Churches, 9, 57.

41 A.L.C.P.A., 323.

42 L. and P., XII, part 1, 859.
the Borders we hear that Dan Ker immediately went to Jedburgh and removed from the gate house some of the ordnance which had been stored there, and that the abbot took the remainder to his house. As Lord Lisle reported to Henry VIII, "It appeareth by this that they mind not so much the defence of the country as they do to defend one against the other". Three years later we hear of this abbot in company with the abbot of Dryburgh joining a burning and plundering expedition into England along with his kinsman, Lord Hume. Whilst the heads of houses were chosen from among the great Border families and recommendations were made to Rome because of a man's ability to defend his house from hostile attacks this situation was bound to continue. But such preoccupations were not confined to the lay commendators. They can also be found in the few women's houses in the Scottish Borders.

In 1546 Elizabeth Lamb, the prioress of St. Bothan's, was convicted of giving treasonable assistance to the English in time of war and of furnishing them with weapons. At this time however many borderers were following the same course out of fear, and she and her kinsman William Lamb of Wronkle received a remission for the offence a few months later. This house continued to suffer from its position so close to the Border and in 1561 the thirds of grain were remitted because the whole crop had been burned after the harvest. The actions of the prioress of Coldstream was by no means so

43 Hamilton Papers I, 261.
44 N.L.S. Armstrong Mss. 6115, f.200.
45 See e.g. Letters James V, 47-8, 54-5, 61-2, 153, 160, 279.
46 R.S.S., III, 1732.
47 Ibid., 1836.
48 T.B., xix.
obviously prompted solely by an instinct for self-preservation. Isabella Hoppringle, whose family seem to have had a monopoly of the post of prioress there, was on close terms with Queen Margaret Tudor who recommended her and her house to the protection of Lord Dacre as early as 1515. In 1523 the Marquis of Dorset told Henry that "the prioress thereof is one of the best and assured spies that we have in Scotland". Her task must have been made easier in 1523 when she and her convent were given licence to intercommune with England for the buying and selling of food, repairs to their house, "and also to be assured and have protection of Englishmen for wele and surety of their place, lands and goods on the Borders, ... and also with power and licence to the said prioress and convent to assure Englishmen to the number of 12 persons or within to come as oft as need be to their said place of Coldstream to the effect above written "...". She was still sending information to England in 1537, but died the next year and was succeeded by Janet Hoppringle. This prioress however does not seem to have inherited the favoured position with England and in 1542 the house was burned by the English. This prioress was one who suffered from rather than contributed to the troubles of Border life. After the burning of her house she and some of the sisters seem to have taken refuge in Berwick for a while, and from there gone to Alnwick to ask Lord Lisle for permission to return to their house. This

51 R.S.S., II, 1194.
52 L. and P., XII, part 1, 422; Chart. of Coldstream, xxi.
53 See above, p. 159.
54 Hamilton Papers, I, App.1, 284.
must have been granted, and they returned and began to restore their abbey, appointing Lord Hume as heritable baillie in order to obtain some protection, and as late as 1560 still issuing charters to raise money to make repairs because of damage done by the English. When this prioress died in 1563 the nuns had to be given grain, over and above their pensions, because they were indigent after her death. The third had to be remitted for one year to allow her kinsman, who had stood surety for her, to pay off all her debts. The other Scottish Border nunnery, at Eccles, also suffered from English attacks and in 1549 they had been forced to leave their house and take refuge at their church of Bothkennar, near Stirling. At times life in the Borders was not just difficult but dangerous. In 1553 the King had to ask that the abbot of Melrose be excused attendance at the general chapter because of the risk to his life, and to the monastery if it should be left without a head, and in 1527 John Hume of Coldenknows had been charged with besetting the abbot with the intention of killing, although the attempt was a failure. The Warden of the Franciscan friars in Dumfries was less lucky. His house had surrendered to the English, and the friars were ordered to put away their habit and go in secular dress, preaching the Protestant faith, but, along with other assured Scots they gradually fell away from their allegiance to England once

55 R.M.S. IV, 1695.
56 To be replaced by another Hoppringle, this time Elizabeth. R.S.S., V, part 2, 2912.
57 T.B., 281.
58 Ibid., 149.
59 Vat. Recs. Supplications, Paul III, 2661.
60 Letters James V, 238; P.C.T., 182.
the immediate danger seemed over, and in 1548 the warden was among a
number of hostages executed by Lord Wharton at Carlisle because of this. 61

A dangerous involvement in local affairs was by no means a prerogative
of the Scottish houses. In 1538 Richard Howthwaite, the subprior of Carlisle,
was tried and executed for spreading rumours that the commons had risen in
the South. 62 In 1521 Sir Richard Lighten, a canon of Brinkburn had been
murdered by the Lisles for attempting to end Sir William's occupation of
certain tithe corn belonging to the abbey, against their will and paying no rent
to them. 63 The monks of Tynemouth also had trouble with leading local families
A party of about 200 men including Henry Eure, Richard Bellasis, Sir Thomas
Hilton and Sir John Delaval attempted to enter the priory and hold a court there
but were prevented from doing so by the prior. Soon afterwards the bursar
of the priory was seized by Delaval's men and kept prisoner for two days,
and the abbot was threatened with the same treatment, so that he dared not
leave the priory. 64 Ironically it was Sir Thomas Hilton to whom they were
advised to appeal for protection during the rebellion. 65 At this time the
house's own tenants were stealing their cattle and corn, withholding rents
and threatening to enter the house by force. 66 Obviously the monks had made

62 G.R. Elton, Policy and Police, Camb., 1972, p.64.
64 Gibson, Monastery of Tynemouth, II, 108. Sir John's relations with
Hexham were also bad. In 1524 he and the prior there were involved in
a lawsuit about some cattle the former had taken from the prior's lands.
L. and P., IV, part 2, 145.
65 Ibid., XI, 1293.
66 Ibid.
more enemies than friends, and their attempts after 1536 to raise money and support by the issuing of long leases, even to the son of Sir John Delaval, did them no good. 67 Here was one house which was unlikely to be mourned.

Specific evidence about the light in which the Border houses were regarded by the laity of the area is difficult to come by. Participation in the Pilgrimage of Grace could be thought to show support for the monasteries, but it is noticeable that at least in the Lordship of Holm Cultram it was the abbot himself who was responsible for bringing his tenants out. They were to meet "on pain of hanging"; and he "caused his tenants against their will to muster afore him in the kirk, and thereby would have them to riding to the brodfell to the commons, and they denied him and said they would not go except he went with them himself; and before them all the said abbot commanded Cuthbert Musgrave, in the common's name, to take the tennants and go to the brod fell, and so both Cuthbert and all the tennants denied the abbot's commandment and would not go". 68 This hardly sounds like a spontaneous rising in support of a beloved abbey. A deposition made many years later also points to somewhat strained relations between the abbey and its tenants. In 1568 Henry Scott of the parish of Isell recalled when "about the space of 41 years since certain monks of the Holme did come to the hards of the Holme for to have driven away the goods and chattels of the tenants, and the said tenants hearing of the same beat away the said monks, and Abbot Chamber hearing that the monks went about such an ungodly deed was very angry with the said monks,

67 Gibson, II, 110. The priory had also been at feud with the burgesses of Newcastle for some time. Leadam, Select Cases in the Court of Star Chamber, Seldon Soc., II, 68.

68 B.L. Cott. Mss. Calig. B., iii. See below chap. IX.
and the servants of the said monks were sore hurt, which the abbot was nothing sorry for, considering that ungodly act". 69 But despite all this we find that by the 1570's the days of the abbey are looked back to as something of a golden age. A survey dating from 1573 contains several comparisons of the Holm at that time with its situation under the monks. "There is decay in the sea-banks of Mawbray and Wolsty, and about 60 acres overblown with sand. A strong pele tower called Newton [Arloff church] tower hath been ever a notable safeguard and defence ... as well for all the tenants on the east side of the Waver as also of the east stock and goods, which tower is now decayed in the roof ... There be also four bridges of wood in decay ... which all have been upholden and maintained by the chief lord ... the want thereof may be the utter undoing of the whole tenants and lordship". As well as this Wolsty Castle is ruinous, thus forming a threat to the security of the tenants in the western townships. Woods have been cut down and as a result some of the fishing has decayed, half of the salt pans are said to have been washed away by sea floods and not repaired. "As for boon days, so long as they were charged with them they had great commodity and benefit from them, as for every plough, for three days work, seventeen white herrings, a quarter of killin (cod), a quarter of salmon, three wheat loaves, three loaves of yeoman's bread and three gallons of ale; and for every shearbond in harvest, to every person, three days, three loaves of bread, six white herring and three pints of ale; beside that in the time of Christmas every year every tenant and his wife dined in the abbey, whereof they say that ever since the

69 History of the Abbey of Holm Cultram. A. Ashworth, Wigton 1883, p. 25. It is doubtful that Chambers was Abbot in 1527, but even if the witness' memory of dates is shaky it seems likely that his remembrance of the general atmosphere is correct.
dissolution of the abbey, they have been denied ... the said commodities. 70

It is significant that this regret for the passing of the abbey was on economic, not spiritual grounds, and that it was somewhat belated. Most other sources are silent as to the impression left by the passing of the monks or nuns. At Lamley the royal receiver reported that when he arrived all the moveables plate and lead, the cattle and the nuns had disappeared, but it is impossible to say whether the goods were removed by the nuns or the local tenants, and whether their action indicated support of or opposition to the house. 71

Apart from Holm Cultram's involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace, Hexham was the only Border house which offered open resistance to dissolution, and the description of its defiance of the royal commissioners makes it clear that its tenants and the townsmen were giving it active support. 72 But their action, which came before the outbreak of rebellion in Lincolnshire is typical in particular of the prickly attitude always shown by the Borderers, clergy or laity, when someone or something from outside threatened to stop them going on in their own way. Equally typical is that their resistance was prolonged by the action of one of the more notorious Borderers, John Heron, who had no concern whatsoever with religion, but only with what he could get out of the affair. 73 When Norfolk was ordered, after the rebellion, to see that "all the monks and canons, that be in any wise faulty, to be tied up, without

70 Regs. and Recs. of Holm Cultram, pp. 167-72. The fact that the population and wealth of the Holm declined somewhat after the dissolution is borne out by the difficulty in raising and equipping the required number of horsemen in later years, ibid., 173.


72 The document is printed in full in S.S., 44, op. cit., pp. cxxvii-cxxx.

73 L. and P., XII, part 1, 1090 (iii). Printed in S.S. 44, p. cxl-cxlv.
further delay or ceremony" the houses of Newminster and Lanercost were also mentioned. 74 There is no record as to the fate of the inmates of these three houses, and certainly no pension is recorded for any of them, but at least all three priors received pensions. The prior of Hexham had been absent at the time of the insurrection, and so took no part in it, thus it is not too surprising that he was allowed to keep his prebend of Salton at York in lieu of a pension, but the subprior was specifically mentioned as being amongst the defiant canons and yet he too occurs in later years as a chantry priest and then as vicar of Alnham. 75 The prior of Lanercost also took a parochial cure, as rector of Aikton, and the prior of Newminster was given a pension of £30. 76

Before going on to take a closer look at the personnel of the Border houses, and at their dissolution, something must be said about the last and perhaps the greatest difference between the Scottish and the English houses, namely that there was no dissolution in Scotland. For more than 20 years after the suppression of their English counterparts the Scottish houses continued as before, and even when in 1560 the abolition of the mass meant that they could no longer go on in the old way, they were not dissolved. This is due to both economic and spiritual differences between the Scottish and English situations. The Scottish crown, as we have seen, was already tapping the wealth of the church through taxation. Further than this it could not go, even if it had wished to, because of the strong hold of the laity on ecclesiastical revenues, either

74 L. and P., XII, part 1, 479; Printed in S.S., 44, p. cliii.

75 See App.I.

through commendatorships, or feus and tacks of church lands. Moreover the end of the Scottish monasteries was not brought about by a crown with more than half an eye to its own gain, but by the reformers, the Lords of the Congregation, whose first consideration was to do away with the "superstitious mass". As the First Book of Discipline had it, "So can we not cease to require Idolatrie, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbayis, monkeries, freireis, nunries (etc) ... to be utterlie suppressed in all boundis and places of the Realme". 77 It was because of their close links with the 'idolatry of the mass' that the monasteries had to go, and when this had been secured, then some thought could be given to their revenues and lands. But by then it was obvious that far too many vested interests stood in the way of any sweeping measures; so although they had ceased to exist as a spiritual corporation the monasteries remained in being as a legal entity; a body of men who had the right to deal with their possessions as they always had; who still had a right to their monastic portions, their chambers in the monastery, their plots of ground within its precincts. As such the monasteries remained in being until the last of their inmates had died. In 1587 the land and revenues were annexed to the crown, on the grounds that they had been crown property "of auld" and then, one by one, they were erected into temporal lordships, these usually going to the family which had held either the commendatorship or feus of the abbey's lands for many years. 78

Having pointed out the great differences, it is still possible to make some comparisons between the two countries, as to the personnel of the houses


before they were brought to an end, and as to what happened to the personnel and possessions of the monasteries after they had ceased to exist as such. Information about the personnel of the Border houses is not easy to come by. Pension lists, or lists of the religious at the surrender are available for only about half of the English houses and of course there are no surrender lists for Scotland, and only three pension lists survive for Scottish Border houses.\footnote{T.B., p.157, 281.}

North of the Border we have to rely mainly on signatures given to charters granted by the convents, and at best these give only a sketchy idea of the monastic personnel. All too often the names on these lists appear nowhere else and thus tell us very little about the men and women they represent. Some names however do stand out. Agnes Lawson, the prioress of the Benedictine nuns at Newcastle, was the sister of the prioress of Neasham, and their brother was James Lawson, a merchant of Newcastle. He was able to acquire the land and sites of both these houses at the dissolution, and the wills of the two women, dated 1565 and 1557 show them both to have gone on to become comfortable small farmers.\footnote{S.S., 2, cxx, clxxii; Dugdale, IV, 487.} The other sisters of Newcastle are much more obscure, as are even the heads of the other nunneries in the English Borders for whom we have only a name and the amount of their pensions.\footnote{Armathwaite, Anne Derwentwater, £2-13-4. Dugdale III, 270. Lamley, Marion Wright, 13s 4d., P.R.O. E/315/281. Holystone, Elizabeth Turner, 100s. L. and P., XV, 1032 (321b).}

This suggests local recruitment to the house, but it is impossible to say from

\footnote{T.B., p.157, 281.}

\footnote{S.S., 2, cxx, clxxii; Dugdale, IV, 487.}

which of the branches of this family any of them came. At the monastery of Tynemouth we know something of the last two priors. Thomas Gardiner who held that office from 1528 to 1535 was a son of a citizen of London by a natural daughter of Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke. His successor Robert Blakeney was a member of a family connected with the mother house of St. Albans where he had been almoner before moving to Tynemouth. He stayed in the north at the dissolution, retiring to the monastery's manor of Benwell where he died presumably before 1553. William Herrison, Abbot of Alnwick at the dissolution, can also be traced in later years. In 1546 he was presented to the rectory of Bothal, and in the same year was referred to as the King's chaplain, probably because of his position as a chaplain in Alnwick castle.

It is possible that he also held the vicarage of Lesbury, which had been in the gift of his abbey, and in the 1550's he was still receiving his pension of £50. In 1554 he was deprived of Bothal for marriage, but was restored in 1559 by the royal visitors who also appointed him as their deputy along with Bernard Gilpin. In 1561 he was presented to the vicarage of Chatton, another cure which had been annexed to Alnwick, serving that church with a Scottish curate. At his death in 1564 he was in possession here and at Bothal, and was the founder of a prominent county family. Other priors, such as Edward Turry of Newminster, and William Hodgson of Brinkburn, like the heads of the women's houses, appear only in the pension and surrender lists, and cannot be traced further. The priors of Wetherall, Lanercost and possibly

82 L. and P. XV, 1032 (321b).
83 Welford, 173; Gibson, II, pp. 91-4.
85 L. and P., XIII, part 1, 1520 (38) and p. 575.
Blanchland received rectories as well as pensions, but even so nothing else is known about them, and the members of their houses prove equally difficult to pin down. 86

R. B. Dobson, writing about Durham Priory, has concluded that in the later middle ages, "it seems reasonably clear that most of the Durham brethren came from the middle ranks of urban and rural society", and also that "Like nearly every large English monastery for which evidence survives, the inmates of Durham Priory were almost all drawn from a rural area within a radius of thirty or forty miles of the convent". 87 In the little evidence I have found for the Border houses there is nothing to suggest that this conclusion does not hold good for them too, and some suggestion from surnames etc. that this is in fact the case.

The evidence for Scotland is no fuller, but there are some details available. At Sweetheart for instance the last two abbots were of the Brown family, lairds of a middling status who obtained most of the feus of this abbey's lands. One of the monks there in the 1540's was of the Welsh family, which also produced a canon and subprior of Holywood. Of a similar standing to the Browns the Welshes, along with the Edgar family became the major feuars of Holywood's lands. 88 The hold of the Hoppringle family over Coldstream has already been discussed. It is probable that the reason the abbot of Canonby in the 1530's was a Graham was that this was the only way to protect the house from his family, the notorious inhabitants of the Debateable land.

86 See appendix under Wetherall, Aikton and Bywell St. Andrew.
This did not stop the house being destroyed by the English in 1542. The canons insisted they were on Scottish ground, and that the duty they paid to England was only for the right to come to Carlisle market, but Henry was equally determined that the house was English, and should be suppressed. The lands were to be given to another Graham, the prior's brother, to secure his loyalty. It does not seem that this was done since as late as 1576 a John Oliver appears as prior in the Scottish records. But when in 1561 there was some dispute as to who had the right to the fruits of the house it was the Grahams who were called before the Scottish Privy Council to sort the matter out. 89 On the whole the lists of members of Scottish houses which survive again suggest that they were members of local families of a middling status.

The next question is what happened to these four hundred or so religious after their houses had been brought to an end. Scarcity of evidence means that apart from those few heads of houses already mentioned we can be certain only of the fate of those who went on to serve the church in another capacity. These however are quite numerous. Professor Dennis Hay has published an article on the Dissolution in Durham diocese which includes a list of those religious he has been able to trace later. 90 Material contained in the appendix provides one or two additions to this list, and similar evidence for the diocese of Carlisle, and shows that out of 140 monks and canons in the English Borders at the dissolution over 40 went on to serve

89 Armstrong, Liddesdale, I, pp. 109-17; N.L.S. Armstrong Mss. 6117, f. 43-4; College of Arms, Talbot Papers, A.f. 171.

90 A.A. 4th ser., vol. 15, pp. 103-9, op. cit.
as chantry priests or in parishes. Not surprisingly the overwhelming majority of these were from the houses of canons. Of the 17 canons of Alnwick, 12 can be traced serving at a later date, and another became a schoolmaster in Alnwick. At Carlisle the dean, four canons and eight minor canons of the new cathedral establishment had all been members of the priory. In Scotland too there was a considerable record of service in parochial cures, both before and after 1560. There were at least 9 canons and 4 monks serving in Border cures before this date, and 12 canons and 5 monks in the reformed church. That this figure is considerably lower than that for the English side may be due partly to the lack of comprehensive lists of monastic personnel in Scotland, but also to the fact that with their portions, chambers and gardens as they had always enjoyed them, the Scottish religious would have less financial incentive to seek a parochial cure, and a positive disincentive to serve outside the immediate vicinity of their house. On the other hand if a Scottish monk or canon did choose to serve in the reformed church he would receive a stipend in addition to, not in place of his portion. These portions were generally deducted from the abbey's income before its thirds were calculated and so do not appear in the Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds, but occasionally when most of a house's revenue had come into the collector's hands, he paid the portions. Thus we know that in 1562 the monks of Melrose received £13-6-8 Scots each for the money part of their portion, and in 1563 11 of them shared £117-6-8 as two thirds of their portions. In the same year the nuns of Coldstream seem to have received £20 each whereas £16 per year

91 L. and P., XVI, 878 (11).

92 Galloway Clergy, p. 46.
was the amount allowed for friars. In England friars were not provided with pensions. Leaving aside the heads of houses, the monks and canons in the English Borders generally received between £4 and £6 per annum. The equivalent of this would be between £20 and £30 Scots, and when it is remembered that the Scottish portions would include victual as well, there was probably little difference between the two. However the English nuns were much worse off than their sisters north of the Border, none of them receiving more than £2 sterling.

Having seen what became of at least some of the inmates of the Border houses, it remains to discuss what happened to the houses themselves and their possessions. With respect to the lands of the Scottish houses the question has already been answered. The convents remained as a legal entity to administer their lands as before, but in fact through the preponderance of lay commendators, and through the widespread practice of feuing, secularisation of monastic lands had already gone a long way and was to go further before the lands were finally disposed of by the crown in the next century. Very often this disposition did not so much change the situation as recognise the status quo. As has already been suggested it was generally to sitting tenants, to local men, that lands passed in this way. In the English Borders although the method was different, the result was very similar. Monastic lands were distributed not by feus and leases issued by the abbeys, but by purchase or lease from the crown, but it was again to local men that the lands went. Whatever changes

93 T.B., 154, 157, 281.
94 e.g. Dugdale, IV, 197, 489; L. and P., XIV, part 2, 773.
95 See above, p. 158.
the distribution of monastic lands might have made in other areas, in the Borders it served to consolidate old positions rather than to build up new ones.

Holm Cultram was an exception to this general rule, and we have already seen the distaste with which the outsider, the University of Oxford was regarded. Its predecessor, Gavin Borrowdale, the last abbot and only clerical rector of the parish had made its lot more difficult by, in his time there, apparently failing to exact all the tithes to which he was due. "... the last Abbot being made Parson did entreat to have lesser measure in barley by reason he kept not such a house of hospitality as when he was abbot, and for that meal was not so vendable as Barley by reason it would not keep fresh for so long". The history of the Holm for the rest of the sixteenth century is one of numerous tithe suits and other disputes. The lands of the priories of Carlisle and Wetherall were granted to the dean and chapter of the new cathedral of Carlisle, and the two remaining houses in the Western English Borders both went to local men. The priory of Armathwaite was leased first to Leonard Barrowe of Armathwaite, and later passed to the Grayme family. Disposing of Lanercost was not quite so straightforward. First the priory and its possessions were leased to Sir William Penison, but the Dacres regarded the house as family property and were not best pleased with this arrangement.

96 Regs. and Recs., 193.
97 Ibid., passim.
98 L. and P., XVI, 878 (11).
99 Ibid., XIV, part 1, 1355, (p.606); Pat. Rolls. Edward VI, IV, 383; Eliz., II, 207.
100 L. and P., XIII, part 1, 1520 (26b).
101 For an example of Dacre's constant supervision of the house, see the letter from him to the prior in 1524, reprimanding him for being too much occupied in building programmes, and indicating who Dacre wished to be subprior. This is printed in V. C. H. Cumb., II, 156-7.
Sir William complained to the chancellor of the Court of Augmentations that "my lord Dacre, contrarie to my will and pleasure or ony promise to him thereof made, doth usurpe the ferm of Lanercoste demaynes and benefice therto appropriat, taking all things as his owne, putting out and in tenants and prestes, so that by his maintenance the hole convent do confeder and flok togither in their chanons cotes very unseemly". He had earlier it seems entered into negotiation about the priory with Dacre, but had reached no agreement, so he was now looking for official help, adding to his complaints the comment that as he had no control over Lanercost at the moment he would be unable to pay the King's rent unless something was done. \(^{102}\) Dacre of course denied all the charges: "as to the flocking of any chanons ther or empeching to be made to his deputies by me or any oder for me in the receipte of the revenues or any oder prouffettes ther, I did never nor no one for me medled therwithin". \(^{103}\) In what was so definitely Dacre country Penison was fighting a losing battle and in 1542 the priory was granted to Thomas Dacre of Lanercost. \(^{104}\)

With the Northumberland houses it was very much the same story. The nunnery of Lamley was leased to Richard Carnaby who had been bailliff and collector there before the dissolution. In 1553 it was granted to the Duke of Northumberland, but he almost immediately conveyed it to another local man, Albany Featherstonehaugh. \(^{105}\) Similarly Holystone went first to Richard Lisle and then to John Heron, not passing to outside hands until the 1560's. \(^{106}\) As

\(^{102}\) L. and P., X, 260; XIII, part 1, 304.
\(^{103}\) L. and P., XIII, part 1, 522.
\(^{104}\) Ibid., XVII, 1154 (76).
\(^{106}\) Dugdale, IV, 197; Pat. Rolls, Eliz., II, 243.
we have already seen the third Northumberland nunnery, that at Newcastle, went to James Lawson of Newcastle, the brother of the last prioress. 107 The priory of Holy Island went first to Thomas Sparke, its last prior and the suffragan bishop of Berwick, and after his death was leased to the captain of Berwick. 108 Farne Island, the other Durham cell in Northumberland, went to the new dean and chapter of Durham. The monastery of Tynemouth went first to one of its opponents, Sir Thomas Hilton, and then in 1557 to the Earl of Northumberland. 109 On the southern edge of the county the Earl of Westmorland asked that he might have the abbey of Blanchland, but it was eventually granted to William Grene, an official of the Court of Augmentations who was the receiver for Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland. 110 It is probable that he was the same man as William Grayme, said to be one of Northumberland's officers, who, on the latter's request was granted the abbey of Newminster, but he was hindered from entering into these lands by Sir Oswald Wolstrop who seems to have been successful with these tactics. 111 Portions of this abbey's lands were later leased to a number of local men including Cuthbert Musgrave, Matthew Ogle, John Swinburn and John Witherington. 112 The cell of Bamburgh went to Sir John Forster. 113 The disposal of Alnwick abbey was less straightforward. The crown kept many of its

107 _L. and P._ , XVI, 1500 (188b).
109 _Gibson_, II, 216; _Pat. Rolls_, Ed. VI, V, 244.
110 _L. and P._ , XIV, part 1, 344; part 2, 482; XVI, 1500 (140b).
111 _L. and P._ , XI, 529; XII, part 2, 548.
112 See e.g. _Pat. Rolls_ Ed. VI, IV, 231; V, 21; Eliz., II, 153.
113 _Dugdale_, VI, 103; _N.C.H._ , I, p. 94.
possessions, but much of what was leased out went to Sir Cuthbert Radcliffe, 114 and other lessees were the Forsters, Gallons and Greys, again local families. In 1536 the site and some of the lands of Brinkburn were leased to Cuthbert Carnaby who apparently sold his lease to George Fenwick. 115 Later other lands were granted to John Horsley and Robert Collingwood, and it was not until 1560 that the abbey's lands passed from local control. 116 Even then advowsons which had belonged to the abbey went to Ralph Ellerker and Matthew Ogle, still local men. 117 Lastly there is Hexham which was granted to Sir Reynold Carnaby at the request of the Earl of Northumberland. 118 This was much resented by the Earl's brother who took every opportunity offered in the Pilgrimage of Grace to act against Carnaby. The latter had obviously alienated many by pushing himself into a number of offices, but he was a member of an old Northumberland family, and already the archbishop of York's officer in Hexhamshire. 119 Certainly it seems in this instance that the government was using the gift of the abbey to secure the loyalty of one who was very useful to them in the north, but it is still far from introducing, by means of gifts and leases of monastic lands, a completely new interest to balance existing ones. In the Borders the introduction of completely new men rarely if ever worked.

As to the disposal of monastic buildings the picture in Scotland and England

114 Tate, II, 25-9.
115 N.C.H., VII, 469; L. and P., XXI, part 1, 814.
117 Ibid., Eliz., II, 152, 153, 325.
118 L. and P., XI, 529.
119 L. and P., XII, part 1, 1090, 546; Dodds, I, 31-3.

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is very similar. Those monastic churches which were used for parochial pur-
poses were left intact, the rest were allowed to fall into decay if not actually
demolished. The conventual buildings either suffered the same fate, or were
converted into a dwelling house for the new owner. This can be seen happening
at Lanercost and Tynemouth in England and at Dryburgh in Scotland. 120
Alternatively they might be demolished, and the building materials used else­
where. Thus, stone from the priory of Holy Island went to construct a
defensive bulwark there and in 1540 John Heron requested that he might use
stone from Holystone and Brinkburn to repair the castle of Harbottle. 121 In
1569 the commendator of Melrose was disgusted to find that Sir Walter Scot
of Branxholm had been doing some demolition work there and charged him with
"the wrongous spoliation, detaining, awaytaking, withholding and disposing of
the stones, timber, lead, iron and glass of the said kirk and steeple thereof
extending to divers great quantities and prices". Sir Walter's defence was that
at this time the English army were burning and destroying in Teviotdale, and
his action was designed to prevent them from coming and spoiling the abbey.
He declared himself ready to restore what he had taken or pay the cost of the
necessary repairs. 122 It would seem the dilapidation was carried further by
the commendator when he came to build a new house for himself. 123 However
with respect to monastic buildings there was one phenomenon which affected
those in Scotland but which did not apply to those in England in this period;
this was the destruction they suffered from invading armies.

120 Lanercost Priory, J.R.H. Moorman, Brampton, 1945, p.21; N.C.H.,
VIII, p.127; Essays, 448.
121 L. and P., XVII, 412; XV, 467.
123 Essays, 448.
There is of course much disagreement as to whether it was English armies or protestant mobs which were responsible for the ruin of the great Border abbeys. It has been suggested that the devastation caused by the armies has been grossly exaggerated, and that they could not possibly have done all the damage they claimed to do. Moreover there are cases where the same abbey is said to have been destroyed by successive raids. But on the other hand contemporary evidence from Scottish as well as the English sources does suggest that a good deal of damage was done. Large numbers of charters give as the reason for the granting of a feu or a lease, financial or practical help given towards repairs and rebuilding after an English attack. Certainly this must have been a good excuse for some of the large scale alienation of church land which was going on in these years, but to have been any use it must have been a plausible excuse at the time. The fact that not all the money raised on this pretext might have gone to the avowed purpose does not mean that it was not needed for this purpose. Moreover it was only natural that a community whose church or living quarters were destroyed would wish to repair them as soon as possible. We have a graphic and convincing description of the attack on Coldstream in 1542, and a letter dated a few months later telling us that after the attack the prioress and sisters had fled for their lives, but that they now wished for permission to return to their house. The permission was granted, the convent returned and were still there in 1560. There can be little doubt that the attack which drove them away must have caused considerable damage, and that the convent would have been unlikely to remain there

124 e.g. Newbattle. For this argument see Essays, pp. 421-5.

125 Hamilton Papers, I, 245, 284; App. XXII.
another seventeen years without repairing the damage as best they could.
The exaggeration in English reports seems to lie mostly in those which claim
that Kelso or Melrose or Dryburgh have been "razed". There are enough of
these houses left standing even now to belie this. When the length of time
the English forces were able to devote to any one house is compared with the
length of time it would take to raze a complex of sturdy stone buildings, even
if gunpowder could be spared for the purpose, such reports are bound to seem
doubtful. From 1544 there is a much more likely report made about Jedburgh:
"the abbey likewise they burned as much as they might for the stonework". 126
Even within this limitation of course, much damage could be done; damage
which would need to be made good while the convents remained in their
houses, 127 which would require a considerable amount of ready money to make
good, and, unfortunately for the inhabitants would still leave enough standing
to invite further attack next time an English army chanced to come that way.
If this view is accepted it is obvious that the English armies may well be held
responsible for a good deal of destruction, but also that there was still much
left standing by 1560. As McRoberts has pointed out the fact that the Lords
of the Congregation intended to pass to Kelso and the abbeys west of there, to
cast them down, is a strong indication that they had been left standing after
the English raids. "The godly had a good idea of the situation at each religious
house. They were moreover very busy men at this period and they certainly
did not propose a sixty-mile outing for the sole purpose of admiring romantic

126 Hamilton Papers, II, 405, 407.

127 It is noticeable that it was not often that inmates of Border houses
actually fled. The cases of Coldstream and that of Eccles, mentioned
above are isolated instances.
ruins". But the real significance of these hostile attacks before the reformation is that they made life even harder for the already hard pressed Border houses. No doubt this is what the protestant commanders of Henry's and Somerset's armies intended. The result of their attacks was not to bring an end to these houses as perhaps they hoped, but it did add yet another secular preoccupation to the minds of those who should have been occupied with spiritual matters. The monks of Melrose for instance had enough problems in dealing with their commendator without having to find money to repair the damages caused by English attacks. The shortage of money, and troubles with a commendator might have occurred anywhere in Scotland, but the problems caused by hostile attacks were purely Border ones, and helped to make up the distinctive pattern of religion within the Borders. Not only internal problems, and a certain amount of spiritual stagnation but also these external attacks helped to prevent the monasteries from being the religious power-houses that were so desperately needed in this area. In a different way the Scottish houses suffered almost as much as their English counterparts from the policies of Henry VIII, long before they had their own reformation to worry about.

To complete this picture of the religious houses in the Borders we must now turn to look at the communities of friars who lived in these areas. There were ten friaries in the English Borders and five in Scotland. They must

128 Essays, 434.

129 See above. By 1556 they protested that unless immediate repairs were carried out, God's service would cease in the coming winter. Essays, p. 219.


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have played a part in the religious life of the areas in which they were situated, and because of their mobility would also be important in surrounding areas. Thus it is that friars form a considerable number of those travelling backwards and forwards across the Border because of the religious changes of this period. Before the religious upheaval friars seem to have passed freely between the two countries, even when relations between them were not at their best. In 1521, while his house was in ruins as a result of an English raid led by Surrey, the warden of the Jedburgh house sought and obtained permission to preach at Norham. Even in 1541 when the English houses had been suppressed Henry allowed a number of Grey friars to pass through England on their way to a general chapter, as their predecessors had done, although on this occasion at least two of the party experienced some trouble on the return journey, and were detained at Newcastle until the Privy Council intervened and ordered their release. With this sort of tradition it is not surprising that friars of either country should seek refuge across the Border when occasion demanded. A list of English Observant friars compiled some time after the suppression of this order in 1534 shows that at least eight of them fled to Scotland, and they would not have been the last to do so. During the rebellion two more, Thomas Dalyell and Henry Bukkery, and probably some others are said to have returned to their house at Newcastle. They were expelled by Norfolk whereupon the two named sought refuge in

130 (continued) and are here considered along with the true Mendicant orders. (See Knowles and Hadcock (1971), 2nd edit., p. 205).

131 Moir Bryce, I, 76.

132 Ibid., 80.

133 L. and P., XV, 1607; Moir Bryce says 18. I, 79.
Scotland, although they returned later to ask for a pardon. As late as 1541, three English Observants were among the English "rebels reset within Scotland" whose return Henry was demanding. In 1536 Richard Marshall, prior of the Newcastle Dominicans, fled to Scotland. He wrote to his brethren explaining his action. "... for fear of my life I am fled ... because I have not, according to the King's commandment, in my sermons both prayed for him as the supreme head of the church, but rather contrary, ...". His letter goes on to give his reasons for this decision.

Similarly of course there were a number of Scottish friars who were forced to flee to England because of their reforming views. We know also that the friars of Dumfries were prepared to abjure the catholic faith for a time to safeguard themselves from English attack. In the words of Lord Wharton's son, "the obedience of friars, priest and all was no little comfort to the Englishman to see; the friars are content to leave their habit and wear secular priests gowns and will do anything I command them; they make suit for help nothaving wherewithall to live except the demesne of their house which will find but for three and there are seven of them". This episode should however be seen as an aspect of the house'e involvement in Border politics rather than as an indication of its doctrinal convictions.

After their warden's execution, and the decline of English influence in the area they soon returned to their old observances.

134 L. and P., XI, 1372; XII, part 2, 1045; 1076.
135 Hamilton Papers, I, 65, 91; Moir Bryce, I, 79.
136 L. and P., X, 1536. Printed in Gasquet, II, 246. See also Essays, pp. 326-9, where Durkan suggests that he may have been instrumental in compiling Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism. He also shows that Marshall came to play an active part in the church of his new country.
137 Essays, 200, 205, 298.
138 Moir Bryce, I, pp. 84-5.
This account gives us one of the few estimates of the numbers in a
Scottish Border friary. In fact the only numbers we can be sure of are those
for the Newcastle houses for which there are surrender lists. The figures
yielded by these are Dominicans 13, Austins 12, Franciscans 11, Carmelites
10 and Trinitarians 1. We also know that there were 10 in Huln friary, but
no names are available there. The lists of names which do survive give
some opportunity to find out what happened to the friars after their houses
had been suppressed. It would seem that 4 Franciscans, 4 Carmelites,
1 Dominican and 2 Austin friars went on to work in parishes or chantries,
while a third Austin friar became schoolmaster at Berwick. Although the
scarcity of names for the members of Scottish friaries means that any con­
clusion about their continued service after the reformation must be only
tentative, the available evidence suggests that such continuity was not very
common. One factor contributing to this situation may well have been the fact
that unlike their English counterparts, the Scottish friars were entitled to a
pension, £16 per annum. Even if not a large sum when converted into its
sterling equivalent, this was still much better than the pittance handed out to
the English friars. Not of course that in practice the system worked so
simply. In 1561 the state renounced its responsibility for payment or for any
deficit in the event of a friary's revenues proving insufficient for pensions
hitherto paid to surviving and conforming friars. It was not going to saddle
itself with any system which would leave it out of pocket. So it became the
friars' responsibility to see that their houses' revenues yielded enough to

139 Welford, pp. 167-72; D. Hay, A.A. 1938, op.cit., p.73.
140 Ibid., pp. 105-6; Forster, pp. 185 ff.
141 Moir Bryce, I, 156.
keep them. The problem would not be new to them. Since the 1530's the
friars of Dumfries had been fighting a running battle with Sir James Douglas
of Cavers who refused to pay them the royal alms which, as sheriff of Rox-
burgh he entered into his yearly accounts and claimed allowance for. In 1531
he was summoned to Edinburgh and ordered to pay, which he did until the
death of James V, but with the start of a new minority, the friars' troubles
began again. In 1554 he was once more summoned before the Lords, who
decided that he should pay half of his debt immediately, and the rest in
stipulated instalments. 142

Perhaps in dealing with him Charles Hume, the warden, learned a few
of the more unorthodox methods which he employed in a series of rather shady
deals with the Provost and then the council of Dumfries after 1560, all designed
to increase his own pension by as much as possible. Eventually he agreed with
the council that they should uplift all the profits of the house and pay him £20
per year. Unfortunately for all concerned they had forgotten Fr. George Law
who was entitled to £16 from the friary, but apparently was receiving nothing.
He armed himself with the powerful support of Lord Maxwell, protested to
the Privy Council about the warden's action, and eventually the council of
Dumfries found themselves obliged to pay a pension of 20 marks to Law,
although he was unable to secure the full £16. 143

A rather more edifying picture is offered by the head of the Trinitarian
house at Peebles, Gilbert Brown. In March 1560 he signed a public instrument
to the effect that "because John Master of Maxwell with certain esquires in

142 Moir Bryce, I, 205-6.

143 Moir Bryce, I, 213-4; G.W. Shirley, The End of the Grey Friars Convent
at Dumfries, and the last of the Friars; Dumfries Trans. 3rd ser. vol.1,
1912-13, pp.319-21.
his company had come to aid the Lords of the Congregation, therefore the
said minister for fear of his life and the destruction of his place and mona-
stery, changed his dress by changing his white habit for a grey keltour gown
and putting on a low black bonnet but not from any hatred of his old religion".

In December of the same year the Lords of the Council agreed that the church
of the Trinity friars might be used as the parish church of the town, and
Brown was asked to give it up for this purpose. He is said to have agreed to
the request, but obviously there was further trouble since it was repeated a
month later. He again agreed "... and moreover the said minister commanded
his other brethren and the convent to live separate in time coming and not to
assemble thereafter in the said place"; but he stated that this act should not
prejudice their right to the profits and rents of the place, and another member
of the convent "in the name and behalf of the said convent, protested that they
were in no way separated from the place for any crime or notorious fault,
and that they had been in times past from the day of the insurrection of the
lords of the congregation obedient in all things to the said lords, like as they
would be still obedient in anything they should require of them ...". If
these compliant sentiments were shared by Brown, they did not last very
long. Early in 1562 he was ordered to appear before the elders "... quha
denyit he wold compere, allege and thai wer na maisteris to him; ..." He
also seems to have been involved in an argument with John Dickson, the
exhorter there. Brown too had his financial problems. In 1564 he obliged
himself to pay four marks per year to the four remaining brethren; a small

144 Peebles Chrs., 259.

145 Ibid., 264, 269.

146 Ibid., 288.
amount, and yet it seems he was doubtful whether he would be able to do this and pay the third of the benefice as well, and was planning to sell "the ornaments, vestments and jewels being presently in keeping in Nepeth and Chaple-hill if any profit can be had thereof in times coming". The keeping of these ornaments until this date perhaps suggests a lingering hope that the "insurrection of the lords of the congregation" was not permanent. This obviously was thought to be feasible as late as 1570 when a transaction over the site over the friar's church at Kirkcudbright contained the clause "it is further agreed that wehn reformation shall happen to come to the kirk and religion within the realm, so that the said Thomas may not lawfully warrand and defend the said kirk to the baillies he shall return the purchase price to them, and they shall surrender the infeftments following upon this disposition".

This document brings us to the question of what happened to the buildings and lands of the suppressed friaries. The house of the Blackfriars in Carlisle was kept in the King's hands, and converted into a council chamber, magazine and storehouse for the garrison there, and the site and house of the Austin friars in Newcastle were reserved for the use of the King's council in the North. The house and land of the Dominicans of Newcastle went to the mayor and burgesses there; William Dent, an alderman of the city, bought the houses and some of the lands of the Carmelite and Trinitarian houses from the crown grantees, and the Grey Friars went to James Rokeby an auditor of the Court of Augmentations. Of the two remaining Northumberland friaries,

147 Peebles Chrs., 295.
148 Moir Bryce, I, 255.
149 V.C.H. Cumberland, II, 199.
150 L. and P., XIII, part 2, 768; Welford, 167. 

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Thomas Horsley acquired that at Bamburgh, and Hulne went to Sir Robert Ellerker, despite the fact that the Earl of Northumberland had regarded it as his house, and both he and Dacre had used it as administrative head quarters when in the Borders.  

In Dumfries, as we have seen, the friary passed, through the agency of the warden, to the town council, who were also granted it by the crown. The house at Jedburgh, which can not have been in a very good condition, having been burned by at least two English forces in the 1540's, was, in 1571, granted to the burgh. Roxburgh was also burned in 1545, and may have been abandoned after this. But in 1547 it had been partly roofed over by the English who used it as a stable, and according to Moir Bryce it is likely that the friars resumed possession some time in the 1550's. There was a warden and at least one friar in 1560. In 1564 the house and lands were leased to Walter Ker of Cesford, who converted the friary into a mansion house.  

In Peebles as we have seen the friary church became the parish church, and in 1624 the lands were erected into a barony for John, Lord Hay of Yester. At the last of the Border houses, Kirkcudbright, the town council showed little interest in the fate of the buildings. In June 1564 the General Assembly asked that the church could be used as the parish church, but nothing came.

152 R.M.S., IV, 1848.  
153 L. and P., XIX, part 1, 762; XX, part 2, 456; R.S.S., VI, 2814.  
155 R.M.S., IV, 1913.  
of this. Five years later Thomas McClellan of Bombie received from the crown a blench charter of the buildings, site and lands belonging to the friary because they "have for long time past been demolished and now lie waste, so that no benefit or profit accrues to anyone". The buildings are unlikely to have fallen into such a state of ruin so quickly, but McClellan wanted the materials for the castle he was building, and so a certain amount of exaggeration on his part, or some assistance to the process of decay would be understandable. As soon as he had received his grant the town council woke up to what was happening, but they had to pay for their delay. They got the friary church and the church of St. Andrew, and McClellan's promise to uphold the choir "for the parson's part", but they had to give him in return a tenement in the town, 200 marks, and 100 bolls of lime for his building project.

We are left then, with a picture of monastic life, which, usually to its detriment, was closely bound up with Border society. As well as the problems faced by all Scottish or English houses the Border monasteries had their own troubles, common to both sides of the Border line. They survived in that distinctive community by accepting to a large extent its rules and values. The overwhelming majority of evidence which survives about these houses is concerned with them as political, economic or military entities, not as a spiritual influence in an area which badly needed this. \textsuperscript{159} The numbers of the religious meant that they must have formed an important

\textsuperscript{158} Moir Bryce, I, 255.

\textsuperscript{159} In relation to Coldingham it has been written, "one is struck by how little the reformation comes into the affairs of the Priory". M. Dilworth, Coldingham Priory and the Reformation. \textit{Innes Review}, 23, 1972, p. 116.
group within Border Society, but it was not as upholders of a Christian ideal that they stood out. Just as the ending of the monasteries made no great changes in the landholding patterns in the Borders, so it made no very marked change in their religious life. The "Book-a-bosoms" might be missed in Liddesdale, but those monks and canons who had been involved in parish ministry for the most part continued to be so involved after they had ceased to be monks and canons. The aspects in which the monasteries had been of importance to the Borders were aspects which the reformation changes did little to alter.
Having looked at the organisation of the Border church on a parish level, we must now turn to the higher levels of ecclesiastical organisation and government. Although the adequate provision of buildings, church goods, and above all incumbents was the most obviously important aspect of the church in the localities, from the point of view of discipline and orthodoxy the supervisory agencies were equally vital. There had to be some organisation to ensure that statutes and injunctions were obeyed; to carry out the traditional supervision which had always been provided by rural deans, archdeacons and bishops, and to provide the spiritual centres which the cathedrals could be.

In the sixteenth century it was also necessary to spread new doctrines, to ensure that the parish clergy were promoting that faith which had the sanction of the government of the moment, and to discipline those who were not.

The Border parishes were divided between five bishoprics, two on the English side and three in Scotland. Of these five only one, Carlisle, had its cathedral in the Borders. Two of the Scottish sees, Glasgow and St. Andrews were in no sense Border sees, and the third Whithorn, although its cathedral was in the extreme south of Scotland, was too far west to be in the Borders as such. Similarly Durham, although in the North parts, was not centred on Northumberland. The basic organisation of the two English sees is conveniently described for us by their bishops in reply to a government enquiry.

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1 From 1537 there was also the suffragan bishop of Berwick in this diocese. Thomas Sparke, a monk of Durham, was recommended for the post by Tunstall and appointed by the King. He was active in ordinations and helped to make up for Tunstall's preoccupation with national affairs. He does not seem to have acted as bishop after 1558, although still known as bishop of Berwick. He died in 1571. Reg. of Tunstall and Pilkington, passim, and see below.
issued in 1563. The first two articles were concerned with "how many shires or counties your diocese doth contain, or into how many it doth extend", and "into what manner of regiments the same is divided, whether the same be archdeaconries, deaneries or such like". The answers for Durham and Carlisle both survive. "The diocese of Carlisle containeth two shires, viz. Cumberland and Westmorland. Out of Cumberland is Coupland exempted which is of the diocese of Chester. And out of Westmorland is the Barony of Kendall exempted being of the same diocese". As to the divisions, "The diocese of Carlisle hath but one Archdeaconry. ... The diocese of Carlisle is divided into one deanery of the cathedral church and four rural deaneries, viz. Cumberland, Westmorland, Carlisle and Allerdale". In the eastern diocese there were two arch-deaconries, of Durham and Northumberland, and the parishes in the northern county were divided into the deaneries of Alnwick, Corbridge, Bamborough, Morpeth and Newcastle. There were also a number of peculiars in Northumberland. The largest was that of Hexhamshire, belonging to the Archbishop of York, and including the parishes of Hexham, Allendale and St. John Lee. Adjoining this was Thockrington, belonging to the prebend of that name in York. Lastly there was Norhamshire and Islandshire, part of the officiality of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

In Scotland the whole of the Eastern Borders formed the deanery of the Merse in St. Andrew's diocese, apart from the two parishes of Bonkle and Preston which were mensal churches of the Bishopric of Dunkeld. In the west the diocese of Whithorn, or Candida Casa, was divided into four deaneries, of which Desnes and Glenken/Desnes come within the scope of this study. In

2 Harleian Mss, 594, ff. 85-7, 186-195.

3 The deanery of Westmorland is not included in this survey.
the remaining diocese, of Glasgow, the Border churches were divided between
the deaneries of Nithsdale and Desses/Nithsdale, Peebles, Teviotdale,
Annandale and Eskdale. Whithorn had one archdeacon, that of Galloway;
Glasgow two, Glasgow and Teviotdale; and St. Andrew's two, St. Andrew's
and Lothian. 4 Because of the dearth of pre-reformation Scottish records it
is difficult to trace even the names of many of the deans of Christianity, 4a
and even when this is possible it tells us little of the part they played in the
church administration, other than what we know in general of this office.

After 1560 however the work of the Scottish church was under the super­
vision, not of the old diocesan organisation, but also of the reformed kirk.
The Godly had been faced with the task of providing for the necessary super­
visory functions in the new church, but wished to avoid at all costs the bishops
whom they so despised. "These men must not be suffered to live as your idle
bishops have done heretofore". The role of the new superintendents was
carefully spelt out. 5 They were to be preachers and teachers as well as
supervisors.

"... they must be preachers themselves and such as may make no long
residence in any one place, till their churches be planted and provided of
ministers, or at the least of readers. Charge must be given to them that
they remain in no one place above twenty or thirty days in their visitation,
till they have passed through their whole bounds. They must thrice every
week at the least preach; and when they return to their principal town and
residence, they must be likewise exercised in preaching and in edification
of the church there. And yet they must not be suffered to continue there
so long, as they may seem to neglect their other churches, but after that
they have remained in their chief town three or four months at most, they

4 See Watt, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi, St. Andrew's 1969,
passim.

4a These officials were generally attached to a specific geographical area
and resembled the English rural deans.

shall be compelled to re-enter in visitation, in which they shall not only preach, but also examine the life, diligence and behaviour of the Ministers; as also the order of their churches, the manners of the people. They must further be considered how the poor be provided; how the youth be instructed. They must admonish where admonition needeth; dress such things as by good counsel they be able to appease; and finally they must note such crimes as be heinous that, by the censure of the Church, the same may be corrected."

If a superintendent was found to be negligent in any of this he was to be deposed forthwith. Despite the name Superintendent, there was little difference between the theory put forward by the Book of Discipline, and that expressed by Bishop Pilkington. "To be a bishop is to be an officer, a ruler, a guide, a teacher of God's flock in God's church." The theoretical justification and duties of the godly bishop and the godly superintendent were very much alike, and so the two may be considered together. The differences, once again, come from the different situations of the two reformations. In Scotland even when the Lords of the Congregation had taken the government into their own hands, and set about erecting a true church, the bishops of the old church remained. "The structure of Scottish society and government being what it was, such men could not be coerced into acceptance of the reformed Confession of Faith which the parliament approved; neither could they be deprived if they refused to conform. A strong Scottish king could hardly have ventured to deprive them; still less could they be deprived by what was at best a provisional government in a dubious legal position". Even had they wished, then, the reformers could not replace the present incumbents with their own supporters. The only alternative was for them to provide in some other way for the necessary supervision and administration, and in doing so to make what seemed to them desirable changes.

6 Parker Society, Works of Pilkington, 604.
7 Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 55.
There was to be no opportunity for the superintendents to go the way of the wealthy and idle prelates. The outline of their duties shows that if conscientiously carried out they would be kept more than busy. In return for all this they were to receive "six chalders of bear, nine chalders of meal, three chalders of oats for his horse, 500 marks of money to be eiked and pared at the discretion of the Prince and Council of the Realm". It has been estimated that this would be worth about £700, a generous amount which would compare favourably with the bishoprics, especially since it would not be burdened with pensions as they so often were; and even in years when the kirk was particularly hard pressed for money the superintendents seem to have been paid quite well. 8 On the other hand, however, the superintendents were by no means so firmly entrenched in the possession of this wealth as their episcopal counterparts. They held their office, and their stipend, only so long as they met with the approval of the General Assembly, and its records prove that it was by no means easily satisfied. In contrast to the vying for episcopal wealth and dignity, the godly were generally reluctant to take on the office of superintendent. The Book of Discipline had set out the proposed boundaries for their spheres of influence, which rationalised the boundaries of the old dioceses, and reduced the number from 13 to 10, but only 5 superintendents were ever appointed. 9 After the early years it became the practice to appoint not superintendents but commissioners. They were appointed directly by the General Assembly, and

8 Knox, History, II, 289; Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 126-7; T.B., xxxv.

9 Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, pp.112-3, 128. The political and financial situations no doubt influenced the appointment of superintendents as Donaldson here explains, but even allowing for this, it is obvious that there was no great queue of candidates for these well paid but arduous posts.
and were paid usually only £100 or £200 a year, but were subject to similar criticisms and controls. In 1572 Mr. John Row, Commissioner of Galloway, was "complained upon, that he had plurality of benefices, but they knew not how the Kirks were provided of preaching. He answered, that he had two vicarages, but reapeth no profit of them; and withall desired to be disburthened of the Commissionary of Galloway".  

This degree of control is perhaps the greatest difference between the Scottish officials and the English bishops, or the Scottish bishops before 1560. It helps to provide information as to the activities of the superintendents and commissioners, even if, by being largely concerned with reprimanding them for what they were not doing, it provides a rather negative picture. It is still a much fuller and more detailed picture than we can have of the pre-reformation Scottish bishops. Very little has survived to give us a picture of the pre-1560 Scottish Border church at diocesan level. What does survive shows the bishops engaged in the sort of work we would expect. The documents relating to the dilapidation of churches in the Merse, referred to in an earlier chapter, record a visitation of that deanery by Archbishop Hamilton, which we would otherwise not know of, and show him using his authority to enforce necessary standards there.  

Another sphere in which the archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrew's were active was reform through provincial councils. These councils have generally been cited to demonstrate the parlous state of the Scottish church, but they can easily give an unbalanced view, since they were unlikely to concern themselves with what was right with the church. Their purpose was to decide what

10 Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 128.
11 B.U.K., 256.
11a See above, p. 64.
was wrong, and what could be done about this. The fact that a number of statutes had to be repeated time after time certainly suggests little success in enforcing their decisions, but this cannot entirely detract from the fact that the prelates seem to have known fairly precisely what was wrong, even when they were unable to put it right. That the main reason for the lack of success lay with the bishops themselves has been too often said to bear repeating, but it is also fair to say "It was no mean feat for Scotland to possess the Tridentine decisions months after they were made and to put them into force years before any other country in Europe". The Provincial councils are however part of the national history of Scotland. Of more importance to the Borders was the fact that within days of the last of these councils the archbishop of Glasgow held a diocesan synod at which he promulgated its decrees, and that he then issued letters to his diocese calling for their observance. By then there was little time left for these measures to take effect, but it nevertheless shows an active concern on the part of the archbishop, and since there is no evidence to the contrary, it would be likely that he had introduced the decrees of previous councils to his diocese in the same way.

It is however only occasionally that we get these glimpses of the archbishops making their presence felt in the southernmost parts of the dioceses. Generally their authority would have been exercised by their officials in the Borders, but of their activities we have no details. One of the few recorded occasions of the

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13 Melrose Regality Records, 167-86.
presence of the archbishop of St. Andrew's in a Border church has unfortunately farcical overtones. In 1539 a great row blew up because Cardinal David Beaton caused his cross to be elevated in the friary church at Dumfries, without first having gained the consent of the archbishop of Glasgow, in whose diocese he was. Obviously the clergy of Dumfries were jealous of their diocesan's standing, and three of them immediately entered a formal document of protest at the outrage. Although on this occasion no-one seems to have come to blows, and despite the fact that the local clergy were obviously firmly on the side of their bishop, the incident cannot have increased the Borderer's already very scanty respect for the authority of the church.

Even apologists of the hierarchy can only say that "The tradition of political service and scholastic endowment continued up to the reformation". Comment on the bishops' pastoral oversight is singularly lacking, but with the evidence as it is it would be difficult to say whether this is because it was grossly inadequate, or whether all reference which there might have been to it has disappeared. It is certain that conditions in the sixteenth century Scottish church militated against reform, even if anyone particularly concerned with this had got through the secularly controlled machinery of appointment. At all events the shortcomings of the materials available must be borne in mind.

14 R. Edgar, An Introduction to the History of Dumfries, 1915, I, p.118; Reg. Episc. Glas. no.502. The problem had occurred before, ibid., 500, and was to occur again, in 1545. This incident was made famous by Knox in his History. He obviously delighted in telling how, when the two prelates were in Glasgow cathedral, both insisting on precedence, "... then began no little fray, but yet a merry game; for rochets were rent, tippets were torn, crowns were knapped, and side gowns might have been seen wantonly to wag from the one wall to the other." Knox, History, I, 72-4.

15 Essays, 62.

16 See Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, p.20.
when comparing the bishops with their successors. After the Reformation, although the archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrew's remained on the Catholic side, there is no evidence of them rallying conservative forces within their dioceses. Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, was the only Scottish bishop who was wholly opposed to the reforming party from the start, and he left for France in July 1560. Hamilton as the brother of the titular head of the reformers, was in a more equivocal position, and hopes had at one time been held of winning him to the reformed cause. He was one of those who tried to restore the Mass in the West in 1563, but it was later said that he would give up the Mass if this would serve the interests of his house. He did in fact maintain the Catholic faith until his death, but his actions until then were on a national rather than a diocesan level. He had no traceable influence on the Border areas of his diocese.

The man who forms the most obvious link between the Catholic and Reformed churches in the Scottish Borders is Alexander Gordon. A grandson of the third Earl of Huntly, and one of the three of his name to hold episcopal office in sixteenth century Scotland, he seems in one way typical of that aristocratic group which had such a tight hold on the major benefices of the Scottish church. And yet the middle years of his life were taken up with regularly fruitless attempts to get him established in a bishopric. In 1544 he was elected to the see of Caithness, but during a four year's struggle the administrator,

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17 Knox, History, II, 70, 76.

18 Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 56.

19 Except where other references are given, this account of Gordon is based on G. Donaldson, Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway (1559-75) and His Work in the Reformed Church. Dumfries Trans., 3rd ser., vol. XXIV, 1945-6, pp. 111-28.
Robert Stewart, managed to hold on to the revenues. In 1551 he was consecrated for the archbishopric of Glasgow, but the preferment eventually went to James Beaton and Gordon was created titular archbishop of Athens in consolation. At this time he also became commendator of the abbey of Inchaffray, and in 1553 was provided to the Isles, with Iona in commendam, but, perhaps because of Huntly's fall from favour, his title here was never confirmed. Then in 1558 the see of Galloway became vacant on the death of Andrew Durie, and, since the Huntly family was again in favour, Gordon was nominated to it early in 1559. Unfortunately however there must have been some defect in his title to this see too, and he never received papal confirmation of the appointment.

Although he was always known as bishop elect of Galloway, for practical purposes he can be regarded as bishop from 1559 or 1560 onwards. It was thus not until the time of the reformation that Gordon was settled in a bishopric, and by the same time he was clearly ranged on the side of the reformers. In later years he was to claim that he was "the first that publicly preached Christ in face of the authority". From 1559 he was associated with the Protestant lords and became a member of their council for religion. He was one of the signatories of the instructions to the commissioners sent to treat with the Duke of Norfolk at Berwick in February 1560, of the last Band of Leith two months later, and of the Book of Discipline in 1561. He was present at the Reformation Parliament, in Knox's words "one of them that had renounced papistry, and openly professed Jesus Christ with us". 20

The reformation must have recommended itself to him because it allowed him to acknowledge his connection with Barbara Logie, who had been his wife.

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20 Knox, *History*, I, 310, 315, 345, 335.
in all but name for about 17 years, and by whom he had seven children, but there is nothing to suggest that his conversion to Protestantism was not the result of genuine conviction. When an aristocratic supporter of the reformed church was also a bishop of the old church his talents would obviously be made good use of. His very presence in the reformed church would be good publicity, but more than that he was a ready made superintendent for his old diocese. As we have seen the reformers were not wholeheartedly opposed to the episcopal office; in their view a prelate who took the revenues of a see without fulfilling the duties thereof was no true bishop. "... a bishop that receives profit and feeds not the flock, even by his own labours, is both a thief and a murderer". But if there were men who were receiving episcopal revenues, and who were attached to the cause of the reformed church, there was no reason why they should not fulfil a supervisory function in that church. The economic plight of the Kirk would make the prospect all the more attractive, as they were already being paid for the work they would do.  

Gordon was first allowed the third of his bishopric as "owirsear their" in 1562, but since there were ministers and readers working in the diocese before this date, and since there was no-one but Gordon to have admitted them to this work, it seems likely that he was fulfilling the functions of an overseer, even before being paid as such. He was not however a "superintendent", and his authority would only have extended over the bounds of the diocese of Galloway. The Book of Discipline had envisaged that this area should be included under "The Superintendent of Dumfries 

21 Knox, quoted in Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 108.


23 T.B., 131, 137, 146, 150.
whose Diocese shall comprehend Galloway, Carrick, Nithsdale, Annandale, with the rest of the dales in the West". In 1562 Gordon asked that he should be appointed Superintendent over this area, a position which would not only extend his sphere of influence, but secure for him the stipend of a superintendent, as well as the third he was already allowed. The Assembly was not encouraging; "albeit he had presentation of the lords yet he has not observed the order keeped in the election of superintendents, and therfor cannot acknowledge him for a superintendent lawfully called for the present, but offered unto him their aid and assistance, if the Kirks of Galloway shall suit and the lords present". They proposed to send letters to the churches of Galloway "to learn whether they required any superintendent or not, and whom they required". Later in the year it was decided that either Gordon, or Mr. Robert Pont should be elected as superintendent, and until the election took place Gordon was licensed "to admit ministers, exhorters and readers, and to do such other things as were before accustomed in planting kirks". In other words, Gordon was to continue, unpaid, in the work he had already been doing. The election however was not held. Knox's History relates how the Queen warned him "If you knew him ... as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your Kirk". To this report is added the comment "And therein was not the Queen deceived; for he had corrupted most part of the gentlemen, not only to nominate him, but also to elect him ...". It is said that the election was put off because of this, but it has been suggested that this passage

25 B. U. K., 15.
26 Ibid., 28.
27 Knox, History, II, 72-3.
may reflect Knox's attitude to the bishop in the light of later developments or the attitude of another contributor, more hostile to the bishops. There were other reasons which might well explain the failure to hold the election, and it is certain that Gordon did not immediately fall from favour with the assembly.

In June 1563 he, along with other reformed bishops, received another commission "to plant kirks etc. within their own bounds, and that the Bishop of Galloway haunt as well the sherrifdom of Wigton as the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, reckoned to be within his own bounds". He was however to be confined to the bounds of the old diocese, and the oversight of Nithsdale was specifically given to the Superintendent of the West, John Willock. 28

It seems possible that after he was refused the superintendentship Gordon served the church rather more reluctantly than before. Certainly it is from this date that there begins a series of complaints against him. These show that he was expected to fill all the duties of a superintendent, and that he failed to satisfy the high standards of the assembly. After a number of minor complaints, 29 in December 1564 it was resolved to ask him and Bothwell "whether in their consciences they judged that they might both dewly use the office of a Superintendent and the office of a Lord of the Session and College of Justice". 30 It was also suggested that Gordon, among others, had not been careful enough in examining the qualities of those he admitted as ministers, exhorters, or readers. 31 In December 1565 he had to account for his failure to carry out visitations, and did so "with the building of his nephew's house". 32 Two years

28 B.U.K., 32, 35.
29 Ibid., 31, 39.
30 Ibid., 52.
31 Ibid., 54.
32 Ibid., 64.
later there was a similar complaint; "that he had not visited these three years bygone the kirks within his charge; that he left off the visiting and planting of kirks, and he haunted the court too much, and had now purchased to be one of the Session and Privy Council, which cannot agree with the office of a pastor or a bishop". He admitted to the charges, and was admonished "to be diligent in visitation", and his commission renewed until the next assembly. Even if he did not come up to their standards, the assembly could not well dispense with his services. Moreover however much they might deplore it, his position at court could be most useful to them. In 1566 it was he who put to the Queen complaints that the reformed ministers were not being paid their stipends and gained help from her in this. But he forfeited any expectation of gratitude, from an assembly already fairly hostile to him, when he openly embraced the Queen's cause. In 1568 he was called to appear before the assembly and choose between serving the church or the court. Meanwhile John Row was commissioned to visit Galloway, and Gordon was forbidden to take up his thirds. In the conditions of civil war which then prevailed, the assembly and their supporters were quite unable to enforce this financial sanction. Gordon's appearance in the Queen's party does not necessarily denote a return to the Catholic religion. Her supporters contained a number of the more moderate Protestants. Gordon had been given little cause to support the assembly in the preceding years, and with his increasing importance at court, and his position, in virtue of his bishopric, as dean of the Chapel Royal at Stirling it was not surprising that he should have gravitated to the Queen's cause. As we have seen, John Row,

33 B.U.K., 112, 114.


35 B.U.K., 131, 150.
who was ordered to follow him in the oversight of Galloway, also found it a
thankless task, of which he asked to be "disburthened". When the civil war was
ended, the assembly lost no time in calling the bishop to account for his past
actions. Gordon however defended himself, cited his past service to the refor-
med church, and refused the three-fold penance the assembly wished to impose
upon him. After two years bargaining its requirements were reduced, to an
act of public penance at Holyrood, and after this the bishop and the assembly
were once more reconciled. Characteristically the assembly signified this by
exhorting Gordon to assist the Commissioner of Galloway in his visitations
there. Since the bishop died eight months later they were not to get much
more service out of him.

Having followed his career in the reformed church, it remains to ask what
service he did for the church in Galloway. The survey of parish clergy in the
reformed church has already shown that Galloway was well provided for, in
relation to the number of reformed incumbents in other areas, and that there a
particularly large proportion of the catholic clergy went on to serve in the new
church. Since as far as we know Gordon was the only person authorised to
"plant kirks" in Galloway, it must have been he who recruited and installed
these ministers and readers, and it must have been his example, or pressure
brought to bear by him, which caused this particularly high level of conformity.
The complaint brought against Gordon in June 1563, by the laird of Garlies,
about his actions in a matrimonial suit, shows that he was considered the proper
person to deal with such matters in his diocese, and even if his actions did not
suit Garlies, he must have been fulfilling these judicial as well as visitatorial
functions. Despite the complaints, it is noticeable that the assembly were

36 B.U.K., 273ff.
always prepared to give Gordon further work to do in his diocese, and this must denote some satisfaction with work already done.

The assembly were of course concerned with supervising the church throughout the whole of Scotland, and in the absence of Kirk Session records for the Borders in this period, its proceedings are our only source for discovering what supervision was given to the central and eastern Borders, as well as to Galloway. By the original plan, in the Book of Discipline, there would have been three superintendents concerned with the Border parishes: Dumfries, whose bounds have already been described; the superintendent of Jedburgh "whose Diocese shall comprehend Teviotdale, Tweedale, Liddesdale with the Forest of Ettrick", and "the superintendent of Edinburgh; whose Diocese shall comprehend the whole sherrifdoms of Lothian, and Stirling on the South side of the Water of Forth; and thereto is added, by consent of the whole church Mers, Lauderdale and Wedale". However, as has already been noted the whole of this scheme was never put into full effect. John Spottiswood was indeed appointed Superintendent of Lothian, but the other two Border areas never received a superintendent as such. Gordon acted as such in Galloway, but never over the whole of the proposed new diocese of Dumfries, and Nithsdale was expressly put under the charge of John Willock, Superintendent of the West. A superintendent of Jedburgh was never appointed. Consequently we find the assembly issuing many commissions for the planting of kirks, or the visiting of those Border areas which were not otherwise provided for, and sometimes for those that were. In July 1562 a number of ministers were appointed "to teach in the unplanted kirks of the Merse", seemingly on

37 B.U.K., 30, 53.

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a rota basis. 38 In 1564 Mr. Craig of Edinburgh was ordered to visit "the south parts"; in December 1565 Knox was appointed to the same task "to visit, preach and plant kirks in the south, where there was not a superintendent, and to remain so long as occasion might suffer". 39 By 1573 the assembly was still not satisfied with the provision for this part of the country, and ordered "their loving brother John Brand, Minister of Holyrood House, to visit Teviotdale, Tweedale and Forrest". Brand does not seem to have been at all pleased at the prospect. 40 The next year Lords Maxwell and Herries and the Lairds of Drumlanrig, Closeburn, Lag, and James Crichton of Garko complained "that these three years bygone, their bounds, for lack of superintendents and visitors, had become altogether forgetful of their duty towards God, and altogether before this time had shaken off obedience, if Mr. Peter Watson had not taken pains to visit and water the poor ones with the Evangell". The assembly's reward for these pains was to commend the zeal of the noblemen, and give Watson commission to visit Nithsdale and Annandale, in other words, to continue in what he was already doing, at the same time giving commission to Mr. Andrew Clayhills to visit Teviotdale and Tweedale. 41 In 1575 they were both continued in these commissions. 42 In April 1576, however, the assembly was still worried by the "great and intolerable burden lying to the charge of Bishops, Superintendents and commissioners", and were making

38 B.U.K., 18.
39 Ibid., 51, 73.
40 Ibid., 283.
41 Ibid., 318. Watson and Clayhills were the ministers of Dumfries and Jedburgh respectively.
42 B.U.K., 377.
plans "that such bounds be appointed to every commissioner and visitor, as may be duly visited and overseen by every one of them". The continuing dearth of readers and ministers in many of the Border areas, as shown in an earlier chapter, shows how necessary it still was to provide for effective commissioners who could devote themselves to the adequate staffing of the reformed church. The problems of the Kirk in this respect stem obviously from their precarious financial position at first, and from the fact that the standards they insisted on were probably higher than those of the old church in practice even if not in theory. It is no doubt these facts which account for the fact that the reformed church seems on first sight to have been much less efficient than the old church in finding the necessary staff in the Border areas.

When we turn to the English sees there is much more evidence concerning the work of the bishops in their dioceses, and we are also able to trace the chapters of their cathedrals, and the influence which they had on the localities. Both Carlisle and Durham were alike in having conservative bishops until the beginning of Elizabeth's reign; but while in Durham there was only one bishop, Cuthbert Tunstall, from 1530 until 1559, there were three bishops of Carlisle in the same time. From 1521 to 1537 the see was held by John Kyte "the flattering bishop of Carlisle". He was a close friend of Wolsey's, but had also qualified for episcopal promotion by service to the state. He had served as an ambassador to Spain and attended Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. He had earlier been made archbishop of Armagh, and so that he should not descend in status when he was made bishop of Carlisle, he was created titular archbishop of Thebes. Once in the North he continued to serve the government, and several times acted for them in negotiations with Scotland. Of his actions

43 B. U. K., 353.
within the diocese we know that he was occupied with considerable building operations at Rose Castle, and that in 1523 he wrote to Wolsey about the plight of the parishioners of Bewcastle "who since before Easter last past, have had neither sacrament nor sacramental that I know of". In the absence of contrary evidence it seems reasonable to assume that this denotes a fairly zealous care for the interests of his diocese. Another small point in his favour is that he seems to have remained a good friend to Wolsey even after the Cardinal's fall. In 1536 he joined archbishop Lee in his opposition to the progress of the reformation, and he was suspected of complicity in the Pilgrimage of Grace. In 1537 Wharton wrote "there is a great riot found to be done by the commandment of the bishop of Carlisle". We have no way of knowing if this accusation was true and anyway, by the time it was made, Kyte had died, while in London, and could not suffer the consequences of his actions.

His successor from 1537 to 1555 was Robert Aldridge. Called by Erasmus "blandae eloquentiae iuvenis", when he was master and then provost of Eton, he came to Carlisle by way of the archdeaconry of Colchester and a canonry at Windsor, and the mandate for his consecration also describes him as a chaplain of Queen Jane. He kept the provostship of Eton until 1547, but in 1540 had to be ordered not to linger there, but to go to Carlisle, "there to remain for the feeding of the people both with his preaching and good hospitality". We have no record of his actions in the diocese, and he seems to have

43a Bouch assumes that the parish had been under excommunication for some reason. There is no proof for this at this date, but see below, Ch. VII, 289.

44 For Bishop Kyte see V.C.H. Cumberland, II, 46-7; Bouch, 172-3, 183-4, 187; Nicolson and Burn II, 277-8.

45 L. and P., XVI, 286.
been a scholarly man, who would probably have been much more at home at Eton than in his Northern see. He was one of the authors of "the Bishops' Book", and in 1540 one of the bishops consulted by the king about the seven sacraments. His answers show him generally adhering to the conservative side, and disagreeing with the reformers. He was one of the promoters of the Act of Six Articles, and later opposed both the prayer books introduced in Edward's reign. Despite this he complied with all the religious changes of his episcopate, and even if what he had wanted was reform on the old humanist lines, there is no evidence of his example encouraging open opposition to Edwardian policies. On the other hand it is noticeable that there was no persecution of Protestants in the diocese under him or his successor; this must have been due as much to the conservative nature of the see, as to the tolerance of its bishops.

The last of the three conservative bishops of Carlisle was Owen Oglethorpe, famous primarily for his willingness to crown Queen Elizabeth. Before coming to the see in 1556 he had been President of Magdalen College, and a canon and then dean of Windsor. In 1554 he had been one of the divines involved in disputation with Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer. He was undoubtedly a Catholic, but the Cumberland V.C.H. describes him as "one of the most moderate and enlightened prelates on the episcopal bench at the time". Again what we know of him shows him against a national rather than a diocesan background, although a case of dilapidation of the church of Romaldskirk, which he also held, brought against his executors at York gives us the information that he carried out extensive repairs at Rose Castle, that he spent £800 on hospitality and house-

keeping while he was bishop, and that at his death he did not leave "one penny of profit, revenues and emoluments of the bishopric unspent and necessarily unbestowed". It was he who disobeyed Elizabeth's order not to elevate the Host at Mass on the first Christmas of her reign, and yet he later agreed to officiate at her coronation, when no-one else would. Bouch quotes Nicholas Sander to support the idea that he did this "not as a favourer of heresy, but lest, if no one should anoint her, the queen should thereby be enraged, and made more inclined to overthrow religion. Things moreover were not yet so desperate, as to prevent many from hoping that she might be turned from her purpose". If this was his reason it is not surprising that when his hopes were obviously not going to be fulfilled he ranged himself firmly on the catholic side, voting against the acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. He joined the other Marian bishops in refusing the oath of Supremacy and was deprived in June 1559, dying a few months later in London where he was confined in Bishop Grindal's house. 48

During the time that these three ruled over the see of Carlisle, only one man, Cuthbert Tunstall, 49 filled the see of Durham, and we know far more about him than we do of his colleagues at Carlisle. In the first place his register has survived, giving a record of his work in the diocese, appointing to benefices, ordaining new clergy, and acting in a judicial and visitatorial capacity. As well as this, much more evidence has survived of his links with the central government, both as diocesan and as a government servant in the North. He

47 Borthwick, C. P. G 810, 1032, 2501.

48 V. C. H. Cumberland, II, 60-1; Bouch 195-7; Nicolson and Burn, II, 280-1.

49 For Tunstall, except where other references are given, see C. Sturge, Cuthbert Tunstall, London, 1938.
came to the see in 1530, having been bishop of London since 1522, as well as holding the posts of Master of the Rolls, and Lord Privy Seal, and his appointment to the see of Durham by no means ended his usefulness to the crown. His position as Bishop and Count Palatine, coupled with his governmental and diplomatic experience made him of great importance in relations with the Scots, and in the government of the North. In 1537 he was made President of the Council in the North, despite his protest that he was too old for anything but preaching and teaching. Although he did not in fact hold this position for very long, twenty-two years later he was still being employed in Border affairs, even when the government was no longer certain of his support in religious matters. As a member of the episcopal bench his attitude seems to have been one of steadfast adherence to traditional theology. Numbering More and Erasmus and their circle among his friends he certainly wanted reform in the church, but not a change in its teachings. These beliefs however went hand in hand with a readiness to carry out the policy dictated by the government of the day. Thus although he protested against the supreme headship through the Northern Convocation, when this had become a fact of political and religious life he accepted it, and wrote to Cromwell: "And where now of late I have also received the king's most honourable letters ... containing the King's Highness' commandment for setting forth his title of Supreme Head of the Church of England and the abolishment of the authority of the bishop of Rome, I not only myself before the receipt of the said letters had done my duty in setting forth his title of Supreme Head, but also caused other to do the same, and so his grace was prayed for ever since the proclamation of the act thereupon made.

50 Dodds, II, 267.
51 Sturge, 316.
And eftsoon upon the receipt of the King's said letter I repaired to Durham and there preached as well in setting forth the King's title as in declaring the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome heretofore used in this realm, and so have done and shall from time to time to accomplish the King's commandment in my diocese God willing.  

Whilst he was in Durham the government could be sure that its wishes would be attended to. When the Pilgrims opposed the very changes which he had been doubtful about, instead of joining them, or giving them any sort of support, Tunstall made for his castle of Norham, and remained there until Norfolk had made the North safe enough for him to venture out again. With the accession of Edward VI the situation began to change. Out of sympathy with the way events were moving, Tunstall voted against the 1549 Prayer Book, but under Somerset he was still allowed to go on much as before, and his experience and advice were still drawn upon by the government. Once again he was willing to enforce measures (this time the new Prayer Book), whose adoption he had opposed. At first it seemed that this situation might continue even after Somerset's fall. In 1550 the bishop summoned Knox, who had been preaching at Berwick and Newcastle, to answer the charge of asserting that the Mass was idolatrous. The Scot defended his opinions but no steps were taken against him. He was in greater favour with Northumberland than Tunstall was, and soon the latter's position became even clearer. In July of the same year he was charged with misprision of treason. His accuser was Ninian Menville, and the accusation that he had known of a conspiracy of

53 See Dodds, passim and below, ch. IX.
54 See above, pp. 106-7.
rebellion in the North, and had not reported this to the government. Knowing what we do of Tunstall's loyal service to successive governments, it would seem that he had been at most careless in not reporting what seemed to him an unimportant rumour, but it was enough to use against him now, when the issue at stake was also his religious standpoint. When he was summoned to London he repeated an earlier refusal to sign certain religious ordinances, and after this the case was almost forgotten until May 1551, Tunstall meanwhile remaining in fairly lenient custody in London. After another gap of some months Somerset's fall brought to light a letter from the bishop to Menville, which was thought to contain the necessary incriminating evidence. Tunstall was summoned before the council, and committed to the Tower. In October 1552 he was deprived.

What the government had in mind was not just the removal of an inconveniently conservative bishop, but a complete rearrangement of the episcopal organisation of the north-east. Northumberland outlined the plan in a letter to Cecil. "... if his majesty make the dean of Durham bishop of that see and appoint him 1000 marks there to that which he hath in his deanery, and the same house which he now hath, as well in the city as in the country, will serve him right honourably. So may his majesty reserve both the castle, which hath a princely site, and the other stately houses which the bishop had in the country to his highness and the chancellors living to be converted to the deanery, and an honest man to be placed in it, the vice chancellor to be turned into the chancellor. The suffragan, who is placed without the king's majesty's


authority, and also hath a great living, not worthy of it, may be removed, being neither preacher, learned nor honest man. And the same living, with a little more to the value of a hundred marks, will serve for the erection of a bishop within Newcastle. The said suffragan is so perverse a man, and of so evil qualities, that the country abhoreth him. He is most meetest to be removed from that office and from those parts. Thus may his majesty place godly ministers in these offices as is aforesaid, and reserve to his crown £2000 per annum of the best lands within the North parts of his realm; yea, I doubt not it will be 4000 marks per annum of as good a revenue as any within the realm, and all places better and more godly furnished than ever it was from the beginning to this day." The act of March 1553 effecting this reorganisation echoed Northumberland's more pious hopes. "... for as much as the King's majesty of his most Godly disposition, is desirous to have God's most holy and sacred word in those parts adjoining to the Borders of Scotland (being now wild and barbarous for lack of good doctrine and godly education in good letters and learning), plentifully taught, preached, and set forth among his loving subjects there, as thanks unto God the same is well exercised and put into use in diverse other parts of this realm, doth therefore mind and is fully determined to have 2 several ordinary sees of bishops to be erected and established within the limits, bounds, and jurisdictions of the said bishopric of Durham ..."57 Although there is no doubt that there was a lack of "good doctrine" on the Borders, that officials there had been and in the future would continue to call for more preaching and teaching in the area, and that the episcopal powers of the bishop of Durham do not seem to have rested as heavily

upon Northumberland as they did upon Durham, we can still be forgiven for regarding these sentiments with some scepticism. To start with Northumberland had not got all his facts right. The bishop of Berwick did not have a great living as he thought, and so more than he envisaged would have to be devoted to the new see of Newcastle; even if this had not been so, the provision suggested for either new see was hardly lavish. A poorer and consequently less influential bishop might be an attractive proposition to those who had had to face the prospect of the powerful and potentially hostile Tynstall, but if the plan became a reality the government would lose an experienced unpaid official in the difficult Border area. The change might mean more direct government control in the North, but there would still be a need for men to exercise this control. Moreover we should add to Northumberland’s fervently expressed hopes for the good of the northern church, the fact that when the Palatine powers were invested in the crown, this would in effect at that time mean Northumberland. But the eventual Act bore little resemblance to the first plan. The final scheme would take £2000 for the establishment of the two new bishoprics, and another £300 or £400 for the Dean and Chapter of Newcastle, while leaving its Durham counterpart untouched. Since, according to the Valor, the Bishopric had only been worth £2,821 there would be very little profit. Because all this was earmarked few grants were made from the bishopric lands, and none to Northumberland. All he gained was the Stewardship of the bishopric lands, and even this office was explicitly limited, in jurisdiction and profits, by tradition. 57a Perhaps Northumberland had miscalculated his ability to carry through the earlier, much less commendable plan.

57a Loades, op. cit., 15-17.
He certainly had made miscalculations where personnel was concerned. The Dean of Durham refused the new bishopric, even though the letters of appointment had been drawn up ready for issue. This was not an insuperable obstacle however, and instead Nicholas Ridley was selected, and one of the King's chaplains, William Bill, was named for the see of Newcastle. The third obstacle however could not be got over, nor could it have been allowed for. Although the appropriation of the lands had begun at once it had not gone very far before the King's death, and his sister's accession made all the plans useless.

Bishop Tunstall was released from his imprisonment only three days after the Queen entered London, and she immediately accepted him as Bishop of Durham, as his part in her coronation shows. In November 1553 a Bill was introduced into Parliament to resurrect his see, but delays occurred, largely due to the Commons' distrust of any measure concerned with the return of Church land, and in January 1554 the Queen took matters entirely into her own hands and re-erected the see by Letters Patent. The act was of doubtful legality, and was reinforced by a Bill to repeal the Act which had dissolved the see, which passed both houses in April 1554.

The bishop was much more in sympathy with the policies of the new reign, but he was noticeably absent from the ranks of persecutors of Protestantism in the next four years. Certainly he made sure of the removal of Dean Horn from Durham, charging him with infecting the whole diocese with heresy.

As one of Tunstall's accusers, as well as an extreme Protestant, he must

58 See below, p. 255.
59 See S.S., 161, pp. xi-xii; D.U.J., XXXVIII, pp. 50-1.
59a Loades, 18-19.
have been particularly objectionable to the bishop, and it is obvious that even
had Tunstall not proceeded against him he could not have continued in office
for long, and the two men could never have worked together. Otherwise
Tunstall was very slow to condemn others for their religious beliefs, and it
must have been his tolerant influence, as well as the religious conservatism
of the diocese, which kept it free from burnings throughout Mary's reign.
Fox records one instance when "A certain Master Russell, a preacher, was
brought before him but when his chancellor, Dr. Hyndmer, would have had him
examined more particularly the Bishop stayed him, saying 'Hitherto we have
had a good report among our neighbours; I pray you bring not this man's blood
upon my head.' This attitude is also seen in his dealings with Bernard
Gilpin. He had already tried to help his young relative before he went abroad,
and when Gilpin returned to England, in Mary's reign, he presented him to
the rectory of Easington. Gilpin himself later wrote that he soon made many
enemies by preaching against pluralism and non-residence, and because other
of his sermons smacked of Protestantism. "After these things having preached
two or three sermons at Newcastle, I began to explain my conscience more at
large; where there were gathered twelve or thirteen articles against me, and
sent to the bishop. And now had mine adversaries of the clergy whom I had
grievously provoked, obtained what they had long looked for. Nor would they
give over until the bishop had called me before their faces, to examine me as
in the point of the Sacrament. The Bishop showed me as much favour I suppose
as he durst. In Transubstantiation he would not trouble me; only he enquired
concerning the real present, which I granted and so was freed out of that
danger." The winter following Queen Mary departed this life, and then

60 Quoted Sturge, 309.

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myself agree to be a sacramentary nor to have any new doctrine taught in my
diocese, whereof I thought mete to advertise your mastership humbly beseeching
the same not to think me thereunto moved, either for any frowardness, malice
or contempt, but only because my conscience will not suffer me to receive and
allow any doctrine in my diocese other than catholic." It is said that when
he left his diocese to go up to London, on his way through the bishopric he
exhorted the people to stand fast in the Catholic faith. He survived his
derivation by only a few weeks.

Until the dissolution of the monasteries the chapters of the two English
Border cathedrals were formed by the monks and canons of Durham and
Carlisle Priories, but when these houses had been suppressed it was necessary
to erect new chapters. These were to consist of secular clergy, although at
first there was no difference in personnel, since both cathedral establishments
were staffed with the ex-religious of the two churches. Although the estab­
ishments outlined in the statutes of the two cathedrals were very similar,
that of Durham was on an altogether more lavish scale. At Carlisle there
were to be "one Dean, four Canons, eight Minor Canons, one Deacon, and
one Sub-Deacon, four lay Clerks, one Master of the Choristers, six Choristers,
one Teacher of Boys to be instructed in Grammar six Poormen to be maintained
at the charges of the said Church, one Virger two Sub-Sacristis, one Porter
who shall also be the Barber, one Butler, who shall also be the Caterer, one
Cook, one Sub-Cook ..." The corresponding section of the Durham
Statutes allows for "one Dean, twelve Canons, twelve Minor Canons, one

62 P. R. O., S. P. 12/6, no. 22.

63 J. E. Prescott, Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Carlisle, London 1903,
pp. 23-4.
Deacon, one Subdeacon, ten Clerks, who may be either laymen or priests, one Master of the Choristers, ten Choristers, two Instructors of the boys in grammar, one of whom shall be Preceptor, the other Underpreceptor, eighteen boys to be instructed in grammar; eight poor men, two Sub sacrists who shall also be vergers, two Ministers who shall ring the bells and look to the clock, two Porters of whom one shall be Barber, one Butler, one Underbutler, one Cook, one Under-cook. In other respects the provisions of the Statutes of both churches are broadly similar, although those of Durham are often rather more lengthy and detailed. For instance in the Statutes dealing with the sale of woods, leasing of lands, tenements and so on, both limit the leases of lands to 21 years, and those of houses or buildings in cities and villages to 50 or 60 years. Very much the same terminology is used in both cases, but the Durham statutes add "but we forbid the employment of all craft or guile in letting the lands of the church". In the event it might have been as well if this had been included in the Carlisle statutes as well.

One other aspect shared by both cathedrals was that their new staffs were composed of the members of the old religious houses. At Carlisle the last prior, Lancelot Salkeld, became the first Dean, and the four prebends went to William Florens, Edward Loshe, Barnaby Kirkbride and Richard Brandling. We know little of these men before their appointment as prebendaries, except that they were members of the priory, and that Edward Loshe had been a member of Queen's College, Oxford, and had graduated M.A. and B.D. before

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64 S.S., 143, pp. 85-7. For a general comparison of the statutes of all the new foundations, and their links with the older establishments, see S.S., 143, introduction.

65 Ibid., 97.

66 See below, p. 240 ff.
The change on paper from monastery to secular chapter seems to have been completed more easily than the necessary change of attitude among the canons. Only a few months after the dissolution of the monastery, and before the dean and chapter was erected there was trouble with a number of the canons. In May 1540 Mr. Hugh Sewell "one of the most notorious of the local clergy of the Tudor period" brought to the Cumberland J.P.'s "one book called a legend", which had been in daily use in the late monastery, in which "the service of Thomas Beckett and the usurped name 'papa' of the bishop of Rome were unerased". Salkeld, who in this interim period was 'guardian' of the monastery, asked that the book should be returned, but the justices decided that the matter was too important for them to handle, and referred it to the crown, sending the book and certain depositions along with their report. Three days later however further complications came to light. The depositions sent down to London had told that when the matter was first raised Lancelot Robinson, presumably a member of the late convent, had been going to erase the service of Thomas Becket, but the chanter, Sir William Florens, had taken the book away to correct it himself. The day that the report went to London, Florens had left Carlisle. He apparently went to Christopher Dacre for money and advice, presumably on the question of the book, and then went on to ask the parson of Melmerby for a letter to Dr. Bellasis in his favour. It was thought that Florens had then set off for London, and Sewell was despatched with this further information. He had also reported

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67 Alumni Oxon.

68 V.C.H. Cumberland, II, 149.

69 This was Roland Threlkeld, Master of Kirkoswald College and a leading figure among the Cumberland clergy. See above, p. 91.
that "Sir John Austin, a brother of the monastery, said when the book was
taken, 'Tush, it is but for a book; it will be dispatched well enough for
money'." Whether this cynical belief was borne out we do not know, but
nothing further is heard of the matter, and in the next year Florens became
a member of the new chapter. Perhaps Sewell's revelations had been prompted
by the hope of a preferment as a reward. In fact he succeeded to the first
stall on Florens' death in 1549. He had been a member of Oriel College, from
which he graduated D.D. in 1561, the year after he had been presented to the
rectory of Caldbeck. However in 1584 he forsook these benefices, went to
Rheims, and was probably ordained as a Catholic at Soissons in 1590. In the
light of this his early action against conservatism in Carlisle seems rather
strange. His long tenure of the prebend seems to have been typical at
Carlisle, and this, coupled with the fact that there were only four prebends
means that when we talk about the Carlisle dean and chapter until 1572, we are
concerned with a very small group of people.

Lancelot Salkeld, the first dean, held that office until the beginning of
Edward's reign, when he resigned, but as a local man he no doubt stayed in
the diocese, and he received a pension of £40 per annum from his successor
Sir Thomas Smith. Smith was, according to Nicolson and Burn, in deacons
orders when appointed to the deanery, and D.N.B. says that he had been
ordained priest in 1546, but Dewar concludes he was not in any holy orders.

70 L. and P., XV, 619, 633. Austin went on to become one of the minor
canons of the cathedral, and vicar of Addingham, but even as late as
1571 his religion was in doubt. See below, p. 253.

71 For Sewell, see App. I under Caldbeck.


73 D.N.B.; Nicolson and Burn, II, 304; M. Dewar, Sir Thomas Smith,
His history as a scholar, and as a secretary of state is of little importance in
the context of the northern diocese, except that it kept him away from his
cathedral. In 1563 Bishop Best wrote "the dean of the cathedral church,
named Sir Thomas Smith, is always absent, by dispensation as he allegeh". His first spell of office as dean lasted for only six years, for with the accession
of Queen Mary Salkeld was restored to office. In Smith's own words, "About
May I gave up quasi sponte the provostship of Eton and the deanery of Carlisle,
and I had a pension from the Queen of £100 a year". Despite his obvious
reluctance to give up the post, he was doing rather better than Salkeld had
done. However he was obviously disappointed when in 1559 Salkeld did not
once more refuse to accept religious changes, as he might have been expected
to do, but set the diocese an example of immediate conformity. Although
Smith had previously stated that he had given up the deanery, he now tried to
oust Salkeld with the claim that "the deanery of Carlisle I never did resign nor
was thereof deprived, and to say the truth they never made matter of it, but
gave it straight to one Sir Lancelot Salkeld". He had presumably submitted
this plea to the archbishop of Canterbury, and other local commissioners,
but apparently it had got him nowhere. "Citation was decreed and sent down
and not answered, for the way being so far and those countrymen have all the
shifts in the world to avoid the law". The mayor of Carlisle seems to have been
particularly obstructive. In an area where there was little love lost on out-
siders, a protestant and non-resident dean would find little support against a
well known local figure. By the time this letter was written to Cecil however

74 B.L. Harleian Mss. 594, f. 85.
75 V.C.H. Cumberland, II, 59.
76 P.R.O., S.P., 12/10, 44.
Salkeld was dead, and Smith was determined to make good his claim to the office. "I know nothing doth let why I should not enjoy my deanery of Carlisle as freely as ever I did. ... for if it should be given to any other (as I trust her highness, being informed of my right, will not) I must enter my suit against him as an usurper, as I did against this Lancelot Salkeld ..." 77 Despite his confidence that no one else's claim could stand against him he had further troubles before being certain of the deanery. On 23rd October, after he had been installed as dean 78 he wrote again to Cecil that "there is still a broil in it". His rival was now Sewell, who we have already encountered, and Smith had no reluctance in pointing out how unsuitable a candidate he would be, even if he could have a valid claim to the office. "... both my lord of London and my lord of Worcester and all the rest of the Queen's majesty's visitors there knows him well enough a man most unworthy not only there but in any such room." 79 Finally all his importunities had their effect, and he secured the deanery until his death in 1575.

Other accusations made against Sewell in Smith's letter concerned his part in trouble over the chapter's management of its property, and this is a problem which runs all through the records of the sixteenth century cathedral. As early as September 1551 the Privy Council sent a letter "to Sir Thomas Smith, Dean of Carlisle, willing him, notwithstanding a letter to him of late for the stay, the hearing and determination of the matter in variance of certain money which they there of the Chapter are bound to distribute to poor folks and upon high ways, that he shall now henceforth proceed to the bestowing

77 P.R.O., S.P. 12/13, 30.


79 P.R.O., S.P. 12/14, 27.
thereof, according to the ancient statute made amongst them in that behalf". 80
Obviously the chapter was not fulfilling its charitable functions as it should have been. Four years later it was recorded that Hugh Sewell and Barnaby Kirkbride, prebendaries of Carlisle, had been called up to London, and that they appeared on 23rd October 1555. 81 It was this occasion which was further explained by Smith's letter some years later. "... in Queen Mary's time when I had not much favour as you know, and matter was sought against me, and partly by the complaining of Barnaby Kirkbride and him, we were all called before the Council. And when I was found innocent there appeared such foul matter against them two, for spoiling of the church, and dividing the goods thereof among themselves, and otherwise misusing of the revenues thereof, that they were committed to the Fleet." 82 The Acts of the Privy Council record that the two prebendaries were committed to Sir Edward Hastings and Bourne for examination, and to be imprisoned if necessary, until the case was investigated further. 83 There is no further record of the case from the London end, but a later sixteenth century chapter register contains a copy of a letter sent to the dean and chapter by the Privy Council, in November 1555, "for the preservation of the woods". This stated that detrimental leases and wood sales had been made by the prebendaries without the consent of the dean, "both contrary to the statutes of the house and also to the great impoverishment and undoing thereof ..." The chapter was ordered to make "a diligent survey of all such lands and woods such as have been ruined by the prebendaries

80 A.P.C., III, 367.
81 Ibid., V, 188.
82 P.R.O., S.P. 12/14, 27.
83 A.P.C., V, 192.
without the said consent of your predecessors, the dean there, and contrary to the statute of your house". They were then to try to get the gift of these leases and woods into their own hands again, by fair means and agreement, and if any of the lessees were reluctant to come to a reasonable settlement, the details were to be sent up to the Privy Council who would deal with the matter. 84

This was not however the first letter of this sort the council had had to send; the same register contains one dated January 1554 about the spoliation of woods, and it was not to be the last time such troubles would arise. In 1563 Bishop Best wrote to Cecil with a list of the problems of his church. "And first by the absence of the dean of Carlisle Mr. Doctor Smith, the church goeth to decay; their woods almost destroyed, a great part of their living under colour conveyed to their kinsmen, themselves taking the profits, and that for three or four score years, their statutes appointing but only twenty one. Where for reparations is allowed yearly £10 there is nothing done. And where £30 is allowed for the poor and mending highways almost as little is done; no residence kept; no accounts, the prebendaries turning all to their own gain, which when I go about to reform in my visitation can take no place because they are confederate together, and the losses their own." 85 This picture is in fact endorsed by Dean Smith, who wrote to Cecil with complaints of interference by "that busy bishop of Carlisle", who he said had more tongue than wisdom. He could not offer any excuse for the prebendaries, but insisted that at least one of these, Mitchell, who he had left as vice-dean, was almost single-handedly upholding the church and bringing it out of debt; if he were

84 C.R.O. Tallentire Register, f.7.
85 B.L. Landsdowne Mss. 6, f.125.
removed it would be disastrous. The affairs of Carlisle were obviously bringing him much trouble and little profit. He complained that what with the bishop and the prebendaries causing trouble he had been unable to get a penny out of them for over a year. 86

The trouble over leases continued. In 1566 a commission was issued to the bishop of Carlisle, Henry, Lord Scroope, the Warden of the West Marches, George Lamplugh, Thomas Layton elder, Henry Towson and Thomas Layton younger, to enquire into the affair. The occasion for the enquiry was set out clearly. "Whereas we have been informed that in our cathedral church of Carlisle, there hath been great disorders used, especially in granting of leases of one thing to divers persons, and otherwise in reversion than they ought to be, some sealed in blanks, some for unreasonable numbers of years, contrary to the statutes of the said church, and all this without the knowledge will or consent of the dean for the time being, and this thing done for the most part when the said dean was absent in our affairs."

The commissioners were to summon any who had such leases and grants, examine them and try the validity of the different leases; to enquire into acts by the prebendaries against the rules set out in the statutes, and to examine them about the issuing of blank leases and other such evils. The dean and chapter were forbidden to issue any more leases until further order could be taken. 87

86 C.S.P. For., Eliz., 1564-5, 980 (7). Edward Mitchell LL. B. held the second stall in 1559, although we do not know when he was presented to it. In 1560 Smith referred to him as "my fellow". P.R.O., S.P. 12/14, 27. In 1547, as vicar of Aspatria and chaplain to the Bishop of Carlisle, he had received a dispensation for plurality. F.O.R., 300. In 1561 he was also presented to the rectory of Rothbury. Reg. Tunstall and Pilkington, 408. His will is dated October 1565. S.S., 2, CLXXXD.

An abstract of the survey survives in the Public Record Office. The first enquiry was "whether any blanks have at any time been sealed, and whether any leases have been written upon any such blanks and by whom." The replies suggest that Dean Salkeld, and prebendaries Brandling, Sewell, Mitchell and Kirkbride were all implicated in the issuing of blank leases. In particular "Thomas Tallentire, registrar to the house deposeth that he hath seen 2 blanks brought in by Barnaby Kirkbride and Edward Mitchell prebends, upon which two blanks they caused this deponent to write two leases to their friends, of all the mansion house and cell of Wetherall with the appurtenances ..." Thomas Warwick, one of the petty canons, replied that "he saw dean Salkeld have one blank, and that the said dean Salkeld affirmed unto him, that when that blank was sealed, there were sealed by estimation one bushel full of blanks, so that such as kept the doors, some had 2 blanks and some more". Richard Benson produced one of these blanks to show the commissioners, and also said that a bushelful had been sealed.

The second question was "whether any leases have been granted for more years than the statutes of the house do permit, for what number of years they be so letten, and to whom". Even a cursory glance at the Smith and Tallentire registers provides an answer to this, as it is obvious that leases for the permitted term of 21 years were in the minority. The commissioners specifically recorded 16 leases for 51 years, 11 for 60 years, 7 for 41 years, 29 for 61 years, 5 for 50 years, 6 for 31 years and 2 for 80 years, as well as "20 leases whereof some be letten for 89, 84, 40, 71 and 59 years" as well as "many others not here mentioned".

The third question was: "whether any leases have been made and sealed about 10 or 11 of the clock in the night, what leases they be etc." to which the reply was that "on 21 of February 1561 about midnight there were about the number of 33 leases made and sealed in Mr. Mitchell's chamber, in the presence of the said Mitchell, Barnaby Kirkbride and Hugh Sewell prebendaries, Thomas Tallentire Registrar, with others". This should probably be read in conjunction with the 10th and 11th points of the survey. Here Richard Brandling confessed "that Barnaby Kirkbride and Hugh Sewell, prebends, came with 2 servants, with swords and bucklers, about midnight, to the said Brandlings chamber, breaking the door open by force. The same also is confessed by Hugh Sewell, and that the same night they carried the chest wherein the seal was kept, out of Richard Brandling's chamber into the said Hugh Sewell's chamber". Sewell and Tallentire also stated that when they had "in a night sealed what they could" either Mitchell or Kirkbride had said "send now the seal about a dog's neck to the market place, and seal who lust". Richard Benson had already borne witness that he had heard Mitchell boast that they had sealed leases in reversion which would cause havoc in 40 years time.

It is quite obvious that the situation at Carlisle was getting out of hand. Not even Smith's supposed deputy, Mitchell, comes well out of the evidence. Many of the leases sealed in this underhand way paid no fines, and of 77 leases shown to the commissioners, only 57 had been registered. There is a long list of instances of the same lease being granted to different people, and an even longer list of leases granted in reversion, another practice specifically forbidden in the statutes. In all of these the names of relatives of Salkeld, Kirkbride, Mitchell and Tallentire appear a significant number of times. The effect of all this on the chapter's tenants is forcibly stated. "The leases
following and divers others, be taken on customary tennants of the house, of
the which many have showed their copies of the court, and paid for their fines,
and through such leases many of them are thrown out of their livings with
their wives and children, others wearied and impoverished with long suit about
the same, the clamour whereof is great in the country". The prebendaries had
also been leasing out their corps lands, "for many years, and yet the preben-
daries of late, not withstanding they had let such leases, had the commodity
of a great part of them to their own use during their lives natural. So that
now there remaineth no corps of any prebend ..." One side to all these
activities was perhaps more justifiable than the others, namely the prebends'
attains to avoid having to exchange certain of their lands. They did this by
"three leases made to the prebends' friends of all the whole lands of the house,"
which were "not indeed to take effect". At the time of the enquiry two of these
had been delivered again to the chapter, but the third was still in the possession
of the Kirkbrides. Hugh Sewell also admitted to having one in his custody. But
however understandable these particular transactions might be, they were still
highly illegal, and judging by their records the prebendaries were acting in
their own personal interests, rather than to defend the possessions of the
chapter, of which they were otherwise criminally careless.

Obviously the commission had uncovered a situation which could not be
allowed to continue, but it appears that the government were slow to act. In
August 1567 Bishop Best asked Cecil for "your furtherance and aid in the
needful suit of your church of Carlisle". The bishop had himself delivered to
Cecil the certificate of the commission's findings, but at that time nothing had

89 For a discussion of similar dealings at Durham see David Marcombe,
The Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1558-1603, Durham Ph.D. Thesis,
been done because parliament was then sitting. "The church, (although God be thanked your prebendaries that now are there are good husbands) is in some distress because the charges are large, as much as the revenue will bear or more!" 90 His confidence in the present prebendaries is a little surprising, since although Edward Mitchell had just died, Sewell and Brandling were still there. However the other prebendary, Gregory Scott, was obviously concerning himself very much with the issue, and both the bishop and the dean seem to have placed great confidence in him. It was he who brought the bishop's letter to Cecil, so that he could explain everything to the secretary, and in September 1567 when the issue was still hanging fire, he was sent again to Cecil, this time by Sir Thomas Smith. From the wording of Smith's letter it sounds as if Scott had prompted him to write, and he asked that the council in the North should be instructed to take the matter in hand. 91 In June 1568 Scott prompted Sir Francis Knollys to intervene, and again was carrying letters to the council. 92 Finally in October we have evidence of the Privy Council taking action. It seems that they had handed the matter over to the Northern Council as requested, and the "Lord President, and Council there took some pains and travailed very well in the reformation of that matter, until such time as Justice Welshe (upon what respect we know not) caused some stay to be made therein". 93 The Northern Council were ordered to

90 P.R.O., S.P. 12/43, 2170. The commission had found that of the chapter's income, only £56-10-8 was available "towards the payments of all reparations, expenses of suits and other extraordinary charges".

91 P.R.O., S.P., 12/44, 6.


93 John Welshe was Justice of Common Pleas. He was in the north at this time, in Lancashire in July 1568, but there seems to be no other connection between him and the Carlisle case. Pat. Rolls Eliz., vol. IV, 1599.
resume their action in the affair, whatever Justice Welshe might do. Meanwhile legal opinion was to be taken as to whether the leases were sufficient in law, and Scott was again used as an intermediary. In the same month the Attorney-General had reported that most of the judges thought the leases valid, but not all, and suggested the matter be "brought to judgement in some suit, that the law might be known". In November the Council in the North wrote to the Privy Council that they would do their best to serve the interests of the church, adding understandably that the legal opinion they had received was so "doubtful" that it was of no help in clearing things up. Unfortunately the case then disappears from the records, and so we do not know how the problems were resolved, or even if they were.

Having looked at the chapter's far from flattering record in financial affairs we must now turn to study it as a spiritual corporation. In fact, between the founding of the chapter, and the beginning of Elizabeth's reign we hear very little about this side of the chapter. The affair of the service book, already mentioned, points to a conservative feeling among the old monks, as perhaps does a rather cryptic entry in the records of the Privy Council in 1551. In January of that year they issued an order to seek to redress "in a case of George Greames, priest, concerning his marriage, and to certify unto the Council the matter in writing, and to restore unto him the goods withheld, and to suffer him to enjoy the liberties of the town; and also to suffer him, being Master of the Choristers, to enjoy the same according to the foundation of the church ...". It seems at least possible that Graham had married and

94 P.R.O., S.P., 12/48, nos. 4 and 5.
96 Ibid., 38.
was now facing opposition from his more conservative colleagues. No other member of the Cathedral establishment seems to have married. Whatever the reason for his troubles, the Council's order must have taken effect, since in March 1552 the chapter granted him a lease of two tenements in Carlisle. Changes among the prebendaries were very few. Hugh Sewell who followed William Florens in the first stall in 1549 has already been mentioned. In the third and fourth stalls the original appointees were still in possession in 1559, Kirkbride finally dying in 1564, and Brandling in 1570. It was only the second stall where there was a frequent change of personnel. The original prebendary, Edward Loshe, died in 1546, and was followed by William Purye. He was a Cambridge M.A. and had held a parochial cure in Berkshire before being presented to the stall. He died in 1552 when the stall went to John Emmanuel Tremellius, who, as Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge was not expected to be resident in Carlisle. On Mary's accession he left England, and in November 1553 the stall passed to William Briscow. It is not known for how long he held the prebend, but by 1559 it was held by Edward Mitchell.

None of the cathedral clergy caused any trouble to the royal visitors in 1559. They all followed the example of the dean in willingly subscribing to the articles of religion, only one of the minor canons failing to appear, because of bad health. The only faults found with the prebendaries were that they and the dean had not been resident as often as they should have been, or kept their

97 C.R.O. Tallentire Register, 27. An inventory of the Cathedral property made in 1571 shows that the four prebendaries still lived in chambers in the old monastic buildings, rather than acquiring houses as the married Durham prebends did. C.R.O. Tallentire Reg. f.108.

98 See Pat. Rolls; D.N.B.; Alumni Cantab.
quarterly sermons.\footnote{99}{P.R.O., S.P. 12/10, f.44, 113.} It was not a picture of a vigorous religious life, but neither did there seem to be any strong support for the Catholic church. The visitors must have been much happier with the situation in Carlisle than that in Durham, but events were to show that the chapter still left very much to be desired.

It was not until Bishop Best was appointed to the vacant see in 1560 that it became obvious that he would need a zealous chapter to back him up in his work. Both Bedford and Sands had pressed that Bernard Gilpin should be presented to the see, since coming from the north-west he seemed suitable for the cure. Gilpin however refused it for that very reason: "if I had been chosen in this kind to any bishopric elsewhere, I would not have refused it; but in that place I have been willing to avoid the trouble of it, seeing I had there many of my friends and kindred, at whom I must connive in many things, not without hurt to myself, or else deny them many things, not without offence to them; which difficulties I have easily avoided by the refusal of that bishopric."ootnote{100}{G. Carlton, Life of Bernard Gilpin, p.113.} Thus the benefice went to John Best, a Yorkshire man who had held a cure in Wells under Edward "but leaving all in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign for religion's sake, he lived obscurely and as occasion served".\footnote{101}{V.C.H. Cumberland, II, 66.} Bouch described him as "one of those embittered Marian exiles, who came to their dioceses, not as Fathers in God, but as state policemen", but in fact he was not one of the exiles, and it is difficult to see how he could have avoided seeming rather like a state policeman in the situation of Cumberland in the 1560's.\footnote{102}{Bouch, Prelates and People, 205.}
In May 1561, a commission was issued for the Northern province, to tender the Oath of Supremacy to the clergy and armed with this Best began a visitation of his diocese. From a letter to Cecil dated 19th July we learn that he was fairly pleased with the attitude of most of the people but far from pleased with the clergy. To this letter belongs the much quoted phrase about the "wicked imps of Anti-Christ". He seems to have enforced outward conformity on most of the clergy in his diocese, and proceeded against those whose defiance was sheltered by influential local families. By January of the next year he was most despondent about the situation; he obviously felt that he was fighting a losing battle, single-handed, and that it was necessary to write such things to Cecil only in secret. In April 1563 he complained specifically about the prebendaries. As well as the evils of their estate management, and the fact that they did not keep residence, "three of them are unlearned and the fourth unzealous. Briefly, the city is decayed by them, and God's truth slandered". He continued in a deeply pessimistic vein: "for it is hard to find a man that shall not quickly be corrupted here, and buy and sell poor men their goods and lives. I am so vexed with the sheriff and not for my own matters, but matters of the late Bishop Oglethorpe, that my liberties help me not. Wherefore I am compelled to sue for the Queen's confirmation in the which I desire your lawful furtherance. The

103 Pat. Rolls Eliz., II, 170-1.

104 See above, p. 104.

105 Ibid.

106 P.R.O., S.P. 12/18, 2124; 12/21, 2170.

107 In his report on the diocese made in July 1563 he noted that "none keep residence here, but lie upon their benefices towards the diocese". B.L. Harleian Mss. 594, f.85.
like I beseech you to extend towards the poor city of Carlisle, which is sore oppressed and decayed." If the Bishop is to be believed matters were in a very bad state, and although the general mood of the letter might suggest some exaggeration, his comments on the cathedral clergy are borne out by Bishop Grindal. "The bishop of Carlisle hath often complained to me for want of preaching in his diocese, having no help at all of his cathedral church. Sir Thomas Smith is his dean, occupied in the Queen's majesty's affairs, as you know; all his prebendaries (Sewell only excepted) who is discredited by reason of his inconsistancy, are ignorant priests, or old unlearned monks. One of the said unlearned prebendaries is lately departed, and the bishop writeth to me to help as I may the bringer Mr. Scott, being that country man born, well learned and of good zeal and sincerity, as partly I know by mine own experience." He goes on to say that some in the diocese have done their best to prevent this appointment, but that it should be promoted if at all possible.

Since the advowson of all four prebends had been granted to the bishop by Mary, it is difficult to know why Cecil's aid had to be sought. Presumably Best was under some sort of pressure from the Cumberland nobility who disapproved of his choice, or perhaps the opposition came from within the chapter. Certainly Scott can not have been very popular with his colleagues once he was appointed, since he did so much to bring the matter of the leases into the open.

108 B.L. Landsdowne Mss. no. 6, f. 125.
109 Ibid., f. 200.
111 Gregory Scott was a Cambridge M. A. who before his appointment to Carlisle had held a rectory in Lincolnshire, and been chaplain to the bishop there. He was the author of 'A brief treatise against certain errors of the Romish church, very plainly, notably and pleasantly confuting the same by scripture and ancient writers", a verse composition of strong Protestant (contd.)
In 1566 the ranks of the protestants in the diocese were further increased by John McBray's presentation to the second stall on Mitchell's death. He did not however hold the prebend for long, but resigned it in 1568 when Thomas Tookie was presented. Despite these changes two of the "old leaven" Sewell and Brandling were still in possession of their stalls when Best died in 1570, and was succeeded by Richard Barnes. The new bishop came to the see from being a prebendary and chancellor at York, and then suffragan bishop of Nottingham, and his first impression of the diocese was very different from the pessimistic outpourings of his predecessor. "I never came in place in this land where more attentive ear was given to the word than here, and in time I trust good effect will grow thereupon. ... I have for these ten years been exercised in these North parts, and know the peoples disposition right well, as I persuade myself. And to say the truth, I find these Cumberland and Westmorland commonality far more comfortable, pliable and tractable in all matters of religion than ever I found in the better sort in Yorkshire. ...not by far so rude as in many places the southern people be, nor so far from God's religion as they have been thought." Perhaps this is a reference to the very

111 (continued) flavour, which Bouch describes as "abusive". D.N.B.; Bouch, 201; V.C.H. Cumberland, II, 71. Knollys said of him "he seems a virtuous man and is called a good preacher". C.S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz. XIV, 13.

112 A Scot who had been among the exiles at Frankfurt in Mary's reign, he was for a time the bishop's chaplain, and briefly held Crosthwaite, before moving to the vicarage of Newcastle, qv. His knowledge of German, due to his exile, proved useful here in that he was able to preach and conduct services in that tongue for the German miners based at Keswick. P.R.O., S.P. 12/49, no. 80.

113 Official principal of the diocese in 1664, he had been a student of All Soul's College, Oxford, and also held the vicarage of Torpenhow. Alumni Oxon.

114 "A meet man both for sound doctrine, holiness and liberality in housekeeping". C.S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz., XVIII, 58 and see ibid., 72.
different reports which had come from Bishop Best. The contrast no
doubt reflects both the different temperaments of the two bishops, and the fact
that Best's ministry had begun to bear some fruit. A year later, in October
1571, Barnes was still pleased with the state of his see. "Praised be the Lord,
who, even in this utmost corner, amongst these savage people, has mightily
prospered his gospel and my simple ministry". He said there was no open
opposition to the established religion; "Some indeed are not reclaimed in all
things, but are in a good way". In his first letter Barnes had asked for
"good backing" from the government for the work he must do in Carlisle, and
in 1571, armed with the powers of the High Commission, he undertook a first
visitation of his diocese. The document about Crosthwaite parish, quoted
in an earlier chapter, obviously dates from this time. As well as the injunc­tions about church goods, vestments and furnishings, this document contains
detailed instructions for the religious life of the parish.

"We do also decree and firmly enjoin that all and singular parishioners
of the parish of Crosthwait, being of years of discretion and sufficiently
instructed in the grounds and principles of the Christian faith (the exami­nation and approbation whereof we leave to the vicar) shall openly commu­nicate at least thrice in their parish yearly, whereof Easter to be one time,
and at such general communions the deacons and ministers of the chapels
of the parish shall come and help and assist the vicar and curate at the
ministration of the same. . . . We decree also, enjoin and straightly
charge and command that from henceforth there be no divine service pub­licly said in this parish church nor in any of the chapels thereunto belong­ing, nor any bells rung on any abrogate holidays, nor any concourse of
idle people to the church or chapel on such forbidden days . . . which are
forbidden to be kept holiday by the laws of this realm. And we straightly
command that none hereafter use to pray upon any beads, knots, port­asses, papistical and superstitious Latin Primers or other like forbidden
or ungodly books either publicly or openly, commanding the vicar, curate,
and churchwardens diligently and circumspectly to inquire hereof from

115 P.R.O., S.P., 12/74, 22.
time to time and duly to present without favour all offenders against this
injunction from time to time. We command also that from henceforth
there be no communion celebrated at the burial of the dead nor for any 118
dead nor any months minds, anniversaries, or such superstitions used."

These injunctions must throw a certain amount of doubt on the bishop's
favourable reports, since if there was no open conservatism, they would not
have been necessary. Crosthwaite was not one of the four parishes which he
had named as exceptions to the general state of affairs. 119 It is evident how­
ever that the Bishop was adapting and using the Injunctions of Archbishop
Grindal. 120 After this he undertook a visitation of the cathedral, and a record
of the proceedings survives. 121 The dean and chapter and all other ministers
of the church had been warned to attend, and Gregory Scott acted as procurator
for the absent dean. All the rest were present. The bishop began with the
subject of sermons to be preached in the cathedral. The statutes had demanded
at least four sermons each year from each canon, but Barnes now urged that
the dean, archdeacon and prebendaries should give at least six a year, in the
cathedral. They agreed in part: the bishop and dean or their proxies were
bound to four sermons, the archdeacon to two, and the prebendaries to six,
and particular days were assigned to these. Next he turned to the city of
Carlisle, whose state had so worried Bishop Best. On certain days both
children and adults there were to hear a sermon or other instruction in the
principles of the Christian faith and the catechism, in the two city churches
of St. Cuthbert's and St. Mary's. The cathedral's theology lecturer was to


119 They were Arthuret, Kirklington, Bewcastle and Stapleton, presumably the 'lowland' parishes he had referred to a year earlier. C.S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz., XX, 84.

120 Remains of Archbishop Grindal, Parker Society, 1843, pp. 132-44, especially nos. 2, 4, 7, 11, 16.

121 C R O Nicholson Mss., III, 49-56.
take the place of any prebendary who could not be present for his turn. Lastly
the dean and chapter, minor canons, schoolmaster, and all the other members
of the cathedral establishment were required to receive communion at least
eight times a year.

The bishop then turned his attention to the minor canons, and here things
were less satisfactory. Seven out of the eight were "suspectos de papismo".
These were John Austin, John Richardson, Henry Monk, Thomas Monk senior,
Christopher Lowther, Thomas Watson and William Haire. We know that
Austin had been a member of the monastery before the dissolution, and that
Richardson had held his office since at least 1553.122 Austin, Henry Monk,
Lowther and Richardson held the churches of Addingham, Scaleby, Denton
and Kirkandrews respectively. They were all ordered to read, in the church
of St. Mary, Carlisle, and in the case of those who were also parish clergy,
in their parish churches, "A declaration of certain principle articles of
religion", on pain of deprivation. Since the four parochial clergy all appeared
at a visitation three years after this they must all have conformed, and Thomas
Monk and Lowther both appear in a list of the minor canons dated about 1580,
so they too must have obeyed the order.123 Only Haire is not heard of again.

In January 1574 Barnes undertook another visitation of his parochial
clergy, and although there is no detailed record of his findings, there is a list
of attendances on this occasion, which shows that out of 140 rectors, vicars
and curates who should have appeared, 84 did so, 44 were excused attendance
or were ill, and only 12 failed to appear. Marginal notes add the information
that only three curates were found to be unlicensed, and one was not in orders.

122 C.R.O. Tallentire Register, 29.
123 C.R.O. Smith Register, 185v.
Information contained in the chapter on parish clergy also casts light on the quality of the supervision exercised by the bishops of Carlisle. It certainly seems that by the 1570's, although there was still much to be done, Barnes could afford to be reasonably pleased by at least the outward results achieved by himself and his predecessors.

The other English cathedral, that at Durham, was not actually situated within the Borders and is thus of slightly less immediate concern to the church there. On the other hand it was officially the centre of religion in the Eastern Borders, its clergy had some authority over even the more distant Northumberland parishes, and lastly it serves for a useful comparison with the situation at Carlisle. As with its western counterpart the first dean and chapter was recruited from the old prior and convent. Although the new establishment was larger than that at Carlisle, the priory had also been larger, and so there were enough ex-monks to provide the twelve prebendaries and twelve minor canons. The prebends went on the whole to those who had been prominent amongst the members of the priory, and included as well as the prior, the sub-prior, and bursar, and those who had been heads of the cells of Holy Island, Durham College, Oxford, Finchale and Lytham. The prior Hugh Whitehead D.D. held the deanery until late in 1551. There is little detailed information about his tenure of the office, but he obviously fell into displeasure, along with Tunstall during Northumberland's rule, and in May 1551 he was examined along with the bishop in relation to the charge of misprision of treason.


126 Sturge, Tunstall, 289. In August 1550 Sir Robert Bowes had been ordered to look into the statement made by Sir Thomas Hilton that a large amount of treasure had been carried into the dean of Durham's chamber. The matter does not arise again, and so it is uncertain if it was related to the treason charges. It may have been part of a general attempt to discredit (contd.)
No further action appears to have been taken against the dean, but it was in London that he died before the end of the year, and presumably his presence there was to do with these enquiries. He was succeeded by Robert Horne, a Cumberland man who had been a student of St. John's, Cambridge, and in 1546 had become Hebrew lecturer there. He was a convinced reformer, and not popular with the Durham chapter. In February 1552 the Privy Council had to write "to the Prebendaries there to conform themselves to such orders in religion and Divine Service standing with the King's proceedings as their dean, Mr. Horne, shall set forth, whom the Lords require (them) to receive and use well as being sent to them for the weal of the country by his majesty".  

He was not however wholly amenable to government pressure, and he refused to take the proffered, shrunken bishopric of Durham "over Tunstall's head". His refusal moreover was not too tactfully worded, and certainly showed little liking for Northumberland who wrote, "I have been much deceived by him, for he is undoubtedly not only a greedy, covetous man, but also a malicious and an open evil speaker".  

He remained in Durham however, and played a major part in stripping the cathedral of images; in particular he destroyed the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and a window dedicated to him, and broke up the Corpus Christi shrine in St. Nicholas' church. With Mary's accession he was soon removed from office; he was charged with polluting the church of

126 (continued) the conservatives in Durham, or perhaps linked with the fate of the Cathedral church goods. See below. *A.P.C.* 1550-2, p. 102.

127 *A.P.C.*, III, 481.


129 *Rites of Durham*, 68, 69, 75, 77.
Durham, bringing his wife into the church, and infecting the whole diocese with Protestant error. No doubt he would have been pleased to think that this last charge was valid, but no record survives to show what influence he did have in the diocese. After his deprivation he fled to the continent to escape imprisonment in the Tower, and spent the rest of the reign in Frankfurt and elsewhere.  

His place at Durham was taken by Thomas Watson, a man devoted to the catholic cause. He had been master of St. John's, and was a chaplain to Bishop Gardiner. By 1553 the chapter had changed very little since its foundation. There had been changes in personnel only in the first and tenth stalls. In the first Edward Hyndmers had died and been succeeded by John Crawford who was Tunstall's spiritual chancellor, and the ex-warden of the Newcastle Franciscans. This took place only two years after the foundation of the chapter, and Crawford's religious standpoint was very much the same as that of his colleagues. In the tenth stall Robert Blakistone had died in 1550 and been replaced by John Rudd, a firm protestant, who was one of Edward VI's chaplains, and not surprisingly was deprived on Mary's accession, and replaced by George Bullock, yet another previous master of St. John's, and a man who had gone into voluntary exile in Edward's reign. It seems that in 1556 Tunstall undertook a visitation of the cathedral, to counteract some of the work done by Horne. Despite their monastic background, and apparently conservative

130 D. N. E.
131 Garret, Marian Exiles, pp. 188-90.
132 W. Hutchinson, History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, Newcastle, 1785-94, II, 117, 141.
133 Hutchinson, II, 208.
sympathies the dean and chapter seem to have been doing fairly well out of the protestant dislike of church ornaments. Tunstall recalled that church plate up to the value of £70 had been distributed amongst the prebendaries. The chapter was to restore what remained of these goods, purchase replacements for what had disappeared, and produce a full inventory of the resulting stock which was to be examined and signed by the bishop to guard against further depredations. 134 In the same document he ordered that some sort of barrier was to be erected to prevent the congregation from wandering about in the choir or chancel, either in service time or out of it. He was also concerned about the chapter's responsibility to the people of the surrounding countryside, to teach them the true word of God. Perhaps this is a witness to the harm supposed to have been done by Dean Horne. Lastly he ordered the erection of a suitable tabernacle, to make up for the profanation of the sacrament of the altar. A reference to this having been cast down and trodden underfoot suggests that again he is undoing Horne's work, this time in re- edifying the St. Nicholas Corpus Christi shrine. 135 The bishop was presumably helped in this work by the dean, but in 1557 Thos. Watson was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln, and his place was taken by another staunch catholic, Thomas Robertson. He had little time to make any impression on the cathedral or the diocese before the accession of Elizabeth brought more changes. There had been very few further changes in the composition of the chapter by this date. In 1556 Anthony Salvin, another catholic, was presented to the 12th stall on the death of William Watson, and in 1558 he was translated to the 11th stall, vacated by the death

134 This order is echoed by one made by the Protestant visitors of 1559. Obviously no-one was certain the prebends could be trusted in relation to the church goods. Durham P.K. York Book, f.51.

of Robert Bennet, and his place in the 12th stall was taken by George Cliffe, who had been a member of the monastery at the dissolution.

The Durham chapter following the example of their bishop, were a far greater headache to the 1559 royal visitors than their colleagues in Carlisle. Only one prebend, Roger Watson, was willing to subscribe at the start. Sparke was too ill to attend, and his conformity was assumed to be satisfactory. All the rest caused trouble. Todd, Salvin and Bullock were all deprived straightaway, Bullock to make room for Rudd who had previously held the 10th stall. The dean, nine of the prebendaries, and the eight minor canons who had refused to subscribe were all bound to appear in London. Robertson was soon deprived, and Horne restored to the deanery, where he was faced with the task of administering the oath to the recalcitrant prebendaries. By this time it seems that Todd had changed his mind and decided to conform, and there was still some doubt about Salvin. In February 1560 Horne wrote to Cecil that "three prebendaries of the cathedral church of Durham, Robert Dalton, Nicholas Marley and John Towton (or Tuting) doth refuse the oath, and I think Anthony Salvin will do the same." He went on to ask that learned and well affected men might be put in their place and suggested some names, but only one of these was presented, and he appears never to have been installed, but resigned in the same month. 136 Dalton, Towton and Nicholas Marley were deprived, but the others retained their stalls, as did the eight minor canons who had all decided to submit eventually. There were however a number of other changes within the chapter and by the time Ralph Skinner became dean, when Horne was promoted to the bishopric of Winchester, it contained five new protestants, to

136 P.R.O., S.P. 12/11, 16.
balance the seven conservatives and ex-religious.

The catholics who had been deprived still managed to cause a certain amount of trouble. A list of recusants made in 1561 contains no less than four ex-prebendaries, the school-master, the archdeacon of Northumberland and the dean of Durham. Of these, one, Bullock, had fled abroad, the ex-dean was "thought to do much hurt in Yorkshire"; the other five were bound to residence in certain places, although the fact that one, Robert Dalton, was bound to remain with Lord Dacre is unlikely to have had much of a limiting effect on his activities. 138 Skinner, the new dean, had been sent to the North before his appointment to the deanery, as a lawyer, in response to complaints about the lack of good administrators in those parts. 139 He was appointed dean on Parker's recommendation, and described as "learned, wise and expert". 140 He held the deanery until his death in 1563 when he was followed by William Whittingham. This radical found himself in harmony with the first Elizabethan bishop, James Pilkington. They were both unlikely to countenance any remaining conservatism, and they both became most unpopular for their actions. Pilkington wrote to Cecil "... for the nature of the people, I would not have thought there had been so froward a generation in this realm. ... I am grown into such displeasure with them, part for religion and part for administering the oath of the Queen's superiority that I know not whether they like me worse,

137 For the visitation see P.R.O., S.P. 12/10. For details of the chapter throughout Elizabeth's reign, see D. Marcombe, Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1558-1603. I have here confined myself to a more general survey, and comparison with the sort of situation found in Carlisle.

138 The list is printed in Strype, Annals I, 241-4. For Dacre's religious sympathies, see above, p. 104, 151-2.

139 Marcombe, 81.

140 Hutchinson, II, 142-3.
or I them: so great dissembling, so poisonous tongues and malicious minds I have not seen". 141 His troubles were aggravated by a long struggle with the crown to maintain all the possessions of the bishopric; Pilkington refused to give in, and frequently pointed out that to see the bishop held in what looked like disrepute by the crown, greatly undermined his authority in the diocese. 142 As for dean Whittingham, it is hard to tell whether the compilers of the Rites of Durham regarded him or Horne with more dislike for their iconoclasm. 143 He did not however have such a pessimistic view of religion in Durham as his bishop did, "The people in the country are very docile and willing to hear God's word, but this town is very stiff". However he thought they were showing more willingness to come to sermons, and in the same letter he gave a description of the daily life of the cathedral, including thrice daily prayers, fasting and preaching two days a week, and preaching and catechising on Sundays and holy days. 144 Although there was no fault to find with this programme, the government was wary of the dean's radicalism, and the inevitable trouble arose over the vestarian controversy. The changing character of the chapter meant that more than just the dean were involved in the dispute. Thus in 1566-7 the act book of the High Commission at York contains a case against one Durham


142 P. R. O., S. P. 12/20, no. 5. "We may preach here and do what we will, but if we fill not their bellies, all is in vain. I would I had been whipped when I left Cambridge." Pessimism seems to have been inevitable among the Northern bishops, except for Barnes, who when he was translated to Durham was as optimistic as he had been at Carlisle. Again either he was too naive, or the work of his predecessors had borne fruit.

143 Rites, 60, 61, 68-9, 75. For a more reasoned examination of his actions see S. L. Greenslade, William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, D. U. J., XXXIX, 1946, 28-36.

144 B. L. Landsdowne Mss, 7, f. 27.

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prebendary, William Todd, for catholicism, and against five prebendaries and the dean for vestarian offences. Eventually the dean and three prebendaries conformed and only Thomas Lever and Birch were deprived of their prebends; and even they kept their other benefices. Pilkington, who had all along ranged himself against the government on this issue appointed in their place, and in place of the catholic Tod, three others who were almost as radical. The tone of the chapter was not to be changed.

Throughout all this the normal life of the cathedral continued. The records of the parish clergy show the supervisory work of Pilkington, and the correspondence concerning Berwick shows the dean and chapter taking an interest, although sometimes a reluctant one, in their Northumberland churches. There is also record of at least one visitation being ordered of the chapter's churches in that county. Although there are no detailed records of the bishop's visitations we know that they must have taken place. In October 1561 he notified the chapter of his intention to visit them and the articles brought against Ralph Lever, as archdeacon of Northumberland in 1572 show that the bishop had previously undertaken visitations of that archdeaconry, although on this occasion Lever hampered him by refusing to summon the clergy. He denied that it was his duty to serve the process, even though he had done so before, "... he threw down the same mandate with certain other articles of the said revd. father,

146 For letters written by Pilkington and Whittingham "in behalf of the refusers of Habits", see Landsdowne Mss., 7, 212; Pepys Mss., H. M. C., 33, 42-3; Parker Society, Works of Pilkington, 658-62.
147 See above, p. 110 ff.
148 Durham P. K., Dean and Chapter Register B, 138v.
149 Ibid., 142v.
before the said reverend father, calling the same articles foolish and the mandate impossible.\(^1\) It is interesting that one of the few insights we get into the exercise of episcopal authority over Northumberland, shows this authority in difficulties. Obviously however it was exercised at times, as parish clergy records show.\(^2\)

The crisis of Pilkington's episcopate came with the rebellion of the Earls in 1569. The part played by the cathedral clergy in this is discussed in detail in David Marcombe's thesis\(^3\) and will also be mentioned below. Pilkington's part was not heroic; although Sussex insisted that the bishop had not left the area out of fear, he had not dared to follow Whittingham's advice to make an armed stand against the rebels, and in February he was still in London.\(^4\) His action seems to echo that of Tunstall in 1536, but Pilkington obviously had more to fear from the rebels than Tunstall had had.\(^5\) They had threatened to hang some of the prebendaries and would hardly feel more kindly towards the bishop. Whittingham however seems to have tried several times to oppose the rebels, and only made for the south when he had done all he could, and would have been in great danger if he had stayed.\(^6\)

All that is written about Whittingham, whether favourable or not, shows

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\(^1\) Durham P. K., Misc. Chs. 424, f. 45-8.

\(^2\) See above.

\(^3\) pp. 172ff.

\(^4\) C.S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz., XIV, 98; XVIII, 76.

\(^5\) He showed more obstinacy and not a little courage in the aftermath of the revolt, by claiming that within the county of Durham the forfeitures should go to the bishop, not the crown. C.S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz., XVII, 100; XVIII, 26.

\(^6\) Life of Whittingham, Camden Soc. Misc. VI, 1870, pp. 23-5.
that he was a much more important man in the diocese than his Carlisle counterpart, an absentee government servant, could ever become. Obviously not just his almost continuous residence, but his religious opinions, had their influence upon the chapter and the diocese. Although there were a few dissenting voices, from 1559 there was a steadily increasing hold on ecclesiastical affairs in the diocese of Durham, by men of a radical religious stamp, and here again is a contrast with Carlisle. One slight but obvious reflection of this is that while marriage was rare among the staff of Carlisle cathedral, it became increasingly the rule in Durham, and even ex-monks like George Cliffe and William Bennet took wives. The overall picture we get of Durham is that of a sincere and strongly protestant chapter doing its best to influence what was often an unreceptive and conservative surrounding population. This is not to say that they did not have their financial preoccupations like their Carlisle counterparts: it was inevitable that they should do so. But what shady dealing they engaged in seems to have been conducted with rather more discretion. More important than this however is the fact that they had a positively protestant outlook, and obviously tried to fulfil their duties within the diocese. The reason that the Carlisle property dealings stand out so much is that there is little evidence of the chapter's religious work to balance them. The Carlisle chapter was both smaller than that at Durham, and not of such good quality. From the Borders' point of view it was, to say the least, a pity that the more effective Durham chapter should have been so situated that most of its energies were absorbed by the southern parts of the diocese, and that

156 Forster, Tunstall's Priests, op. cit., 181.

the more truly 'Border' chapter had much less to offer. It made the work of
the two English bishops in the truly Border regions no easier than that of the
reformed Scottish counterparts, who had no chapter to rely on.
VI SCHOOLS AND LEARNING

The final group of institutions which might be expected to have had some influence upon the thought, both religious and otherwise, of the inhabitants of the Border counties, were the schools there. It was generally agreed amongst observers and commentators that the main failings of the Border church were the lack of suitably qualified clergy and the ignorance of the laity. Opportunities for education were vital if there was to be recruitment and training of more clergy, or dissemination of new ideas and learning among the laity. From what we know of the situation in the Borders it is no surprise to discover that they were not too well supplied with permanently endowed educational establishments. However the information we have is in some cases so meagre, that in all probability there were various opportunities for education for which no positive evidence has survived. This is particularly the case with Scotland.

In theory there should have been a song school in every parish north of the Border, as ordered by early church councils. It has generally been thought that in fact there were few of these, but Dr. Durkan has suggested that this was not necessarily so. He has pointed to the number of notaries from country areas (Dalry in Galloway for example) and the number of scholars from the Isles enrolling themselves at the universities, to suggest that they must all have found means of gaining an elementary education, although we now have little or no trace of the means by which they did so. The number of schools in the Scottish Borders for which we have positive evidence is not great.

1 Education had always been closely tied up with religion and the church. In small chantry schools the teaching was usually linked with participation in the Mass, and even in borough schools tended to start with the primer of Latin prayers, and come to grammar only after the psalter. J. Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England, London, 1966, pp. 49-50.

2 Essays, 146.
There were schools at Kelso, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, a grammar school at Dumfries and a grammar and song school at Peebles. Since "all collegiate churches had their own song schools, whether explicitly mentioned as such or not", we can assume that there would have been one at Lincluden as well. Those at Peebles are the only ones for which we have any detailed information, since they were controlled by the borough council, whose records have survived. We may however take these as a model of the way in which other borough schools were likely to have been run. The council was very insistent that it should be well served by the school master. He was not to be absent for more than four days without permission, and later the stipulation was made that he must not go off to the hunting or other pastimes when he should be teaching. In return for his services it seems he was paid £3 or less per quarter, but also received "an honest chamber on their expenses, with chimney, closet and necessaries, except furnishing". But the conditions changed with different masters, and in 1558 John Lewis, who was teaching at Elgin and considering moving to Peebles, was told he would have to provide his own chamber. On a different occasion however the council were willing to advance another teacher 40s. "to help him to a gown". As well as making sure that the master was kept at the job, it seems the baillies tried to introduce a sort of productivity agreement. In 1559 it was decided that "if he (i.e. the new master) teaches them more dili-

3 Essays, 168.
4 Ibid., 148.
5 Peebles Chrs., 220, 293.
6 Ibid., 214, 220, 233.
7 Essays, 156; Peebles Chrs., 243.
8 Peebles Chrs., 287.
gently, wherethrough they conceive more wisdom than they did before, the
town to have consideration thereof".  

This incentive must have worked as a similar contract was made in 1562.  

Some masters however apparently tried to make a larger profit, and in 1565 it had to be laid down that they should "take no higher wages from the landward bairns (i.e. those from the surrounding countryside), than he does from the towns, unless it be of benevolence". 

The council also took a close interest in the day to day affairs of the school. In April 1555 William Nudrie, who had previously taught in Ayr, found himself in trouble because he "bound Thomas Alexander's hands in way of correction as he alleges as his own discipline" and Alexander's brother brought a charge against him. 

In 1558 Walter Haldane was taken on a conditional basis, to see if he was suitably qualified for the post. If they could find another man who was qualified the council would prefer him, but if not, Haldane would be kept on and allowed to appoint a doctor to teach under him, as the other masters did. 

Two teachers would be necessary as the council insisted that the latinists should be separated from the English readers. Since for the last few years before the reformation there was also a collegiate church in Peebles this would have provided a song school as well. No doubt in Dumfries, Kelso and Kirkcudbright the schools would cater for "landward bairns" as did that at Peebles, and so the possibility of education would not be confined to the inhabitants of these few

9  Peebles Chrs., 257.  

10  Ibid., 287.  

11  Ibid., 299.  

12  Essays, 152; Peebles Chrs., 209.  

13  Peebles Chrs., 214, 299.  

14  Ibid., 214, 257.

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towns, but even so the provision of which we have knowledge was gravely inadequate.

This fact was acknowledged by the reformers. They were well aware that education was an important weapon. Already there had been a beginning of the teaching of new subjects, other than the traditional Latin grammar: Nudrie probably taught French, Greek and Hebrew in his time at Peebles. It was only through the extension of educational provision that new ideas could reach the laity with any sort of thoroughness. Dr. Durkan has commented upon the mobility of many of those teachers whom we can trace, and this must have helped new ideas to travel about Scotland. All in all it was bound to be in the interests of the Kirk to do its best for the schools. And so the First Book of Discipline proposed that education should receive a large slice of the revenues of the old church. The plans it put forward were ambitious. "Of necessity therefore we judge it, that every several church have a Schoolmaster appointed, such a one as is able, at least, to teach Grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town be of any reputation. If it be upland, where the people convene to doctrine but once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister there appointed take care over the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in their first rudiments, and especially in the catechism as we have it now translated in the Book of our Common Order, called the Order of Geneva. And further we think it expedient that in every notable town, and especially in the town of the Superintendent, (there) be erected a College, in which the Arts, at least Logic and Rhetoric, together with the Tongues, be read by sufficient Masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed: as also provision for those that

15 Essays, 152.
16 Ibid., 156.
be poor, and not able by themselves nor by their friends, to be sustained at letters, especially such as come from landward". These plans and suggestions were to remain only as plans. The money they would have needed was not there, but the Kirk did not give up. It recognised that both schools and churches were necessary for a perfect reformed church, and as early as 1562 the General Assembly were forwarding to the government a request for "maintenance of schools for instruction of the youth in every parish". It was however to remain just a pious hope for a long time. In the meanwhile some of the gaps were filled by ministers acting as teachers within their own parishes. James Melville has left a description of his own education by this means, and the minister of Logie-Montrose is unlikely to have been the only minister to turn to teaching. However as we have seen, in the Borders there were never enough ministers to go round. The few there were were generally in charge of several parishes and were thus unlikely to have time to devote to the sort of educational programme which Melville described. Despite the good intentions it is unlikely that the Kirk was able to do much to improve educational facilities in the Borders in our period. The only proof we have of the resources of the old church being devoted to educational purposes, as the Book of Discipline had envisaged, are a number of grants of prebends in Lincluden Collegiate Church to students at "the schools" (i.e. the universities). The grants were made for seven years, "which time being expired, or the said David (in this case) desisting of his study in the mean time, the said prebend to be given to

18 B. U. K. , 311,17.
19 Source Book of Scottish History, III, 401.
any other student that the supreme power finds most indigent".  

Whilst trying to get their recommendations adopted, the reformers were well aware that education was a weapon which could be used by their opponents as well as themselves, and they tried to ensure that "the instruction of youth be committed to none within this realm ... but to them that profess Christ's true religion now publically preached". Teachers were to be examined by Superintendents to ensure that they were sound in doctrine, and in 1567 this provision made by the General Assembly received the backing of an Act of Parliament. Unfortunately for the Kirk, they faced the same problem with schoolmasters as they did with the clergy. There were not enough of the reformed faith to go round and while there was such a shortage it was difficult to ensure that adherents of the old church did not continue to serve as they had always done. It is typical of the problems which the new Kirk had in the Borders that one of the few teachers we can trace there should have been Ninian Dalzell, Schoolmaster of Dumfries, and minister there and elsewhere, who in 1579 was charged, along with the Abbot of New Abbey with "enticing the people to papistry". It was the staffing problems of the Kirk which meant that he, and so many other conservatives or catholics were able to remain in office, and it is possible that many others were in a position to act officially or unofficially

20 R.S.S., VI, 787, see also nos. 803, 980.

21 B.U.K., 33.

22 B.U.K., 60, 108.

23 A.P.S., iii, 24, c.11, printed in Source Book, III, 399-400.

24 See Appendix I.

as teachers. The educational establishments we know of in the Scottish Borders were few and far between, and cannot have been much use to the majority of Borderers. Moreover what little information we have suggests that there is little likelihood of there having been much informal teaching which would help to spread the new faith. Reformed Border ministers would have too many other claims on their time; it was those who adhered to the old faith, if any, who would be able to pass on their ideas in this way.

When we turn to the English side of the Borders there is obviously the same need for teaching. Endless reports tell us of the ignorance of the people of the North, and schools were needed to replace this ignorance, and the concomitant conservatism and superstition, with the new learning and new faith. If we look at schools in the English Borders at the end of the period the situation is somewhat better than that in Scotland. In the 1573 visitation of Carlisle diocese there appear four schoolmasters in Cumberland, at Penrith, Crosthwaite, Aspatria and Westward, and four more in Westmorland, and we know that there were also schools at Carlisle, Kendal and Kirkby Stephen by this date.²⁶ A visitation of Durham diocese in 1578 reveals 21 schoolmasters in Northumberland, although the distribution of these is a little unequal. Eleven of them were in Newcastle, three in Berwick, two at Alnwick, two at Morpeth, and one each at Woodhorn, Alston and Corbridge.²⁷ Perhaps the opportunities for education were greater on the English side of the Border, but we must remember that there are no similar records for the Scottish Borders which would reveal schoolmasters setting up on their own initiative. Thus we tend to know only about the established borough schools in Scotland. Because of the greater

²⁶ C.R.O., DRC/3/2, ff. 21-7.
²⁷ S.S., 22, pp.29-45.
fulness of the English records we know of more teachers, and are better able
to trace the history of the established schools.

Those which were in being at the beginning of the period were mostly
based on some chantry foundation. There was a school at Penrith as early
as 1340, and in 1395 Bishop Strickland founded a chantry there, where the
priest was to teach church music and grammar. 28 This endowment, worth
£6 per year, went to the crown at the dissolution of the chantries, but in
1564, at the instance of Sir Thomas Smith, the dean of Carlisle, and the
inhabitants of Penrith, the Queen was persuaded to refound the school with
the same endowment of £6. This was to provide for a master and an usher. 29
There was a schoolmaster recorded at Carlisle as early as the twelfth century,
but none occurs after 1370, and so it is unlikely that the school founded by the
cathedral statutes of Henry VIII, was a continuation of this older establishment.
A "teacher of Boys to be instructed in Grammar" was a member of the new
cathedral establishment and he was to be "learned in Greek and Latin, of good
reputation and pious life, endowed with the faculty of teaching, who shall train
in piety and furnish with sound learning any boys whatsoever resorting to our
school for the sake of learning grammar". 31 There was no provision made
here for the maintenance of scholars, as there was at Durham, 32 but the
teaching was there for those who could maintain themselves. Prescott notes

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28 Bouch, Prelates and People, 39.
29 The first master was Richard Dudley, a native of Westmorland. See P. R. O.
E/178/2247; C. R. O. DEC/2/1; Pat. Rolls. Eliz., vol. III, 304; N.
30 Bouch, Prelates and People, 38; Simons, 3.
31 Prescott, Statutes of Carlisle, 27.
32 See below, p. 280.
that the first name we have for the schoolmaster at Carlisle is that of William Hay who was appointed in 1578, but the will of Edward Mitchell, a prebendary of Carlisle, made in 1565, includes a bequest to two schoolmasters on the cathedral staff, and there is no reason to suppose masters were not appointed from the first as was the rest of the specified establishment.

Surveys from the time of the dissolution show two other schools attached to chantries in pre-reformation Cumberland. These were at Kirkoswald and Cockermouth. At the former, two members of the college, Robert Redshaw and John Blenkerne were paid 40s. more than the pensions of the others, as they were schoolmasters. This school seems to have disappeared after the reformation, but the other, attached to the church of Cockermouth was apparently continued. Rowland Noble, the priest and master of the Grammar School was receiving 116s. at the dissolution. However a survey of the honour of Cockermouth made in 1570 reports that "there was one William Lamplugh, clerk, late chantry priest in Cockermouth, had yearly for his pension paid by the Earl of Northumberland £6-13-4 which stipend the said earl appointed should remain to the schoolmaster in augmentation of his living after the death of the said William Lamplugh who is now dead and the stipend in the Queen's majesty's disposition". This sounds as if originally there had been two chantries, only one of which was devoted to the grammar school.

33 Prescott, Statutes of Carlisle, 37.
34 S.S., 2, p.230.
35 A.F. Leach, English Schools at the Reformation, Westminster, 1876, pp. 43-4.
36 P.R.O., E/301/12.
37 P.R.O., E/164/37, 25.
the 116s. continued to go to the schoolmaster, as there was one there in 1578.

Schools in the county of Westmorland would also be available to the inhabitants of the Western Borders, and there were three of these attached to chantries, at Kendal, Appleby and Brough-under-Stainmore. Those at Brough and Kendal continued as schools, but apparently that at Appleby was dissolved, and was refounded by Queen Elizabeth in 1574. However as the visitation of 1574 already shows a schoolmaster at Appleby, it would seem there was some teaching available there even before the royal foundation. From 1566 there was also a school at Kirkby Stephen, founded by Thomas, Lord Wharton. Another permanent school in the West Marches was that at Crosthwaite. There is no record of its foundation, but Carlisle says that it was "of ancient date". In 1571 it was referred to as "the Common and Free School at Crosthwaite, which we find to be supported of the commodities accruing of and upon certain stocks of money, put forth to use in the said parish, which sums are not great nor fully sufficient to maintain and support a learned and industrious schoolmaster there". Consequently the eighteen men, who collected 2d. from each "fire house" in the parish, were to use the money for the school, after 46s. 8d. had been paid to the parish clerk. They were to do their best to get the largest possible profit for the school. Crosthwaite was a large parish, and it was thought they might manage to raise £16 per year. Although no school in Holm Cultram occurs elsewhere, we find that in 1568 the '16 men' (a body

38 Bouch, Prelates and People, 241.
39 Leach, pp. 251-3; Carlisle, Endowed Schools, II, 649, 706, 711.
40 C.R.O., DRC/3/2, 23.
41 Carlisle, Endowed Schools, I, 178.
similar to the 18 of Crosthwaite) were, among other duties, to appoint the schoolmaster. Perhaps there was here a school similar to that at Crosthwaite. As the sixteenth century progressed the number of endowed schools grew. That established by Lord Wharton has already been mentioned. In 1577 Thomas Burbank founded a free Grammar School at Great Blencow, near Penrith, and in 1583 Edmund Grindal founded a school at St. Bees. Both of course come too late to be of significance in the years with which this study is concerned, but they do serve to show that the necessity for education was appreciated by men who had grown up and lived through that period.

It must not necessarily be thought, however, that those areas with endowed schools were invariably well provided for while all other areas were totally without opportunities for learning. Before the reformation abbeys as well as chantries provided some teaching, and in 1582 an old man recalled that he and other children had been educated and boarded at Furness Abbey. The 1573-4 visitation shows schoolmasters at Morland, Askham, Aspatria and Westward, although there was no endowment for a teacher at any of these places. Some of these private schools were run, like that at Aspatria, by the parish clerk. At other times it would be a local parish priest who supplemented his income by teaching. One outstanding example of this is provided by Edward Knype, Rector of Clibburn and Vicar of Warcop in Westmorland. As well as holding two benefices he appears to have run a sizeable school. He seems to have taught the sons of all the local families, obviously with the aid

42a Bouch and Jones, 151.
44 Bouch and Jones, 151.
45 C.R.O., DRC/3/2, 27.
of a large library. 46 One of his pupils at least, the son of Richard Thompson, had been left in his keeping "until he was of sufficient learning to take orders". He was in fact serving a sort of apprenticeship, and perhaps there were others like him. In his will Knype mentioned fourteen scholars by name. They were apparently divided into two classes, as the books he left to them were to be divided between the seniors and the minors. His will also contained a reference to "myne ushers" suggesting that his school was so large that to be able to attend to this as well as his parochial duties, he needed the help of more than one other teacher. 47 There are likely to have been other schools such as this, perhaps not so large, but providing at least an elementary, and perhaps sometimes a more advanced education for those who were willing to pay for it, and were not within reach of one of the more permanent schools.

Indeed they might at times have proved more desirable than these. At some time in Elizabeth's reign the justices of Westmorland received the complaint that "whereas for the space of 11 years and more now last past, there hath laid and yet doth lie certain hay of Henry Lamb's in the school house of Appleby wherein by long continuance doth breed rats, mice, spiders, magots, and other noisome beasts to the great hurt and hinderance of us your poor suppliants being scholars and students there. Who by reason thereof as it should seem, both gentlemen's sons and others, are fallen sick to the number of three score." 48 This document not only suggests some of the hazards involved in seeking an education, but also gives an idea of the size of some of these schools. If sixty pupils had fallen ill, and there were still enough left to

46 See below, p. 282.

47 C.R.O. DRC/1/3, ff. 63-5.

press their complaint it must have been a large school. One must of course allow for some exaggeration, but even so, the number of schools, whether endowed establishments or more informal ones, would have been enough to provide education for quite a number of children, if the size of the one at Appleby was at all typical.

In Northumberland too there must have been a considerable number of privately run schools. As we have seen there were twenty-one schoolmasters recorded there in 1578, but there were nothing like this number of endowed schools. As might be expected one of the few endowed establishments was in Newcastle, although this was not founded until well into the sixteenth century. In a will dated 1525 Thomas Horsley, who was mayor in that year, bequeathed all his lands and tenements in the town, after the death of himself and his wife, "to the use and profit of a sufficient priest or master, profoundly learned, and instructed in grammar, who shall keep a common grammar school within the said town, for the erudition and instruction of all and singular the scholars in the foresaid town, or to the said town taking up their abode and resorting, without any favour or any further fee or payment". The Newcastle corporation decided to give four marks per annum for the same purpose. In fact Horsley did not die for another fifteen years. The school occurs from time to time in the town's records. Payments to the Master are recorded in 1561 and 1577. The school was obviously used by inhabitants of other parts of Northumberland as well as the citizens, as had been envisaged in the original legacy, and in 1563 the will of Gabriel Hall of Ottercaps in the parish of Elsdon includes the

49 Welford, 88-9.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid., 372, 488.
instructions that his sons be "sent to the school in Newcastle".  

But education was available in places nearer to the borders than Newcastle. Before the dissolution of chantries there were established teachers at Alnwick and Morpeth. At Alnwick there were lands for the maintenance of two stipendiary priests who also served as masters of a grammar school and a song school and the commissioners recommended that one of these, the master of the grammar school, should be allowed to continue, with a stipend of £4-1-8. The payment was still being made in 1570 but the inhabitants of Alnwick wanted more than this. In 1566 they put their request to the Earl of Northumberland, through George Clarkson, in the survey which he compiled of the Earl's estates in the county. They wanted the Earl's help "to have the grant of a free school of the Prince with certain rents yearly to maintain the same". This, it was said, would be of the greatest benefit to the burgesses of Alnwick, and also to the surrounding "rude country". It seems that what they wanted was the restoration of the full value of the chantry, the endowments of the grammar and the song school, part of which had been lost at the dissolution. The request was made again in 1588, this time to Lord Burghley, "not so much for the education of their children only, but much more for the information and right bringing up of the youth of the whole county of Northumberland; for as the said Borough of Alnwick lieth in the midst of the said county, and therefore of greatest repair and concourse of people, so hath it no grammar school within

52 S.S., 2, p.214.  
53 Tate, I, 73; P.R.O., E/301/62; E/319/1 File: Item 20.  
54 P.R.O., E/178/3265.  
20 miles in compass and above erected for the training up of the children of that wild and rude country in good learning and virtuous exercises."

The plea was still unsuccessful, but perhaps the burgesses had meanwhile decided to take action themselves. Certainly there were two schoolmasters noted there in 1578.

The endowment at Morpeth, which provided a stipend of £6-7-5, or £6-12-10 to the master of a Free Grammar School, was worth altogether £20-10-8 per year, and this was granted to the bailiffs and burgesses of Morpeth, at the petition of Lord Dacre "for a grammar school to be established for the instruction of boys and youths". The burgesses were, on the advice of the bishop of Durham, to appoint masters and ushers and in 1578 there were two schoolmasters listed there. These three were the only endowed schools in Northumberland at this period, but again they by no means represent the full amount of teaching available. The list of teachers in 1578 proves this. Berwick had no endowed school, but there were at least three teachers there, and Newcastle had eleven, of whom no more than one, or perhaps two, would be attached to the endowed school. Similarly teachers were to be found at Corbridge, Alston and Woodhorne. It was these private teachers who were likely to cause most worry to the authorities, for although they were subject to diocesan control, they would be far more elusive than those attached to estab-

56 The nearest endowed school would have been at Morpeth.
57 Tate, II, p.78.
58 S.S., 22, p.38.
60 Pat. Rolls Ed. VI, IV, p. 384-5.
61 S.S., 22, p.33.
lished schools. As we have seen in connection with Dumfries, it was important for the reformed church to be sure of the orthodoxy of those who taught the young, and the English church had the same troubles as the Scottish one. Thus in October 1564 John Grey, Schoolmaster of Newcastle, was called before the High Commission at York, to answer certain articles. It is uncertain what the charges were, but on November 6th he was committed to ward. Three weeks later he appeared again, and was "dismissed for this time" although he had to pay costs. The most likely explanation seems to be that he was taken to task for religious non-conformity.

Before leaving the subject of the East Marches it should be said that just as those schools in Westmorland were likely to be used by inhabitants of Cumberland, so those in County Durham would have been used by inhabitants of Northumberland. They were not numerous however. There had been chantries in the Cathedral church to which were attached a grammar school and a song school, and as at Carlisle the new establishment included a teacher of Grammar, and here there was also provision for the maintenance of eighteen poor boys at the school. There was also a grammar school attached to a chantry in Darlington, which was continued by Edward's commissioners although Carlisle says that it was dissolved, and through the recommendations of the Earl of Westmorland and Bishop Pilkington a Grammar School was refounded there in 1567. The school founded by Bernard Gilpin at Houghton in 1574 came too late for this period. On the evidence of the 1578 visitation,

63 S.S., 143, p. 143.
64 Leach, 61-2.
65 Carlisle, Endowed Schools, I, 389.
Boldon was the only other place in the county to boast a schoolmaster, but it is quite likely that there were others on a more casual basis who did not appear in this record. 66

One interesting aspect of the evidence relating to schools in the Borders is that there seems to have been quite a demand for them, whether this was expressed by a petition for an endowed school, or by enough support to keep a number of private teachers occupied. When we find in the will of Jean Lewin of Newcastle in 1569, a bequest of 10s. each to four "poor scholars of Cambridge, being born in this town", 67 this is not too surprising. Newcastle was the largest town of the area; through its trade it had links with London and the continent, and it would be expected to be the centre of culture and learning in the North East. The testator's husband had served several times as sheriff and mayor of Newcastle; she was obviously one of the leading members of the community, and so likely to be open to influence in favour of education and learning. The bequest, already mentioned, in Gabriel Hall's will, is much more unexpected. Elsdon was situated in Redesdale, and the inhabitants of the area were hardly noted for their devotion to learning, or any of the more civilised pursuits. Nor were the Halls generally any different from their Redesdale neighbours. Consequently it is particularly interesting to find one of them planning that his children should gain some education, and then set up in trade, away from the traditional background of the family. This gives a rather different picture from that conjured up by Tomlinson with his calculations as to how many Borderers could sign their names. The figures he gives are

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66 See S.S., 22, pp. 46-61.
67 Welford, 426.
19 out of 64 in 1561 and 54 out of 146 at a later, unspecified date.

Other information however suggests a wider degree of literacy. A number of wills made in the 1580's and 1590's show that it was by no means the clergy alone who owned books in sixteenth century Northumberland. Some of the laity had manuals concerned with their owner's profession; thus William Hawkesley, a cook, owned "A book of Cookery in print", and Tristram Heron, a musician, had "4 lute books", while Tomas Tobie, a barber surgeon had, as well as the Bible and the book of Martyrs, a Herbal, and two other books on surgery and medicine. The merchant who had "13 small latin books" was no doubt a book seller, but others owned a number of devotional works which must have been acquired for their own use. Most common of course was the Bible, in various editions, but there are also service books, and "one book called Peter Martyr, another book called the book of Martyrs" (this latter appears several times) as well as French books, Chronicles and a book of statutes. Most of these belonged to Newcastle merchants, but there was a sprinkling of other owners and it does suggest that quite a variety of books were available through Newcastle in the sixteenth century. The largest number of books were owned by clergymen, but this does not mean they were not available to the laity. Those clergy who did any sort of teaching must have made many of their books accessible to their pupils, and at their deaths, although the books were usually left to fellow clergymen, they did sometimes pass to laymen. Edward Knype, as we have seen, left a number of books to his pupils, not all of whom can have been destined for the church, and William Birch, the rector of Stanhope, left "The rest of my English books to be given to men and children

of Stanhope parish and Durham that can read". It is those clergy wills which
detail the books involved which give us some idea of the sort of intellectual
influences which might have been at work in the Borders, as well as telling us
something about the men who made them. We learn from his will that
Christopher Blencow, the vicar of Edenhall, and as such perhaps a participant
in the Pilgrimage of Grace had a library which included books of grammar,
logic and philosophy, various histories, the works of St. Augustine, St. Gregory
and St. Jerome, the Paraphrases of Erasmus in two different editions, and the
Epistles of St. Paul. As his list of bequests includes one to Queen's College,
Oxford, it seems possible that perhaps he had studied there, although he did
not take a degree. Other references may be much less informative. Edward
Mitchell, rector of Rothbury and vicar of Aspatria, simply mentions "all my
books at Aspatria" without specifying what they were, and there are a number
of other similarly uninformative references in wills and inventories. However
a more detailed list is provided by the will of Edward Knype, already referred
to. Among the titles he specified were the works of St. Augustine and Livy,
the New Testament and the Paraphrases, Virgil, with a commentary, the works
of Pico de la Mirandola, the lives of the Apostles, the works of More, and
Calvin's Institutes. This however was by no means the full extent of his library.
As well as the books detailed he writes of all his Greek, English, divinity,
humanity, logic and history books. Since these are to be divided between

70 Printed in S.S., 22, App. X, no. vi.
71 See below, p. 370.
72 C.R.O. Carlisle Wills, proved 1565.
73 S.S., 2, p. 229 seq.
about thirty different people, we get the impression of an extensive library. 74

Few of the Northern clergy would have so many books, but in the light of those wills which are available, it seems that many of them had a few, and since a number of wills speak of books which have been lent to, or borrowed from friends, it becomes obvious that the presence of such libraries could have some influence upon their owners' neighbours. At the beginning of the period religious houses would no doubt have possessed libraries too. The friars at Hulne had an extensive library. They possessed several Bibles as well as volumes of gospels and epistles, and a number of commentaries on the scriptures. There were also works by the Blessed Gregory, St. Bernard, Odo, Anselm, Bede and many of St. Augustine's writings. They had Peter Lombard's Sentences, and nine commentaries on this; a large number of missals, psalters, manuals and various sorts of service books as well as 22 books on canon law, and a number of histories and chronicles including Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert. The total of 114 works was made up by four treatises on grammar and logic and one on moral philosophy. It is an impressive catalogue, and it is unfortunate that there is insufficient evidence to show whether it was typical of its neighbouring houses or outstanding. A list of the house's vestments and church goods when compared with others does suggest an exceptional wealth, perhaps because of the generosity of the Percies. 75 It is not certain how accessible these books would have been to the laity, but before the dissolution the majority of ordinands had their titles from religious houses, 76 and as these houses acted to recruit suitable candidates for the clergy, they probably

74 C.R.O. DRC/1/3, f. 63-5.
75 Tate, II, pp. 52-6.
76 See Reg. Tunstall and Pilkington, passim.
concerned themselves with their education as well. In this way the libraries and learning of the Border monasteries could have a wider influence on the Border church, and indirectly upon its educational standards.

Lastly we know of a fairly large collection of books owned by the community of German miners at Keswick. In 1569 Rochius Frank left there various articles to be sold, including "a fine new Dr. Martin Luther's Bible, printed in Frankfurt ... Summarium über die Bibel, ... Die Gross Kirchen Postill Lutheri, samt auslegung d. Episteln und Evangelien, ... Three books of church history made and printed in Jena ... Forty-five of the books of Paulus Jovius ... Cosmographia Seb. Munsteri ... Perspectiva Vidtruvii, ... Regenten Buech, ... Cronica der Teutschen, Seb. Franckh ... Weltbuch, Seb. Franckh, ... Instrument Buch Petri Apiani, ... and other handbooks." The works in German would be little use to the miners' English neighbours even if they came into contact with them. On the other hand there was a considerable amount of intermarriage between the Germans and the local community, and between 1565 and 1584 there were 176 children born in Crosthwaite parish with German fathers. If a number of these men were educated, as the list of books suggests, then their knowledge and learning would eventually filter down through personal contact.

The opportunities for education did then exist in the North. The careers of its more eminent natives prove this. Nicholas Ridley was sent to receive

77 Bouch and Jones, 125.
78 Apparently the miners were a firmly Protestant community, which in 1568 asked for a preacher, "not only for us, but for the whole parish also, for in verity, for lack of good preaching in this country the people waxed rude and wyld without any fear of God". P.R.O., S. P. 12/49, no. 80.
his schooling in Newcastle, long before the school was founded there by Horsley. Edmund Grindal must have received some early form of education in his home parish of St. Bees, although there was no grammar school there until he founded one in 1583. We have seen that there were a number of endowed schools in the English Borders, certainly more than in the Scottish Marches, but, as in Scotland, we have also seen that there was a considerable amount of either private, or more informal teaching. Some of these private schools are known to us from visitation records, but the careers of men like Ridley and Grindal in England, like that of Melville in Scotland, show that even these must have been by no means the limits of educational opportunity. There must have been many other parish clerks or vicars who did some teaching, many educated men setting themselves up as schoolmasters wherever there was a demand, and as we have seen such a demand was forthcoming in the Borders. Their presence is unknown to us if their teaching activities did not coincide with one of the visitations for which we have records. This is not to say that education was within the reach of all Borderers. That many of them were unable to read or write their names is obvious. But there were probably more opportunities for those who were really interested to gain at least an elementary education than would appear at first sight. When contemporaries complained of the ignorance of the area they may not have been reflecting the situation quite so accurately. Clearly there were a number of educated men at work in the area. Perhaps what they meant was more that the Borderers were ignorant of the sort of things which the government would wish them to know. We have evidence of at least one teacher from England and one from Scotland who displeased the authorities. From what we know otherwise of the religious complexion of the Borders, it is unlikely that they were alone. Indeed the very fact
that we have reason to suspect that there were a number of schoolmasters at work without official sanction suggests that they might well have had some reason for wishing to remain officially unnoticed. Teaching would be an obvious way for the incumbent of a dissolved chantry or altar to supplement a pension, just as it had previously been for such men to supplement their incomes from such chantries or altars. It would also be an attractive profession to those deprived of their livings for non-conformity. If this is indeed what was happening it is highly likely that a number of teachers would be at work who would exert their influence on behalf of the old, rather than the new church and, if this was so, it is yet another reason for the persistence of conservatism in the Border areas. It is particularly interesting that one recorded example of this comes from Newcastle. In a city which was much further from the wilder parts of the Borderland, government policies should have been accepted much more quickly and more easily. If in this generally loyal and relatively civilised town education was so obviously a two-edged sword, which could be used against the reformed church as well as for it, how much more this must have been so in the remoter areas of the English and Scottish Borders where adequate control and supervision of churches, let alone schools was next to impossible.
VII RELIGION AND THE BORDER LAITY

In his book "The Steel Bonnets", G.M. Fraser repeats the story of a visitor to Liddesdale who, finding no churches asked "Are there no Christians here?" to receive the reply, "Na, we's a' Elliots and Armstrangs". Although it would be unfair to suggest that this attitude was wholly typical of an area which produced Ridley, Grindal, Bernard Gilpin, John McBray and Alexander Stewart, it is still a reasonable starting point from which to try to gain an overall picture of the religious attitudes of the laity in the sixteenth century Borders. The vast majority of the laity of course have left no trace of their reactions to the religious changes through which they lived, but the reactions of church and government officials to the faith of these areas en masse, and records of those individuals whose exploits have survived, can give us some clue as to the viewpoint of the rest.

General comments on the state of religion in the English Borders abound from early in the 1530's, and blame was put on the lack of preaching. The main theme was that there is "no knowledge of Christ's gospel", but occasionally a commentator looked a little deeper into the problem. In 1535 Richard Layton pinpointed the crucial connection between acceptance of religion, and of the King's authority: "there can be no better way to beat the King's authority into the heads of the rude people in the North than to show them that the King intends reformation and correction of religion". At the same time he was quite aware that the religious conservatism of the North had very little to do with deep Catholic beliefs: "They are more superstitious than virtuous, long accustomed to frantic

1 Steel Bonnets, 47.
2 See above, p. 110 ff.
3 C.S.P. Scot., I, 33.
fantasies and ceremonies, which they regard more than either God or their prince, right far alienate from true religion". The church had long ago tried to influence the Borderers by expressing its disapproval of their ways. In 1498 Bishop Fox of Durham had issued a lengthy warning and cursing of the thieves of Tynedale and Redesdale, which had resulted in the submission of fifteen thieves of Tynedale and Redesdale. In 1525 the experiment was repeated on both sides of the Border, by Wolsey and the Archbishop of Glasgow. This time too there was a reaction, but hardly what could have been hoped for: "we caused all the churches of Tynedale to be interdicted which the thieves there temerariously disobeyed and caused a Scots friar (the said interdiction notwithstanding) to minister them their communion of his fashion, and one Ector Charlton, one of their captains received the parson's duties, and served them all of wine".

It seems that as long as they could have the outward form of the mass, they cared little for the solemnly expressed opinions of their church leaders. Indeed it was notorious that all over Scotland processes of cursing and excommunication had been so misused that they were practically ignored. One example of this comes from the parish of Kirkmichael in Nithsdale. There the parson, finding himself unable to extract the teinds, had had letters of horn issued against the offenders, as well as excommunication, but to no avail. In the words of the

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4 L. and P., VIII, 955.
6 The Scottish cursing is printed in Steel Bonnets, App.1. The repetition had been urged upon Wolsey by Lord Dacre. L. and P., IV, 10.
8 Knox, History, I, 16.
official complaint they had "been at God's horn and the king's these 5 or 6 years 
last bypass and as yet takes no cure thereof but contemns the authority of holy 
kirk in great danger of their own souls and also our sovereign lord's authority 
as there were no justice to be had in this realm ..." The terrors of cursing 
had little power to control the activities of the Borderers.

Despite this obvious disdain for the church, Bishop Leslie felt that they were 
not a wholly lost cause. "Neither have they notwithstanding now vanely fallen 
from the faith of the Catholic Kirk, as many others have done". However he 
rather spoilt this picture of orthodoxy by adding "never so fervently they say their 
prayers, and pray their beads which rosaries we call, nor with such solicitude 
and care, as often as when they have xl or l miles to drive a prey". Again it 
was the outer forms of faith in which they placed their confidence, while obviously 
caring little or nothing for the sentiments these were supposed to express. A 
similar story was told of the inhabitants of Holy Island in the seventeenth century. 
Apparently when there was a ship in danger "they all sit down upon their knees 
and hold up their handes and say very devotedly, 'Lord, send her to us; God 
send her to us'". Those on the ships apparently thought they were praying for 
their safety, but "if the ship come well to port, or eschew naufrage they gette 
up in anger crying, 'the devil stick her, she is away from us'". In the sixteenth 
century too the inhabitants of both Holy Island and Bamburgh, as well as other 
settlements on the coast, were always active when any ship was washed onto the 
shore, and there was cargo to be gained; and it is likely that they too prayed as 
their seventeenth century descendants did, again with little care for the real


10 i.e. drive away stolen cattle or sheep. Leslie's History of Scotland, I, 101- 
102.
attitude of the church. These examples of an unorthodox, and usually disrespectful attitude to the church could be multiplied many times. They went hand in hand with an obvious lack of respect for church buildings, which were just as good a target for raids as any other stone edifice which might contain valuables; and examples of attacks on those sheltering in churches again show no respect for the sanctity of the buildings. Brawling in church or churchyard was common. It was part of the duty of the churchwardens to see that there was good behaviour during the services, but at Mitford for instance, it was one of the churchwardens, Gavin Lawson, who caused most trouble. He began by telling the curate to "come down and leave thy pratling", and then went on to cause an uproar by scoffing and laughing at those who were coughing. During the visitation he forbade any of the other wardens to present anyone for any fault, and hindered the election of more churchwardens, as well as saying "that neither bishop nor chancellor should meddle with their stalls". Lastly he refused to remove from the church one who had been excommunicated. Such behaviour was typical not particularly of disagreement with the Protestant faith, but of the general lack of respect for any authority, and especially any church authority, which was normal in the Borders.

This general irreligion however is rather different from the laity's reaction to religious developments in the sixteenth century. Apart from the wilder Border raiders and wreckers, with their own idiosyncratic attitude to every imposition of outside authority, there were the majority of the inhabitants of the Border


12 Ibid., 144-7.

13 Durham Cath. Lib., Raine Mss, 124, f. 97, and see also f. 102; Durham Sth Rd. DR/V/1, f.11.
counties, who, although they naturally shared, in a diluted form, some of the characteristics of their wilder neighbours, were also much more similar to the laity in the central areas of Scotland and England. It is from these that we get most reaction to the reformation. These people, both the ordinary parishioners, and the nobility and gentry, were open both to specifically Border influences, and to more national ones, and so their attitudes show a mingling of these two forces.

There is little evidence of any early manifestations of Protestantism in the Borders, and in an area on the whole so remote and cut off even from England and Scotland, let alone from the rest of Europe, this is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that the earliest record of Protestant beliefs in the English Borders comes from a Newcastle merchant who, through his trading activities, would have been in close contact with the continent from whence his new ideas came. Roger Dichaunt was tried and convicted for heresy in 1531, and issued a detailed abjuration which shows that his beliefs had been that there was no purgatory and it was folly to pray for the dead, that the sacrifice of the mass was not acceptable to God, that it was vain to pray to saints, that man is justified by faith alone, and has no free will, "that every Christian man is a priest, and has power to consecrate the body of our lord, and to do all other things which priests alone now use to do", that every priest should be married, and all the monasteries should be pulled down. In December 1536 the Mayor of Newcastle wrote of having punished Dichaunt, which suggests that he returned to these beliefs again after his abjuration. No further reference occurs in the Bishop's register, but if the Mayor had taken action, and this five years later, there is a strong

14 Reg. Tunstall and Pilkington, nos. 51, 53.
15 L. and P., XI, 1372.
possibility that in the meantime Dichaunt’s ideas had had a chance to spread among the merchant community.

The sea port was also a point of entry for other influences equally unfavourable from the authorities’ point of view. In the same year, 1536, Tunstall wrote to Cromwell that "there is come to my hands a little book printed in English, called Ortulus Animae; which was brought in by some folks of the Newcastle, and as I am informed there be very many lately brought in to the realm, chiefly into London, and into other haven-towns. Which books if they be suffered to go abroad be like to do great harm among the people, for there is in them a manifest declaration against the effect of the act of parliament late made for the establishment of the king's highness' succession... (I) have already written as effectually as I can to the Mayor of the Newcastle that he search out all such as can be found in the Newcastle and to seize them in the king's name and to get knowledge if he can who were the bringers in of them. And if the king's highness or at least yourself would write unto him to do the same I think it would be done with more diligence..."

The Newcastle authorities had to steer a careful course between the too catholic and the too protestant. The letter which reported further punishment of Dichaunt also railed against the Friars Observant who had re-entered their house, and spoke with disgust of Sir Thomas Hilton and others who protected them. Obviously the council were divided over religious opinions at this date. Elsewhere in the North it seems that conservatism, not protestantism, was the only problem. In 1535 Anthony Heron, who was in some way attached to Mountgrace Priory, but was a Northumberland man, was indicted

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17 L. and P., XI, 1372.
for saying "that the King is not head of the church, but the Pope is".  

By early 1536 however Richard Layton felt optimistic enough to write "The country here about Durham is substantially established in the abolition of the Bishop of Rome and his usurped power". He put this down to the learned preaching of the bishop, and we also have Tunstall's own evidence that he did his best to spread the new teachings. Nevertheless by Henry VIII's death there had been very little evidence of any popular readiness to accept new doctrines, except insofar as they were enforced by statute.

There is a similar dearth of indications of early Protestantism in the Scottish Borders. Here however there was also an exception, this time in the Western areas. Here the influences came not so much from contacts with the continent. There were such contacts of course, but they were felt most keenly in the Eastern, coastal region. In the early 1540's it was said of Coldingham Abbey that it was near the Borders and "in a neighbourhood where heretical sermons are often preached". In the West the influences were the remaining pockets of Lollard sympathy in Ayrshire. It was here that the English New Testament was being read from the 1530's and along with the scriptures, Lutheran books came into circulation. In 1533 an image of the virgin was decapitated in the Greyfriars' church in Ayr. Dumfries and Galloway were open to such influence from their northern edges, and had their own pockets of Lollardy too. Alexander Gordon of Airds in Kirkcudbrightshire is said to have been attracted by Wickliffite doctrines while in England, and to have brought back to Scotland

18 L. and P., VIII, 1038; IX, 491.
19 Ibid., X, 183.
20a A. Thomson, Coldingham Parish and Priory, Galashiels, 1908, p. 131.
21 Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 29.
with him Lollard books, and a Wickliffite tutor. It seems that he aimed at the conversion of his neighbours, and held open-air meetings where they read and discussed the scriptures.\(^{22}\) It is said to have been through these meetings that Alexander Stewart, younger, of Garlies was first attracted to reformed doctrines. His opinions were strengthened by his contact with England through the Earl of Lennox, who was there from 1543, and by his own sojourn there as a hostage for his father. It seems likely that this stay in Carlisle finally confirmed him in his beliefs, and after this he was a staunch supporter of the reformation in the southwest. His introduction of a Protestant preacher into Dumfries as early as 1558 has already been mentioned.\(^{23}\)

Other early Protestants who appeared in the west fled to England because of their religious beliefs, rather than acquiring them there. From Ayr the most famous of these was the Dominican John Willock, who seems to have left Scotland about 1535, shortly after John McDowell, the prior of the Dominicans of Wigtown left, looking for somewhere where his Lutheran sympathies could be given freer rein. Also from the West was Donald Makary, a Premonstratensian of Holywood, who in 1539 confessed to holding heretical opinions, which he then abjured. A few months earlier Wharton had written to Cromwell that "one Frere Jerome, a learned man, has been taken at Dumfries and lies in irons like to suffer for the Englishmen's opinions, which however, thank God are spreading".\(^{24}\) A little later, perhaps about 1541, John McBray, a Cistercian of Glenluce, came


\(^{23}\) See above; and A. Cameron Smith, *Alexander Stewart, Younger, of Garlies and of Dalswinton, the Reformer*, *Dumfries Trans.*, 3rd ser., XIV, 1926-8, pp. 101-27.

round to the opinion of the reformers. He too seems to have been linked with Ayrshire Lollards, who sheltered him for some time, but he eventually attracted the attention of the archbishop of St. Andrews, who personally interested himself in his imprisonment, saying that the diocese had been neglected by its bishop, Gavin Dunbar. 25 Although the archbishop of St. Andrew's was always ready to score off his counterpart in Glasgow, 26 if Hamilton's comment was justified it would help to explain this concentration of early reformers in the southern corner of the diocese.

It is interesting that the beliefs of Friar Jerome should be designated as specifically English. Durkan has concluded that "Protestant influence, encouraged though it was by the defection from Rome by Henry VIII, came directly or indirectly from Germany and that its character was Lutheran". 27 Certainly the beliefs, when they are specified, are Lutheran, but there is an undeniable link with the survivals of Scottish Lollardy, and the connection with England is too strong to be dismissed. In the 1540's it became even more marked. That the connection was acknowledged by the Scottish authorities was made clear in 1542 by a report sent by Angus, who was at that time in the 'English' party, to Hertford, of the plan that the Cardinal of St. Andrew's "should have come to these East Marches and entered within the ground of England and come to one of the churches of the Borders and there to have interdicted this realm with the Bishop of Rome's authority". 28 Apparently there was still some hope that the Borderers


26 See above, p. 211.

27 Essays, p. 77.

might take notice of ecclesiastical sanctions. There could hardly have been any hope that an interdict would hold any terrors for the government, but it might just have been hoped that the Borderers were Catholic enough to care, and somehow to hinder the government's policy. It was a vain hope, and anyway was never put to the test. The Borderers were obstructive of course, but of their own volition, not through fear of the archbishop of St. Andrew's.

The Scots had however turned their attention in the right direction. In February 1543 Arran was under strong pressure from his English allies to use religious change to bolster his political position. As Lisle put it "it would not do amiss, if your lordship did let slip amongst the people in this time the Bible and New Testament in English, whereby they may perceive the truth, and so shall they know the better how to eschew sedition; if you have none in your own tongue, I will help to get you some out of England ..." Arran was happy to receive such suggestions, for the time being. The Scottish clergy he felt were little use in effecting a reformation: "there is nane of them that has a spark of light" ... "And as for the Bible, there is none to be gotten in our vulgar tongue in this realm, wherefore it will please you to cause an Englishman to come here with certain of them to inhabitants of this realm ..." If the English officials are to be believed such imports were in great demand. "Rothesay Herald telleth us that the Bible, the New Testament, and such other books as be set forth within this realm in English, as the Primer and the Psalter, be marvellously desired now of the people in Scotland, and sayeth that if there were a cart load sent hither they would be bought every one". Sadler also wrote with requests for books

29 Hamilton Papers, I, 299(1).

30 Ibid., I, 303.

31 Ibid., I, 316.
on the governor's behalf, and he added to the list "the statutes and injunctions for reform of the clergy, and extirpation of the Bishop of Rome's authority".  

Although the policy which allowed these exchanges was short lived, the period in which, as Knox said, the Bible lay "almost upon every gentleman's table" must have borne some fruit, and conversions made at this time would not necessarily be reversed when government policy was. The next phase in Anglo-Scottish relations, which bore such a close relationship to the progress of the reformed faith in Scotland, was that of the "Assured Scots". In a survey of Scottish collaboration with the English at this time M.H. Merriman has concluded that it was a desire for the reformed faith which gave England if not the bulk, at least the most consistent and devoted of her supporters. Those who were willing to collaborate for reasons of physical safety or political expediency were unlikely to remain loyal to the English cause once the political situation changed, whereas those who were fighting for religious reasons knew that their only hope lay in England. The English obviously realised this, stressed the importance of religious harmony, and gave every encouragement to the reformed faith in Scotland. Many of the Protestant collaborators of course were not Borderers, but as most of the Border surnames seem to have sided at one time or another with the English, there is bound to have been some exchange of views which would occasionally leave a lasting impression.

32 L. and P., XVIII, part I, 348. All these requests were connected with the act passed in March 1543 which allowed the possession of the scriptures in Scots or English. A.P.S., II, 415.

33 Knox, History, I, 45.

34 For an account of these close links see Maitland, The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation. C.M.H., II, pp. 550-98.

Those who went to England as hostages were especially likely to have been influenced by the faith they found there, and as they were often younger brothers, or sons of the leading men, they went at an age when they were particularly open to such influences. But those who stayed in Scotland were not neglected. When the English occupied Dumfries in 1547-8 they had with them John Rough, one of the friars who had been appointed to preach by Arran before his policy changed. In the same town, the Greyfriars, once they had submitted themselves to the English, were openly to renounce the pope, put off their friar's habits and preach the reformed faith. Since the Borders were the scene alike of most of the fighting and the preaching, they would be most strongly influenced by the English attempts at conversion. And yet there does not seem to have been any mass success for this policy. It is hard to measure influences of this sort, and it may well have been that the preaching, like the English scriptures, did have enough effect to have prepared the Borderers for Protestantism when it finally came. But at this period few seem to have been won over to the English cause, either political or religious, sufficiently to stay loyal to it even when England's fortunes changed. There were of course exceptions. Perhaps the most notable of these was Sandy Pringle of Kelso who, having early attached himself to the English side, persevered in this despite prosecution and was eventually rewarded with a pension, denization for himself and his family, and chantry lands in County Durham. There is however no evidence of his being motivated by strong religious convictions.

In the end the English plans failed because Cardinal Beaton managed to

36 Moir Bryce, I, 84-5, and see above, p. 173.
37 Merriman, 20.
get sufficient support for his government on the basis of opposition to the "old enemy". At the same time Henry was beaten at his own game of buying support, since French money was being offered in greater amounts than English, but the campaign had had some lasting effect insofar as it had helped to spread new religious ideas amongst those at a level below that of the politically unstable magnates. When this fact is considered along with the amount of material damage that the English had inflicted on church buildings, it seems possible that ecclesiastical discipline was never completely restored after about 1543. 38

England's attempts at conversion continued. Willock who had left Scotland in 1535 eventually became a chaplain to the Marquis of Dorset, and as such accompanied him to the Scottish Borders in 1551. 39 The expedition was described by John Ab Ulmis in a letter to Bullinger. "The Marquis is gone into Scotland, with three hundred cavalry, and some good preachers; with the view principally, of faithfully instructing and enlightening in religion that part of the country which has been subdued during the last few years." In a later note he reported that "Willock is preaching the Word of God with much labour on the Borders of Scotland". 40 A few months later Ab Ulmis visited the Borders and was most enthusiastic about the results of all the preaching. "There appears to be great firmness and no little religion among the people of Scotland; but in the chiefs of that nation one can see little else than cruelty and ignorance; for they resist and oppose the truth in every possible way. As to the common-

40 Original Letters, II, 202, 203.
ality however, it is the general opinion, that greater numbers of them are rightly persuaded as to the true religion than here among us in England." 41

The early dependence upon England for books was continued into the 1550's when the "privy kirks", the earliest reformed congregations in Scotland used the English Prayer Book, since there was no other reformed service printed in English in sufficient numbers. 42

Whilst all this was going on the English government could not always be too sure that their religious policies were accepted in their own marches, let alone in Scotland. In 1545 the Council in the North were ordered to do their utmost to make known to the people laws concerned with "abolishing of usurped and pretended power of the bishop of Rome, whose abuses they shall so beat into their heads, by continual inculcation, as they may smell the same, and perceive that they declare it with their hearts and not with their tongues only for a form. And likewise they shall declare the order and determination taken and agreed upon the abrogation of such vain holy days, as being appointed only by the bishops of Rome to make the world blind, and to persuade the same that they might also make saints at their pleasure, do give occasion, by idleness, of the increase of the many vices and inconveniences." 43 It is doubtful to what extent the council could comply with such instructions, since in the Borders it was not always possible to get an outward conformity, let alone ensure an inner acceptance as well. Two years later we have the plea from Lord Grey of Wilton, already quoted above for preachers for the English Borders as well as Scotland, since the people "know neither God, nor the King, nor their laws". 44

41 Original Letters, II, 205.
42 Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, 49.
43 Welford, 226.
44 C.S.P. Scot., I, 73.
Although there are many such complaints from the reigns of Henry and Edward, it is noticeable that they cease in Mary's reign. It would perhaps be wrong to place too great a reliance upon what could be a purely accidental lack of evidence, but it does seem that the traditional faith had survived in these Northumberland counties, and although few leading Catholics could have been happy with the lack of informed faith in these areas, it was not such as to cause too much worry or comment from a Catholic government which had so much else to occupy its attention. It is also significant that the complaints began again immediately after Elizabeth's succession. In February 1559 dean Horn, of Durham, wrote to Cecil that "the face of the church in these parts is so blemished with ignorance and licentious living through want of Godly instruction and due correction, that if there be not some speedy remedy found to instruct the consciences with knowledge in the true fear of God and correct the lives of these libertines (I may well so term them) with severe discipline, they shall fall to barbarous atheism void of all religion, either one or other, and become a new Babylon in confusion of licentious life. . . . there is such continuance in superstitious behaviour contrary to the order taken for religion, such contempt and neglecting of God's service at the times and places appointed, and such uncleanness through fleshly life, yea such horrible incests as hath not been heard of among the heathen." 45 Somewhat later Bishop Pilkington commented, 46 "I would not have thought there had been so froward a generation in this realm". Meanwhile Knox was urging the appointment of preachers as the answer to all problems, both English and Scottish. "True and faithful preachers in the North parts of England can not but greatly advance this cause - if a learned

45 P.R.O. S.P., 12/11, no.16.
46 P.R.O. S.P.,12/20, no.25.
and godly man might be appointed to Berwick, with licence also to preach within Scotland, I doubt not to obtain unto him the favours of the most part of the gentlemen of the East and Middle Borders. Admit one thing, sir, that if the hearts of the borderers of both parts can be united together in God's fear, our victory shall be easy. Knox of course spoke as one who had spent some years preaching in Berwick and Newcastle, and as we have already seen the faith which he preached there was even more radical than that backed by the government. His activities had apparently caused a division within Newcastle, and brought the mayor into open opposition against him, but his time there must have had some effect upon the inhabitants. As well as the Scots who followed him into England, many of his English congregation must have been won over to his beliefs. He certainly thought so and when he had left continued to exhort them in letters. By 1560 however it almost seemed as if all this had been forgotten. Norfolk wrote that he found Newcastle "and country hereabout far out of order in matters of religion, and the altars standing still in the churches, contrary to the Queen's Majesty's proceedings". Perhaps Knox's influence lingered more strongly in Berwick. From there Leek reported that a very short stay by the dean of Durham and Mr. Sampson had had a tremendous effect. Apparently now the gentlemen and soldiers went eagerly to church and "Berwick had become a civil town, almost void of vices". If there is any truth behind these glowing reports it may be that Knox's influence had remained strong, if dormant, under Mary's rule, and was soon revived by Protestant preaching.

47 C.S.P. Scot., I, 448.
48 See above, p. 106 ff.
49 Printed, Welford, 353.
50 C.S.P. For., Eliz., III, 600.
Certainly in later years we find Bedford explaining that the cap and tippet had never been used there, and this sounds like a legacy from Knox. By the later 1560's the godly soldier of Berwick had become an accepted figure. 51

Elsewhere the progress was slower. In October 1561 Bishop Pilkington likened himself to St. Paul, having to fight with the beasts at Ephesus. 52 His counterpart in Carlisle was more selective in his complaints. Although he complained bitterly about the clergy, Best was happy to report that "First after three sermons made in the cathedral church (unto which a great number of all God's adherents did resort) the common people with much rejoicing affirmed they had been deceived. Which also happened throughout all my visitation in the diocese the two weeks following. The gentlemen of the country received me in every place with much civility. But the entertainment of my Lord Wharton, and My Lady Musgrave his daughter for the gospel's sake I can not express and the same they continue still towards me". With Lord Dacre however he was less pleased, for he and his officers refused to take action against churches in his lands where mass was still being said. 53 Moreover Dacre was "something too mighty in this country and as it were a prince and the lord warden of the West Marches of Scotland and he are but too great friends. It is judged of them that are wise that he suffers the Scots to do harm in England unpunished of policy, the rather to draw home his friend my lord Dacre, who is too long

51 Marcombe, 347. See Anthony Gilby, A Pleasant Dialogue Between a Soldier of Berwick and an English Chaplain ... London, 1581. In his work "The Inordinate Liberty of Prophesying", Dr. Thomas Jackson said the practice was not common in the North "unless it were in the town of Newcastle and Berwick, wherein Knox, McBray and Udal had sown their tares". Quoted Hewison, Dumf. Trans., 1921-2, p. 165.

52 C.S.P. Dom., 1547-80, p. 187.

53 See above, p. 152.
(as his friends here think) detained at London." This was hardly the sort of cross-border cooperation which Knox had envisaged. By January 1562 Best was much less pleased with the laity in his diocese. "First here is such rumours, tales and lies secretly blown abroad partly by writings in French, partly by evil disposed papists secretly whispered in corners, that every day men look for a change and prepare for the same. The people desirous of the same do in a manner openly say and do what they will concerning religion and other matters right parlous without check or punishment. The rulers and Justices of Peace wink at all things and look through their fingers, and for my exhortation to have such punished I have had private displeasure. Before the great men came into these parts I could do more in a day concerning Christ's gospell, now since it than in two months. ... Such men (i.e. those who will not obey him as ordinary) ... are not only supported and borne withall, but also had in place of council and brought in to open place whereby those of evil religion are encouraged to be stubborn, and those who embraced the true doctrine defaced and destroyed. ... truly this is my very judgement in deed, that so long as the high authority is in his hands that now hath it God's glorious gospell cannot take place here." He finished by telling of the current rumours that the Spanish and the French were going to enter Scotland and come from there into the

54 P.R.O., S.P. 12/18, 2124. The Scottish Warden of the West March at this time was John Maxwell of Terregles. Rae, 241. For Dacre's attitudes see also p.152.

55 These articles, which Best sent along with the letter, for Cecil's inspection, seem to have been plans for dealing with the Calvinists in France, and bringing about some reforms in the French Catholic church. They also imply some agreement between the French and Spanish crowns, which is perhaps why they were feared to be encouraging to English Catholics; but otherwise it is difficult to see what bearing they can have had on the Cumberland situation.
English West March, to bring about the alteration of religion. In an area which had seen so much coming and going by different armies including French troops, and Spanish mercenaries, such a rumour might well have sounded plausible, especially to those who wished to believe it, and would undoubtedly be unsettling to those who had, according to the bishop's earlier report, decided to accept the new religious settlement with a good grace.

The concern about the influence of Catholic gentry was widespread. In March 1564 Bedford, the new captain of Berwick, wrote from York that as for the gentlemen in those parts, he feared that the popery rooted amongst them would cause trouble unless some magistrates were sent to restrain them. In the same year, Young, the archbishop of York, and also President of the Council in the North, expressed the opinion that the common people there were now reconciled to the religious settlement, and that the stay against religion in those parts had only been the nobility, gentry and clergy. The word "only" sounds rather strange in this statement, but Young obviously thought that it was the majority of the common people who mattered most, and he was satisfied with their attitude. Moreover he felt that the gentry and clergy were now greatly improved, and only the nobility "remain in their wonted blindness".

In November 1564 the government received more accurate reports about the officials in the localities when they required each bishop to submit detailed comments about the Justices of the Peace in their diocese. It was just the

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56 P.R.O., S.P. 12/21, 2170.

57 C.S.P. For. Eliz., VII, 266.

58 Ibid., 533.

chance Best had been waiting for, and he willingly poured out his complaints.
"... in my opinion there is nothing that more hindereth the good success of the
policies established nor doth the perpetual continuance of the sheriffwick of
Westmorland, 60 by which means there is always such in office as in no wise
favours the true way, and such are suffered to pass through the country unappre-
hended as talk at their pleasure, and some have in the wild mountains preached
in Chapels. The Queen's receivers and other officers of the lower sort, being
not good themselves, discharge often such as dare not displease them. And to
speak plainly to your honours, the noblemen's tenants in this country dare not
be known to favour that way for fear of loss of their farmholds. And finally
the Justices of Assise which, only making a good face of religion in giving of
the charge, in all other their talks and doings show themselves not favourable
towards any man or cause of religion, which the people much mark and talk
of." With such a situation it is hardly surprising that the bishop felt he could
do little to change things. He had far less influence than those who favoured
the old religion. After such comments it is rather surprising that he found
anyone whom he could recommend for office. He names twelve Justices for
Cumberland out of whom only five, including himself, were suitable from the
religious point of view, but he did find eight more to recommend as worthy of
office. In Westmorland there was pretty much the same story; only three out
of nine were suitable, but five more were recommended. 61 The picture from
the Eastern Borders was not much better. "My Lord of Bedford says that with-
in his charge there is never a Justice of Peace nor none that he can commend

60 The Earl of Cumberland was hereditary sheriff.

61 The national figures from all the returns were 431 favourable, 264 indiffer-
ent or not favourable, and 157 hinderers of religion.
as meet for that purpose". As for the Middle Marches, Sir John Forster named fifteen men, but had doubts about the conformity of three of them. In the town of Newcastle the mayor and aldermen were all Justices in virtue of their office, and the bishop felt that "if wealth made them not wilfull both of their own substance and the town chamber by their impost of sea coal, it would be one of the best towns on this side of Trent. The poorer sort hire themselves a preacher, but none of them or few gives little or nothing to the preacher". Perhaps this wish of the common people for a preacher was another legacy of Knox's stay.

The Bishop concluded his report with a few comments on the general state of his diocese, particularly "... the great number of scholars born hereabout have living at Louvain, without licence, and sending in books and letters which cause many times evil rumours to be spread and disquiet the people. They be maintained by the hospitals of the Newcastle and the wealthiest of that town and this shire as it is judged and be their near cousins". From a case referred by the bishop of Durham to the archbishop of York, and which later occurred in the Court of High Commission there, we know that John Raymes, Master of the hospital of West Spittle, Newcastle, had been in Louvain since about 1560. The High Commission records also contain a case against Benedict Chertsey of Newcastle who in November 1565 was ordered to "reform himself touching the receiving of the Holy Communion". On June 11th 1566 he finally produced a certificate of conformity from the mayor of Newcastle, and his recognisance was cancelled. It seems likely that he was one of those whose Catholicism


63 Borthwick H. C. A. B., II, f. 15, 44, 64; IIIf. 79.
was encouraged by the links with Louvain as the bishop feared. A list of
English seminary priests of the sixteenth century names a number of others
occurring at Louvain, Douai or Rheims, who originated in Northumberland and
Durham, including Robert Gray who was a native of Newcastle. It was not
however a phenomenon confined to the North-east, and the same list includes
a similar number who originated from Carlisle diocese. It was presumably
through contacts such as these that the disturbing rumours of a Catholic
revival reached the English Borders.

However dangerous these connections might be, they were still not such
an immediate problem to the church authorities as those who were left behind.
A further look at court records gives some idea of the sort of problems which
they faced. When in May 1562 the curate of St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle, was called
before the High Commission, presumably because of his catholicism, five or
six laymen were cited with him. Any Catholicism amongst the clergy was
bound to encourage the vestiges of it amongst their congregation. In August
1564 a Westmorland man, Thomas Fisher, was found to have "two images, a
masse book, and other antiphoners and such like books" in his possession.
Some of the cases show not Catholic sympathies so much as a general lack of
respect for the authority and rules of the church. To this class belongs the
case of Cuthbert Bales, of Witton in Durham, who had been married to one
Mary Rokeby in a church at Birtley in Northumberland, away from both their
home parishes, and without any banns being called. Perhaps more serious

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64 G. Anstruther, The Seminary Priests, Durham, 1968, I, passim. For
Gray, p. 135.
65 Borthwick, H. C. A. B., I, f. 16v, 130, and see above.
66 Ibid., 155, 167v.
67 Ibid., 170-200, passim.
was the case against Sir Christopher Dacre, and a long list of inhabitants of Lanercost parish, which first appears in October 1568, but this soon disappears from the records, without it ever becoming clear what charge was involved. 68

The charges are very clear however in the case against Thomas Blenkinsop of Helbeck in Carlisle diocese (the parish of Brough under Stainesmoor). He was accused of being a misliker of the religion then set forth, and of speaking against it at sundry times while bearing a great zeal and affection for the Romish religion. He was said to be a notorious harbourer and reliever of Popish priests; and for at least a year he had not received communion, nor attended church on Sundays or Holy days. 69

Thus there clearly were many cases of recusancy to back up the general comments about the Borders which still flowed to the government from almost every official, and unofficial, visitor to the North. In May 1568 John Willock travelled from Loughborough to Berwick and found the northerners "mere ignorant of religion and altogether untaught". 70 This ignorance and lack of teaching, is the other half of the picture. As much as the government had to worry about those who were confirmed Catholics and refused to conform, they were equally hampered by those whose education in any form of faith left so much to be desired, and who in place of any reasoned belief, clung to an amalgam of tradition and superstition which had little more to do with Catholicism than it had with Protestantism. In 1570 Archbishop Grindal, himself a native of Cumberland, said of the northerners, "they keep holy days and feasts abrogated; they offer money, eggs etc. at the burial of their dead; they pray on

68 Borthwick H. C. A. B., IV, 17v. 68v passim.
69 Ibid., C. P. G1542; H. C. A. B. VI, 165-6, 179v.
70 C.S.P. Scot., II, 668.
beads etc.; so as this seemeth to be, as it were another church rather than a member of the rest. And for the little experience I have of those people, methinketh I see in them three evil qualities which are, great ignorance, much dulness to conceive better instructions, and great stifness to retain their wonted errors". 71 Their attitudes are well illustrated by the reaction to Bernard Gilpin "the Apostle of the North". It was his custom every year, usually about Christmas time, 72 to travel into Redesdale and Tynedale, areas which were especially destitute of preachers. Typical of the stories which are told to illustrate the success of his ministry in these areas is that of the theft of his horse. It is said that the thief did not realise to whom the animal belonged, but when he heard he immediately took it back, since he believed that he would be seized by the devil because it had belonged to Gilpin. If true, this certainly illustrates the respect with which the preacher was regarded, but hardly that he had managed to persuade his congregations that there was in general anything wrong with their way of life. Similarly the very number of occasions when he is said to have removed a glove or suchlike, hung up in a church as a challenge to some Border family, suggests that the improving lectures which he always took the opportunity to deliver had very little lasting effect. This is not to denigrate Gilpin's work, but it was impossible that any one man, on intermittent visits, could do anything but scratch the surface of the ignorance and superstition which were two of the hallmarks of this society. 73

72 Even the choice of time is significant. Gilpin apparently found the Borderers went more frequently to church at Christmas; again an attachment to the old ceremonies.
73 For Gilpin's exploits in the Borders, see Carlton, 26-8; Collingwood, 164-8.
Towards the end of the 1560's the task of the church was made even more difficult by the arrival of Mary Stuart in the English West March. Willock reported, "the people in this north much to rejoice at the liberty of the Queen of Scots, and many utter their good minds to her". In July 1568 it was said that "Religion waxes cold, and is going backwards". In November the Council in the North admitted "that in many churches there have been no sermons for years past, and that in most parts the pastors are unable to teach their flock, and that the backwardness in causes of religion proceeds rather from ignorance than stubborness or wilfull disobedience". On this assumption it was vital to provide adequate Protestant teaching, while preventing Catholic teaching from reaching the people; hence the great concern that as few as possible should come within the reach of the Catholic Queen of Scots and her entourage. The authorities' fears came to a head with the outbreak of the 1569 rebellion. In Sadler's view "there be not in all this country 10 gentlemen that do favour and allow of her Majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion, and the common people be ignorant, full of superstition, and altogether blinded with the old popish doctrine ...".

Once the rebellion was over the work, and very much the same complaints, continued. Barnes, the new bishop of Carlisle, arrived in his diocese in 1570

74 C.S.P. Scot., II, 668.
76 Ibid., 42 (1).
77 See C.S.P. Scot., 821, 829, 835, 873.
78 See below, p. 380 ff.
and at first was much encouraged by what he saw. The commonality, he thought, were conformable in religion, the only exception being "the lowlands-men, and certain gentlemen", and he had compiled a list of the local gentry showing their religious leanings. Out of 21 leading Cumberland men he listed, he felt able wholeheartedly to commend only six. Consequently he would be unable to look for much support from the Cumberland gentry, although the collapse of the Dacre cause after 1570 must have been of considerable help.

Bishop Barnes' visitation of his diocese has already been discussed, and the injunctions issued to the parish of Crossthwaite quoted at length. It is hardly necessary to say that they disclose a very marked continuance of Catholic practices within the diocese, and it is not surprising to find the churchwardens of Crossthwaite appearing in the Consistory Court. This Court's records, which for Carlisle start in 1571, show that the situation in Crossthwaite was not an isolated one. Conservatism, open Catholicism and superstition abounded. A number of parishioners of Wigton were charged with withholding a chalice belonging to that church. In November 1571 Richard Dobson of Carlisle was ordered to put on a surplice, old vestments and a mitre and do

80 See above, p. 250.
81 P.R.O., S.P. 12/74, no. 22. Printed Catholic Record Society Misc., XII, pp. 115-9. It is interesting to compare this list with Best's returns about the J.P.s. While Best commended Henry Curwen as "in Religion good and meet to continue" Barnes felt that he cared neither for God nor religion. John Aglionby, whom Best had found only "not staid in religion", had obviously become more firm in his convictions, and Barnes' description of him was "Vanus, Blasphemusque papista, nullum... dei habens timorem, raptor, pestis pernicesque rei publicae". As for Westmorland, Henry Crackenthorp and Thomas Warcop, both of whom Best had recommended as "very good in Religion and fit men", were according to Barnes, a papist and an enemy of religion respectively.
82 C.R.O., DRC/3/1-2, ff. 17, 57.
83 Ibid., f. 38.
public penance for his idolatry and superstition. In the following January, Anthony Wilson of Bolton parish was ordered to bring in all the books and other superstitious objects he had, and two parishioners of Wigton were charged with keeping superstitious relics. A month later the order to Wilson was repeated, but he insisted that he had no more books than those which he had given up, and if there were any more they would be in the hands of the executors of Sir Anthony Smithson, clerk. In April these executors were presented for having kept "a pix, a vestment and other superstitious relics".

There are throughout the record instances of people charged with not receiving communion, or being ordered to produce a certificate of having done so. As well as these instances of conservative or Catholic remnants, there are others which exemplify the general lack of respect for the church found throughout the Borders. At Christmas 1571 the service in Penrith was disturbed by a "lord of misrule" and his companions, who found themselves before the Consistory for this offence in the following February. Other court records contain many instances of drunkenness, railing against ministers' wives, fighting in church, and one of "plaing on his pipes when the curate was at evening prayer". In the same lists those accused of wearing beads, fasting on

84 C.R.O., DRC/3/1-2, f. 54.
85 Ibid., f. 59-60.
86 Ibid., f. 71. I can find no other reference to Smithson. It is possible he was a curate at Bolton, where the vicar had been George Neville. It is unlikely that Neville was resident, and so there should have been a curate there, although there is no mention of one. See App. I.
87 C.R.O., DRC/3/1-2, f. 80.
88 Ibid., f. 9, 84, 85.
89 Ibid., f. 75.
holy days, and ringing bells to "provoke" people to prayer, all of which bear witness to an attachment, at least to the outward forms of Catholicism, are mixed up with accusations of witchcraft, sorcery and other superstitious practices which took a long time to die out in the Borders. 90

However despite the frequent occurrence of such charges, it does seem that by the early 1570's the religious situation in the English Borders was improving. The Rebellion of the Earls had shown that in fact the strength of the Northern Catholics was not so great a danger as it had been thought to be. During the revolt, Sussex had been at great pains to show how much it was bound up with religion. "The people like so well their cause of religion that they flock to them in all places where they come". "The Earls are old in blood, and poor in force in any other cause than this; but it is not to be believed of them that see it not what is done directly and underhand to serve them for this cause." 91 But this support commanded by the religious causes had not been enough, and had melted away completely at the first sign of trouble. The rebellion will be discussed in more detail below, but here it can be said that the number of those inhabitants of Cumberland and Northumberland who were ready to countenance open rebellion for the sake of religion, particularly when there was little hope of success, were much fewer than the Earls had hoped, or the crown had feared. It seems that in the first twelve years of Elizabeth's reign the old religion in the Borders was slowly dying. Much of the ignorance,

90 G.G. Mounsey, Gillesland: a brief historical and statistical notice of its locality and mineral waters. Carlisle 1860, pp.76-7. A footnote in this book comments that one of the practices mentioned, "mendicioning children with minting a hammer", i.e. placing a child on an anvil, and almost, but not quite striking it with a heavy hammer, three times over, had been used within the memory of some alive in 1860.

the superstition, the stubborn clinging to traditions, naturally remained, but
the old faith was no longer a vital force, and perhaps given time the bishops
and their clergy could have rooted it out completely. They certainly under­
stood the problems they faced, as their many analyses of the situation show;
but they were not given the time. For one thing the political situation on the
Borders, where the crown had to rely heavily on the judgement and the armed
support of local magnates, meant that titled defenders of Catholicism were
often able to protect their faith with impunity. Even more importantly, from
the 1570's there began the return flow from Rheims and Louvain. Those
relatives of whom the bishop of Durham had complained, and their colleagues,
began to return to England, as trained priests, to take over from the few
remaining Marians, and the Northern authorities found themselves dealing with
a new phenomenon. There were of course links with the old Catholicism.
The same weaknesses in the established church could be taken advantage of.
Protection could still be found with the leading families, but the new Catholicism
was on a new scale and was backed up by organisation, and above all by trained
teachers and books. In July 1572 Lord Hunsdon wrote of the arrival of William
Carr from Louvain. He was a servant of Lady Northumberland's, and brought
with him a mixture of the old and the new. "... beads, agnus Deis, friar's
girdles for women in labour etc. He had a great cloak bag at Tweedmouth,
wherein I found a great sort of English books, with English litanies, as far
from God's word as ours is to it, with a number of hypocritical and abominable
idolatrous pictures."92 As soon as this sort of literature came into circulation
the situation had changed. It could no longer be assumed that the mass of
Catholic sympathisers were simply clinging to traditions they had always known.


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while really being ignorant of both the Protestant and Catholic faiths. It became more important than ever before that if Protestantism was to be firmly established it had to provide sufficient preachers to combat both ignorance and Catholicism. A report made in 1587 sounds so much like the reports that had emanated from the North for the previous fifty years, that we are left wondering at how little seemed to have been achieved, or at least how much was still left to do. "... there are not passing three or four preachers in the whole shire, and so the people for want of teachers have been brought up in ignorance. And the most of the gentlemen there being papists, traitorous Jesuits, and seminaries have been entertained, and thoroughly poisoned and infected very many of them. So as they, their wives, bretheren, sisters, children and kindred are foully bewitched and very hardly to be reformed. It were very expedient in my simple judgement that there should some speedy order be taken that good preachers may be appointed to endeavour by sound doctrine, and example of integrity of life, to reduce and draw them from their blindness to the right knowledge of God." 93

Having traced the attitude of the laity in England, we must now turn to follow events in the Scottish Borders after the reformation of 1560. As we have already seen, by 1551 Ab Ulmis felt certain that the common people in Scotland were very well disposed towards Protestantism, but that their rulers' attitudes were by no means satisfactory. 94 Although there was always a core of men whose main concern was for their religion, the fate of the reformed cause in Scotland had always depended upon those who for one reason or


94 Original Letters, II, 205.
another, apart from religion, found it expedient to side with the reformers. The reformed cause was also inevitably associated with pro-English attitudes, and in earlier days this might well have been a disadvantage; but since the Catholic cause became equally closely associated with French domination the honours were even. In the Borders where most people were used to dealings with the English, legal and otherwise, the connection would be of less importance in deciding a man's religious attitudes. Moreover, since the official Scottish reformation came so late, and since there had been several years of official English Protestantism before this, there had been time for a "softening up" process in the Borders. The influence of the "assured Scots" has already been discussed. In an area where, as we have seen, the personnel and buildings of the old church left much to be desired, both in quality and quantity, new ideas would have a natural advantage, and there are various proofs of the presence of reformed ideas in the Borders from a fairly early date. The reformers who originated there have already been mentioned, but most of these soon left the area, and so their influence would be limited. Of more importance were those, such as Alexander Stewart, who stayed. As early as 1558 he introduced William Harlow, a Protestant preacher into Dumfries and protected him while he began to minister there. Immediately a Catholic priest was set to preach to counteract any influence Harlow might have had, but when two of the baillies were required to seize the Protestant, since he had been put to the horn, they refused. Obviously Garlies was not his only supporter in the

95 Knox and his associates were always aware of this. Writing of the popularity of the scriptures in 1543 he commented that those who "had never read ten sentences in it (i.e. the New Testament), had it most common in their hands". History, I, 45. See also Sadler Papers, Edin. 1720, pp. 331-3.

96 See above, p. 134, 295.
Reforming sympathies were not limited to the extreme West of the Borders. Knox's stay in Berwick, a town always in close contact with its Scottish neighbours through trade, must have had an effect upon the Scots in the Eastern Marches who would either hear him, or hear about him, and we know that many of them followed him to Berwick and Newcastle. In 1559 he had suggested that if preachers could be found for the Borders, most of the gentlemen of the East and Middle Marches would be favourable to them.

Out of 49 signatories of the "last band at Leith" in April 1560 13 were men of the Borders, and 9 Lords with Border connections had signed the Book of Discipline the previous January. There were early attempts to establish reformed congregations in the Middle Marches, and in November 1560 there was "a public kirk erected in Jedburgh, the principal town of that country, and the minister, elders and deacons appointed in order - the like

99 C.S.P. Scot., I, 488.
100 These were the bishop of Galloway; John Maxwell, Lord Herries; Patrick Douglas, a son of Drumlanrig; Andrew Johnstone; Robin Ker; Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig; Sir John Ker of Ferniehirst; Wedderburn; Alexander Hume; Johnson; Sir Walter Ker of Cesford; John Rutherford of Hunthill; Mark Ker. See Knox, History, I, 315-6, and C.S.P. Scot., I, 751.
101 Gordon, bishop of Galloway; Lord Crichton of Sanquhar; Lord Hay of Yester; Drumlanrig; Herries; Andrew Ker of Fawdonside; Thomas Scott of Haining; Lochinvar; Garlies. Knox, History, I, 305; II, 324-5.
101a As early as 1553 "the young lairds of Cesford and Ferniehirst, with the Sheriff of the Cavers and laird of Haldane brought a canon of St. Andrews called Acheson to Kelso by the sun rising in the morning ... and made a sermon; and as I believe not without advice of the old lairds their fathers ..." Scottish Corresp. of Mary of Lorraine, CCXLIX. This may have been an early manifestation of Protestantism, but as Acheson cannot be traced elsewhere, it is impossible to be certain.
to be done in all that wardenry." In Peebles, as we have already noted, in March 1560, a number of the bailies insisted that they would remain in the religion of their Prince, and have nothing to do with "any new novations of common prayers or preachings", but by November they had thought better of this and were sending to Edinburgh to provide themselves with a minister and preacher.  

Such a speedy conversion can hardly have been entirely sincere, but after this the bailies of Peebles were very concerned to secure reformed clergy for their town; and it would seem that the reformed faith eventually was willingly accepted. In 1562 the bailies were reprimanded by the exhorter and urged to punish "those persons who will not complete the band of matrimony which in the presence of God is wickedness, and so that no correction be your town shall be a very Sodom and Gomorrah ..." Again this suggests the familiar disrespect for the institutions of the church, not any doctrinal opposition to Protestantism; indeed the exhorter seemed fairly certain that he would receive the support of the town authorities. Shortly after this there were other injunctions issued against wrangling or "other enormities in time of prayers". But perhaps the exhorter was wrong to put his trust in the bailies, since almost exactly the same orders and requests were being made 10 years later.

Whilst the new Protestant kirk in Scotland strove to establish itself, it

102 C.S.P. Scot., I, 934.
103 Peebles Chrs., 258, 263.
104 See above, p. 114-6.
105 Peebles Chrs., 279.
106 Ibid., 288.
107 Ibid., 331, 336.
continued to receive help and encouragement from England, as before. When
Lord Scrope and the bishop of Carlisle went to hold a March Day in conjunction
with the Master of Maxwell, the opportunity was taken for such assistance.
"A chaplain of the Bishop of Carlisle, a Scotsman called McBray, and two of
the prebendaries of the same church preached there (i.e. in Dumfries)
several days to great audiences, who liked their sermons and doctrines". 108
McBray's influence would perhaps have been particularly great as a local man
who had left the area over ten years ago, because his religious opinions were
then so unacceptable to the Scottish government.

The Scottish reformed church however, like its English counterpart,
was not without its opponents. There was the same clinging to tradition and
devotion to the old faith as in England, and again the organisation of the Border
church, which left so much to be desired, made this very difficult to combat.
Throughout the Borders the same conditions hampered the imposition of
Catholic or Protestant orthodoxy in turn. In December 1560 the General
Assembly asked the government to take action against those who still caused
mass to be said or attended mass. They listed those of whom they had know-
ledge, and the list included a number in the Borders. "In Nithsdale and
Galloway, the Prior of Whithorn and his servants in Crugleton. The Laird
of Corswel, in Corswel. The Lord Cairliell. The Laird of Kirkmichael, who
causes mass daily to be said within his bounds. In the Forrest of Ettrick The
Goodman of Gallowscheils, who not only causes mass to be said, but also
maintains the sayers thereof, who are enemies to God and his truth, and there-
fore were exilit out of Edinburgh." 109 It seems that the Borders were regarded

108 C.S.P. For. Eliz. VII, 558. This contrasts with the picture of Dumfries
given below.
as a refuge, which was much more friendly to Catholics than Edinburgh was. But it was from Edinburgh that Harlow the Protestant preacher had fled when he came to Peebles; the Borders being the lawless areas they were would be attractive to any fugitive, for religion or otherwise, and obviously both Protestants and Catholics could find protection there.

There was only one instance of what might have been an attempt at organised resistance, in 1563, when a long list of laity and clergy, headed by the archbishop of St. Andrew tried to restore the mass in the South West. These attempts in fact took place just outside the Borders as such, but were near enough to have had some effect. At least one Border clergyman, the parson of Sanquhar, took part, as did the prior and a number of the canons of Whithorn. Armed protection was provided by sympathetic families, led by the Kennedies. 110 Other instances of recusancy amongst the Border laity are difficult to find. It is true that there was comparatively little religious persecution throughout Scotland, and thus not many examples come to light from any area, but even so there is a marked dearth for the Borders, while for towns like St. Andrew and Edinburgh there is a reasonable amount of evidence. 111 It would be dangerous to deduce from this that Protestant conformity was easily achieved in the Borders. For these southern areas in the period we are concerned with there is no Kirk Session record. Indeed as we have seen many of the churches were long without adequate service, and superintendents were very few. What staff there was in the reformed church would be too occupied with preaching and teaching to be able to devote much time to judicial


111 Essays, pp. 395-401.
work, and generally too overworked to be able to keep pace with any deter-
minded recusants. Moreover conditions in the Borders were always inimical
to the imposition of outside authority. When this authority was exercised,
as it was in this period, first by a government which did not have the authority
of the Queen, later by a Queen who was herself a Catholic, and lastly by one
of two parties in a civil war situation, the difficulties become obvious. Although
a number of the Border lords may have been among the early reformers, there
were others who remained Catholic as long as it was possible to do so. And
even those who were Protestant did not always concern themselves with
preventing Catholic practices. Thus although Lord Herries had, in 1559,
been imprisoned for declaring he would assist the preachers, and had signed
the Band and the Book of Discipline, he refused to destroy the monastic
buildings at Dundrennan and Sweetheart, and gave protection to the Catholic
abbot there. There are moreover just enough examples of catholicism to
show that there was still a considerable conservative survival, even if it was
hidden under the surface. It seems that in 1572 mass was being said in the
vicinity of Jedburgh, and by John Johnstone commendator of Soulseat, pre-
sumably at or near the abbey. In October 1576 there was trouble about
the baptism of a child in the parish of Ancrum, because its father was found
to have "an idol in his house".

Nowhere in the Borders, however, and perhaps nowhere within Scotland
was there so prolonged and notable a continuation of Catholic worship as in
Dumfries, despite the early protestant influences there. The records of the

112 Knox, History, I, 161; see above, p. 170 n.

113 P.C.T., James VI, 31-3.

114 B.U.K., 364.
General Assembly for 1575 show that the new ideas about holy days had not yet been accepted there. "Mr. Peter Watson, Commissioner of Nithsdale complains, that the town of Dumfries, on Yule day last bypass, seeing that neither he nor the reader would read nor use doctrine upon these days, brought a reader of their own with tabron and whistles, and caused him to read the prayers; which exercise they used all the days of Yule". It seems that Catholic worship was protected by the Maxwells and Lord Herries both in Dumfries and at Sweetheart Abbey, a few miles away, where the abbot was Gilbert Brown whose activities have already been mentioned. In 1579 Brown, and the Dumfries schoolmaster, Ninian Dalzell, were charged with "enticing the people to papistry". In 1585 the Jesuit John Dury arrived in Scotland and he too went to work in Dumfries, saying mass at Sweetheart at Christmas. He was still there in 1588 "corrupting and practicing to and fro under the name of Mr. William Lang, who with his complices had mass within the town of Dumfries before Pasche and Yule last was". His accomplices were listed and they were members of the Maxwell family, local gentry, and inhabitants of the town. There were further comments on the state of the burgh. "No resorting to hear the word there; no discipline; holy days kept by plain commandment and controlling of the deacons of the crafts; all superstitious riotousness at Yule and Pasche etc; no kirks planted ther". Obviously it was well known what was going on there, and yet the burgesses were not

115 B. U. K., 334. Although this, and the rest of the evidence to be quoted about Dumfries relates to the years after 1572, it is almost certain that Catholicism had continued there since 1560, rather than suddenly being re-established.

116 Sanderson, Catholic Recusancy, 94.

117 W. Forbes Leith, Narratives of Scottish Catholics, pp. 204-5.

That such a situation could have continued for so long suggests that there may well have been other pockets of resistance, not perhaps so large or persistent, and thus attracting less attention, but still there, and protected by the independently minded Border lairds.

In Dumfries we can see the old traditions of Scottish Catholicism linking up with the new Jesuit forces, as was happening in England; also as in England the influx of Jesuits began a new era, but it did have one link with the past. Just as early Protestant ideas had crossed the Borders into Scotland, and later persecuted Scottish Protestants had fled to England, so we find the Jesuit priests crossing the Border frequently in their missions; treating the Border area as a whole, as Knox had wished to do for very different purposes, but no doubt finding the presence of the Border line most useful in escaping detection. The use made by them, and by their predecessors of this convenient escape route will be discussed in the next chapter.

119 Sanderson, Catholic Recusancy, 93.
"There is no thing that is occasion of your adhering to the opinion of England contrar your native country, but the great familiarity that Englishmen and Scots has had on both the Borders." This particular complaint emanates from Scotland, but it could equally well have come from a sixteenth century English warden, trying to regulate the situation on the Borders. The writer went on to say that "in old times it was determined in articles of the peace by the two wardens of the Borders of England and Scotland, that there should be no familiarity betwixt Scotsmen and Englishmen, nor marriage to be contracted between them, nor conventions on holy days at games and plays, nor merchandise to be made among them, nor Scottishmen to enter on English ground without the King of England's safe conduct, nor Englishmen to enter on Scots ground without the King of Scotland's safe conduct ..." Earlier he had discussed the reasons for Scots passing into England. "Some have passed in poverty, and some have passed in hope to live at more ease and liberty than they did in Scotland, and some have been denounced rebels by the authority, which was the occasion that they passed into England for refuge, whom the King of England had received familiarly, and has treated them, and has given them gold and silver, the which he did neither for piety nor humanity, but rather that they should help to destroy their own native country." The comment on the illegality of all these practices was quite accurate. The list of crimes which constituted March Treason in England included tristing with Scots, harbouring Scots thieves, supplying Scots with merchandise without leave, selling horses or timber to Scots, marrying a Scotswoman without

licence, receiving Scots "whether pilgrims or others", or Scottish rebels.  

Unfortunately for officials on either side, these laws were practically impossible to enforce, not just because of the problems of that particular area, and the difficulty of policing the whole of the Border line but also because a policy of complete segregation would not have been in the interests of either government. For various reasons they were both encouraging some aspect of trans-border relations all the time. It simply was not practicable to seal off the Border completely. Scots wishing to travel to the continent other than by the long sea route, Englishmen visiting the shrine at Whithorn, or other holy places, would always need, and be able to obtain, safe conducts. When they occurred in any numbers it would be very difficult to separate those on legitimate business from any others. But as well as this both governments had to encourage much closer contacts. Neither was innocent of espionage activities, and both sides were able to get news of happenings across the Border. We have already seen that the prioress of Coldstream acted in this capacity, and she was by no means the only Scot to do so. In 1542 there was "a Scottish priest, chaplain to John Heron" who carried letters to the Scottish King, and the next year "an espial called John Moore, a surgeon Scottishman who long hath dwelt in England". The Earl of Angus also employed his chaplain when he wished to have secret talk with the English, and the English government was always happy to deal with disaffected Scottish nobles. While

2 There is a detailed discussion of March Law in The Stair Society Miscellany, I, 1-77.
4 See above, p. 172.
5 Hamilton Papers, I, 267; II, 65.
6 Ibid., II, 86.

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gladly receiving Angus, Lennox, or the Protestant Lords exiled after the 'Chaseabout Raid', they were not in a very good position to take a high moral tone when dealing with English subjects who gave refuge to Scottish Borderers who had committed less exalted crimes.7

A letter sent by the Privy Council in March 1553 which ordered Lord Wharton to negotiate for the return "of divers English fugitives fled into Teviotdale"... "and also Constable, the coiners, Parys the Irishman, and certain murderers that murdered a man in Wales" in return for "the delivery ... of Dickson the Scot, fled thither out of Scotland", is typical of hundreds in the course of the sixteenth century, in which English and Scottish officials tried to bring some sort of order out of the anarchic behaviour of their charges. Needless to say they never completely succeeded.8 Norham was known as "a common passage for Scotchmen conveying letters, horses, money and anything forbidden".9 Even some of the humbler Scots made requests for official English favour,10 but usually relations below the level of the nobility were on a more casual footing. Particularly notorious was the unholy alliance between Liddesdale and Tynedale. In 1537 Norfolk hoped that both governments could act together against them, but the next year we hear that a number of Tynedale men are "fugitives in Scotland and had confederated themselves with the inhabitants of Liddesdale Scots men, and these daily and

7 c.f. Knox, History, I, 22; II, 13n, 172; C.S.P. Dom. 1547-80, p.104. The Scots were in a slightly better position insofar as their government mostly gave refuge to those who had left England for purely religious reasons. See below.

8 A.P.C., vol. IV, 244-5.

9 C.S.P. For. Eliz., IV, 1070.

10 College of Arms, Talbot Papers, A., f.145.
nightly to the uttermost in their power did commit offences, and the country
made small resistance against them, for those offenders did come and go
from Scotland through the country of Tynedale, and they made no resistance".
Formidable enough in their own right, these two dales were almost unassail­
able in alliance, and a number of Northumberland gentlemen are said to have
left the area as quickly as possible. The judicial records of Scotland are
also full of this sort of collusion. Even in time of war the Borderers could
not be relied upon to act as good Scots or English men. Patton, after studying
their fighting, concluded that they wore distinguishing badges so that they
could be recognised by opposing borderers and treated gently. "... they were
found right often talking with Scottish prickers within less than their gads [a
long stick or stave] length asunder, and when they perceived they had been
spied, they have begun to run at one another, but so apparently perlassent
[by mutual consent], as the lookers on resembled their chasing like the running
at base, in an uplandish town, where the match is made for a quart of good
ale..." Such cooperation was much less to the taste of the English govern­
ment than the sort it itself indulged in.

It had however to encourage trading relations. In theory Carlisle and
Berwick were the only places where trade between English and Scots could take
place, although this was by no means the case in practice. Of the two the
market at Berwick was most important, since it was through this that the
garrison on the Borders was fed, from the produce of the Scottish Merse.
The authorities were conscious of the importance of this trade. In 1542 it

12 e.g. P.C.T., 145, 73, 174, 181, 201-2, 223, 393.
13 J.G. Dalyell, Fragments of Scottish History, 1798, pp.76-7.

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was suggested that all strangers bringing food to the town should be well treated so that they would be more likely to return. "... the Scots repairing to the market upon Calfe Hill would likewise be cherished and kept in good order from spoils and other injuries. And much needful it were that there were a house builded upon the said Calf Hill wherein the said Scottish people might in cold and stormy weather have fire and meat and drink for their money to repose themselves withall. Otherwise they shall not be able to keep market there this winter time which will be a great hinderance of fresh victuals to the town." 14 It was a good idea, but it would be difficult to convince the Borderers that while this trade was necessary for the maintenance of the English forces, their sale of horses to the Scots would be greatly damaging. Moreover the trade was not as circumscribed as might have been wished. The Spanish Ambassador writing in 1550 about the resumption of trade with the end of hostilities, said that "Scotsmen come in great numbers to trade and hold intercourse with the English at Berwick, Newcastle and Kings Lynne, and bring their own goods for sale with them. The English do the same in Scotland. I cannot believe that every one of them carries a safe conduct ..." 15 His observation about the safe conducts was likely to be correct, and the same problem arose with travelling pedlars who were even harder to keep track of. In 1572 it was suggested that Scottish pedlars should not be allowed to travel further than Carlisle, but this was not for reasons of security, but rather from the fear that they might harm the city's trade. The Warden of the West Marches, Lord Scrope, declared that his predecessors, Lords Dacre, Conyers and Wharton had allowed pedlars to travel throughout the wardenry.

14 Richardson, Reprints of Rare Tracts, IV, p. 13.
"The injury done by them to the city cannot be great, for they are not many, their trade very small, and the wares they carry are bridles, saddles, daggers, spurs, stirrups, skins for covering coats of plate, and steel bonnets, and bonnet coverings, which I thought meet for the service of the country and requisite that the poor Borderers might as well buy them of the Scots, as afterwards of the merchants at greater price." Apparently in the past safe conducts had also been given to Scottish pedlars to go to the market at Brampton in Gillesland, and "the Lord Warden of the Middle Marches granted licences to Scottish pedlars to pass through the wardenry, whereby linen and other wares are cheaper than before". 16 But whatever the advantages of cheap merchandise, or of food in a fairly barren region, there were disadvantages. The Scottish government was not at all happy with the situation. Scots who were used to make their living by supplying the English garrisons were unlikely to be ready to give up their livelihood in time of war, even when this meant supplying the national enemy. In 1559 Sadler reported "the Regent has proclaimed in Merse and Lothian that no Scots bring victuals or traffic here (i.e. Berwick) on pain of death. This is to provide the French garrison and keep us from news, but in vain for the Scots come as usual on Market day." 17 In 1566 the Scottish Queen was still trying to put a stop to the trade. "... Englishmen coming in within this realm ... not only frequents markets, fairs and other common places, and there buy in great quantity sundry merchandise, goods, corns, bestrall livestock, armour weapons and all other gear which they think necessary for them as well forbidden as lawfull, and uses themselves otherwise unlawfully in many sundry sorts, and especially by spering

16 C.S.P. Dom. Add., XXI, 62, 73.
17 C.S.P. Scot., I, 544.
[enquiring], and searching out of secrets and taking inspection of sundry strengths and other sure places which is not permitted to our sovereign's subjects within the realm of England, whereby the said Englishmen cause both great dearth to be within the realm of Scotland, and also obtains inspection and knowledge of the whole parts of this realm, strengths and secrets thereof."

The security aspect was a problem for both sides, and particularly exercised the councils of Carlisle and Berwick, who needed the trade, but had to control it as well as they could. The first principle was that no Scot should be living in either city, at least not without official permission. This would make it easier to ensure that all Scots left when they should do. 19 Indeed Carlisle was so anxious to prevent Scots from being apprenticed in the city, that they forbade anyone from further North than Blackford or Irthing being taken on in this way. 20 The Berwick Guild Books record that each year there were appointed a number of "hosts" for Scotsmen, presumably to combine the encouragement of traders with some sort of control over their movements. 21 Needless to say there were many complications. Other Berwick records show how little notice was taken of the regulations. In 1572 there were over fifty Scots cited and living there, and Carlisle was having the same problems in 1597, the first year for which the Court Leet Rolls survive. 22 Scott has printed Berwick Court Leet records for 1557 which

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18 *R.S.S.*, V, part II, 2921.


20 *Carlisle Municipal Recs.*, p. 66, no. 46; both these places are about four miles north of Carlisle.

21 Berwick Mss. G.M. I, f. 14, 32 etc.


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that the problem was just as rife then.\textsuperscript{23} Obviously there were many willing to denounce the Scots in their midst. In fact to call someone a Scot seems to have become a common insult. In 1569 there was a defamation case in the consistory at Durham where the alleged slander had been "that he was a Scot".\textsuperscript{24} A Newcastle woman accused of being Scottish, brought three witnesses before the mayor to prove that she came from Gateshead.\textsuperscript{25} Obviously in towns where one could be refused the right to reside, or to join a guild, or to be apprenticed, this would be a serious accusation. The "Complaint of Scotland" had said that "the Scotsmen that dwells in the South part of England, they swear and maintain that they were born in the north part and the west part of England; and the Scotsmen that dwells in the west or north of England, they swear and maintain that they were born in Kent shire or Yorkshire, in London or in some other part of the south parts of England."\textsuperscript{26}

This would make detection difficult, but it was anyway made all but impossible by the amount of intermarriage amongst the Borderers. By far the largest part of the Scots dwelling in Berwick were there because they were married to English inhabitants. As we have seen this was March treason from the English point of view; in the same way a Scot who married an Englishwoman without the Warden's licence was liable to the death penalty.\textsuperscript{27}

The report on the Border riders sent to Burghley by Thomas Musgrave in 1583

\textsuperscript{23} Scott, \underline{Berwick}, p.302.
\textsuperscript{24} Durham \underline{South Rd.}, DR/VII/2, 140.
\textsuperscript{25} Durham Cath. \underline{Lib.}, Hunter Mss. 18, f.183.
\textsuperscript{26} \underline{Op.cit.}, p.104.
\textsuperscript{27} Steel Bonnets, 67; Armstrong \underline{Border Land}, 50.
gives some idea of the extent of the problem. So common was marriage with English women among the Scottish surnames, that the Elliots apparently stood out since "few of them married with English women". Similarly with the Armstrongs, Musgrave draws particular attention to two who are not married with England, but this is made up for by "Sim Armstrong called Whetlesyd" who married two English wives, presumably in succession. In the same way, when he came to the English families Musgrave was able to give their alliances with Scotland. 28 With such a rate of trans-border marriage it is unlikely that all of them had received official sanction. "At worst they provided an added incentive to English and Scottish marauders to combine in their depredations, and in their hostility to authority; at best they confused an already complicated social pattern. It was impossible for a Warden to rely on a man whose wife - and therefore father-in-law and brothers-in-law, to say nothing of uncles and cousins - belonged to the other side." 29

As if this situation was not enough for the harassed wardens to deal with, there was the even more difficult problem of Scots who came to live in England without the excuse of marriage to an Englishman. In July 1541 Sir William Eure wrote to Ferniehirst, the Warden of the Scottish Middle Marches, with the complaint that Scots "doth occupy as well with pasture as also tilling and occupying of arable land, to the number of one hundred acres of ground, and above ... besides the pasturing of ten thousand sheep and other cattle of the townships of Scotland joining nigh unto England, which daily doth remain within the same, by the space of two miles". He says he asked for redress the year

28 C.B.P., I, 197.

29 Steel Bonnets, 67. Perhaps the most famous Scot to marry an English wife was John Knox, see J. Ridley, Knox, ch. 8.
before, and the fact that nothing had been done had made the Scots bold to sow and plough more ground than ever. It was not to be expected that Borderers who had no scruples about stealing cattle and corn, would worry about occupying the ground on which they were raised. The governments wished to act as if there was a physical barrier on the Border, but in fact there was not, and it was comparatively easy for the Borderers to ignore the division whenever it suited them. In September of the same year, 1541, a commission was issued to Eures, and a number of other English Border officials to enforce the laws for the expulsion of aliens. The commissioners however found things were by no means straightforward, and submitted a number of queries as to how they were to act in particular circumstances. What, they asked, were they to do if a Scot had married an Englishwoman and settled down with house and children and was following an occupation or trade; what about Scots retained by gentlemen as falconers, horse keepers, or apprentices; what if they said they had been banished from Scotland. They also wanted to know what to do with their goods, and what about their debts; lastly should they be marked or branded in any way, presumably in the hope of preventing their return. Getting rid of Scots inhabitants was clearly not going to be easy. In November they reported on the progress they had made. They have "perceived and found a very great number of Scots that were householders within the same county" whereof the most part were

30 Hamilton Papers, I, 73 (3).
31 L. and P., XVI, 1205.
32 i.e. Northumberland. It is interesting that all along most of these complaints come from the Eastern Borders, although at the end of the sixteenth century there were said to be thousands of Scottish "roges" in the West Marches. In this distribution there is a parallel to that of Scottish priests. See below. Perhaps it can be explained, for the laity at least, by Tough's comment that the population of the Scottish East and Middle Marches far surmounted that of the English East March. Tough, p. 28.
herdsmen, labourers, or artificers, and dwelled in burgages, cottages, or other houses of small rents, having little or no land annexed to them ... A small number there was of them that had husbandlands and mills in farm, in whose places we have appointed and set other able Englishmen ...". The concern was to fill all the gaps which had been left, so that the service on the Borders should not suffer, but apparently there was a delay in filling those rooms which had no land attached to them. "A very great number of Scottish people be yet remaining within this your grace's said county as servants and prentices to Englishmen, according as is licenced in the said act of Parliament". However they had persuaded most of their masters to replace them with Englishmen, as soon as such substitutes could be found. Lastly they suggested that two Scots, an armour maker and a guide who had lived in England for a long time should be made denizens, since their skills were so useful there. The problem however was not to be dealt with so easily. In 1560 an inquiry into the decay on the Borders included the question "What numbers of Scotch people are inhabiting within the frontiers?" Judging by the situation in Berwick the number would be high, but we do not have an answer for this particular date. Eight years later Sir Francis Knollys thought one of the reasons for the weakness of the East Marches was that "the landlords have retired themselves within the land, and to raise their rents have made Scots and other simple men their tenants, who for lack of horses and armour stand on such awe of the Scots, that they are rather ready to serve the enemies turn against the inner parts of England for their own gain and safety than to resist

33 Hamilton Papers, I, 101.
34 C.S.P. For. Eliz., III, 474.
their invasions". 35 If these tenants happened to be linked to the Scots by marriage the situation would be even worse. Another, later survey says that English landowners were happy to lease land to the Scots "for they will give them more than an Englishman can do, because their cattle shall go quietly without stealing which an Englishman's shall hardly do". 36 In 1569 Hunsdon, the new warden of the East March, estimated that there were 2,500 Scots in his Wardenry; in some townships he thought that there were no English at all, and even at Tweedmouth the Scots outnumbered the English. 37 The problem was by no means abated. In 1586 Randolph thought that every third man within 10 miles of the Border was a Scot, tenant or servant to an Englishman. There were cases of Scots coming and throwing English tenants out of their houses and holdings, and occupying them themselves. 38 Hunsdon had thought that he could rid the country of two or three thousand Scots, and still "leave sufficient necessary men as colliers, fishers, herders and sheppherds and such others ..." 39 It was accepted then that some of the Scots were necessary, but certainly not in the numbers in which they were then present. One can sympathise with John Cary's cry, "Marye, the country is full of Scots". 40

With this sort of background it was only to be expected that when the different stages of the reformation made either Scotland or England temporarily

35 C.S.P. For., Eliz., VIII, 2534.
37 C.S.P. For., Eliz., VIII, 2524; Tough, p.179.
38 C.B.P., I, 435.
39 C.B.P., I, 571.
40 Steel Bonnets, 69.
or permanently hostile to different creeds, their adherents would seek refuge across the Border. There was a tradition of offering refuge to fugitives from the opposite government, and the fellow feeling among many of the Borderers would emphasise this. Both governments from time to time, found it expedient to welcome their neighbour's rebels, but even without this the Border line would have become an important element in the spread of different faiths on both sides. The earliest instances of those crossing the Border as fugitives for religious reasons concern men who came openly, to seek official protection on the other side. In 1534 Cromwell was informed of the sentence of excommunication passed against James Hamilton of Kin-cavill, the sheriff of Linlithgow, as a lapsed heretic, and later we find this same man petitioning that he might serve Henry VIII in some capacity, and be given wages or an annuity for this. He pleaded that he had been forced to leave his native country for setting forth God's Word, and speaking against the bishop of Rome, and was now dependent upon Henry's bounty. 41 No doubt similar claims were made by Willock, and McDowell, the friars whose flight to England has already been mentioned. 42 They were followed by other friars, Arth, Seton, Macalpine, Gilyem and Rough. The latter acted as an agent for the English King within Scotland, before being burned at Smithfield in 1557. Other Scottish protestants were also helped at first. McDowell and Macalpine both became chaplains to bishop Shaxton of Salisbury. Robert Richardson was helped to an English benefice. Wishart received Cromwell's protection in a dispute with the mayor of Bristol. John Craig was received into Lord Dacre's household; John Willock into the Marquis of Dorset's, and Alexander Seton

41 L. and P., VIII, 1184; C.S.P. Scot., I, p. 35.
42 See above, p. 295.
into the Duke of Suffolk's. Sir John Borthwick, who had been condemned for heresy before he fled, was employed on missions to Denmark and Sweden. 

But these early passages were not all one way. While Scottish Protestants sought the protection of Henry VIII, English Catholics headed for the friendlier climate North of the Border. We know that they included eighteen Franciscans, and at least one monk, William Fordham of Worcester who was at Dunfermline from 1540 or before, maintained at the expense of the Scottish crown. The two Observant friars who had re-entered their house in Newcastle, only to be expelled by Norfolk, fled across the Border as well, although they eventually returned to make their peace with the English government. In 1535 Richard Marshall, the prior of the Newcastle Blackfriars, took the same road, accompanied by one of the house's lay brothers. Some of the fugitives are anonymous, such as the "poor Scottish clerk" who was preaching in the North of England after the Pilgrimage of Grace, "to such effect that much people there do bow their hearts to obey God's words and the Prince's laws". Such fugitives would always receive official blessing. Also in 1537 there came "Four Scotchmen of the town of Ayr" who arrived at Carlisle. They said they were "cumbered at home for the opinions that the bishop of Rome ought not to be called Pope, and for having the New Testament in English". They asked to be allowed to remain in England, at their own expense, to await the King's

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43 For all these see Essays, passim, and D.N.B.  
44 L. and P., VII, 1607.  
45 R.S.S., III, 1599.  
46 L. and P., XII, part II, 1045, 1076.  
47 Ibid., VIII, 1038; X, 594 and see above, p. 197.  
48 Ibid., XII, part I, 304.  

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return to Scotland, and then promised to return to face judgement. There is no further trace of them, so we cannot know whether or not they did. Two years later the flow was growing heavier. "Daily there come to me gentlemen and clerks who flee out of Scotland, as they say, for reading the Scripture in English". Norfolk gave them gentle words, and sometimes money, although if the numbers were as he suggested no doubt it was becoming impracticable to provide for them all. They would continue to be encouraged however, if only because English fugitives were receiving similar encouragement in Scotland.

In March 1539 the Scottish King wrote to the Curia on behalf of Henry Berton, an English priest who had escaped to Scotland the year before. He had spent his time there preaching the Catholic faith, but now wished "to await the end of this tragedy at Rome". It would seem that the English government was far more concerned that its dissidents had this escape route, than the Scots were about the flow in the opposite direction. In December 1539 it was suggested that an extra garrison should be sent to Tynedale "considering that of late there are so many foxes and wolves put at large and let loose out of cloisters. It will make them fear to approach those parts and abstain from running into Scotland". Perhaps this would have acted as a deterrent to southerners unused to the ways of the Borders, but one garrison of 170 men would surely not have hindered the Northern clergy, any more than it did their neighbours among the laity. Anyway in at least one case it was already too late.

49 James V was in France until May 1537. L. and P., XII, part I, 703.
50 L. and P., XIV, part I, 625.
51 Letters James V, p. 366.
52 L. and P., XIV, part II, 748.
Doctor Hilliard, chaplain to the Bishop of Durham, had fled into Scotland earlier that month, and the description of his escape suggests that another garrison could not have done much to stop him. Apparently he gave it out that he was going on a preaching tour, and preach he did, at Gateshead, Morpeth and Alnwick. He had proposed to go to Norham and Berwick, and then visit the Bishop of Berwick on Holy Island before returning, but instead of this he conveyed "himself craftily into Scotland", via Cornhill on Tweed. His horses and servants were stopped, but he got away, and as soon as he arrived in Scotland hired himself two more horses, and set out to find the cardinal. In St. Andrews he found refuge first in the house of a citizen there, and later as a member of St. Salvator's College. He left Scotland in 1543, but was still in touch with Beaton, and seems to have acted as an envoy for him in France. It has been suggested that he was assisted in the hope that he could play some important ecclesiastical part in the event of a successful Scottish attack on the North of England. This may be so, but other correspondence for the next few years suggests that the Scottish king was happy to give refuge to English catholics simply for the amount of annoyance this caused his uncle. Early in 1540 he was asked to exchange Hilliard for George Rutherford, a Scot who had been taken in England, but primly replied that the jurisdiction over churchmen lay with their ordinaries. He would not meddle with that, and anyway it would be against his conscience to exchange a churchman for a thief and murderer. Hilliard was not the only man Henry wanted returned. There were still a number of friars, and some who had been involved

in the 1536 rebellion. Requests and demands for their return were all met in one of two ways. Either James promised to give up English rebels as soon as Henry gave up the Scottish ones he was harbouring, or he pointed out that churchmen were in a different category from other rebels. Although he bore all love and kindness towards his uncle, he would not return the churchmen. The fact that Henry was himself harbouring Scottish clergy who had fled their country is unlikely to have done anything to reconcile him to his nephew's answers. The requests were continuously made, and as often refused.  

On an official level there was stalemate. Below this level things went on much as before. Scots and English alike, who felt themselves threatened in their own countries because of their faith, crossed the Border, just as they would have done if they had been fleeing because of any other sort of crime. Some were welcomed, others were not. In May 1545 the Privy Council wrote to the Bishop of Durham "advertising him of the delivery here of the Scottish priest named Thomson." As there is no further trace of him we cannot tell if Tunstall had sent him to London because he was a welcome arrival, or suspected in some way. Some who came were obviously not concerned to support the English religious settlement, and must have had other than purely religious reasons for leaving Scotland. In 1550 a Scot named Learnouth was summoned before the council and "accused to have preached seditiously and against noblemen, bishops and magistrates, and likewise against the Book of Service".  

56 e.g. C.S.P. Scot., I, p.39.  
58 A.P.C., I, p.164.  
59 Ibid., I, p.378.
Not all of those who passed into England were dissatisfied clergy. The laity too found it a convenient escape route. James Hamilton has already been mentioned. From the Scottish records we hear of Thomas and Elizabeth Short, who had come from Edinburgh, and gone to live in Holy Island. In 1546 a grant was made of their property "now pertaining ... to our sovereign lady by reason of escheat through the said umquhile Thomas and Elizabeth his sister passing and remaining forth of her realm without licence asked and obtained, to Holy Island in England where they remain, and the said Thomas died at the faith and opinion of England, and also through his said heirs remaining in England now in time of war, also without licence or leave." Although "at the faith and opinion of England" in this context probably means giving loyalty to the English cause in time of war, if the Shorts had settled permanently in Holy Island they would presumably have been required to give adherence to the English church, and it is quite possible that their original move had been made because of religious scruples. This was certainly the case with "James Skea born in Orkney, who about Christmas last (i.e. 1547) came from Edinburgh to England, and has since remained 'for fear of burning for the word of God'". He wrote to Somerset asking to be admitted to his service, or some other living, and said that he was "ready and willing to show all the use, fashion and order of his country as may be most profitable to England, now in time of these wars". Such a fugitive would always be welcomed by the English government.

One of the most famous Scottish fugitives was John Knox himself. He was

60 R.S.S., III, 1461.
61 C.S.P. Scot., I, 206.
different in that he came via the French galleys, rather than across the Border, but once he was established as a preacher in the north of England, he drew to him many like-minded men out of Scotland. There were of course many Scots already there when he arrived. As we have seen their number in Berwick was a perennial problem for the authorities, but Knox's arrival made things much worse. They were perhaps resigned to the fact that they would never be able to solve the problem in Berwick, but when Knox began to preach in Newcastle and some of his countrymen followed him there, the question became more pressing. When in 1552 it was proposed that Knox should be given the bishopric of Rochester, one of the reasons advanced was "the family of Scots now inhabiting in Newcastle chiefly for his fellowship would not continue there, by colour whereof many resort unto them out of Scotland, which is not requisite". Again there was the security problem to be considered, and again the English government faced an old difficulty: how to show favour to politically or religiously useful Scottish exiles, without encouraging an influx of ever more Scots into the English Borders. The Privy Council records for March 1553 contain the brief note, "A letter to the Lord Wharton according to the minute for the avoiding of the Scots that dwell in Newcastle". It is doubtful if it was as simple as that in practice. 62 The traffic continued in the other direction as well. In August 1559 there was reference to Dr. Smith of Oxford. In 1549 he had been obliged to flee to Scotland to escape the consequences of his opposition to Cranmer on the subject of clerical marriage. He had returned during Mary's reign, but in 1559 he tried once more to get to Scotland. This


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time however he was captured in the North of England. Obviously the authorities were increasingly aware of the problem, and on their guard. After this incident however there was a change in the pattern. Until 1559 the flow was of Catholics and conservatives from England into Scotland, and of Protestants from Scotland into England. Once the Scottish Reformation was under way, this was bound to change, and from then on both Catholics and Protestants crossed the Border in either direction, simply to avoid detection by their own governments. Also on occasion we find individuals going to Scotland because the slightly more radical nature of the Protestant church there appealed to them, or because the English church had found them too radical. One such was Christopher Goodman who quite obviously resented the attitude of the English government. In 1559 he wrote to Cecil "Constrained by sundry injuries done me in my native country where I had hoped (especially in these days) to serve in my vocation, I have been six weeks and more in these parts where my labours are thankfully received. I can conceive no reason, but that among these wise men, ear is not so readily given to malicious information against any person of good conversation, whose weak labours may profit the church of God. Or else the like thirst and zeal for the Word and Christ's kingdom is not so strong amongst you, as in this people of later calling. ... These things have not hindered me and others so much as the poor and hungry members of Christ who might have had comfort of our travails. But as providence has armed me with patience to pass through the persecution of 'wicked Marie' and her soldiers, so I doubt not to obtain like strength against the malice of false brethren." He was obviously labouring under a strong sense

63 Correspondence of Matthew Parker, Parker Society, Camb., 1853, no. 57 and n. Smith was eventually released and fled southwards next time. He died as dean of St. Peter's at Douai in 1563.
of his own wrongs, and he went on to give a detailed criticism of the church which had rejected him. It must have been some consolation to know that his services were appreciated in Scotland, and he had some sort of vindication when, in 1565, he accompanied the Scottish Lords who were then in Newcastle, and Moray wrote to Cecil praising the preacher's learning and goodness, and his earnest affection to profit this his native country. Since preachers were so rare around Newcastle, Moray asked that Goodman might be given leave to preach, and a month later Bishop Pilkington forwarded the same request. "It were pity his mouth should be stopped for surely he has a good gift and is sober". He added the comforting thought that he did not expect the Scots would stay there long anyway. Once again the English government was made to realise that to admit some fugitives made it much harder to exclude others.

The majority of fugitives however were still of much humbler origin; for instance the priest who had married a Newcastle man to his ex-wife's daughter, and was fleeing from the bishop of Durham's judgement. In November 1562 Randolph wrote from Scotland of "certain English papists that run from place to place here, greatly suspected of practices with confederates. ... Their common passage [to France it seems] is through the West Borders: Mr. Knox met one not long since at Dumfries, brought thither to meet him; who said he had learning, but then would in no case reason. He called himself 'White' but his true name is 'Gray', brought up in Oxford, and is or has been he says 'principal of some house there'.

64 C.S.P. Scot., I, 554.
65 Ibid., II, 316; B.L., Landsdowne Mss. 8, f. 186.
67 I have been unable to trace this man. Perhaps Randolph was misinformed about his real identity.
Knox, the Master of Maxwell suspecting him, he stayed not three days in the country. He was at Crossraguel, but most with the Abbot of New Abbey [i.e. Sweetheart] within 6 miles of Dumfries".\footnote{C.S.P. Scot., I, 1152.} With Dumfries and its catholic sympathisers so near to the Borders, there would always be help for catholic fugitives in the West. But while some English catholics were seeking safety in Scotland, many Scottish clergy from the old church were making their way southwards. In December 1562 Randolph first commented on certain "wicked friars" who were leaving Scotland for fear of punishment, and according to reports he had received were being employed as "ministers" in England.\footnote{Ibid., I, 1155. See also ch. III.}

In May 1563, after a number of the leading catholic clergy had been summoned for saying mass, he wrote "This marvellous plague is lately fallen on our clergy that they know not where to hide their heads; and many of them are 'cropen' into England".\footnote{Ibid., II, 8.} A month later he was even more concerned about the situation, "Many other priests, summoned to a day to underly the law, seeing the good treatment of their marrows [colleagues], take the nearest way over the Water of Tweed, minding I am sure to do no less mischief in England than they have done in Scotland. I am sorry so many Scots are received in our country; it will be the common refuge of papist offenders that cannot live here and are unworthy to live anywhere". This time he was able to provide specific details of some of these men. There was Friar Black, who had disputed against the Protestants in Edinburgh. According to Randolph he was also guilty of adultery. He had found refuge with old Lady Percy, and was used to say Mass in her house. Randolph said Black was dwelling

\footnote{C.S.P. Scot., I, 1152.}

\footnote{Ibid., I, 1155. See also ch. III.}

\footnote{Ibid., II, 8.}
"within four miles of Newcastle; and within a mile of him there is another 'as honest as he' that serveth a cure". Another friar was said to be living and preaching near Hull. He recommended that the bishop of Durham should be warned to look out for such men in his diocese, and that the Border officials should be put on their guard to prevent their entering England in the first place. 71

These warnings however were of no avail. A report submitted by the bishop of Durham on the state of his diocese in August 1563 shows that at least 25 churches and chapels in Northumberland were served by Scottish priests. 72 In the 1564 return about Justices of the Peace, Pilkington wrote that one of the things which hindered religion in his diocese was "The Scottish priests that are fled out of Scotland for their wickedness and here be hired in parishes on the Borders because they take less wages than others and do more harm than others would or could in dissuading the people. I have done my diligence to avoid them, but it is above my power". 73 If there really were as many Scots inhabiting the English side of the Border as other reports suggest they would probably be content to have priests and curates of their own nationality. A year later Pilkington returned to the same theme. When commenting on the size and poverty of Border livings he added "many of them never [have] a priest and those that have any be Scots - vagabonds and wicked men which hide themselves there because they dare not abide in their own country and serve for little or nothing. The country is willing to take them that will serve best cheap. They are able to conduct all Scotland into the

71 C.S.P. Scot., II, 9.
73 Camden Misc., IX, p. 67.
realm". No doubt this reference to the security problem was designed to make the matter seem more urgent to the government, but from the bishop's point of view the pressing problem must have been how to provide alternative service for these regions. Priests who had been regarded as too catholic or perhaps too ignorant to serve in the reformed Scottish church were hardly the ideal staff for an area where it was commonly recognised that there was an overwhelming need for Protestant teaching and preaching. Again in 1567 when proposing a visitation of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland he wrote of the fact that many of the stipendiaries there were those who had fled from other dioceses or other countries, and that some of them were not even in orders. Ten years later things were not a great deal better. In 1577-8 there were at least eight Scots serving in Northumberland cures, and of these five were not licensed to do so, and one was not in orders.

It is noticeable that there is far less evidence of Scots serving in Carlisle diocese. The only contemporary visitation record makes no mention of any. Perhaps with the catholic enclave at Dumfries, escape was not so necessary for catholic priests in the west, and of course in Galloway there was a considerable degree of conformity among the clergy, which would mean fewer priests wishing to escape. However Scottish priests do occasionally occur in the western English Borders. In 1568 a parishioner of Haltwhistle in Northumberland, who wished to marry his uncle's wife, went to Bewcastle parish where the ceremony was performed by "a Scottish priest called George Spencer". There is no other reference to Spencer so it is impossible

74 P.R.O., S.P., 15/12, 108.
76 S.S., 22, pp. 28-45.
77 C.R.O., DR/V/2, f. 147.
to tell whether he was serving the cure on any sort of permanent basis, or whether he had simply been brought in to conduct this one service. In 1571 the Carlisle Consistory Court records contain a reference to John Anderson curate of Kirklington, and the fact that Lord Wharton was taking order to have him conveyed into Scotland. This would suggest that he was a Scottish priest, and that his presence in Carlisle diocese was not appreciated. His reception had been markedly different from that given to his countryman, John McBray, who as the bishop's chaplain had been preaching in the diocese a few years earlier. There is one other interesting entry in the Carlisle records. In March 1571 an inhabitant of Bowness parish was accused "that he did receive the communion in Dornock kirk in Scotland at Easter last". Since the two villages lay just across the Solway from each other, the passage would not be difficult, especially at low tide, but there is a problem in deciding just what is the significance of the incident. At first sight it would seem that a wish, at this date, to attend services in Scotland denoted a desire for a rather more radically protestant service that that of the English church. But as far as we know neither Dornock, nor nearby Annan had a reformed incumbent at this date. It is possible then that it was not a more radical service, but a more catholic one which had been sought. However if this had been the case, the indictment would surely have contained an accusation of hearing Mass, not communion. Moreover Bowness was a living which had been in the patronage of the Dacres, and where until 1572 the rector was William Tallen-

78 See App.I, Bewcastle.
79 C.R.O., DRC/3/1-2, f. 40.
80 See above, p. 250.
81 C.R.O., DRC/3/1-2, f. 10.
tyre, a chaplain to the Earl of Northumberland. Although there is no evidence that he was catholic, it seems likely that Bowness, with such a patron and such a rector would not be so hostile to catholicism as other parishes might. At this distance it is impossible to discover the real cause; it could have been a matter of simple convenience, rather than one of religious significance, but if so why was it regarded so seriously by the church authorities? Perhaps this going across the Border to church was a common practice which they were trying to stamp out. In a society so international in its outlook, and with so much intermarriage this is quite possibly the case. It would be interesting to know whether the many cross-Border marriages were celebrated in English or Scottish churches, or whether they were solemnised by wandering Border priests who would not be in a position to inquire too deeply into the legality of the match. Although there is no other evidence similar to the case from Bowness, it would be surprising if that were the only such occurrence.

While the church was trying to control the movements of its flock, and the bishop of Durham was fighting a losing battle against the influx of cheap Scottish labour into the Border churches, there were still other fugitives who were welcomed. In 1563 the year when so many anonymous Scottish curates were reported in Northumberland, Sir Thomas Dacre and Valentine Brown were writing to Cecil in favour of one Scottish preacher, a man called Douglas who seemed the answer to their prayers as far as the church in Berwick was concerned. "He is very zealous and worthy of the room, and willing to remain; but being a Scotchman, they desire to know whether they should retain him or not". Douglas was obviously sent up to London to seek approval, and in August returned with the royal recommendation that he should be retained as a preacher. A letter dated a year later tells us that he was born a Scot, but
was an English denizen, and "served in the ministry in the days of her [Elizabeth's] father and brother in sundry places of her realm". If they could prove their orthodoxy and willingness to submit to the English government, Scottish preachers were as welcome as they had been in the 1530's. 82

Even Paul Methuen, who had left the Scottish church under the cloud of an accusation of adultery, found himself welcomed. He had married an English woman, and his benefice of Jedburgh was near the Borders, so it was natural that he should turn to the south for protection. 83 But by no means all of those Scots who sought refuge in England came from the Border areas. Although the habit of crossing the Border for safety, and for employment, was one which appealed most strongly to those who knew the Borders and their ways, the same escape route recommended itself to many who came from further afield, and who eventually settled much further south than the English Borders. Professor Donaldson has compiled a list of Scottish preachers in England which illustrates as well as their numbers, the diversity of their backgrounds and their destinations, and the long period over which they appeared in England. 84 Even those who did not spend long in the Borders, however, must have had some influence on the region. The first fugitives passing through their country must have been the earliest indication to many Borderers that the old ways were changing. Their help would no doubt be enlisted since it was they who knew so well how to pass undetected over the Border and through the surrounding Marches. This sort of contact would

82 C.S.P. For., Eliz., VI, 399, 1128; VII, 626, 627.

83 See above and C.S.P. Scot., I, 1163.

naturally leave some impression. They would meet both sincere Catholics fleeing for their lives, and equally sincere Protestants hoping to find greater freedom south of the Border. Some of these fugitives were great preachers, and the impression they made must have been equally great. And yet since many of their views were so diverse, what would have been the ultimate effect on the Borderers? Perhaps for those who already had little respect for any church, the result would be to confirm their cynicism and aloofness. For the untaught majority who so worried the English authorities, probably the influence of those who only passed through would be small. They on the other hand would be the ones who were influenced by the Scottish priests who stayed in the Border areas. In these, the remotest, and probably the most conservative parishes, it is likely that those who did attend church did so simply because it was a deeply ingrained tradition or habit. Their unthinking and uninformed faith would probably be very much in tune with that of the less educated Scottish clergy who were unacceptable to the Kirk in their own country. The result would simply be a perpetuation of the old system which both the Scottish and the English Reformers had hoped to overthrow.

The most famous fugitive to arrive in the English Borders in the 1560's was Mary Stuart, and she and her household caused great anxiety to officials during her fairly brief stay in the North. She landed at Workington in Cumberland with a group of 20 followers. They travelled immediately to Cocker-mouth, where they were met by Richard Lowther, Lord Scrope's deputy as

85 It would seem reasonable to assume that these Scots could not rather than would not serve in Scotland. If they had strong objections to serving in the reformed church they would presumably not have accepted office in England, but would rather have joined the small band of active Catholics who remained both in England and Scotland.

86 Tough, 205.
Warden of the West March. His position in the absence of official directions, was difficult, but he provided for the Queen at Cockermouth, and later took her to Carlisle and lodged her in the Castle. There Scrope and his wife joined her; in less than ten days the news had reached London and Knollys, the vice-chamberlain, had been sent North. Already Mary's presence was proving disturbing, and on 22nd May John Willock wrote that the people of the North "rejoice at the liberty of the Queen of Scots, and many utter their good minds to her". Four days before Knollys' arrival Northumberland had come to Carlisle, demanding custody of Mary since she had landed within his lordship.

He apparently had letters from the Council in the North to support him in this, but Lowther held out against him until Knollys' arrival settled the question. Northumberland was ordered to withdraw and the Council of York were reproved for their actions. Knollys hoped that this would calm "the hot disposed papists" and be a lesson to all good subjects. He then went on to note "Nottingham and Fotheringhay are in countries nothing so given to papistry as hereabouts". Mary, however, was not moved immediately, and on 11th July three members of the Northern Council, presumably chastened by their reprimand, were reporting to Cecil the dangers of her staying in Carlisle. "Many lament the present state of the Scottish Queen in being put from her government, and she is reported by some that resort to Carlisle, and who are no favourers of our religion, to be wise, virtuous, eloquent, and according to her power, liberal,

88 C.S.P. Scot., II, 668.
89 Ibid., 670; MacCaffrey, 170.
90 C.S.P. Scot., II, 684.
which with her behaviour wins the affection of many, especially the simple.

We hear that some of the faction against her in Scotland doubt of their con-
tinuance, for the people are rising against the Regent, and if he should be
overthrown, she lying here, peril might happen to this realm". 91

She was undoubtedly the most dangerous fugitive to escape to England, and could not long be left in the unstable atmosphere of the Borders. By August she had been moved to Bolton, where it was hoped the threat to religion would be less, and communication with her Scottish supporters more difficult. Even there however she was not safe. It was thought that the Englishman, George Heron, was planning with Fernihurst to rescue the Queen and take her back to Scotland. 92 The government later learned that Christopher Norton had had access to her there, and plans of escape were most probably discussed. In October Knollys reported that escape would be easy. "And as daily when it is dry over head she rides out hunting the hare and to take the air, the wind never so boistrous, it is an easy matter for 12 or 20 Scots to ride over moun-
tains and heaths, avoiding towns and villages, and laying 3 or 4 spare horses by the way, suddenly take her from us, for her servants horses are as many as ours, and she hath an able body to endure to gallop apace; and we have no trust in the country rising to stop her, but rather fear they would laugh in their sleeves at us". 94 Bolton was obviously little safer than Carlisle, and the influence of the Queen's religion was feared in Yorkshire almost as much as in Cumberland. Protestant services were held in the Castle, but when

92 C.S.P. Scot., II, 779.
93 C.S.P. Dom. Add., XVIII, 34; MacCaffrey, 221.
94 C.S.P. Scot., II, 873.
Mary heard a rumour that she had turned Protestant "to the great mislike of the papists hereabouts", she was goaded to a denial: "... and yesterday in the great chamber, in a full assembly, and some papists present, she openly professed herself of the papists' religion more earnestly than before". 95 Since this same letter reported the capture of Dr. Marshall "a notorious papist" only three miles from Bolton, the situation would appear particularly grave. 96 Indeed, Knollys later tried to play down the incident, saying there were no strangers present on this occasion, but only "some household papists - one a soldier of Reed's band, and a few of Lord Scrope's servants infected with that disease". 97 If Scrope's servants were Catholics, the presence of Mary in one of his castles was even more dangerous. Indeed the problems were endless; she was attended by thirty servants and their travelling between Bolton and Scotland caused a grave security problem. 98 Those responsible for both religion and security in the Borders must have been heartily relieved when this most dangerous of fugitives was moved further south.

Shortly after this a new element joined the religious fugitives and misfits in the Border region, or rather two new elements. First came those who fled to Scotland after the rebellion of 1569. They will be discussed in detail below, but here mention must be made of Roger Venys, vicar of Mitford, who himself fled to Scotland, leaving a fugitive Scottish priest to serve his cure: a

95 C.S.P. Scot., II, 821.
96 Marshall was presumably the ex-dean of Christchurch, Oxford, who in 1561 was thought to have recourse to the Earl of Cumberland. Strype, Annals, I, 244.
97 C.S.P. Scot., II, 835.
strange mingling of two trends. 99

The other element was the Jesuit priests who now began to appear in both Scotland and England, and who found the traditional Border situation very useful. Robert Parson's description of his visit to Scotland in 1581 throws some light on one aspect of this. Immediately on arrival "I was obliged, if I would avoid running still greater risk, to repair to the residence of the Warden of Scotland, a Calvinist, who resides at a place called Cesford. He enquired the cause of my arrival, on which I said I was a refugee for conscience's sake, that protection was not refused even to criminals in distress, and ought still more readily to be conceded to exiles for religion". Apparently William Ker agreed with this description of his duty as a host to a refugee, for he made Parsons welcome, encouraged him to dispute with a minister who was there, and then sent him away with a safe conduct. 100 However well this might have fitted in with the Border code of honour or with the plans of the Jesuit, it was hardly the sort of behaviour to be expected or approved of in the official representative of a Protestant government.

In 1572 when the Countess of Northumberland's servant was taken at Berwick in possession of Catholic goods and books, he had apparently presented himself at Berwick in the guise of a Scot wishing to enter England, presumably on the grounds that as such he was more likely to be welcomed, or at least less hindered. 101 It would seem that despite any national animosity which might be felt by those who were not Borderers, the tradition of

99 See App. I, Mitford.
100 Narratives of Scottish Catholics, 168-70.
Scots and English seeking refuge in each other's country had become strongly entrenched. This certainly helped the work of the new Catholic missionaries. In 1581 Lord Seton entertained two English papists much to the concern of the Scottish and English protestants. In 1582 Foster, by no means the most conscientious of Border officials, was worried by the situation. "In May last there was a stranger being as it is thought a Jesuit or such like passed into Scotland and through the wastes and fells in these parts. ... There is a great number in these parts infected with the alteration of religion, and that by the backing and comfort of Scotland - one Brewerton a Cheshire man, one Sheppherd that said mass in the Earl of Northumberland's castle at Warkworth, and others, but if they come again into England, I hope so to practice that they shall not escape my hands." This time the Western Marches were in very much the same state. Lord Scrope submitted a report of a number of Jesuits and their supporters in Cumberland although in May 1585 he reported there were only two recusants in his wardenry. It sounds unlikely, but if it is correct, then the catholic missionary effort was being as slow to take hold as earlier Protestant ones had been. Further examples of Jesuits in the Borders are numerous, but we are now well out of the period covered by this study. It is apparent however that the flow continued. Jesuits travelled through the south of Scotland the and North of England, and their lives and work were made much easier than they otherwise would have been. They were of course sometimes detected, otherwise we would not have

102 C.B.P., I, 114.
103 Ibid., 126.
104 Ibid., 144.
105 See ibid., 348, 411, 412, 420, 458, 515, 519.
so much knowledge of their movements, but they were often able to cross
the Border to safety. The old tradition might have been adapted to new uses,
but it continued.

Movement across the Border was something the governments of either
country could not entirely have stopped, even had they wished to. It was a
fact of Border life, along with the violence of the society, the independence
and conservatism; and along with these it left its stamp on the religion of the
area. It opened the Borders to far more diverse influences than could other­
wise have reached them. It gave an airing to both Protestant and Catholic
ideas. For some years it gave those living in the area a practical, if strictly
illegal, choice as to whether they worshipped in the catholic or reformed
church, if at all, and even when both England and Scotland were officially
Protestant, it could offer protection and escape to those who opposed the
establishments. Along with the wildness, the conservatism and all the other
Border characteristics, this freedom of movement helped to give the
religious life of the region its own unique character.
The period covered by this study is bounded at either end by a rebellion in the North of England. The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Rebellion of the Earls mark the beginning and the end of a period which may logically be set apart, although it cannot be looked at in total isolation. It is impossible to plunge straight into a study of the Pilgrimage of Grace without looking at the events which led up to it, and especially a study which is concerned with the church and religion must start with the religious changes, the Royal Supremacy and the suppression of the monasteries which preceded the outbreak of revolt. Similarly at the end of the period, it is not enough to deal with the antecedents and events of the Northern Rebellion, without looking at the results of the uprising, and its consequences for the North, and for the Borders in particular. Having said this, it must also be stressed that there is no intention to attempt any comprehensive study of these two rebellions. To do so would occupy immeasurably more space than can be devoted to them here, and would necessarily go over much ground which has already been well covered.¹ What is intended is rather to look at the two risings as they were manifested in, and affected, the society of the Borders, and particularly at the religious elements involved in both of them, as well as trying to draw some conclusions about their significance at the beginning and end of this period of religious change.

The Misses Dodds, in their work on the 1536 revolt, concluded that two points stood out in relation to events in the Northern counties. "In the first place the discontent was very strong and very widespread. ... The widespread character of the rebellion was in its favour, but the second point was against it. In consequence of the great extent of the district affected it was inevitable that there should be many conflicting interests, which only genius could unite in a common cause. In one place the course of the rising was determined by local feuds, in another by religious enthusiasm, in another by agricultural grievances." Within the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland we can see all these factors at work. In Cumberland, as in Westmorland and Richmondshire, it was economic aims which figured most prominently. Here too the feelings of class hatred had their most violent expression; but even so we find demands that the newcomer Cromwell should be replaced by "noblemen of true blood", and it was only when the gentry, following the lead of Cumberland and Dacre, had failed them, that the commons were prepared to take matters entirely into their own hands. The religious factor can be seen most clearly in events at Hexham, but even in the North West there was a concern for doctrinal orthodoxy which accorded ill with the openly avowed anti-clericalism. Lastly, even at Hexham, the religious motive was intertwined with that of local feuds; a large part of Carnaby's unpopularity was due to his part in the decline of the Percy family, and the troubles in Northumberland owed much to the actions of the Earl's brothers, and to the even more lawless Borderers who were happy to take up arms at

2 Dodds, I, 225.

3 C.S.L. Davies, op. cit., p. 59.

4 See above, p. 177.
any opportunity.

From a chronological point of view the rising in the Borders began with the disturbances around Hexham. "It would be incorrect to say that after the rising of Howdenshire and Beverley the rebellion spread northwards, as Hexham and the northern dales had been astir since the end of September, but these minor disturbances gained significance from the widespread movement further south."

It was not then simply in response to the call from further south that the Northumberland men moved towards rebellion. They had their own troubles, their own grievances which were any way coming to a head. But the timing of their moves, and the subsequent links with the other strands of revolt, gave their actions much more than local significance.

It was because the rest of the North of England was already up or stirring that the actions of the canons of Hexham became so important, as well as because of the trouble-making activities of John Heron. To make the developments of September and October in Northumberland more intelligible, it is perhaps best to start with a brief discussion of developments in that county in the previous months.

The important changes within Northumberland in the early 1530's had been those connected with the Percy interest there. The problems were not new. The Tudors had always had to face the choice between allowing the rule of the North to be carried out through Northumberland and Westmorland, Dacre and Cumberland, or attempting, often with notable lack of success, to rule through lesser men, who would owe their loyalty first and foremost

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5 Dodds, I, 193.

6 It is notable that his intervention was timed to coincide with the rising of the Durham commons, which he probably knew of through his brother-in-law, John Lumley. Dodds, I, 197.
to the crown, not to one of the great noble houses. It is not possible here to
go into the unfolding of this problem and all the attempts to solve it. It
must however be accepted that this was the backcloth against which Northern
affairs had been carried on for many years, and that the sort of resentment,
jealousy and distrust which this background created was of great importance
in the events of 1536. Another important point was that although the King was
concerned to strengthen his own hand in the Borders, often at the expense of
the traditional aristocracy, he was not so much concerned to change the law­
less ways and what are generally regarded as feudal traditions of the area,
as to use them to his own advantage. The relationship which developed
between the crown and men like Sir Thomas Wharton and Sir Reynold Carnaby
and their circles were no different in kind from the earlier relations between
these men and their forbears and the Percies and Cliffords. Lastly there
was the fact that in early 1536 the Earl of Northumberland finally decided to
make the crown his heir. 8

There was therefore a ready made background for unrest. There were
the Earl's two brothers, Sir Ingram and Sir Thomas Percy, unjustly (from
their point of view) deprived of the family inheritance. 9 There was a small
group of increasingly court orientated gentry, but the group was of such

7 See M.E. James, The First Earl of Cumberland and the Decline of Nor­
thern Feudalism, Northern History, I, 1966, pp. 43-69; James, A Tudor
Magnate and the Tudor State; Henry 5th Earl of Northumberland; James,
Change and Continuity in the Tudor North, the Rise of Thomas, 1st Lord
Wharton; R.R. Reid, The Council in the North, passim; H.S. Reinmuth,
Border Society in Transition, in Early Stuart Studies, ed Reinmuth,

8 Dodds, I, 32-4; James, Change and Continuity, p.14.

9 Sir Thomas Percy was later called the "lock, key and ward of this matter";
Dodds, II, 80, 203.
recent foundation that its weaknesses were apparent. Not the least of these was that it was recruited, of necessity, from families who, by tradition, should have given their loyalty to the Percies. There was a much larger group of gentry whose traditional loyalties still seemed to hold fast, as well as others who, true to their Border background were happy with any excuse for trouble, and always ready to spring to the defence of what were 'Border' as opposed to outside interests. Lastly there was the fact that the monastery of Hexham, which believed itself to have been exempted from suppression, had been granted to Sir Reynold Carnaby, who was regarded above all others as responsible for the Earl of Northumberland's actions. All this, with the added incentive of the risings taking place elsewhere in the North was bound to create an explosive situation.

The course of events at Hexham is well known. What is significant about them is that the event was exaggerated out of all proportion due to the machinations of one of the least scrupulous Borderers. The canons would have given up early in the struggle. They were understandably reluctant to throw in their lot with thieves, and offered to surrender to Carnaby if they could have their lives saved, and be allowed to remain in the abbey. Their continued resistance was due not to any great obstinacy on their part, nor to any excess of religious fervour among the gentry of Hexhamshire, but simply to John Heron's intention to make as much trouble and provide as much booty for himself as possible. In the rest of Northumberland events were dominated by the Percy brothers, and a glance at the account of their

10 See James, Change and Continuity, pp. 21, 23.
11 See Dodds, I, 193-7; L. and P., XI, 5041; XII, part I, 1090 (iii).
12 Ibid.
behaviour during the rebellion suggests that an implacable hatred of the Carnabies and all connected with them was, if not their ruling passion, at least a very strong influence. Sir Thomas "put his own friends and servants into the offices and leases which Carnaby had from the Earl of Northumberland" and also proclaimed "that any one who took the name of Carnaby or their servants should have the goods of the person taken". Moreover he tried to take Halton Castle, Carnaby's family's house "as Carnaby was fled and was against the commons". His brother however gave what is probably a truer account of his motives, saying he would be revenged on Carnaby who was "the destruction of all our blood, for by his means the King shall be my lord's heir".

Their other actions show them to have been motivated also by a desire to regain what they thought of as their rightful position in the country. Sir Ingram tricked the Earl into appointing him vice-warden and lieutenant of the East Marches. Sir Thomas did not go to so much trouble. "Without authority either from the King or from the Earl of Northumberland, then warden of the East and Middle Marches, he acted as lieutenant of the Middle Marches that he might stir the people under the colour of that office." Their place in the Borders was such that at first they were naturally looked to for leadership; after all, with the first breath of rebellion the threat from the Border reivers became greater than usual, and other Borderers were ready to join together to keep them in check. But it was soon apparent that the Percies had other ideas. They had called their neighbours together to

13 L. and P., XII, part I, 1090 (i).
14 Ibid., 1090 (ii).
15 Ibid., 1090, (i and ii).
administer the Pilgrim's oath, and were working hand in glove with "the most
noted offenders of Tynedale and Hexhamshire". There is little evidence that
the latter saw the rising as anything other than an opportunity to run riot,
unchecked by any authority. Only the comment that the Charltons refused
afterwards to take the King's oath, unless they could make a special reservation
in favour of Hexham Priory survives to suggest any concern with the wider
issues of the rebellion. Even then, the comment that this is because they took
an oath to uphold the abbey, "and are retained for 20 nobels a year each",
raises some doubt as to the motives behind this loyalty.

In Cumberland the situation was very different, both in that there was much
less participation by noble and gentry families, and in the greater part played
there by clerics. Indeed as early as April 1536 we hear of Thomas Sowle, a
priest of Penrith, who had for some reason travelled to Tewkesbury, and in
an ale-house there had been heard to say "we be kept bare and smit under, yet
we shall once rise again, and 40,000 of us will rise upon a day". 17 It is part
of the contradiction of events in Cumberland that there was there some of the
strongest anti-clericalism, as well as much more overt concern with religious
matters than in Northumberland. It would of course be most galling to see the
clergy refuse to commit themselves, when the commons were risking their
lives on their part. But religion was by no means the only strand in the motiv­
ation of the Cumberland men. An important motive here was provided by the
grievances which the commons felt against their landlords. There had been a
great deal of enclosure, and in a county where the growing population pressed
very heavily upon resources, and relied upon fell and common land for pasturing

16 L. and P., XII, part I, 421.
17 L. and P., X, 693.
their animals, enclosure would have a particularly disastrous effect. There
had already been unrest in the Western dales of Yorkshire and elsewhere over
the activities of the Earl of Cumberland, and apparently Wharton had also made
himself unpopular in this way. Then in August there were more riots in
Cumberland, probably also due to enclosures. There was therefore no love
lost between the commons and the gentlemen in the North West, and yet at first
the gentry were still looked to for leadership. Some of course did come in,
but it was the fact that so few did so which gave the Cumberland and Westmor­
land Pilgrims their distinctive attitude. They must have felt increased anger
at the men whom they had before thought of as oppressors, and who had now
deserted them when they were most necessary as the natural leaders of any
local movement. There were also the same sort of tensions in Cumberland,
which in the East had helped to dictate the course of events, but in the West
different personalities altered the situation. Lord Dacre, newly released from
a charge of treason, was not going to risk his life again so soon; he first
did his best to encourage the royalists in the county, and then in November left
for London, presumably on the assumption that if he was at court it would be
difficult to accuse him of aiding the rebels. The rest of the Dacres also
played their part on the royalist side, and Sir Christopher Dacre's part against
the second Cumberland rising and his defence of Carlisle did much to ensure
the family's favour. Fortunately, from the government point of view, the
Cliffords also remained loyal. Indeed the loyalty of the Earl was never in
doubt, but the long standing feud between the Cliffords and the Dacres makes it

18 James, Earl of Cumberland, pp. 56-7; Change and Continuity, pp. 24-5.
surprising to find them both on the same side, although it was this fact which saved Carlisle. Lord Clifford was Captain there, and was assisted by Thomas Clifford, as well as Dacre. Sir Thomas Clifford was Captain of Berwick, and thus the family ensured that neither important Border hold fell to the rebels. In Cumberland too there had been the makings of the sort of hostility which developed between the Percies and the Carnabies, the dislike of a newly made man who owed his rise to the crown rather than to the traditional regional means of advancement. In this case it was Wharton, and the Curwens, against whom such grudges might have been held, but Wharton seems to have managed to disappear for almost the whole course of the rising, thus avoiding having to take either side. Those of his connection who did not take the same course on the whole were not so innocent of collusion, but mostly redeemed themselves in government eyes by the vigorous part they played in the second outbreak. "Passivity in the first revolt was in fact atoned for by a prompt and energetic reaction to the second". Some of the Cumberland gentry of course did come out on the side of the rebels, but fewer than in other areas. This fact perhaps made the Cumberland commons more radical than the others, but it must again be emphasised that it was to the gentry that they automatically looked for leadership at first. As far as we can tell they thought of themselves in religious terms, not in an anachronistic context of social revolution. "Their appeal was not against the existing order, to which they had no alternative to put forward, but to the compassion and conscience of the great and powerful, whose oppression had made intolerable the peasants' harsh life, weighed down

21 James, Earl of Cumberland, p.68.
22 James, Change and Continuity, pp.21-6.
23 Dodds I, 222.
as it was by recurrent dearth and natural calamities."

Having then looked at the background to the events in Cumberland we must take a closer look at those specifically connected with religious grievances.

As in Northumberland, at Hexham, the first overt action was due to an attempted change in the traditional religious life. The curate of Kirkby Stephen "left out, at the bidding of the beads, St. Luke's Day; whereupon the parishioners would have killed him". The story of the next few weeks shows a number of clergy taking an important part in proceedings. First there was the vicar of Brough-under-Stainsmore, who read to his parish a letter from the commons of Richmondshire. He seems to have been instrumental in spreading the news of the rising throughout the county. Soon two more priests appeared, Sir Edward Perith, who acted as crossbearer, and George Corney. The religious preoccupation is seen in the commons' proclamation "to the effect that, as the rulers did not defend them from thieves and Scots, they had chosen the four captains, who commanded all to live in peace and to say five ayes, five paters and a creed". Even if the commons had been disappointed by the reaction of the gentry, they must have been satisfied with that of the abbot of Holm Cultram. So eager was he to support their cause that he ordered his tenants to join the commons on pain of hanging. That the threat was necessary hardly suggests that there was a burning desire to defend the abbey and the same reluctance was evident in the second rising when the tenants refused to attend any muster.

24 James, Earl of Cumberland, 58-9.

25 L. and P., XII, part I, 687. A clear exposition of the course of events in Cumberland is given in Dodds, I, 220-5.

26 This and the following account, unless otherwise stated, is taken from L. and P., XII, part I, 687, which contains the confessions of Bernard Townley and Robert Thompson, and 1259 which is information against the Abbot of Holm Cultram.
unless the Abbot went with them. 27 Obviously he was much mistrusted.

However at the start he took an active part in events. On the same day as his first involvement, the commons decided to appoint four local clergymen as Chaplains of Poverty "to instruct the commons in the Faith on pain of death". They apparently saw no contradiction in this sort of statement. The four chosen were the parson of Melmerby, 28 Dr. Townley, chancellor to the bishop, the vicar of Sowerby, 29 and the vicar of Edenhall. 30 Roland Threlkeld was, understandably, unwilling to take up this appointment, but the commons announced that if he and the other clergy did not come in to them "they should strike off our heads and set my head on the highest place in the diocese". It is not surprising that Townley remembered the details so well as the recipient of such threats. Despite this anti-clerical, or perhaps just anti-Townley feeling the religious element persisted. There was the captain's mass" when Thompson processed around Penrith church followed by the four captains with their swords drawn, before he "declared the Ten Commandments and showed that the breaking of these was the cause of that trouble". Later apparently another priest objected to the presence of naked swords in the church, and the prestige of at least this clergyman was enough to have the practice stopped. 31 The clergy

27 See above, p. 175.
28 Roland Threlkeld, see above, p. 90.
29 In the Valor he was named as Christopher Slee, the prior of Carlisle. He is not named in any of these depositions. It would be interesting to know if he really did play a part in the Pilgrimage, and whether or not it was a willing one. As the prior it is likely to have been in Carlisle rather than his parish, perhaps it was in fact a curate who was involved.
30 At this date, Christopher Blenkow. As he was still alive in 1565 he obviously did not suffer for whatever part he played, perhaps as a result of the pardon after the first rising.
31 Perhaps the fact that this happened in Penrith explains why Norfolk was later ordered to proceed against the vicar of Penrith. He pointed out to the King that it was the vicar of Brough, not Penrith, who had been causing the trouble. Nicolson and Burn, I, 569.
were still to the fore in the commons' councils; it was Thompson who suggested that an attempt should be made to starve Carlisle into submission. Soon after this the Abbot of Holm Cultram joined them in person. It was he, along with Roland Threlkeld, and Bernard Townley who was ordered to go to Carlisle with orders that the mayor should come and take the commons' oath. Their reluctance to do so brought the reaction from one of the commons that "they would never be well till they had stricken off all the priests heads, saying they would but deceive them". Word now began to filter through of the truce which had been proclaimed at Doncaster, but at first no credit was given to the rumours. Meanwhile the oath was ministered to parson Threlkeld and "two brethren of Carlisle". These were probably Sir Richard Huttwythe and Sir William Florens who according to Townley's account were also used as intermediaries between the commons and Carlisle. Soon afterwards Thompson returned to Penrith and it is from Townley that we hear that Sir Christopher Dacre came out to the commons under safe-conduct, and he, with the help of Townley, Threlkeld and others "persuaded the commons ... to disperse and make no further insurrection".

Thus ended the first rising in Cumberland. Further comments upon the motives and the aftermath made by the two examinees shed interesting light on the events. Townley's verdict was that the commons' motives had been purely social and economic: "Conjectures that the intention was to destroy the gentlemen, that none should pay ingressums to his landlord, and little or no rent or tithe." There is little doubt that his part in the rising was involuntary; he was obviously very unpopular with the commons, and his main concern was

32 See above, p. 233.

33 Again this may have led to confusion as to where his benefice was.
to prove his innocence, not point out any real grievances. Robert Thompson however seems to have been genuinely concerned for the cause of the commons, and he went on to detail the effect on Cumberland and Westmorland of the meetings at Doncaster. Certainly he mentioned articles which were drawn up about gressums, rents, "and that every man should have his own tithe corn"; but he also dealt with specifically religious matters, which again show the paradox of attitudes in these Western counties towards the church. The rebellion had started over the bidding of St. Luke's day, so it was natural that when Robert Pulleyn returned from Doncaster he should proclaim that "priests should bid holidays and beads as before". Thompson's involvement continued, and he named himself and the vicar of Moreland as two of those who sent articles to Aske in Yorkshire "against the consultation there before the last meeting at Doncaster". Aske in reply instructed them to get the opinion of the Cumberland and Westmorland clergy about the suppression of the abbeys, and the supremacy. As a whole however they were reluctant to commit themselves. "The clergy would determine nothing, but wrote to the archbishop of York, referring all to him". Such reluctance was not popular with the commons, and "the 'said captains and quests' of Westmorland confiscated the fruits of benefices of them that were absent and 'sessed' the beneficed men present, for the maintenance of the commons".

Thus it is in Cumberland rather than Northumberland that we find the closest contacts between the rebellion and religion, and this was due to the different character of the revolts in the two areas. They started from roughly the same point, but the fact that in Northumberland there was a disgruntled gentry faction, willing to give its leadership to an opposition movement, meant that developments there were very different from those in Cumberland, where the gentry
were either aloof or positively hostile to the commons, allowing the economic grievances of the commons as a class, rather than the North as a whole, to come to the surface; but even then it was not a social revolt as such. The commons wanted the leadership of the gentry, and went on hoping for it throughout. Since in general it was not forthcoming, that provided by the clergy would be very welcome, especially when one of the main causes of revolt was the alteration of religion. Even in Cumberland, where social grievances seem to have come closest to the surface, the movement was essentially a non-violent pilgrimage, and ironically the most violent threats were made against those clergymen who refused to throw in their lot with the commons.

The second rising however was different. It was due very largely to the methods employed by Henry VIII after the first rising. His policy of dividing the rebels proved most successful. As more gentlemen went up to court to make their peace, the commons became increasingly restive. They were very distrustful of the gentlemen, and well aware that it would be they who would be sacrificed if necessary. Since the gentlemen were away the countries would anyway become more difficult to control. In Cumberland the situation was aggravated by the fact that Thomas Clifford, the captain of Carlisle, was acting as the champion of royal law and order in the North West backed up by bands of horsemen from Esk and Lyne, "strong thieves of the westlands" of whom the commons had been so scared in the earlier rising. It was a situation which could only arise in the Borders and was paralleled by later events in North-

34 See L. and P., XII, part I, 18, which described the taking of tithe barns and corn by the commons.

35 See Dodds, II, 111-24 for the course of events.

36 L. and P., XII, part I, 687; Dodds, II, 113.
umberland, when the King himself decided on the policy of setting a thief to catch a thief. As far as the commons were concerned it was the last straw. This time the nature of the rising was different. The prevailing mood was one of depression and desperation. There were no gentlemen willing to join the commons and risk losing their pardon, and the commons seem to have accepted it would be so. They were more decisive the second time however, and embarked immediately upon a plan to seize Carlisle. Another difference was that there were few priests involved. The commons still clung to much of the religious imagery of the previous revolt. They had a cross carried before them, and Thompson claimed that he had been commanded "in the name of the parish, to pray for the Pope". He said that it was "for fear of his life" that he bade the beads, and later he tried to keep a foot in each camp by "commanding all to pray for the King as head of the church, and for the bishop or Rome and the cardinals". In the second rising the Abbot of Holm Cultram was the only cleric who appeared to take a willing part in events. He was informed of what was happening the day before the commons laid siege to Carlisle, and answered, "Almighty God prosper them, for if they speed not this abbey is lost; and upon the saying he sent for his subprior and commanded him to cause the brether to go daily with procession to speed them the commons' journey". The tenants of the Holm were assembled in the church, and ordered to join the commons, under Cuthbert Musgrave, the abbot's deputy, but they refused to

37 Dodds, II, chap. 21, passim.
38 L. and P., XII, part I, 687.
39 After this rising the clergy were as anxious to hold themselves aloof as the gentry. It was said that when the women of the area cut down and tried to bury the bodies of those who had been executed, they were often hindered by priests scared of being implicated. Dodds, II, 123.
move unless the abbot went with them. His enthusiasm apparently did not stretch this far; it must have been obvious to him that he had already compromised himself sufficiently, and his monks and tenants were unwilling to join him in his ruin. When it came to gathering evidence against him there was no shortage of information: as Thomas Graham, one of the monks, testified "All the insurrection there was owing to him".  

Strangely, the religious aspect of the revolt seems to have been stressed more by contemporaries after the event than the evidence now appears to warrant. Of course the government was not anyway well disposed towards religious houses, and this gave them a further excuse to proceed against them. Henry's instructions to Norfolk that "as these troubles have been prompted by the monks and canons of those parts", he was to "tye up" the monks of Sawley, Hexham, Newminster, Lanercost, St. Agatha's "and other such places as have made resistance" are famous. But in fact we have no evidence that either Lanercost or Newminster was in any way involved in the rising. Even at Hexham, where the resistance of the canons was not in doubt, there seem to have been no proceedings under martial law, and Carnaby, who was more likely than any one else to have an axe to grind in this affair, wrote to Cromwell testifying that none of the canons had made any resistance since the parson, and that his neighbours in Hexhamshire were "very tractable and sorry for what they have done amiss". About the fate of Lanercost we have no details but its prior later occurs in a parochial cure, so he at least was not hung, and Newminster was certainly not dissolved until August. It is possible that the

41 L. and P., XII, part I, 479.
42 Ibid., 546.
King had been mistaken in names, as he had in naming the vicar of Penrith in the same letter. By no means all the Northern religious were as enthusiastically for the commons as the abbot of Holm Cultram. Indeed on the East coast the tenants of Tynemouth Abbey turned on the monks, stole their cattle, corn and sheep, and withheld their rents by force. There had long been tension between the abbey and its tenants and this would naturally increase when the abbey refused to join the fight for its own existence which the commons were carrying on, as well as giving less scrupulous tenants a golden opportunity for striking a blow against their landlords. It was this twofold position of the abbeys, and the clergy as a whole, that led to so much paradox. On one hand they were spiritual corporations, the visible centres of a faith which all the commons had been taught to respect and which had up till then been protected by and allied with the crown. The clergy were their spiritual advisers and leaders, but at the same time they were the men who extracted tithes from them. The monks might in some cases prove sympathetic landlords, but relations were by no means always good, and once started on a protest against the grasping landholding classes it was unlikely that an enthusiastic force would stop to distinguish between clerical and lay landlords. Thus the church was respected and fought for in its spiritual guise, while being disliked and sometimes attacked in its secular one.

Lastly to add to the confusion there was the reluctance of many of the clergy to show their hand. Those priests who can be proved to have taken a willing and active part were from the lower levels of the clerical hierarchy; perhaps vicars, but often unknown men who were called 'sir' but appear to have had

43 L. and P., XI, 1293.
44 See above, p. 174.
no benefices, and consequently less to lose, or perhaps chantry or stipendiary priests, the lower levels of the clergy who had always proved the most troublesome. Others, such as the two friars who re-entered the Greyfriars in Newcastle during the rebellion must have felt they could only gain by participation, since they had already lost their homes and livelihood. The higher clergy stayed as aloof as possible. The abbot of Holm Cultram was an exception, but it is notable that the abbot of Hexham took no part in the revolt there. He had gone up to London to try to come to terms with Cromwell about the future of the house. The bishop of Carlisle had been accused of promoting riots in August 1536, but this was perhaps to do with a private feud. In October he was in London, and his Chancellor, Townley, was very concerned to point out that any correspondence he had had with the bishop during the commotions was to do with the collection of the bishopric revenues. He never had "any communication with the bishop of Carlisle concerning any intended insurrection or commotion". As for the bishop of Durham, his sympathies might have been expected to coincide with those of the rebels, but he was a crown servant, and showed no sign of supporting them although he did little for the crown either. When the commons advanced towards Bishop Auckland, he fled to his castle of Norham, and stayed there for several months. As one of the strongholds of the Border, it was of course important that this should be secured if there were any threat of Scottish invasion, a government fear throughout the rising, but it was the archdeacon of Durham, not Tunstall, who was later praised for taking

45 L. and P., XII, part II, 1045; XI, 1372.
46 Dodds, I, 193.
48 Dodds, I, 117; L. and P., XII, part I, 687.
the castle, and the fact that the bishop had fled not southwards for safety, but north, behind the insurgents' lines, does cast at least some doubt on his standpoint. 49 Having gained the safety of Norham, he remained there; in January he was summoned to court, but replied he dared not risk a journey through the North, and did not emerge until Norfolk's presence made it safe for him to do so. 50

The Pilgrims were in fact in the difficult position of having raised a religious revolt, and failed to gain the support of the church. There can be no doubt of their sincerity on the religious question. In Aske's words they "grudged against the statute of suppression" because by it "the service of God is much minished, great number of masse unsaid and consecration of the sacrament not now used in these parts, to the decrease of the Faith and spiritual comfort to man's soul, the temple of God ruffed and pulled down, the ornaments and relics of the church irreverently used, tombs of honourable men pulled down and sold". 51 The list of complaints is much longer, but the phrases quoted give some impression of the effect of the suppression on the minds of the laity. They were being told, with little or no preamble, that the monasteries which they had been taught to respect were to go; that they were to forget the loyalty they had been taught to have towards the old church, and so far they had been given nothing to put in place of these things. The theories on the Royal Supremacy had not yet penetrated to much of the North. The preaching which was recommended after the rebellion should have come before, and

49 Dodds, I, 203.

50 Ibid., II, 33.

51 L. and P., XII, part I, 901 (2).

52 e.g. L. and P., XI, 1410, and see above, p. 102.
perhaps the commons would then have been less worried about the changes, about the fate of the souls in purgatory when monastic prayer came to an end, things which obviously concerned them as much as the economic effects of the dissolution. Moreover these were the sort of grievances which had a cohesive power. Many of the aims of the gentry meant little to their tenants; much of the discontent among the commons was directed against the very gentry with whom they were ready to rise; religion provided the unifying factor for all the different strands of revolt. It provided the necessary slogans, the essential coherence, and the useful legitimation of rebellion. It may not have been foremost in the minds of all the rebels, but it was because of the religious cause that the Pilgrimage of Grace can be seen as one entity, rather than as a local resistance to an unpopular upstart, the actions of a disappointed nobility at the head of unruly Borderers, a number of agricultural riots and so on. In so far as the 1536 rising can be seen as a whole it is in the context of religious protest. It was not, even in Cumberland and Westmorland, a 'peasant rising'. The commons saw themselves as standing for a return to the status quo, to the system as it should be, rather than for some new sort of society. Just as they wanted the old order returned in religion, so they wanted what they thought of as the old traditions in relations with their landlords. This meant an end to enclosures, to the raising of rents and gressums; instead the gentry should see to it that "the poor people be not oppressed but that they may live after their sorts and qualities". This they saw as the traditional duty of the gentry within the hierarchy. If they did not fulfil their duty, as the King seemed not to be fulfilling his duty to defend the true religion, then the commons would proceed to a peaceful demonstration of their grievances, but they did not wish

53 James, Earl of Cumberland, 59.
to change a society which had failed them; they had no idea as to what to replace it with; even in revolt they looked to their natural leaders among the gentry and clergy for guidance. The rising of the commons was essentially a conservative revolt.

At the same time, this picture of a society concerned to retain the traditional order and values, should not suggest a thoroughly backward and feudal north. The Pilgrimage was not a 'feudal revolt'. If it had been there would have been some great northern noble, backed by the power of his feudal levies, trying to impose his will upon the crown. Nothing could have been further from the truth. Of the Northern nobility, the Earl of Northumberland kept as much in the background as he was allowed to, Cumberland remained loyal, as did Westmorland despite the fact that he allowed his son to join the rebels, and Dacre was in far too precarious a position to do anything but follow their example. The other great Northern peer, the Earl of Derby, at first wavered, but finally declared for the king. Since the leaders of Northern society refused to put themselves at the head of the revolt, it could not be feudal in character, and became instead a protest against recent policies and developments, which was supported by some, but by no means all of the northern gentry. It was this aspect of the revolt, if any, which was successful. In the religious field it achieved nothing, except to speed up the changes it had been directed against. The commons themselves gained little improvement

54 Mr. James points out the importance of this; his refusal to have any dealings with the rebels showed that the North was not united in their support. James, Earl of Cumberland, 68.

55 Davies, op. cit., 62; Dodds, I, 170.

56 For instance in Northumberland, Carnaby, Grey and Ellerker all remained loyal. Dodds, I, 199-201.
of their lot. It was they who bore the brunt of the executions which the King
demanded, and although some of them had forced certain concessions from
their landlords during the revolt, it was difficult to get these honoured after-
wards. 57 But the gentry, who, for the most part willingly, had put themselves
at the head of the rebels, rather than oppose them as they should have, suffered
little. They were included in the pardon issued after the first rebellion, and
it was part of Henry's intention to treat them well in order to effect a split
in the rebel ranks. So they went up to court, made their peace with the King,
and returned home eager to demonstrate their loyalty by vigour in putting down
the second rising. 58 Many of them were to become members of the newly
organised council which was to rule the North after the trouble had died down.
It was inevitable that this should be so, since the men who had at first joined
the rebellion were not the remnants of an anarchic feudal society. They were
the leading families of the North who were coming to owe as much to the royal
service as to that of the Percies or the Dacres. In this respect, a fair portion
of the trouble came from within the Tudor establishment, and achieved a
political shake-up, not an anarchic revolt. Once this shake-up was assured,
the gentry could return to their wonted loyalty, and forget or ignore the econo-
mic or religious grievances of their followers.

When we turn to the events of thirty years later it at first seems strange
that the situation has changed so little. Just as the revolt of 1536 has been
described as a feudal rising, so has that of 1569. 59 This later revolt is

57 Reid, Council in the North, 140.

58 In January 1537 Sadler put their position very concisely. The people, he
said, were quiet "and none of the honest sort, that have anything to lose,

59 Menmuir, Rising, p. 5.
portrayed as the last fling of a dying order, but we have already seen that there was little feudal about 1536, and that already the old order in the North was changing. In 1537 Wharton, himself one of the new men, had given a graphic description of the process. "In the late Lord Dacre's time there was a cry 'A Dacre, a Dacre' and afterwards 'A Clifford, a Clifford' and even then 'A Dacre, a Dacre'. Now only 'A King, a King'".60 This is obviously a vindication of Henry's policies, but the change, it seems, did not last. In 1561 Bishop Best was complaining that Lord Dacre was "something too mighty in this country and as it were a prince", 61 and from 1569 we have Hunsdon's famous comment that "throughout Northumberland they know no other prince but a Percy".62 Such a complete change of the situation as has been suggested would have been a slow and difficult task, and it should not be surprising that there were periods of backsliding. Indeed it has been suggested that the Tudors were not so much intent upon supplanting the rule of the great northern families, as in persuading them to share power, and continue to rule, whilst serving the crown through the council in the North and the Wardenships of the Marches.

Certainly much of the old power was left after 1536. Only seven years after Wharton's appointment as warden of the West Marches, he was supplanted there by Lord Dacre.64 Manoeuvres in the North however were dictated by national politics, as well as local ones, and through the struggles between Somerset and Warwick, Wharton, a supporter of the latter, was reinstated.

60 L. and P., XII, part II, 642.
61 P.R.O., S.P. 12/18, 2124.
63 Reinmuth, Early Stuart Studies, p. 232.
64 James, Change and Continuity, 38.
this time as deputy warden of all three marches, an office he held in the East and Middle Marches under Mary, until forced to share it with the Earl of Northumberland, and finally to give it up to him. At the opening of Elizabeth's reign it must have seemed that the regression was complete, but soon the old Henrician policies came into play again. No thought was given to what had previously been the consequences of slighting the Percies, or if it was, it was decided that to provoke opposition from them would be a good way of ending the problem once and for all. The earl was forced to resign his wardenships by a series of petty insults, and his known enemy, Sir John Forster, was given the Middle March in his place. He was deprived of what was expected to be a profitable copper mine on his lands in Cumberland, and all his complaints were waved aside; his advice was totally ignored in dealing with royal tenants in Richmondshire and Middleham, of which he was steward. All these acts were bound to cause a sense of injustice, for as well as the insults themselves, it was difficult for the earl to keep up prestige and honour in his own country whilst being so obviously slighted by the crown. He was pushed to the point where he might become dangerous, and then openly distrusted, which only made the situation worse. As the son of Sir Thomas, who had been attainted for his part in the 1536 uprising, the Earl would anyway have been regarded

65 James, Change and Continuity, 38-9. For the interaction of national and local politics in the North, see R. R. Reid, The Political Influence of the 'North Parts' under the later Tudors, in Tudor Studies, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson, London, 1924. For the changes in attitudes to the governing of the North, see above, p. 30 ff.

66 For the background to their enmity see James, Concept of Order, 60. It went back to the Percy/Carnaby feud in the Pilgrimage, since Forster was Carnaby's brother-in-law.


68 Reid, Rebellion, 177-8; C. S. P. Dom. Add. Eliz, XII, nos. 10, 23, 24, 25.
with suspicion by Elizabeth, and the picture was completed by the fact that in 1567 he was reconciled to the Catholic faith by one Mr. Copley. His wife, a daughter of the Earl of Worcester, was also firmly attached to the old religion, and so the enthusiasm of the new convert received plenty of encouragement.

The Earl of Westmorland's greatest complaint seems to have been that he was deprived of the right of his family to lead the tenants of the bishopric, and replaced in this by the Protestant Earl of Bedford. Westmorland too was a Catholic, of longer standing than Northumberland, and would be encouraged to stand for his religion by Catholic relatives, such as Christopher Neville. His wife was a Protestant, but his marriage to her had tied him firmly to the Howard connection, and obviously her Protestantism did not influence her once the rising had begun, since it was she who urged the earls on to bolder action. Lastly there was the Dacre interest, led now by the three brothers of Thomas, 4th Lord Dacre who had died in 1566. After his death his widow had married the Duke of Norfolk who had become guardian of her children, marrying her daughters to his sons, and when the infant 5th Lord Dacre died soon after, trouble was inevitable. Leonard Dacre claimed that the estate should descend in tail male, and that he, not the three Dacre heiresses now so firmly attached to Norfolk's family, should have inherited the lands and title. The Dacres were popular in their country, and the support they would anyway have had was

69 Sharp, 203-4.
70 Ibid., 343.
71 See D.N.B. and Sharp, 34.
72 Sharp, 33.
increased by complaints against Norfolk as a landlord.\textsuperscript{73} The extent of ill feeling not just among the brothers, but among all the Dacre followers was well expressed in the advice given to Leonard Dacre by Richard Atkinson. Both Norfolk and the late Lady Dacre, his wife, were blamed. "The greedy tyrant might have granted you a living of as much value somewhere, but it would only be for a little space; he will be a covetous traitor all his days, he has entered on all your living, and now will on all your fathers substance, and like a greedy dog would let you and your brothers starve to death. They are a company of hellhounds, as Lowther, Carleton, the Whelpdales, the Bosts of Deston, related to your enemy the now dead duchess. ... This woman, your enemy dead, was the Duke's fall, for her wealth and words made him forget God and shoot at all; ... He shortened her days, and was the death of Lord George; then he had a clean way, having the ward's co-heirs in governance. Then were you without remedy but through the poor people, who favour you and your house, and cry and call for you and your blood to rule them."\textsuperscript{74}

There were once again the makings of an explosive situation,\textsuperscript{75} and the catalyst was provided by the arrival of Mary, Queen of Scots in England. On one level it provided the opportunity for yet another slight to Northumberland, since she landed in his honour of Cockermouth, and yet he was denied the custody of her. The other implications however went much deeper, and brought to a head much intrigue and discussion about the question of Elizabeth's

\textsuperscript{73} See C.S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz., XIII, nos. 93-9. There was a rather similar situation in Northumberland where during the period of crown control of the Percy lands leases had gone to Forster faction, who had made themselves very unpopular with the tenants. See James, \textit{Concept of Order}, 70 n. 98.

\textsuperscript{74} C.S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz., XVIII, 11 (3).

\textsuperscript{75} The decline of the interests of the great Northern families as a prelude to revolt is one of the more obvious similarities between the situation in 1536 and that in 1569.
successor. Both the Northern Earls and Dacre were soon involved in plans in Mary's favour, but inevitably there were complications. Westmorland was ready to support his brother-in-law's marriage plans; so was Northumberland, but only when asked to do so by Mary herself. He would have been much happier with a Catholic marriage, and wished for her release and reinstatement as Queen, and as Elizabeth's successor, without any matrimonial strings attached. He was however open to persuasion. But Dacre could not approve of or join in any scheme in which Norfolk was so involved, and he was therefore foremost in formulating plans for Mary's escape.

The fate of the conspirators at court, and Norfolk's last minute defection are well known, and are a part of national history, but the consequences were of greatest importance in the North. Having gone too far to turn back, unable after the build up of distrust and fear of the government simply to give in, Northumberland, Westmorland and their associates drifted into rebellion; but if they were to take to arms they had to have a cause other than their distrust of the government. After Norfolk's desertion this could not be support for his plans; Mary was rapidly moved out of their reach rendering yet another excuse useless, and so they appealed to the cause of the old religion. As Northumberland said in his confession "The intent and meaning of us upon our first conferences and assemblies, was only and specially for the reformation

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76 For a discussion of the political implications see MacCaffrey, Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime, pp. 170-3, 204-19.

77 See MacCaffrey, 221-2.

78 Sussex reported in October "The persons suspected to have been evil counsellors to the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland are Leonard Dacre, Mr. Markenfield, Francis Norton, Chris. Danby, Robert Bowes, John Swinburne, Robert Tempest, and Captain Reed". The inclusion of Bowes must have been an error. C.S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz., XIV, 104.
of religion, and the preservation of the second person, the Queen of Scots.\textsuperscript{79} The proclamation they issued at Staindrop on November 15th had stated "they intend no hurt unto the Queen's majesty, nor her good subjects; but for as much as the order of things in the church and matters of religion, are presently set forth and used contrary to the ancient and Catholic faith; therefore their purposes and meanings are, to reduce all the said causes in religion to the ancient customs and usages before used, wherein they desire all good people to take their parts."\textsuperscript{80} This appeal to religion seems to have been largely due to the influence of Dr. Morton, who had given the opinion that the Queen was excommunicate, and it was therefore lawful to take arms against her.\textsuperscript{81} This sort of appeal changed the whole character of the movement. It had started out as a broadly based political protest, backed by a large body of support in the North of England, and expressed through a leading nobleman at court, intended to exert pressure on behalf of a particular policy which might be unwelcome to the government, but was not treasonable. The collapse of this first plan, which had kept up a careful show of respect for authority, led to desperation amongst the Earls and their supporters, giving their actions an extremist tendency, and plunging them headlong into treason when they challenged the established religion.

The primary cause of the rebellion then was not the religious one, but in the end this was what the Earls appealed to, and so we must now look at the sort of support they attracted on this stand. Government officials certainly thought it was a popular cause. Sussex wrote "The people like so well their

\textsuperscript{79} Sharp, 202.

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 41-2.

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 204.
cause of religion that they flock to them in all place where they come; and
many gentlemen show themselves ready to serve you whose sons be on the
other side". His pessimism continued. "He is a rare bird that has not some
of his with the two Earls, or in his heart wishes not well to their cause ... 
The Earls are old in blood, and poor in force in any other cause than this;
but it is not to be believed of them that see it not what is done directly and
underhand to serve them for this cause", "At the beginning of these matters,
the people were so affected to these Earls for the cause they had in hand, that
what was had for the Queen's service was got out of the flint and those that
came, save a number of gentlemen, liked better of the other side". Sadler
echoed these thoughts: "... there be not in all this country 10 gentlemen that
do favour and allow of her majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion, and
the common people ... do so much favour the cause, which the rebels make
the colour of their rebellion, that though their persons be here with us, I
assure you their hearts, for the most part, be with the rebels". But
despite all these gloomy pronouncements, it is fairly obvious that what mass
support there was for the rising depended more on money than religion, and
when the Earls were proved to have little of this commodity much of their
support melted away. The picture drawn by Bowes, "Mass was yesterday
at Darnton; and John Swinburn, with a staffe drove before him the poor folks,
to hasten them to hear the same", hardly depicts a fervently Catholic North,

83 Ibid., 32, 42.
84 Sadler Papers, II, no. xvii, see also xxiv.
85 James, Family, Lineage and Society, 60.
86 Sharp, 45.
rallying to the cause of the old faith. This is not too surprising. As we have already seen the state of the church in the Northern counties was far from ideal; it was no more filled with fervent Catholics that it was with fervent Protestants. Its hallmark was rather a general malaise, a lack of teaching and enthusiasm for any sort of faith. Northumberland himself recorded that Dr. Morton had "lamented he saw so great want of sound and catholic priests, that he might give authority to them for reconciling such of the people as would seek". Thus except among some of the gentry, devout Catholics were lacking. At the same time if one lesson must have been learned about religion during the sixteenth century it was that it was invariably imposed from above by the civil authority. Churchwardens, laity and clergy who were later charged with participating in Catholic services invariably excused themselves with the fact that they had been obeying the instructions of the Earls and their officers. As the Council of the North informed the Queen the rebels went to Durham "with their forces in armour, to persuade the people to take their parts, and some of their company have thrown down the communion table, and torn the holy bible in pieces". It was not the result of spontaneous popular action.

At a higher level too their cause failed to appeal. Lord Wharton, who had been a Privy councillor in the previous reign, and was a known Papist, was thought by Northumberland to "bear affection to these causes" but he would

87 Sharp, 205.
88 Ibid., 35
89 For the excuses of individuals involved, that they were forced to participate, see Sharp, 252-63.
90 Sharp, 211.
not move until Dacre did. The latter however went to London when the rising broke out and assured the Queen of his loyalty. 91 By the time he had flung himself into revolt on his own behalf, Wharton had decided openly to throw his lot in with the government forces. Cumberland had apparently been privy to the earlier plotting, but he too stayed aloof when the time came. 92 They had too much to lose by joining, unlike the rebel Earls who had been manœuvred into the position where they felt they had nothing to lose and perhaps something to gain by revolt. Where then did the Earls get the support which so worried the authorities? In the first place it is possible, as always, that the numbers were exaggerated by those who would need a ready excuse for failure in putting down the rising, and would not be averse to the extra praises if they did succeed against exaggerated odds. But even allowing for this, there was some support. Was it perhaps the much vaunted last fling of Northern feudalism? Certainly this is the traditional picture: "... the great houses of Northumberland and Westmorland could still depend upon support from their tenantry ... because of the band that held lord and retainer - a band not then so completely severed in their case as it had been in the rest of England". 93 But the facts do not support this interpretation.

Admittedly in some places such as the Neville Lordships of Bywell and Kirkby Moorside the stewards managed to raise almost complete levies of tenants 94 but elsewhere the response was not so good. 95 The support from

91 An echo of the actions of Lord Dacre in 1536, see above, p. 367.
92 Sharp, 210; MacCaffrey, 228.
93 Menmuir, Rising of the North, 5.
94 They raised 80 out of 110 horse at Bywell. James, Concept of Order, p. 71.
95 In a lecture given to the Durham Historical Society in 1973, Mr. James gave the figures for the Neville lordships as 145 out of 270 at Raby, 40 (continued)
the Percy lordships was even worse. Only 80 to 100 came from the Northumber-land lands, these mostly being from the barony of Langley on the South Tyne. Small groups of servants and tenants garrisoned Alnwick and Warkworth castles, but then surrendered after only a token resistance. Forster feared that if the rebels came into Northumberland many of the Earl's tenants would join him, but this never happened. The extent of this failure can be seen when it is remembered that in the 1530's Percy tenants in Northumberland alone had numbered 849 horse, and 1,118 foot. At the very height of their strength the rebel force numbered about 4,000 foot, and 1,700 light horse, and few of these were feudal levies. The Earls drummed up some support by behaving as if they were acting in the Queen's name, but mostly by promise of payment. When the money was not forthcoming, neither was the support.

If the rising is to be seen anywhere as a 'feudal rebellion', that of Leonard Dacre in 1570 best fits the description. He was able to collect a force of 3,000 and put up the only effective fight of the whole revolt, but again the first impression is inaccurate. In the first place, much of his support came from the Scottish Borderers who were already sheltering members of the first

95 (continued) out of 349 at Brancepeth, 16 out of 45 at Egglestone and none from Whin laton.

James, Concept of Order, 70.


James, Concept of Order, 71.

Ibid., 70.

Sharp, 52-3.

The mixed composition of his forces was known from the start, and the Dacres had long been suspected of being far too friendly with their Scottish neighbours. But not even all of their English supporters were loyal tenants ready to rebel for the sake of feudal allegiance to the house of Dacre. Many had responded to his proclamations and burning of beacons which claimed that he was raising forces to resist the rebels and their Scottish allies, rather than to join them. Some of course were inspired by personal loyalty, by the sort of sentiments which prompted the writings of Atkinson. Lord Scroope, who as warden of the West March must have had some idea what he was talking about, assured Cecil "that by the force of this country he is not to be touched; for that although I may levy a good number, yet very few will be found to execute their force against a Dacre", but this was not enough to make it a feudal revolt. Central to the rising were the minority gentry groups. The Nortons, firmly Catholic, and led by 'old Norton' who, although he had served the crown under Henry, Mary and Elizabeth was ready to revert to the methods of the Pilgrimage in which he had taken part: the Tempests who had been important under Tunstall, but had declined during Pilkington's episcopate: the Salvins who also looked back to the good old days; but they were in a minority. Even one of Norton's sons was found on the government side, as was Sir Henry Percy. "The solid

102 Tough, 210-1.
104 C.S.P. Scot., III, 125.
105 See above, p. 385.
106 Sharp, 215.
peacefully inclined gentry, even if Catholic in sympathy, had too much to lose to contemplate such a course". 107

However much some of the gentry may have been motivated by religious considerations, it must be said that the clergy were much less involved at any level then they had been in 1536. There were members of the Durham cathedral establishment, and a few clergy of that county who were charged for their actions during the rising, but as we have seen many of them claimed that they had been forced to act as they did. There was not, despite the unsatisfactory state of the clergy, any massive support for a restoration of the old religion. Few members of the Northumberland clergy seem to have taken part in the revolt. There was Roger Venys, vicar of Mitford, who also joined the rebels in exile in Scotland; William Watson, vicar of Bedlington who may be identified with the chaplain of St. Mary Magdalen cited in 1569; the curate of Whittonstall also showed catholic sympathies at this time, and a number of other clergy who were required to make a submission to the bishop in this year, although there is nothing else to connect them with the rebellion. 108

In July 1570 bishop Pilkington made an analysis of the religious situation before and after the revolt. 109 "The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, between whom I reside, having planned a rebellion, roused us from our slumbers, and as long as they could persecuted us with the greatest harshness. They offered all manner of violence to religion and all its ministers, but the

107 James, Family, Lineage and Society, 51.

108 See Appendix under parishes named and ch. III.

109 Pilkington himself fled south for safety, although Dean Whittingham had tried to persuade him to stay and rally support for the crown in the bishopric. Whittingham also fled eventually, but first he did much to ensure that Newcastle did not go over to the Earls. Lorrimer, John Knox and the Church of England, App. p. 311-2. See ch. V.
Lord has delivered us all from the mouths of the lions uninjured indeed in our persons, although stripped of all our fortunes and plundered of our property. You perhaps wonder how this has happened. The world cannot bear two suns; much less can the kingdom endure two queens or two religions. Our Louvain friends obtained bulls from the Pope that they might absolve the people from the allegiance due to the Queen's majesty; those who no longer attend our church and liturgy were to be reconciled to their synagogue, and those who would submit themselves to them were to obtain pardon of all their sins, without even purgatory. These impieties are so deeply settled in the minds of many, that I am in doubt whether they will ever be eradicated. Some persons are detained in prison for these things; many have absconded; but the greater number are lying in concealment, eagerly expecting an occasion of fresh disturbances ... I am by the blessing of God, restored to my flock; and though the minds of all are not so settled as I could wish, there is notwithstanding, both here and in Scotland quite liberty enough both for the administration of the laws and for religion."110

Although Pilkington started by explaining the political problem caused by the Queen of Scots, he went on to overestimate the threat which there had been to religion. It seems that when what had been so long feared, a religious revolt, finally broke out, and in an area which had for long been seen as the most backward in religion in the country, the authorities could not believe that the threat was not as great as they had expected. Contemporaries saw the rising not as a feudal revolt, but as an outbreak of fervent Catholicism, and when this did not show the strength they had expected it to have, they chose to believe that its supporters were lying in concealment. They were

110 Zurich Letters, 1558-79. Parker Society, 1842, no. 89.
unable to believe that the sort of Catholicism which led men to risk revolt was not strong enough to pose a threat, and that most catholically inclined gentry were not prepared to commit treason for the sake of their faith.

Here was the great difference between 1569 and 1536. Apart from the obvious difference of incidence and political motive, the events of 1569 showed that the popular catholicism, or conservatism, which had inspired the Pilgrimage was no longer a force to be reckoned with. Those who were moved by religion in 1569 were men like Northumberland, new converts, who had been in contact with the new seminary priests, with catholicism outside England. It was with them that the future of the Catholic cause lay. The old popular catholicism was, if not yet dead, at least too weak to be a danger. It had been starved of encouragement and nourishment under three regimes of varying Protestant colour, and during the Catholic interlude of Mary's reign, as we have seen, the quiet conservatism of the North caused no worries, and therefore received no attention or encouragement from the government. There was no new injection of Catholic teaching which might have strengthened the Northern Catholic church. Thus when the call to religion finally came, as a last resort for a politically inept minority, it was no longer a call which could raise mass support. The state of the church in the North might have been everything the pessimists said, but the state of Catholicism, as yet, was not. It was in the years after this period that the situation changed; after the issue of the Bull Regnans in Excelsis, in February 1570. The excommunication came too late to do anything to encourage revolt in loyal catholics during the rising, but it put into words what the government had long feared. It split the loyalties of English

110a Dr. Morton, with whom the Earl was in close contact, had left England for Rome c. 1560. He there became apostolic plenipotentiary, and was consulted about excommunicating Elizabeth, and on other English affairs. See Sharp, 204; D.N.B.
catholics, while at the same time their spiritual care was being undertaken by a new breed of clergy; dedicated seminary priests and Jesuits, who had received their training in Catholic Europe, rather than old Marian priests who had become cut off, and isolated from the church to which they had remained loyal. Both sides adjusted for a new conflict. The much mistrusted Sussex was replaced by the Puritan Huntingdon as President of the Council in the North. The Wardens of the Marches, Scroope, Forster and Hunsdon, were all uncompromising Protestants as well. The aftermath of the revolt served the purpose of clearing the North of many doubtful figures. Northumberland was executed in 1572, and the Earldom went to his brother who had remained loyal in 1569, although admittedly his attitudes changed. The attainders on Westmorland and Dacre and their followers effectively removed both families from the North, and the confiscated lands were used to build up support amongst the loyal and Protestant. 111 New ranks were drawn up for a new battle, but this was to have little to do with what has so often been seen as a traditionally Northern Catholicism, tied up with a traditionally Northern feudalism. However much they scared the government at the time, the 1569 and 1570 risings seem to have proved that both these were now a dead letter.

One further difference between 1536 and 1569, which has particular relevance for the Borders, is the much larger part played by Scotland in the calculations of the rebels and the government in the later revolt. As we have seen, close cooperation between Scottish and English Borderers was nothing new; indeed it had frequently angered and infuriated both governments, but in 1569 the cooperation was between the governments as well as the rebels. It was no longer confined to a disreputable contact between unruly Borderers.

111 See e.g. Pat. Rolls Eliz., vol.V, 1828, 2046, 2234, 2268, 2420.
In December 1569 the Scottish Privy Council issued a statement that the quiet state of England was "to the common wealth and commodity of both the realms". They understood that the rebels had withdrawn themselves towards the Border, where they would spoil and destroy as they had done in England, "and also if it shall stand in their power to erect and set up again the papistical idolatry and abominable Mass within the country, abolished by the sincere preaching of the Word of God, and by the laws and Acts of Parliament". To prevent this musters were called and preparations were made to resist the rebels. We are reminded of the fact that Pilkington mentioned the Scottish as well as the English church when talking about the effects of the revolt, and the Scottish work, "A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents" contains many references to the course of the rising. It has been said that the rising was as much a threat to Moray as to Elizabeth. The establishment of a similar religion in both realms, and an ending of Henry VIII's aggressive policies had allowed the community of interests between the Scottish and English governments to be recognised. It was acknowledged that the fact that England was Protestant, and that her Queen had been willing, albeit reluctantly, to send help to the Congregation, had made possible the establishment of the Kirk in Scotland. Indeed the English troops which effected this were probably the only ones ever to enter and leave Scotland with any goodwill. As a result the future of each church was bound up with that of the other, and it was a matter of great importance to Moray that the English church should not be threatened, just as it was that the fleeing rebels should not be allowed to encourage the dissident


113 Bannatyne Club, 1883, pp. 152ff.

114 Donaldson, James V-VII, 162-3.
elements in Scotland. He had to face not just religious opposition from confirmed Catholics, but political opposition from members of the Queen's party, who might well be Protestant, but would be ready to give help and support to those who had hoped to serve her cause and set her free. Consequently the welcome given to the fugitive rebels was not just the traditional welcome accorded to English refugees but also that reserved for those who were fighting on the same side in the battle which raged around the problem of Mary Stuart. Her arrival in England meant that this had become an English problem as much as a Scottish one, and thus the sort of alliances which had always been a part of Border life became an important political phenomenon. From the beginning of the revolt the loyalists were terrified that the Earls would receive reinforcements from Scotland. At first Moray's activities prevented this. He was one of the few men who had much success in controlling the Border. His death was celebrated there immediately by the start of more raids, but with the difference that these raiding parties included the Earl of Westmorland and other rebels. They may have been forced to leave the country, but they were still able to do considerable damage, and it was these raids which gave Dacre the courage to try his strength as well.

The families who had once been the representatives of law and order in the North (for they had, when trusted to do so, administered the law of the crown

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115 The surrender of Northumberland to the regent is obviously contrary to these attitudes, but it was regarded with shocked disapproval by all Borderers. See Steel Bonnets, p. 303n.

116 See above, ch. VIII.

117 Sharp, 83.

118 Donaldson, James V-VII, 163.

119 Steel Bonnets, 304.
there) seem to have fitted very easily into the lawless Border society; but
of course they were introduced to it by the Lords of Hume, Fernihirst,
Buccleuch and Johnstone, who like the Dacres had for generations had one foot
in either camp.

In the chaos following Moray's death there was little hope of Scottish
reprisals against the Scottish and English confederates, and so Elizabeth took
matters into her own hands, and made a public proclamation that "... the
Earl of Sussex should proceed with the army described to the frontiers, and
that declaration should be made to the nobility of Scotland who pretend friend­
ship to the Queen's majesty, that she is occasioned to levy this army, not only
to defend her frontiers against certain of the Scots Borderers in company with
her rebels, but also to revenge the attempts already done in cruel manner on
her subjects in all her Wardenries ... And considering her rebels are main­
tained by sundry of the lairds and public officers on the Borders 120 to make
these in(vasions) and that she accounts all such as maintain them to be not only
enemies to her Majesty, but to the public peace between both the realms".
She then asked what help she would be given against the rebels and those who
maintained them. 121 Those who were not partakers with her rebels were
promised they would not be touched, but Cesford, who according to Sussex
"had never been in person at any evil act in this time, nor had received any
of the rebels" was unable to protect all the land in his wardenry because many
of his men "had been of the greatest offenders". 122 Elizabeth's proclamation

120 Hume for instance was warden of the East March at the time, and in April
1570 Herries proclaimed himself Warden of the West March in Mary's
name. Tough, 282, 284.
121 C.S.P. Scot., III, 149.
122 Sharp, 235.
was the prelude to five months of constant attack and burning along the length of the Borders. The methods were drastic but they undoubtedly served their purpose. The Borders became unsafe for the English rebels who went into exile on the continent where they could do less direct harm; the political conflict within Scotland was not solved, but the raids did help to swing the balance against the Marian party; at least the Borders were quiet enough for the English army to be disbanded. The raids did nothing to improve the popularity of the English or Protestant party in the Scottish Borders, but they had solved the immediate problem. They had also proved that what would work for the Border reivers and the rebels, could work for governments too.

When Edinburgh and London were in sympathy, things went badly for the Borders. It was above all the common ground of religion which made this sort of governmental cooperation possible, and in a small way it foreshadowed the fate which was to overtake the Borders when they were ruled by only one King, and they became the Middle Shires.


124 See Steel Bonnets, pp. 355-78.
CONCLUSION

In an article on the Tudor North B. W. Beckingsale states that the area's main characteristics are usually held to be its Catholicism, feudalism, and the violence and backwardness of its society. He sets out to prove that this is not an accurate picture, but has to admit that many of these characteristics do apply to the Borders. "The Borderers lived outside society in their own largely self-contained self-regarding world of feud and foray, generating and to a great extent absorbing their own violence. The Border was to them a symbol of alien authorities, cutting across their territory and interfering with their ties of kinship." It seems as if the boundaries of this backward and catholic North can be pushed northwards so far, but when the Borders are reached they have to stop, since this is the area above all others from which these general impressions stem. Although one must agree that this was a "self-contained self-regarding world" the limits of influence cannot have been too narrow. Any place which was within reach of a raiding party could not regard itself as totally divorced from the Borders, and such places existed almost as far North as Edinburgh, as far South as Yorkshire. Consequently the counties included in this study can well be taken as belonging to this most individual of societies. That is not to say that they and their inhabitants were uniformly violent and backward. We have seen much of the different educative and 'civilising' influences at work in the Borders. No doubt the majority of the inhabitants, if given the choice, would have lived as quiet, unremarkable and law-abiding a life as that lived in any other part of the two realms. However

1 Beckingsale, The Characteristics of the Tudor North, op. cit., p. 67.
2 Ibid., 79-80.
3 Steel Bonnets, 92.
the influence of the wilder spirits was the stronger, and most of those who inhabited the Borders early learned the lesson that if they were to survive it was to be on the Border's own terms.

This applied in a large measure to the church and religion as well. It should by now be obvious that there was in the Borders often this distinction between religion and the church. Mr. James, writing about County Durham has said "Pre Reformation Durham was permeated by the organisation, wealth and authority of the Church; but to a much lesser extent by the system of values and belief which the Church claimed to represent". Instead the faith of the people "had much in common with the folk-beliefs relating to witchcraft and wizardry which flourished side by side with it, and reflected the failure of the Church to carry christianisation deeper than a shallow upper social crust". This is equally valid for the counties further North. Popular feeling on matters of belief was preoccupied with the quasi-magical significance given to the ritual performance of services. It is perhaps exemplified by the tradition that on the Scottish Borders the right hand of a male child was left un-baptised "so that it might deliver more unhallowed blows upon the enemy"; by the Borderers who prayed before riding out on a midnight raid; or by those under excommunication who forced a Scots friar to celebrate Mass for them. It was the outer ritual of the well known services and sacraments which mattered, not their inner meaning, which no doubt was little understood. Once this fact is established, it is only to be expected that the Catholic church with its elaborate ritual, its many outward signs which were in themselves

4 James, Family etc., 185-6.
5 Reed, Border Ballads, 38.
6 See above, p. 289.
seen as 'the Church', would be far more popular than the new Protestant faith. Deprived of the ritual and the ceremony, and not understanding the thinking behind this, the Borderers would have little faith in either the Anglican church or the Reformed Kirk. Their faith had been directed to and held by the mechanics of the old church, by "a wide recognition ... that the Church disposed of reserves of spiritual power profoundly relevant to those situations of crisis and peril, for example birth and death, in which the sacraments were needed, or which required the intervention and protection of the angels and saints". In a violent and unstable society such as that of the Borders it would be especially important that this spiritual power should be available at will, and it was to the outer forms of this that the people clung when they remained loyal to the old church.

This situation can have been no more satisfactory to the leaders of the Catholic than the Protestant churches. It was the same situation, the same drawbacks, which hampered both Catholic and Protestant attempts at change. Whichever church, whichever faith, was supported by the government of the moment, in England or in Scotland, it had to work through the old church establishment. As we have seen this was far from satisfactory. The endemic violence, the frequent warfare meant that there was little wealth in the Borders. What wealth the church had there belonged chiefly to the monasteries, especially in Scotland, and they did not play a proportionately large role in the religious life. Most of the Border livings were either very poor, or of only a middling prosperity which would do little to attract well qualified

7 James, Family etc. 185-6.
8 See above, ch.II.
9 See above, ch.III.
clergy. What wealth there was in parochial livings went not to the clergyman who served the cure, but to an almost invariably absent rector. This might be a monastery; in Scotland it was quite often a cathedral or collegiate church establishment, or a layman. Even when there was a clerical rector he was likely to be a pluralist who would appoint an ill-paid curate or stipendiary priest to serve in his place. Consequently the amount of money which finally went to those who served the Border cures was only a small proportion of their face value. Parishes in the wilds of the English or Scottish Borders would never be attractive to men with qualifications enough to gain them cures elsewhere. When these cures were also badly paid the situation became much worse. There was no time when the service in the Border church was really satisfactory. The pattern was set before either the English or Scottish Reformations. Changes brought by these however in some respects made things worse. In the Scottish Church for instance only one third of the money which had belonged to the pre-reformation cures was available to pay the new ministers, readers and exhorters. If the old incumbent continued to serve in the new church there was little problem, except of course possible doubts about the sincerity of his conversion. But the more stringent demands of the new Kirk meant that in Scotland at least there were even more vacant cures after 1560 than there had been before. In both countries too the disappearance of altars and chantries, and of collegiate churches cut down the total number of clergy in the area. Many of these chaplains in fact continued to serve in the reformed churches, but still the total number had been reduced, and the reduction was not entirely made up for by a proportionate increase in quality, at least not in this period.

As well as large, under-staffed and poorly paid parishes, the condition
of the actual church buildings was unsatisfactory. We have seen how many churches were in ruin as a result of neglect or attack. The poverty of the area and the livings meant that there was little money for church goods and fittings, and as well as the ornamental trappings many Border churches lacked the utensils and books which were absolutely necessary for divine service, both in the old and reformed churches. Any conscientious clergyman in the Borders had an uphill fight against the actual physical conditions of the church he served in. Given these circumstances it is not surprising that no church, English or Scottish, Catholic or reformed would find it easy to provide suitably qualified men to do the work so obviously necessary on the Borders. Consequently under every religious regime the Borderers clung to a traditional faith which had little more to do with the Catholicism of the mid-sixteenth century than it did with the new Protestant churches. We find the complaints which were being made in 1530 being repeated in 1570 and 1580 because to be able to do anything much about them would need a complete reorganisation of the fabric of the church, and a great change in Border society.

It was not that the civil and religious authorities were ignorant of the problems. Much of the evidence we have shows that they were very concerned. Loyalty to the established church went so closely with loyalty to the government that they were doubly anxious something should be done, and yet the real solution was not found. Throughout this period both Scottish and English governments failed to break the independent attitude of the Borderers in political or religious matters. Any real solution of the problem would have required changes of which all governments were incapable. It would have needed a complete change of the social and political organisation of the Borders, an end to the violent ways of life, which although they were condemned by
authority, were sometimes found highly useful. It would have needed a solution
to the problem of Border security, and above all a complete reorganisation of
the Border church, which would have brought many more resources to its
disposal. These changes were never really possible, and so most attempts
were doomed only to scratch the surface.

Nevertheless the picture was not quite such an unchanging one as this
might suggest. If the Protestant churches had to wrestle with the same pro­
blems which had hampered their predecessors, the Catholic cause had even
greater difficulties. As we have seen it owed its continued popularity to the
clinging to the outward forms of established tradition. This was an essentially
backward looking sentiment which had little positive strength. In a few places
there was more than this. The protection of Catholic noblemen such as the
Lord Dacre allowed the full continuance of Catholic church services in some
places; the conversion of the Earl of Northumberland in the 1560's established
a link between the North and continental catholicism, even before the arrival
of Jesuit and seminary priests; the Catholic community in and around Dum­
fries was large enough and strong enough to continue some sort of positive
Catholicism, under the protection of Lord Herries and the Maxwells. But
these instances were in the minority, just as was the apparently puritan
enclave established in Berwick. Most of the residue of Catholicism which so
worried the Protestants was much less positive than this. In both Scotland
and England it had become cut off from its roots. The pre-reformation Border
church in both countries had been in a far from healthy state and had lacked
the resources to give adequate spiritual guidance to its flock. The lack of
preaching and teaching, and even of clergy to administer the sacraments was
notorious. Consequently the church was already weakened when the changes
of the two reformations came upon it. After this it could continue only as long as the Protestants failed to put anything in its place, and the persistence of conservatism and Catholicism in the Borders is a measure of this failure. Even the return to Catholicism under Mary in England made little difference to this picture, since it was essentially a return, a looking back. The North was willing for the return, and this was enough for the authorities; hard pressed elsewhere they did not trouble about the revitalising of this Northern Catholicism. Consequently it was not a strong Catholic church which faced the changes of Elizabeth's reign, but one which for all practical purposes had changed little, progressed little since Henry VIII's reign. It showed the same sort of spirit which had manifested itself in 1536; which conceived of itself as loyal to "the Church", but could show quite as much anti-clericalism, as much dislike of clerical landlords as the rest of the realm. This catholicism of the Borders was an ill-defined feeling, part of the body of tradition to which the area clung, but which had a very weak grounding. It was this, rather than any counter measure taken by the new churches, which brought about its decline.

That it did begin to decline is obvious. This can be seen in the lukewarm response in 1569 when the Earls made their appeal to the cause of the old religion. It can also be seen in the work of the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, in the achievements of Alexander Gordon in Galloway. Progress was slow, the tools available were far from efficient, but it is apparent that when there was strong leadership given, when the clergy were encouraged, supervised and shown which way to go, then things did improve; and an improvement amongst the parish clergy was the necessary preliminary to improvement among the laity. By this time however the clergy's task would be easier
because the laity had been totally cut off from the Catholic church. This is the stage which was generally being reached in the Borders by 1572. After this date things changed. Further advances of Protestantism, as well as the arrival of Jesuits and seminary priests later changed the situation on both sides. But by 1572 we can see that although there was still a great deal of work to be done, although the two churches still faced the same problems as ever, they were at last beginning to make just a little headway.

We have noted that political and religious loyalty were felt to go together, and it is not surprising that the course of the reformed faith in the Borders was closely paralleled by the course of the royal authority. Both were hampered by the wild nature of the region which the government half sought to suppress, and half encouraged; both were tied up with what is so often seen as the "feudalism" of the North. This in fact was a result of the need to have strong defences along the Border, the necessity for a military organisation which could be called into action at any sign of a Scottish or English invasion across the Border. Because of this neither government could afford to break completely the power of their Border nobility, until they had built up others to take their place in the machinery of defence. In this it was the English government which had more success, but the history of the English Wardenries and their holders in this period shows how slow and difficult the process was. It was not until after the 1569 rebellion that government policies could be seen to have taken some effect. Here the parallel with the religious situation is obvious. The course of events in Mary Tudor's reign, with a reversion to the old faith, and to a reliance on the old nobility also well illustrates the parallel developments. In Scotland the uncertainty surrounding the government meant

10 See above, ch.I.
uncertainty surrounding religion. Although Protestantism was officially established from 1560 the presence first of a Catholic queen, and then of a regency supported by only part of the nobility, gave both the Border reivers and the Border Catholics a fair amount of freedom to behave as they wished; once more the connection is close.

Indeed it is not simply a parallel. The two developments were intertwined. One of the major difficulties for the Border church lay in the fact that it was so closely bound up with Border society. The fact that this was in many respects so un-Christian a society naturally meant that it was an uneasy association. The difficulty was to a large extent resolved by the subordination of the church to the other values of the Borders. We have seen how much the monasteries for instance were bound up with Border life. They survived in this society largely because they accepted its values, rather than imposing their own. In the same way the rest of the church was compromised. If it was a case of survival on the Border's terms, or failure to survive, there was little doubt what the choice would be. It meant however that the efficacy of the church was greatly reduced, its position was weakened, and its fate became inextricably bound up with that of the rest of Border society. Consequently political and religious developments were bound to be closely allied. Loyalty to the state church was felt necessary to ensure loyalty to the crown; thus the governments had to try to promote the reformed faith, and yet it was impossible to do this with any great success until many changes had taken place, amongst which were several political changes.

Even the crown had to adopt the values and methods of the Borderers in that region. "The Tudors played the northern magnates at their own game and won their way as much by offering their protection for violence and
corruption on the King's behalf as they did by providing official justice in
the conciliar courts. ... In their struggle to harness social forces the methods
of Tudor and Percy were fundamentally the same." While this was the
position of the crown the church gained little more from a church-state
alliance than it did from alliance with the Border reivers for its own safety.
Both ensured its survival, but did little good to its moral standing. Until the
Border situation changed substantially, the church could make no spectacular
advances. Meanwhile it went on as best it could, in the same way its predeces­sors had done. With perseverance there was some progress, but it took
much time and effort before the independence of the Borders, in matters
spiritual or temporal, could be brought under control.

Protestantism did take root in many places however, when it was given
the chance. There was nothing which made the reformed faith particularly
abhorrent to the Borderer, if only it could be presented to him by able and
qualified men who could preach, and provide an alternative to the teachings of
the old church. Instead of speaking of the Catholicism of the North, or even
of its conservatism, what perhaps we should speak of is the independence of
the Borderer, the past which made him suspicious of anything new or strange,
which made him associate government intervention with armies, invasions
and bloodshed. This was the greatest obstacle to change brought by either
Catholic or Protestant Church. There were those throughout the sixteenth
century concerned for the welfare of the Border church. There were many
who worked there, and in a limited way they had their achievements, but it
was not until the whole character of the Borders changed, not until they
became the Middle Shires, that there was any possibility of real success.

11 Beckingsale, 72; see also James, Fifth Earl of Northumberland, pp. 3-4
where the same point is made.