

Early Large-Scale maps from Cumbria: Edward VI to James I

Local maps are exceedingly rare in the medieval period – only thirty are known for the whole country, none of them from Cumbria. Under the Tudors, local maps become a little more common, produced for government purposes, or to assist courts in legal disputes, or for estate management. Only one, or possibly two such maps depicting any part of Cumbria is known for the first half of the sixteenth century, but more than a dozen survive from the second half, listed below, together with a number of known, and two lost, local maps from the reign of James I. Perhaps inevitably, the majority of these maps focus upon the borders with Scotland. If anyone knows of any maps of this era that we have missed, we would be grateful to learn of them.

The maps themselves are not reproduced for copyright reasons, but references as to their locations are given, together with details if they have been previously published.

(1) Petyt's Castlemilk, 1547 (Hatfield House, Cecil Papers Maps, CPM II.27)

Probably made by Mr Petyt, Surveyor of Calais, this is a coloured picture map which just touches on Cumbria, showing the castle at Castlemilk in birds-eye view, with its height and other dimensions marked, while distances are shown (in miles) to a range of surrounding places from Dumfries to Langholm and Carlisle, the latter being shown walled, and dominated by its cathedral. Four cardinal points are named, and the map has south-west at the top. It was made after the defeat of the Scots at the battle of Pinkie, 10 September 1547 and the capitulation of Castlemilk, and was clearly produced to show Protector Somerset the strategic importance of the castle.

See R A Skelton & John Summerson, *A Description of the Maps and Architectural Drawings in the Collection made by William Cecil, First Baron Burghley now at Hatfield House*, Oxford, Roxburghe Club (1971), pp.59-60

Reproduced in black and white, with a commentary, in Marcus Merriman, 'The Platte of Castlemilk 1547', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd series, vol XLIV, (1967) pp.175-181

(2) Anon, Nichol Forest, pre 1552 (TNA DL 44/764)

In 1607, in connection with a dispute over the boundaries of Nichol Forest (see 17 & 18, below), two virtually identical maps were produced in court, together with 'A note of the boundes in Nicholl Forest sine dat.' The maps are simple pen and ink sketch maps showing the lands surrounding the Lyne, Esk, Liddel and Sark rivers. Although the note on the bounds appears to be a copy of a perambulation of the Forest which, from a reference to Lord Dacre, possibly dates from 1554-63, the two maps appear to predate the cutting of the Scots Dyke in 1552. The interest in

these maps lies in the fact that they would appear to have been the best information the Duchy then had available as to the extent of the Forest and its boundaries. This is perhaps more than a little surprising, given that the Borders went on to become amongst the best mapped parts of the kingdom in the sixteenth century. The maps are all but identical. There is neither scale nor cardinal points but the map shows the area extending from Carlisle at the bottom, with Scotland to the left, across 'An arme of the brode see', and 'The castell called Beawcastell' at the top. Text on the map distinguishes between the ground to the south of the Liddel and Esk, which is the Forest of Nichol, 'belonging to the king of England' (which dates it to before 1553): and two areas of Debateable Land, between Esk and Sark, and between Liddel and Esk (which dates it to before 1552)

(3) Bullock's Debateable Land, 1552 (TNA MPF 1/257)

Remarkable as a very early example of a scale map (half mile to the inch, but using the local eight yard perch rather than the statute five and a half yards), this map was made by Henry Bullock, later Master Mason of the King's Works, to record proposed lines for the border between England and Scotland across The Debateable Land. Four lines are shown: the English and Scottish proposals, a compromise put forward by the French ambassador, and the line finally agreed upon, on 24 September 1552, now marked by the Scots Dyke. In addition to a scale bar, the map has the four cardinal points marked, and has north-west at the top. Green is used to highlight the area in dispute, which lay between the rivers Sark and Esk, and stretched from the Lochmaben Stone on the Solway to another standing stone marking the eastern boundary near Tinnis Hill. The Solway mosses are shown, as well as extensive woodland in the river valleys. Hills are depicted as little 'sugar-loaves', with shading. Churches are shown in simple profile or bird's-eye view, with steeples or towers. Settlements are indicated by line drawings of individual houses or groups, while the fortified tower houses of the Grahams and Armstrongs are shown and their occupants named.

The map is reproduced, with a commentary, in Rose Mitchell and Andrew Janes, *Maps: Their Untold Stories*, The National Archives (2014), pp.28-9. Also reproduced in T H B Graham, 'The Debateable Land: Part 2, *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, vol XIV (1914), pp.132-157: P D A Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England*, PRO & British Library, (1993), pp.48-9: Sarah Tyacke & John Huddy, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor map-making*, British Library, (1980), pp.14-15.

(4) Chambre's Hawes in Helsington, 1553 (Kendal Record Office WD-D-Plans-45)

By the mid years of the sixteenth century, privately made maps, made by one or other litigant in equity cases before Chancery or the other Westminster courts, were becoming more common. The first such for Cumbria is this large picture map showing the district around Hawes in Helsington, with both Hawes and Sizergh Castle shown by rather crude line drawings, in profile. Around Hawes are marked a garden, fishponds, orchard, park and meadows. There is no scale, but the four cardinal points are shown, with west at the top. Green is used to distinguish lands not in dispute from the four parcels of land 'in question', left uncoloured. The background to the case may be found in a Bill in Chancery in the National Archives at TNA C1/1295/3. The Bill was issued by Walter Chambre of Hawes against Alan Bellingham, lord of Helsington. Walter had inherited the Hawes estate of Robert Chambre, his father, which he claimed to hold by hereditary tenant right – but Alan Bellingham had refused to set an entry fine or gressom to admit him, and, presumably claiming overriding manorial rights within Helsington, on 20 Feb 1553 had entered into certain lands and prevented Walter from enjoying the profits thereof, specifically by chopping down £20 worth of trees. The bill is addressed to the Chancellor Thomas, Bishop of Ely, who was removed from that position when Mary came to the throne in 1553. The map, however, refers to 'The Queen's Majestie's land, so was probably made by (or for) Walter later that same year, or perhaps early in the following year. The fact that the map remained in local hands rather than in the Chancery files (and thus did not end up in the National Archives like so many other contemporary dispute maps) suggests that the case was settled out of court, so the map was never actually shown in court in evidence, but was kept with Chambre's estate papers, in case it might be needed again some time. The TNA file contains only the bill, and no answer etc. Normal procedure was if a monarch died, the case was suspended until a Bill of Revivor had been issued. Edward VI probably died before Bellingham had made his Answer – but it may be that Walter went ahead with his preparations for the case anyway, including making the map. However, it looks like the case was not revived, so possibly Bellingham gave in and admitted Walter to all his father's holdings, including the disputed parcels.

(5) Anon, Holme Cultram, n.d. (Eliz I or earlier) (TNA SC 12/40/19)

This is a small, fairly crude sketch map, pen-and-ink on paper. It is found amongst Court of Augmentations papers, but lacks any context. There are neither cardinal points nor scale. Although dated in the National Archives catalogue to the time of

Elizabeth I, in fact it could date as early as the reign of Henry VIII. A note on the reverse refers to ‘the sea banks at holme’, and the focus of the map is very much upon the Sea Dyke, drawn (but not named) running from near Skinburnness to near the abbey, and to two breaks in the dyke for sluices. A chapel is named but not illustrated at the end of a peninsular above Skinburnness (now Grune Point), while other places such as Wolsty Castle are similarly named but not portrayed. Of particular interest is the depiction of the bay east of the dyke, with two large inlets, the easternmost being the mouth of the (unnamed) Waver, crossed by a bridge near Raby Grange, while the western one is now entirely lost to the spread of the salt marsh but which at this time extended almost to Holme. Also of interest is the statement along the coast in the vicinity of Silloth that the area is ‘over blowne with sande’, suggesting a relatively recent landward spread of the dunes. The map could have been prepared for a court case, the details of which are now lost, or it may have been produced in the early post-Dissolution days to help explain rights and responsibilities over maintenance of the sea banks amongst the former tenants of the abbey, who were now crown tenants.

(6) Cecil’s Liddesdale, c.1561 (TNA SP 59/5, fol 44)

William Cecil, Elizabeth’s Secretary of State took a keen personal interest in maps, especially those for administration and defence. He owned several maps of the border with Scotland, a matter of particular concern throughout the reign. This map is rare, though, in being by Cecil himself, and kept by him with a set of other papers referring to the borders. The map is a simple pen-and-ink sketch, uncoloured, with neither scale nor cardinal points, and merely shows the course of the Kershope and Liddel, with the principal houses and the names of their occupants, such as the Fosters at Kyrsofote, Stayngartside, Ruthersford and The Closs. As Cecil never personally visited the region, he must have copied a pre-existing map, and one possibility is that his source was a lost map of ‘the marches between Englande and Scotlande’ made in Paris in around 1558 by Laurence Nowell of Whalley, Lancashire, made with the help of ‘some Scottyshe men’. By 1561, Nowell was back in England, and he began working for Cecil in his house in London in late 1562 or early 1563.

For the lost Nowell map, see William D. Shannon, ‘Laurence Nowell of Read Hall, Lancashire (c.1530 –c.1569): Lexicographer, Toponymist, Cartographer, Enigma’, chapter in Keith J. Stringer (ed), *North West England from the Romans to the Tudors*, CWAAS extra series vol xli, (2014), pp.201-233.

(7) Commissioners' map, Bolton, 1567 (TNA Ward 2/61/241/14)

This map came to light in 2010 during the cataloguing of WARD 2 (Deeds & Evidences) documents in the archives of the Court of Wards and Liveries. A lengthy text on the reverse tells us that the litigants were Thomas Stanley esq, acting on behalf of Richard Irton, a ward of court, versus John Senhouse esq, and the case centred on the disputed boundaries of between Santon and Bolton within Bolton Wood. The map was made by perambulation of 24 local jurymen, together with commissioners appointed by the court. Interestingly, one of the commissioners was Alan Bellingham, who may have appreciated the value of maps when the Hawes map was used against him fourteen years previously. The commissioners and jury spent two days walking the boundary, but the use of the words 'corrected and made perfect' suggests that the map was already in existence, and had been taken out and amended on those days. The original may either have been produced for an earlier stage in this dispute, or could have been in existence earlier still. Given its appearance, it is even possible it could even have a pre-reformation monastic origin, although no monastic link to the area concerned has yet been found. The main element of the amendment process was the writing in of the results of the perambulation, which unlike all the original writing is not oriented to the north, but is written all round the boundaries as they proceeded. It appears that the two sets of twelve men went separately about their task, and the two groups differed in three significant respects, with the defendant's men in each case excluding from the boundaries of Bolton Wood/Fell tenements which the plaintiff regarded as being within those boundaries.

The map is a large picture map, with no scale, but with the four cardinal points named, and with north at the top. It has been drawn in ink, prior to the greater part of the map being coloured in a green wash. A dominant feature of the map is the scroll work, left uncoloured, used to name the surrounding lordships. Most buildings too are left uncoloured, apart from their black roofs. However, Gosforth church, Nether Wasdale church, and the manor houses of Santon and Irton are given red roofs. Some buildings have been drawn in after the green wash was applied, which suggests that these were part of the 'correction' process. The writing-in of the details of the two perambulation routes would also seem to be part of this correction process. Two roads are shown, again uncoloured, one heading south to Santon, the other 'the waie to erte'. Between these is another possible lane, while some other ways have been drawn in as part of the correction process. Two main rivers are shown, though left uncoloured, the Blenge Ryvere which comes from the north west having absorbed the frythwythe syke (?), and the

Erte Ryvere , which runs from the east, having absorbed the kidbecke, a small feeder coming down from the north. At the top of the map, the tributaries almost join, the watershed being marked by the cople stone. South of Bolton Wood, the Irt and the Bleng join together and flow off to the south west down to the sea at Drigg.

Bolton Wood itself is defined in relation to four lordships, starting with Gosforth (Gosforde) in the north west corner, shown as sixteen scattered houses, most depicted with a central chimney, a door in the gable end which also has two windows, while the side elevation has three. One of the houses, not named but presumably the manor, is shown somewhat larger. Gosforth church is shown with a central tower with steeple over a crossing – bearing no resemblance whatsoever to the Victorian church which now stands on the site. However, as Nether Wasdale church is portrayed more or less identically, there was clearly no attempt at making portraits of these churches. Many of the houses within the boundaries of Bolton Wood (as claimed by the plaintiff) are identified by the names of their occupiers and their landlords (such as Patryckson, Kirkbie, Irton, the heyres of the Boltons, John Synowse). Others are marked as freehold, while in one place some waste ground and in another Common is identified, and various other minor topographical features are named.

(8) Musgrave's Workington, 1569 (TNA MPF 1/334)

This small sketch map, pen-and-ink on paper, was included with a letter which Simon Musgrave (of Eden Hall, nr Penrith) sent to William Cecil dated 26 February 1569 concerning Musgrave's proposed lease from Mr Curwen of Workington of some 12 acres of land for a new dock at the mouth of the Derwent. The background is the establishment in 1568 of the Mines Royal as a joint stock company, one of whose shareholders was Cecil. The likelihood is that Musgrave was planning to export copper from the smelting plant at Keswick via a new store house and dock at Workington. The map has the four cardinal points marked, with south at the top. There is no scale, although the location of 'the ground demanded' is indicated by a pair of dividers of the sort usually associated with scale maps at this time. The manor house of Workington, the parish church and other buildings including Watch Chapel, salt pans and fish houses, are shown by simple line drawings, in profile. Interestingly the map bears traces of underdrawing which appear to be from a graphite pencil, suggesting a relatively early use of what was to become a major Cumbrian resource. Later that year, Musgrave was to find himself, as Sheriff of Cumberland, heavily involved in action

against the Northern Rebels, and the following year led a raid into Scotland for which he was knighted.

(9) Braddyll's Sadgill (1) 1578 (TNA MPB 1/61)

Three versions of a map of Sadgill Moor or Waste, were commissioned by and drawn for the Court of Exchequer, in connection with a dispute between the inhabitants of the hamlet of Sadgill, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlet of Stockdale, both being in Longsleddale, in the parish of Kirkby Kendal, in Westmorland. The Bill which began the case has not been located, but was probably dated Michaelmas in the 19th/20th year of Elizabeth (1577). It would appear to have been in the names of Edward Sheppard and other tenants of the Queen, vs William, Matthew and Edmund Todd, tenants of James Leyburn, and Sheppard's Bill probably involved an accusation by him that the Stockdale tenants had been grazing their animals on Sadgill moor, without having any right so to do. It seems likely that Sadgill had always been an intercommon, shared between two owners, but not physically divided. One moiety had been held since the 14th Century by the Leyburns of Cunswick Hall, near Kendal. The other moiety had for some time been divided into two quarters, but by 1575, both quarters belonged to the crown: however, the Leyburns seem to have regarded themselves as Chief Lords of Sadgill Moor, with the right to agist foreigners' beasts. Then in an incident probably at Easter 1575, tenants on both sides accused each other of driving off cattle and sheep. In June 1578 the Exchequer ordered a map ('discriptionem ... vocat a plott') to be made of the moor or waste of Sadgill, stating that it was believed to contain 300 acres, by estimation. The task was given to two commissioners, Edward Braddyll and Robert Bindloss, the former of whom had recently taken over from his father as Surveyor of Woods in the North Parts for the Duchy of Lancaster, in which role he was subsequently to commission a number of maps: but this map of Sadgill may be the first in which he was personally involved other than as assistant to his father, while the lettering style suggests it may even have been drawn by Edward himself. This map was a picture map using a limited palette of colours, mainly browns, with green for trees, a blue wash for the rivers and some red on the houses. The four cardinal points are named, in Latin, north being at the top. At the bottom of the map is the hamlet of Sadgill, with six houses shown to the west of Sadgill Beck, while east of the beck is a road leading to the moor, terminating in a gate at the limit of the 'severall' or enclosed land.

(10) Braddyll & Bindloss's Sadgill (2) 1578 (TNA MPB 1/61)

Within a matter of days, a second map was made by the commissioners, ‘as we thinke a moore prefecte plott of the saide landes’ possibly based upon their own perambulation, as well as upon a further examination of witnesses, including re-examining some who had already testified. The new map, very similar to and in the same hand as the earlier one, but now signed by both Braddyll and Bindloss, and fills in some detail missing from the first map, in particular a circular tarn named as KnoyteTarne decorated with a fish.

(11) Bindloss’s Sadgill (3) 1582 (TNA MPB 1/61)

Unfortunately, the original maps did not allow the Exchequer to settle matters, and in June 1580 Bindloss and two other commissioners (but not Braddyll) were required to go back and get more evidence, specifically as to whether or not the Queen was sole lord of Sadgill Moor. At this stage it would appear a new piece of evidence turned up in the shape of an old deed of Rob’to de Layburne which named the bounds. A new commission was set up, again under Bindloss but not Braddyll, to enquire again as to the bounds, and make a new ‘platt’. The Verdict of October 1582 makes it clear that the jury had been shown a copy of a deed of c.1238 which recorded a grant by William of Lancaster III of a shieling (unam scalingam) in Sleddale at Sadgill, and which described the boundaries, which the new map sought to identify. This third map is unsigned, and is drawn by a different hand to that of the earlier two, though clearly closely based upon them. The moor is coloured in a green wash, the only colour used upon this map apart from black ink. Further depositions were taken at Kendal in September 1583, but the case was not resolved, and the dispute rumbled on between the feuding neighbours well into the next century

(12) Moore’s Angerton Moss, 1587 (TNA MPC 1/34)

This large, rectangular, scale map on parchment has names written from all directions, but given the location of the scale and commissioners’ signatures it is probably intended to be portrait in format, with north (septemtrionales) at the top, all four cardinal points being written in Latin around the sides. It is signed ‘Moore’, making it clear it is the work of Edmund Moore, who made a number of maps for the Duchy from the 1580s into the seventeenth century. It is also signed by three commissioners, one of whom is Edward Braddill of Whalley (see also Sadgill), from 1576 Surveyor of Woods in the North Parts of the Duchy. The map had been commissioned by the court of the Duchy of Lancaster in February 1587 (DL 4/29/2) in connection with a dispute over the ownership of a salt marsh in the estuary of the Duddon. It would appear that the case had come about in part

at least as a result of the River Duddon changing its course, creating a new salt marsh at Angerton Moss, an extra-parochial royal manor lying between Broughton and Kirkby Ireleth. A commission had been sent up in May 1585 (DL 44/379), which itself followed from an earlier commission following information laid that the new marsh, which had been 'sometime surrounded by the sea' had been wrongfully detained from Her Majesty, it having previously belonged to Furness Abbey together with the adjacent Angerton Moss. The Queen's tenants of Low Furness wanted to lease the new marsh, on the grounds that it had been recovered from the sea 'by good happ', and that as they were obliged to pay full rent even 'notwithstanding any such decay into the sea', so they should have preferment. However, Henry, Earl of Derby, in his capacity as lord of Broughton in Furness, adjoining Angerton Moss, then issued a bill, brought in June 1586 (DL 1/139/D4), claiming that the newly created 150 acres of firm ground where there had previously been only sand and water course, should belong to him. A commission which was set up as a result of his bill took depositions at Broughton in March 1587, and no doubt the map was made at this time. Its focus is upon the land lying between the two rivers of Duden watter and Stearspull (now called Kirkby Pool) with its small tributary, Otterpool (this name survives). The rivers flow across the map from north to south, joining as they meet the sea. To the west of the Duddon is shown the old course, exposing the new marshe. The sands of the estuary are shown covered with wavy lines representing the fact that they are covered at high tide, while the marsh land, both new and old, is coloured yellow, above which are the several lands of the Quenes, outlined in pencil. Indeed, much of the map shows a pencil under-drawing, later inked over, which in one place on the map is referred to as the shadow, that is shading, used to delineate the boundary on Angerton Moss between the Earl's and the Queen's land. The moss itself, which takes up much of the northern half of the map, has in several places dabs of brown or purple paint which may be intended to represent the location of turbaries. To the west of the Stearspull is marked Mr Kirkbie marsh, the enclosed lands in neighbouring Kirkby Ireleth (unnamed) being roughly sketched in and coloured with a grey wash. Two notable pieces of topography are indicated, Whelpshead Crag, jutting out into the estuary, and waitholme cragge, out on the moss. Several buildings are shown in profile, notably Millom Castle, west of the Duddon. Of particular interest are the three lines drawn across the estuary which are clearly intended to represent oversands crossings, and can be recognised as such on modern OS maps. The scale is approximately 24 rods to the inch: the map maker gives no indication as to the length of rod he is using, but measurements suggest it was the seven yard rod, so the scale is approximately 1:

6040, or roughly ten inches to the mile. However, the map is only accurate for the area of the marsh itself, and beyond that immediate area, the errors get greater, Millom castle for example being placed far nearer the Duddon than it actually is.

(13) Aglionby's Borders of Scotland, 1590 (British Library, Royal ms 18.d.III, fol 76)

This uncoloured, ink on parchment, scale map (10 miles = 3 ¾ inch) was made by or for Edward Aglionby, for Lord Burghley in December 1590, and was kept by the latter in an atlas largely made up of proof copies of Saxton's county maps. It bears the title 'A platt of the opposete borders of Scotland to the west marches of England'. Cardinal points are given and north is at the top. Rivers are shown in some detail, and topography suggested by 'sugar-loaf' hills. The emphasis is on towns and castles on the Scottish side of the borders. Burghley has added a few extra place-names in his own hand, such as *Kirkander* (Kirkandrews Tower, Netherby). On the English side, the relatively few places named stretch from *Bewcastell* in the north to *Bolness*, *Cardronock*, *Skinburnness* and the *Chapel of the Grune*. An image of the map can be found in the British Library Online Gallery <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/unvbrit/a/001roy000018d03u00076000.html>

The map is reproduced and discussed in Henry Ellis, 'Copy of a Manuscript Tract addressed to Lord Burghley...', *Archaeologia*, Jan 1829p.162

See also R A Skelton & John Summerson, *A Description of the Maps and Architectural Drawings in the Collection made by William Cecil, First Baron Burghley now at Hatfield House*, Oxford, Roxburghe Club (1971), p.60

(14) Aglionby's West Marches 1590 (TNA MPF 1/285)

This map, taken from the State papers, is almost directly contemporary with the above, and appears to be in the same hand, possibly having been made as a companion to the other, with this one focussing on England, while the other focussed on Scotland. It is entitled 'A tract of the Bounders of the West Marches of England towards Scotland', and includes a detailed description of the boundaries with Scotland in ten lines of text at the foot of the map. There is no scale bar, and nor are the cardinal points indicated. Largely uncoloured, a brown tint has been used to highlight the boundaries of *Bewcastell Dale*, *Gilslande*, the *Burghie Baronie* and the *Debatable Grownde*. The Scots Dyke is called *The Marche Dyke*

(15) Pont's Liddesdale, 1590s (Blaeu *Atlas Novus*, 1654)

At around the same time as the above, or a little later, the Scottish map-maker Timothy Pont was engaged on a project to map the whole of Scotland. Many of his original manuscript maps survive, but not his map of Liddesdale. However, in 1654, an engraving of the map was issued by Joan Blaeu in his *Atlas Novus*, entitled 'Lidalia vel Lidisdalia Regio/Lidisdail'. There is not a great deal of detail on the English side of the border, but castles shown include *Moat*, *Netherby*, *Rookley* (Rockcliffe) and *Bymont* (Beaumont). The Scots Dyke is again named as *Marsh Dyke*. A high resolution copy of the map is available on the National Library of Scotland website <http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/blaeu/page.cfm?id=106>

(16) Anon, Debatable Ground, 1597 (Hatfield House, Cecil Papers Maps, CPM I.3)

A further map from Burghley's collection is dated 1597 and entitled 'The debatable ground between England and Scotland'. In pen and colour wash on parchment, it has no scale but has the cardinal points with north at the top. Rivers, towns and castles are indicated, and the Debatable Ground has a note to the effect that it was inhabited by 'a people that wilbe Scottische when they will, and English at their pleasure'.

See R A Skelton & John Summerson, *A Description of the Maps and Architectural Drawings in the Collection made by William Cecil, First Baron Burghley now at Hatfield House*, Oxford, Roxburghe Club (1971), p.60

(17) Saxton's Nichol Forest, 1607 (TNA E 134/ 5Jas1/ 27)

In 1604, James I granted the 3rd Earl of Cumberland the debatable land and Nichol Forest: but the earl died before he could take up the grant. In September 1607, the Receiver General to the 4th Earl, based at Skipton, Yorkshire, recorded that he had paid forty shillings on account to Mr Saxton, 'at his going to Cumberland to surveigh & waeghe certayne of my Lo: groundes there.' Another entry, dated 27 September, records Saxton had been paid an additional 7s 6d, on top of the 40s, 'for his charge in his iorney to & from Carleyle with his sone, beinge there to Surveighe my Lo: new lands in Cumberland': while the next entry, undated but prior to 4th October, records his being paid for eleven days work at ten shillings a day 'in recompense of his service the said daies for surveighing and Platting of Nicholl Forest and the debaytable landes there'. These entries they leave no doubt as to the fact that Christopher Saxton and his son Robert had travelled together from their home near Leeds to Carlisle, a distance of almost one hundred miles each way, to survey and map both the Debatable Lands and Nichol Forest, and

that they had completed the job in a mere eleven days. Internal evidence suggests it was Robert rather than Christopher who made the map, although presumably working under the close supervision of his father.

The map they made was intended as an estate map, but was subsequently used in a court case which passed between the Exchequer and the Duchy court, regarding the claim by a number of the earl's tenants that they lived in Bewcastle, not in the Forest. An Exchequer certificate records that the commissioners had 'Caused A plotte or Mapp to be made' which they 'herewith send to your honors'. Despite the implication that they had made it themselves, the map attached to the Exchequer case papers would appear instead to be the original estate map, made by the Saxtons for the Earl of Cumberland in September 1607. The map is badly damaged, but enough survives to show that it contains essentially the same information as the Duchy version (18, below). There is, however, one significant difference. The cartouches in both cases (almost certainly in the same hand, although with minor variation in spelling and in the layout of the words) say 'the forest and mannors are coloured w'th greene, the Debateable grounds w'th redd; and the Confines left whyte': yet these colours can only be seen on the Exchequer version. The Duchy version has the Forest tinted a pale red-brown, thus giving it more prominence than the Debatable Land, left uncoloured. Whilst due allowance must be made for the possibility that the colours were originally the same but have deteriorated differently, due for example to different storage conditions, it would appear more logical to conclude that there is a genuine difference, and that the Exchequer version is the original, while the Duchy version was made a little later, with a slightly different emphasis.

Both maps are on paper, now backed with hessian. Each has a scale representing four miles, with the scale on the Duchy map measuring exactly four inches, the Exchequer map slightly smaller. There are no obvious signs to show how the one was copied from the other. Many of the stylistic features associated with the Saxtons are present, including cardinal points with north at the top, centrally placed within a border; a title cartouche within a double-line border; a pair of dividers of a particular pattern over the scale bar, with a statement as to what the scale comprises; rivers drawn as parallel lines, coloured blue; trees shown in profile, with shadows lit from the west; and houses shown in perspective, with slit doors and windows, and sloping roofs. Even the trade mark sugar-loaf hills are present, albeit somewhat faded, in the top half of Duchy map.

The map is reproduced and discussed in detail in William D. Shannon, 'Christopher Saxton's Last Maps: Nichol Forest and the Debatable Land, 1607 (forthcoming, *Imago Mundi*, vol 67:2, July 2015)

(18) Saxton's Nichol Forest, 1607 (TNA MPC 1/80)

Whilst the above case was proceeding in the Exchequer, the earl went ahead with a counter-suit in the court of the Duchy of Lancaster, during which the pre-1552 maps (no 2, above) were produced. The commissioners went on to record that on 21/22 October 1607 they had not only examined local witnesses, but 'there was produced and shewed unto us on the said Earle his behalf A plott or Mapp maid of the said Forest ... w[hi]ch we did Examyne and Compaire w[i]th the said Boundary Exemplified ... and we cold not Fynde any variaunce'. They went on to say 'w[hi]ch said Plott or Mapp we have Returned heare w[i]thall the better to satisfie the Corte'. This would appear to be the Duchy version of Saxton's map, copied at Cumberland's command by Robert Saxton, and first sent to Carlisle, and thence to the Duchy offices in London, it would have remained there until 1868 when the Duchy archives were handed over to the Keeper of the Public Records. The case was heard the following April in the Duchy court, which found for Cumberland. The defendants responded with an immediate request for a stay until October 1608, but failed to produce any new evidence, and so in July 1609 a final order and decree was handed down. This referred to Cumberland's map, concluded again that the disputed lands were all within the Forest, and ordered them to yield possession to the earl. That was it so far as the Duchy was concerned: however, the case continued in the Exchequer, and it would appear that by early 1608 the original Saxton map had been sent from Yorkshire up to Carlisle and thence to the Exchequer in London, mirroring the journey of the Duchy copy. The case dragged on until April 1611, when the Exchequer court ruled that the earl could now proceed to take the benefit of the Duchy decree. The earl was now secure within his boundaries and continued to own the Forest and the Debatable Lands until 1628, when he sold the estate to the Grahams.

(19) & (20) The Netherby Maps, 1607 (present whereabouts unknown)

In a paper published in 1977, R T Spence reproduced a sketch-map version of a map of 'The Debateable (sic) Lands 1607, which he said was one of 'The Netherby Maps', at that date in the possession of Sir Fergus Graham of Netherby Hall. More information on these maps is given by Cole in 1991, who reported the existence at Netherby Hall at that date of 'two Plats made for the Earl of Cumberland to

review his Debatable Land properties in 1607'. One of these, which Cole regarded as being 'an unsatisfactory trial piece' apparently covered just the southern end of the Debatable lands, while the other, entitled 'A Trew Plat', showed the full extent as far as the Scots Dyke. We are told by Cole that they were coloured, oriented with west at the top, done to a scale of approximately six inches to the mile (although no scale is shown on Spence's sketch 'based on the Netherby Maps'), and contain drawings of individual houses, as well as boats on the Esk and in the Solway: but neither this description nor the sketch in Spence gives any indication of authorship. Unfortunately, Netherby Hall no longer belongs to the Graham family, having been sold in 1999, and efforts to locate these maps have to date proved fruitless. There is no record or local memory of anyone having seen them since Cole. They were not included with the records deposited in the Cumbria Archives by the Grahams in 1990, nor were they in the Graham Papers acquired by the British Library in the 1990s, while the current, 7th, baronet has confirmed he has no personal recollection of the maps, and can neither find any trace of the maps today, nor find any record of a sale. Nevertheless, of course, they may still turn up. Until they do, any conclusion about them can only be tentative, but it seems unlikely that they were the work of the Saxtons. It is possible that they were made by another surveyor in the employ of the earl of Cumberland, who had worked with the Saxtons, one Solomon Swale of Studley, Yorks., and who may have stayed on in the district to do further, more detailed, work after the Saxtons had left to return to Yorkshire. There is another, less likely possibility, that they were copies made in 1607 for Cumberland of maps which might have been made as part of a survey of the Debatable Land and Bewcastledale in 1604 (British Library Add MS 14048, 1604 Survey, fol 4, 5, 9)

The above account is taken from William D. Shannon, 'Christopher Saxton's Last Maps: Nichol Forest and the Debatable Land, 1607 (forthcoming, *Imago Mundi*, vol 67:2, July 2015). See also the reproduction in R. T. Spence, 'The Pacification of the Cumberland Borders 1593-1628', *Northern History*, 13 (1977), 59-160. See also an account of the map in J. R. Cole *A Critical Survey of the Debatable Land: Its History and Documentation*, (Langholm, Clan Armstrong Trust, 1991).

21), 22), 23) & 24) Treswell's Woods of Low Furness, 1610 (TNA DL 43/17/12)

The Duchy of Lancashire commissioned a series of surveys of its Northern woods between 1559 and 1610. These were all written surveys, with the exception of four maps of woods in Low Furness included within the 1610 survey report. The

report itself is in booklet form, entitled “A survaye of Woodes in the counties of Lancashire & Chester taken by Treswell & Allen”, which comprise fourteen pages of manuscript, roughly A4 in size, and the four maps, of Greenscoe, Sowerby, Yarlside and Rampside woods, which were made by Robert Treswell, himself the son of a well-known Tudor surveyor and map-maker, Ralph Treswell (c.1540-1616/7). At this date Treswell was both Somerset Herald, a role he had occupied since 1597, and Surveyor General of Woods South of the Trent. Why Treswell was asked to carry out the 1610 project for the Duchy is a mystery, but may be related to dissatisfaction in the Duchy over the quality, and misleading conclusions, of the previous survey, that of 1608 (TNA DL 42/114). Treswell & Allen’s work showed that, although the woods of Low Furness were assessed as being worth £232, because of the by-now-settled customary rights of the tenants, the woods had no actual monetary value to the Duchy – while the Union of the Crowns now meant the Crown was not even getting military service from its tenant-right tenants any more.

The four maps are accompanied by, and illustrate, a written text. All four are drawn to the same scale (120 perches in three inches, which assuming an 8yd perch is 1:11,520, close to six inches to the mile), though the scale bar appears on only on the first of the four (Greenscoe), along with the compass indicator. The areas covered vary from around six square kilometres on the Sowerby map, drawn on a double-sheet, to a fraction of a square kilometre for Yarlside. The acreages of the woods are written alongside their names – from 430 acres for Sowerby to just 12 for Yarlside. All four maps have east at the top, and are coloured, with colour mainly being used to outline the boundaries of the woods, and indicate ownership of adjoining lands. The woods are shown with a mixture of low scrub-like bushes, plus a few trees, manly shown as pollarded. Internal divisions within the woods are marked with solid or dotted black lines, while roads appear on three of the four maps. There are two houses drawn on the Greenscoe map, and three on the Sowerby map, with particular prominence given to Mr John Rowlinson’s house, standing on the shores of “The Ocean”, opposite Walney Island. The maps are of particular interest as showing the final stage of some of these woods. One of the three divisions of Rampside is marked as “Sometimes Coppes, but nowe plaine” Today, Rampside Wood has disappeared without trace into fields of pasture on the outskirts of Barrow-in-Furness, as has Yarlside, while Greenscoe Wood has largely been undermined by quarries. Only Sowerby Wood, which appears to have been understood from the sixteenth century to have been set aside in perpetuity to provide timber for the sea defences, remains a broadleaf wood today, albeit fairly thinly planted.

The above account is taken in part from William D. Shannon, 'Custom and competition for woodland resources in early-modern High and Low Furness, Lancashire', chapter in James P. Bowen and Alex Brown (eds), *Custom and Commercialisation in English Rural Society, c.1350-c.1750: Revisiting Postan and Tawney*, University of Hertfordshire Press, (forthcoming 2015-6).