

- 6 Robert Graham Christinae Robbie  
 gave his wife. Thomas Tyllnon is to sell his corn.  
 Gemmett Graham - 4.  
 Elizabeth Graham - 2.
- 7 Richard Graham Slealands.  
 Marian his wife.  
 Wattie Graham - 12  
 Sym Graham - 9  
 Isabell Graham - 10  
 Elizabeth Graham - 8 } these to be sent  
 Jane Graham - 7 } after.  
 Marie Graham - 1 }
- 8 Robert Graham Aykeshawhill. The Lord of  
 John Graham - 14. - Geetney is to sell his corn.
- 9 John Graham of Lake - John Carrell and  
 Sym Graham - 24 Andrew Junyshell son  
 Arthur Graham are to sell his corn.  
 Francis Graham his sons.
- 10 Hutchin Graham of Guards. - Nicholas Richard son  
 gave his wife. is to sell his corn.  
 Richard Graham  
 Thomas Armstrange
- 11 George Graham alias Bodes.
- 12 Robert Graham — of Lake.  
 Catheren his wife - John Glendenning  
 David Graham - 28 - is to sell his corn.  
 William Graham - 40  
 Rob Graham - 20  
 Syme Graham - 12

13

George Graham Ritchie's Geordie.  
 Agnes his wife.  
 George Graham - 10  
 William Graham - 3  
 Sibill Graham - 1

14

Richard Graham Randalinton.  
 Dorothea his wife  
 Walter Graham his son - 7

15

William Graham Carkell  
 Jane his wife.  
 Richard Graham - 6

16

William Graham alias Mickle Willie.  
 Gillian his wife.  
 Robert Graham - 7.  
 Arthur Graham - 2.

17

William Graham of Melopp in corn £3 which -  
 George Graham - Jane Glendenning  
 is to sell.

The names of the grahames worth £10 and  
 above

1

Robert Graham of Melopp in corn £6 which John -  
 - Johnston is to sell.

2

George Graham of Millhill in corn £8 which Thomas -  
 Sibill his wife. - Stone of Howend is to sell.

Jane Graham - 3  
 Blanche Graham - 2.

3

Richard Graham - Lang Ritchie.

4

Walter Graham Carkel in corn £5.  
 Herbert Graham - 12  
 Robert Graham - 5

The names of the Grahams who will go in another Boat.

- 1/ John Graham  $\frac{1}{2}$  £4 in corn which -  
 Sibill Graham his wife. - Richard Herlapp -  
 Rosamond Graham - is to sell.  
 Jane Aykeshawehill.
- 2/ George Graham Sandhills £5  
 Maice his wife
- 3/ Francis Graham Medopp £5 for roof, in corn 15/-  
 Margaret his wife.  
 Sime Graham - 7  
 Sibill Graham - 5  
 Rose Graham - 1
- 4/ George Graham Langtowne — 50/-  
 Marian his wife.  
 Morgan Graham - 14
- 5/ Robt Graham Millhill servant to George Graham  
 John Graham - 7 his brother.
- 6/ Harry Graham alias Lang Harry.

Note Sterling in those days, and up to  
 — 1970(?) was in :-

Pounds = £  
 Shillings = s or /-  
 Pence = d

Twelve Pence = 1 Shilling and Twenty Shillings  
 = £1

The names of the Grahames of no Abode.

- 1 William Graham dyme Willie to go with young -  
"DYME" = SIGHT IMPAIRED. - Hutchin £6.. 13/4<sup>d</sup>
- 2 John Graham alias Peter Geordies Jamie £6.. 13/4<sup>d</sup>
- 3 John Graham Gibs Gocks Jonie £6.. 13/4<sup>d</sup>  
Janet his wife.
- 4 George Graham gottle £6.. 13/4<sup>d</sup>
- 5 Thomas Graham jr. of Sealanks £6.. 13/4<sup>d</sup>
- 6 Richard Graham Lency £6.. 13/4<sup>d</sup>.

These persons above named is allowed for their stock as downe persons their names, and for their fine for one quarter of land £3, and for building of their houses £6.  
Same for 19th -

Robert Graham of Bokes

John Graham of Moores, servant to -

- Will of Ayreshawehill.

George Graham son of Hethwick.

To any of these is allowed 40/-, some £6.

Other Surnames

- 1 George Hetherington of the Bush - £5 and Jane -
- 2 Robert Foster of Ayreshawehill £5. - his wife.
- 3 George Little. Wife and five children to come £5.
- 4 John Maguire Sadler - £5.
- 5 Fergus Graham son to Ritchie of Bayles - £5.
- 6 George of Bayles - £5.
- 7 Patrick Roberts his wife and 3 children £5.

To these allowance in stock as is sold down named for their houses and buildings £7 upon their sum of £45.

- 1 George Richards
- 2 William Graham alias Flayshwick a Quarter of -  
- Land Fine £3.
- 3 Wattie Murray
- 4 Alexander Jacobs

## Appendix A

## Dacre List 1561

The source for this list of 107 Grahams and 141 other border clansmen is P.R.O. SP 59/9 ff. 197-203 (*CSP For*, 1561-62, no. 442), dated 23 August 1561. The original spelling of personal and place names has been retained and the surnames have been placed in alphabetical order. A note in a different hand at the head of one column states that not all the clansmen named were under-servants of the Grahams but it is not clear to whom this refers. It is possibly connected with the Grahams' disclaimer of responsibility for all but their own sons and servants in *CSP For*, 1561-62, nos. 995, 996.

"The names of the Greymes of Eske and Leven within the Countie of Cumberland given in by Richard Greyme of Netherbye to the Lorde Dacre, Warden of the West Marche of England".

## The GREYMES

Richard of Netherbye	}	Brothers
John of the Close Holm		
Thomas of Kirkanders		
Fargus of the Mote		
Wille of Rosetrees		
Richard of Baitting Lees	}	Sons to Richard of Netherbye
William of the Mylles		
George		
Thomas called Gallowaie	}	Sons to John of Close Holm
Richard of Medope		
Robert	}	Sons to Thom of Kirkanders
George		
Watty		
Rob		
Arthur		
Christy	}	Sons to Fargus of the Mote
Willye		
Christie	}	Brothers
Robert of the Fauld		
Willye	}	Sons to Pate
Pate of the Holm		
George		
Gilberte	}	Sons to Wat
Willye		
Davy	}	Brothers
Henry		
George		
John	}	Sons to Willie
Willie called Alice Willye		
Hochen his brother		
John		
Willye	}	Sons to Willie
George Hochen son of West Leventon		
Rob Leonards son		

## THE GRAHAM CLANS ON THE EVE OF JACOBAN PACIFICATION

89

Henry	}	Brothers
George		
Umfraye called Shag		
Ranye	}	Sons to Umfraye
Willye		
Jenkyn		
Makky	}	Brothers
Willy		
Willie of Sark		
Andro his brother		
Willy Dicke son		
Dicke his brother		
Anton of the Stubbe		
Thom his brother		
Fargy of the Stubbe		
Willie		
Christie	}	Brothers and Gayrs Sons
Jamy		
Richie		
George		
Willie	}	Brothers
Thom		
Robbe		
John of Gattell		
Dicke	}	his Sons
John		
Andro		
John	}	Hecks Sons
Davy		
Fargy of Gravock Haul		
George of the Peerertree		
Jamy	}	Brothers
Hochen		
Hobby of the Hill		
Willye his son		
Persivall	}	Brothers
Dicke		
Willie		
Willie of RandoLeventon		
Riche	}	Sons to Thom
Jamy		
Thom of the Moore		Brothers
Riche		
Willie of the Bailly		
Fargy	}	Sons to the said Wille
Wille		
Riche		
Jocke		

Richie Grame of Akeshawhill  
Walter Grame  
Will Grame his brother

Rinyon Armstrong  
Christofer Bell  
John Bell his son

*Tenants*

Robert Cowtert  
Andrew Innglsby  
John Taite  
Simon Tathoe  
William Urwen

George Grame  
Herbert Grame  
William Grame his brother  
William Armstrong  
John Bell

*Dick's Davie will undertake for:*

Davie Grame  
Davie Grame his son  
Watie Grame his nephew  
Robert Foster

John Litle  
William Pott  
Richie Purdom

*Will Grame Goodman of Medop, his Eames, sons and friends will answer for:*

[Will Grame]  
Francie Grame  
Robert Grame

Walter Grame  
Arthur Grame

Jock Anderson  
Richie Anderson  
Richie Blakeburne  
Hobbie Blakeburne  
John Glendoning

Archie Halliday  
William Parke  
William Taite  
Robert Wright

"The whole number of these names given to my lord as aforesaid, 343". [The actual total is 442].

**Notes and References***Abbreviations*

C.R.O. - Carlisle Record Office  
A.P.C. - Acts of the Privy Council  
R.P.C. - Register of the Privy Council

- <sup>1</sup> Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Border Papers* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1894-6), I, 124-6; II, Appendix I (hereafter, *C.B.P.*, I, II); T. H. B. Graham, "The Debateable Land", *CW2*, xii, 33-58; xiv, 132-57; Netherby Maps.
- <sup>2</sup> See Appendices A and B.
- <sup>3</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Tenth Report*, Appendix, part IV (1885), MSS of Lord Muncaster (hereafter MP), 233.
- <sup>4</sup> R. T. Spence, "The Pacification of the Cumberland Borders, 1593-1628", *Northern History*, xiii (1977), 59-160.
- <sup>5</sup> See also G. P. Jones, "King James I and the Western Border", *CW2*, lxix, 129-43.
- <sup>6</sup> P.R.O., S.P.D., S.P. 14/6/43.
- <sup>7</sup> T. I. Rae, *The Administration of the Scottish Frontier 1513-1603* (Edinburgh, 1966), 6-7; R. P. Sanderson (ed.), *Survey of the Debateable and Borderland Adjoining the Realm of Scotland and Belonging to the Crown of England* (Alnwick, 1891), 13-14; *C.B.P.*, I, 123-4.

- 14 Robert grayme of Dybbinock
- 15 Henrich grayme of Hill
- 16 George grayme also George Warholl.
- 17 John grayme sone to John of Cronfoote.
- 18 George grayme of Millhill
- 19 George grayme of Sandhaston
- 20 Thomas grayme sone to Walter of Meryby
- 21 Jobbia grayme brother to George of Gaulthill
- 22 Willeme grayme his brother.
- 23 David grayme of foubston.
- 24 George grayme also George Peile.
- 25 John grayme tollinger to litch andro.
- 26 Willeme grayme of Parkbrown.
- 27 David grayme
- 28 Henrich grayme } sone to will of Millhill
- 29 Robt grayme also medoxp.
- 30 John grayme of milbye
- 31 Andrew grayme of Gaultflop
- 32 Thomas grayme miller
- 34 Hugh grayme also Othughfoote.



The names of the Grahams sent  
to Bill on the 29th June 1605.

- 1 William Graham of Mote.
- 2 Arthur Graham his brother.
- 3 Richard Graham junior of Brackenhill.
- 4 William Graham junior of Rosetrees.
- 5 Robert Graham of Howent.
- 6 William Graham }  
7 Fergus Graham } sons to George of Sandhills.  
8 Richard Graham }
- 9 George Graham son to Jock of Sandhill.
- 10 William Graham }  
11 Francis Graham } sons to Richard of Bailly
- 12 William Graham alias Mickle Willie.
- 13 Stewart Graham of Mill.
- 14 Robert Graham of Aylesbank.
- 15 Francis Graham of Hill
- 16 George Graham alias George of Carhill.
- 17 John Graham son to Hutcheon of Crowfoot.
- 18 George Graham of Millhill.
- 19 George Graham of Rankelinton.
- 20 Thomas Graham son to Walter of Netherby.
- 21 Hobbie Graham brother to George of Yaulhill.
- 22 William Graham his brother.
- 23 Angus Graham of Fouletone
- 24 George Graham alias George Willie.
- 25 John Graham cottinger to Little Andrew.
- 26 William Graham of Farlbrow.
- 27 Angus Graham }  
28 Fergid Graham } sons to Will of Millhill.
- 29 Robert Graham alias Medopp.
- 30 John Graham of Milles.
- 31 Andrew Graham of Chaplosh.
- 32 Thomas Graham miller.
- 33 HAS BEEN LEFT OUT.
- 34 Hugh Graham alias Cleughfoote.

Grahams sent to Brill, continued.

- 35 Thomas Graham alias Kenny's Tom.  
 36 James Graham cottinger to Gocke Richar  
 37 Rynian Graham son to Peter of Randelinton.  
 38 Francis Graham cottinger to Gookman of Netherby.  
 39 Francis Graham alias Loggan.  
 40 Robert Graham } sons to Rob of Lake.  
 41 David Graham }  
 42 George Graham son to Fergie of Melopp.  
 43 Richard Graham } sons to Gock of Lake  
 44 Peter Graham }  
 45 Arthur Graham tenant to Mickle Willie.  
 46 John Graham of Dikestowne cottinger to David of Bankshead.  
 47 John Graham } cottingers to Netherby.  
 Alex Graham }  
 48 John Graham of Pedderhill.  
 49 Thomas Graham alias Grose.  
 50 George Graham alias Yalloway.

50 men is the correct count, despite 33 being left out; both John and Alex are counted as 47.

Copied from the original, and first Draft of 3/3/12 by Bruce Graham

The Original dated 1605, and I am very grateful to Dr. Greg Waite, Paleographer, Otago University, South Island, NZ, for his corrections to my first Draft.

The accuracy is now assessed as 99% for both Personal and Placenames - thanks to Dr. Waite.

B. Graham

16/06/2012.

The names of the Grahams sent to  
Flushing, 6th July 1605

- 1 Richard Graham son to Walter of Netherby.
- 2 Richard Graham alias Gockes Fergie.
- 3 John Graham alias William Coomes.
- 4 David Graham of the Bankhead.
- 5 Thomas Graham his son.
- 6 Hutchin Graham alias Archure Hutchin.
- 7 Richard Graham alias Hixox.
- 8 Richard Graham alias Arthures Ritchee.
- 9 George Graham of Fauld.
- 10 Robert Graham of Fauld.
- 11 Alexander Graham alias Georkies Sandie.
- 12 John Graham of Rosetrees brother to young Hutchin.
- 13 William Graham alias Carhill.
- 14 Thomas Graham of Easton alias Ritchies Wills Tom.
- 15 William Graham of Fauld alias Wills Willie.
- 16 Richard Graham of Aykeshawhill.
- 17 William Graham of Aykeshawhill son to William.
- 18 Walter Graham uncle to Will of Medopp.
- 19 Archure Graham of Medopp.
- 20 Richard Graham of Gravockhall.
- 21 Thomas Graham of Highfield.
- 22 Richard Graham of Randalinton.
- 23 Richard Graham of over Randalinton.
- 24 Thomas Graham son to George of Slealands.
- 25 Richard Graham son to Richard of Slealands.
- 26 Walter Graham son to William of Aykeshawhill.
- 27 Thomas Graham tenant to Thomas Stouw of Howent.
- 28 William Graham of Waughurst.
- 29 George Graham of Moores.
- 30 George Graham of Raulins Poole.
- 31 Rynion Graham cottinger to Georkie Sandie.
- 32 Alex Graham tenant to Fergie of Medopp.

Grahams sent to Flushing, continued.

- 33 Fergie Graham alias Robs Fergie of Waterfield.  
 34 John Graham cottinger to William of Rosetrees  
 35 Walter Graham of Sankbrow.  
 36 Arthur Graham } sons to Arthur of Guards (or Gaus)  
 37 Adam Graham }  
 38 Walter Graham of Battenbush cottinger.  
 39 Andrew Graham Sandheads alias little Andrew.  
 40 William Graham }  
 41 James Graham } sons to Wills Fergie of Pethe  
 42 Robert Graham }  
 43 Thomas Graham cottinger to the Goodman of Netherby.  
 44 William Graham } cottingers to David of Bankhead.  
 45 William Graham }  
 46 Arthur Graham alias Galloway.  
 47 Colin Graham alias Galloway.  
 48 George Graham son to Gock of Lake.  
 49 William Graham tenant to Fergie of Medopp.  
 50 Francis Graham son to Hutchin of Crowfoot  
 51 Arthur Graham of Burkin.  
 52 David Graham cottinger to William of Rosetrees.  
 53 John Graham cottinger to Gock Ritchie.  
 54 John Graham alias Andrews John of Randalinton.

Footnote Again my thanks go to DR. G. WAITE  
 for bringing the Flushing list  
 up to approximately 99% accuracy.

The word COTTINGER, I have discovered is  
 the (renting or working) occupant of a COTTAGE  
 on a small plot of land; probably employed  
 by the local Farm owner or Tenant  
 Farmer

H.E. Graham  
 1/16/2012.

17  
The 18 grahams listed below were sent to Brill and/or  
Flushing, later than July 1605 to make up the numbers  
for any who had failed to catch their boat or had  
absconded. Absconders from either Port, who went  
back to Scotland without a Garrison Commanders  
Writ, were hunted down and hanged.

- 55 Robert Graham  
56 William Graham son to Fergie of Medopp.  
57 Walter Graham son to Richie.  
58 William Graham of Medopp.  
59 William Graham of Faulk.  
60 Robert Graham of Horsekells.  
61 Mathew Graham alias Plumps.  
62 John Graham of Petherhill.  
63 Francis Graham of Kirkwall.  
64 Walter Graham of Slopes of Gaus.  
65 John Graham tenant to Fergies Will.  
66 Michael Graham of Esk.  
67 Robert Graham son to William of Faulk.  
68 William Graham alias John Willie of Augerton.  
69 Walter Graham of Langdyke.  
70 Walter Graham of Langdyke.  
71 John Graham alias Gibs Gacks Gornie.  
72 John Graham brother in law to the Goodman of  
Netherby.

Footnote "The Goodman of Netherby", was  
Walter Graham who heads the Lord  
Scope List of 1602.

I believe Walter was a grandson  
of Richard of Netherbie or one of Richard's  
brothers who heads the De Acre list of 1561.  
Richard was the eldest of eight sons whose  
Father was Lang Wul Graham (= Tall William)  
who was, with all his Clan, banished  
from Scotland in the mid-1500's. They  
settled in "The Debateable lands" and I believe  
most of us descend from them.

The names of the Grahams sent  
to Ireland 12th and 20th September 1606.

- 1/ Walter Graham of Rosetrees.  
John Graham his son.  
Margaret Graham his daughter.
- 2/ Richard Graham of corn £30 which John Wilson -  
Marie Graham his wife. - is to sell.  
Richard Graham - 14.  
Ken Graham - 6.  
Jane his daughter - 9.
- 3/ John Graham Sandhills corn worth £16 -  
Jane his wife - which Sibill Graham is to sell.  
Francis Graham - 10.  
Fergie Graham - 9  
Arthur Graham - 8  
Richard Graham - 6  
Sibill Graham - 14  
Margaret Graham - 12  
Maiden Graham - 11  
Ann Graham - 10  
Florence Graham - 2.
- 4/ Richard Graham alias Gocks Ritchie  
Ellen his wife.  
Willie Graham Gocks Willie his brother.  
William Graham son to Gocks Willie.  
Katherine Graham - 2  
Florence Graham - 1  
William Graham servant.
- 5/ William Graham Aykerhill. Thomas  
Hetherington alias Highfield to sell his corn.  
Elijabeth Graham  
Gennett Hetherington.

Sym of the Peth	}	Brothers
John		
Davy		
Mathew called Gruff		
Davy Dickes son		
Jocke		
Sym of Aykeshaw Hill	}	Brothers
Mathew		
Thom		
Clement		
John of the Baillif		
Thom Kittis son		
Hendre of the Lee		
Whynten	}	Brothers
Thom		
Wille Thoms son		
Matho called Reed sleeves		
John his brother		
John of Lynsdaile		
Rob	}	Brothers
Wille		
John		
Nicholl		
Dicke		
Jocke		

**Other Clansmen**

Wille ANDERSON  
 Thom Anderson  
 Willm ARMESTRANGE of Kynmonthe  
 Hecky Armstrang  
 Wille Armstrang  
 John Armestrange  
 Perse ATKINSON  
 Jocke Atkinson  
 Gibbe Atkinson  
 Edye BATIE  
 Edye Batic  
 Thom Batic  
 Willy BELL called Flaggon  
 John Bell of Easton  
 Habby Bell  
 Wille Bell  
 Thom BROUCHE  
 Wille COLLE  
 Lewis CORDYN  
 Jamy DOUGLESON

Pate FERGESON

John FORSITHE servant to George Greyme Payte son

Robyn FOSTER } Brothers  
 Wille Foster }  
 Dicke Foster }

John Foster } Brothers  
 Rowe Foster }  
 Habby Foster }

John Foster } Brothers  
 Hecky Foster }  
 Gerry Foster }  
 Thom Foster }

Wille Foster of the Rowe  
 Jamy Foster of Thonytwaite

Barty Foster  
 Cuddy Foster  
 Watty Foster  
 George Foster  
 Hecky Foster  
 John Foster

Nicholl FOURD  
 Gib Fourd

Thom FRA

Jame GIBSON  
 Rowe Gibson

Wille GILMESON

Davy GLEDSTONES

Matho GLENDONYNG

Richie HALIDAYE

Thom Hallydaie

Thom Halydaie his son

Jocke Halydaie

Patton Halyday

James HAST

Watty HENDERSON

Watty Henderson

Thom HETHERINGTON

Hochen Hetherington

George Hetherington

Wille Hetherington son to George

Rob Hetherington called the Twyn

John Hetherington his son

John HOOPE

Wille Hoope

Rany HUDE

Matho IRWYN

Davy LAINE

John LITTLE

Joke Little

Cudbert Little



Persie MOFFETT

Thom Moffett

Jame PHILLOPPE

Cuddie Philloppe

Rowe Phillope

Heugh POTT

Rob PRUDDON

Umfrey REDEPETHE

Willy Redpethe

Watt REEDE

John RICHERDSON

Jame Richerdson

Willy Richerdson

Davy Richerdson

Huchy Richerdson

John Richerdson

Thom Richerdson

Cuddy Richerdson

Watte Richerdson

Heugh Richerdson

John Richerdson

John ROGERSON

Quyntyn SARKE

Wille SHEPPERT

Willy SLEWMAN

Agnes SMYTH wif to John Harison

Jocke STAILE

George STORY

Thom Storye

} Brothers

John Storye

Rob Storye

Jenkyn Story

} Sons of Thom Story

Watty Story

Thom Story

} Sons to Thom of the Howe Ende

Mychaell Story

Habby Storye

Dicke Story

} Brothers

Jamy Story

Davy Story

Wille Story

Launcy Story son to Thom Story of Haythwayt

Edward STURGION

Syme TAILLOR

John Taillor

} Brothers

Gefferaye Taillor

John TAIT

Rany Tait

Thom Tayt

Wille Tayt

- Jenkyn TODDE
- Cuddie TURNER
- John Turner
- Willy TYNDEN
- John URWEN called Wallis
- John WALIS
- John WALKER
- George WATSON
- Rinyon Watson
- Willy WEBSTER - (WATTY)
- Thom WILKYN } Brothers
- Habby Wilkyn }
- John Wilkyn }
- Arthur Wilkyn
- John Wilkyn
- Jame Wilkyn
- John WILSON
- Jocke Wilson
- Hecky Wilson his son
- Thom Wilson
- Watte WISBY
- Wille WITBOROWE

"The Greymys pardon to be geven at ther request and at that tyme the hedd & chief of them to be called and charged with ther doings towarde the breatche of peace, and to be pardoned with condition to do as good & earnest service agaynst the scotts the warre beinge broken, as they didd them hurte in tyme of peace for ther owne interest & private comoditie".

**Appendix B**

**Scrope List 1602**

The source for this list of 146 Grahams and 296 other clansmen is Richard Bell's manuscript *History of the Borders*, ff. 211-215 in the Library of the Dean and Chapter at Carlisle. The only important change made in the list here is to place the names of the non-Graham clansmen in alphabetical order. The several duplications of names have been left because, except in one obvious case, there is no certainty that they are mistakes or, alternatively, double claiming of tenants by the surname leaders.

The Graham population cannot be precisely stated. The Scrope list below names 146 Graham men in 1602. Other lists of 150 men fit to be sent to Flushing and Brill in 1605 and of 91 families fit to be transported in 1606 (Muncaster MSS ff. 7, 125-6) do not include all the known Grahams. An analysis of these and other lists in the Muncaster MSS suggests that there were between 250 and 270 adult male Grahams in the years 1600 to 1606, including those adolescents who came of age then and the Grahams who lived in as servants of the surname leaders. The number of Graham families at this time was probably 120 to 130 with an upper limit of 150. The Graham population thus may well have exceeded 700 and the surname leaders stated that their wives and children were nearly a thousand in number (*H.M.C. Muncaster*, 233). Identification of individual Grahams is complicated by the variety of description - patrilineal and by place of abode as well as soubriquets - and by the popularity of certain pre-names. The most used were William with 45, John 31, George 28, Richard 28, Thomas 20, Walter 18 and Robert 16.

Of the 146 Grahams in the Scrope list, 97 appear to belong to the main "Long Will" branches and 49 to other Graham families. They were almost equally divided either side of the Esk with 45 of the main branches and 25 of the others in the Debateable Lands, 52 of the former and 24 of the latter in Nichol Forest. The adult male population, Grahams and other surnames, in the Debateable Lands according to the Scrope list was 237 and in Nichol Forest 205 (excluding the Forsters on Liddel-side). The 1604 survey broadly confirms these figures by indicating an adult male population of 258 in the Debateable Lands. The Forsters, included in the Dacre list in Appendix A, were not required to submit their names to Scrope but they are recorded in the 1604 survey.

These totals may be compared with the 1641 Protestation Returns of males over the age of eighteen (C.R.O. transcripts). Of the 317 listed on the former Graham properties, 196 were in Arthuret parish, 38 in Nichol Forest chapelry and 83 in Kirkandrews upon Esk parish. Twelve gentry are named, six of them Grahams including Sir Richard of Netherby. The Returns list 123 men in Bewcastle parish.

"A note and abstract of the several names of the clans of all the Grames, severally given in to the right honourable Thomas Lord Scrope of Bolton, lord warden of the West Marches of England towards Scotland, preferred by them the eighth day of October 1602; whom the[y] severally bound to be answerable for to the said Lord Scrope".

*These following belong to the Goodman of Netherby.*

Walter Grame himself	
Richie	} his sons
Arthur	
William	} his brothers
Richie	
Dick	
Thomas	
Arthur	
Andrew	
John	} his uncles
Francis	
John of Sleylands	

*Their Tenants:*

Alexander Grame  
Richard Grame  
John Armstrong  
Richie Armstrong  
Willie Bailie  
John Baylie  
Christopher Calvert

John Gibson  
John Gybson  
Herbert Johnston  
Andrew Litle  
Thomas Taite  
Mathew Watson

John Grame of Peartree [repeated later]  
Wattie his brother  
Richie Grame of the Crosthead.

*These following are they which John Grame of Anghousewell wilbe answerable for:*

John Grame himself	
Richie	} his sons
Walter	
Geordie	} his brothers
William	
Arthur	
Thomas	

Tenants belonging to them:

George Grame  
Henry Grame of Scaleby  
John Grame  
Leonard Grame of Baylie  
Peter Grame  
Reynie Grame  
Wattie Grame  
Will Grame  
William Grame  
John Armstrong  
Simond Batie  
Thomas Batie  
William Blakelock miller  
William Browne  
Marke Cooke

Thomas Cooke  
James Corrie  
Andrew Dixon  
Archie Dunne  
John Edger  
John Glendonning  
Cuddie Glesbie  
Thomas Hill  
Archie Johnston  
Thom Litle  
James Shitlington  
Edmond Sowreby  
Richard Storie  
Jenken Urwen  
Mathew Urwen

These following are the names that I Fargus Grame of Sowport wilbe anstwerable for:

Fargus Grame myself	}	his sons
William		
Jamie		

My Tenants and Dependens are these:

Christie Grame of the Ley  
John Grame of the Ley  
James Browne  
Thomas Browne  
Robert Carrudders  
James Davison  
John Hope

James Litle  
Dave Moffett  
James Phillip  
John Wilson  
Herbert Wittie  
Richard Urwen

These are the names that I Davie Grame of the Milleas doe undertake for:

Davie Grame myself

Tenants

John Grame  
Willm Grame  
Davie Batie  
John Batie  
John Batie [sic]

John Blawett  
John Turner  
John Tynning  
Mathew Urwen

John Graham of the Peretree for myself and my brother Wattie [see above]

These are they following that appertayne to the Goodman of the Moate vizt. for which he and Brekinhill do undertake for:

William Grame of Moate  
Richie Grame of Breckinhill  
George Grame of Langtowne  
Richie Grame ynger of Breckinhill  
Arthur Grame of Moate  
William Grame of Langtown

George Grame  
Richie Grame of Baylie  
William his sons  
Francis  
John Grame of the Moate  
Thomas Storie of Howend

Fargue Grame of Langtown  
 Richie Grame of Langtown  
 John Grame of Sandhills  
 George Grame of Sandhills  
 Fargue Grame  
 Robert Grame

John Storie of Staigmire  
 Florie Storie  
 Hugh Batie  
 Richie Bell  
 Stephen Blakeburne  
 William Lambe

*William of Moate's Tenants*

George Grame  
 John Grame  
 John Armstrong of the Riddings  
 James Atkinson  
 John Bell  
 William Bell  
 James Blakelock  
 Jenken Byrnie  
 Davie Lambe  
 Fargue Lambe sonne to Davie

Adam Litle  
 Robie Litle  
 John Mablare  
 Stephen Mablare  
 Adam Penman  
 Simon Penman  
 Andrew Taylor  
 Thom Tayler  
 George Whitehand

*Attendants of Goodman of Brekinhill:*

Andrew Batie  
 William Batie  
 Simon Ewarte  
 James Foster  
 John Halliday  
 William Hamleton  
 James Horseley  
 William Johnston

William Linton  
 John Litle  
 Jeffrey Mattison  
 Thomas Mattison  
 Robert Taylor  
 Thomas Tinding  
 John Wilson  
 Thomas Grame

George Grame  
 George Storie  
 Rinyon Storie

William Storie  
 Robert Taylor  
 John Wright

James Grame  
 John Grame  
 Humfrey Grame of the Ley  
 Patrick Grame  
 Roland Armstrong  
 John Bell  
 Fargus Browe  
 Thomas Browne  
 William Browne  
 Archballd Clerke

Cuthbert Gillesbie  
 John Glendoning smith  
 Jamie Gybson  
 David Lowden  
 Robert Macklennen  
 Hugh Moffet  
 John Rogerson  
 John Thomson  
 Christie Wilkin

*These following tenants to the Goodman of Langtowne:*

John Blacke  
 Nicholl Edger  
 Jamie Latimer  
 Sandie Mablane

Fergue Richieson  
 John Richieson  
 Richard Todd  
 Wattie Wilkin

*These following are tenants to Thomas Storie of Howend:*

Thomas Grame  
 George Bell  
 Robert Blakeburne

James Clerke  
 Willie Dennis  
 John Jeffrey

*These following are tenants to Richie Grame of the baylie:*

Eddie Batie	Eddie Halliday
Richie Batie	John Wilson

*Now hereafter follows young Hutchins Clanne and Gang, And first the names that Geordie answers for being brother to young Hutchin:*

[Geordie Grame]	Andrew Elwood
Jock Anderson	John Litle
Geordie Edger	William Litle

*William Grame brother to Young Hutchin answers for:*

[William Grame]	Mathew Moffat
Arthur Grame	Cuthbert Mounsey
John Archerson	John Waughe
Davie Batie	Christie Wilkin
Mathew Henderson	Simon Urwen
William Marke	

*William Grame son to Robbie answers for:*

[William Grame]	Andrew Linton
Davie Browne	Jock Linton
Mathew Browne	Wattie Murrey
Jock Cowtert	John Pott
Thomas Cowtert	Thomas Pott
John Croser	Willie Pott
Andrew Glendoning	Thomas Scott
Christie Halliday	Jock Urwen
John of Scotland	John Waughe

*Willie Grame brother to Hutchin doe answer for:*

[Willie Grame]	Christie Byers
Wattie Grame Stoope	Willie Phillip
Jamie Bell	Jock Turner

*Followeth Jocks Johnie and his:*

Jocks Johnie and his  
Jock Storie  
Thomas Grame his man

*These following are Young Hutchin's mens names:*

[Young Hutchin]	Adam Fargueson
Jock the Graime	Andrew Fargueson
John Grame	Nickie Richieson
Leonard Grame	Nilk Rogerson
Thom Grame	Hutchin Storie
Jock Armstrong	Richie Storie
Thom Armstrong	Geordie Tulie
Jock Bell	Willie Twedop
John Byers	Willie Twedopp
William Carrudders	Thomas Urwen als Newland
Geordie Creighton	John Walker
Sandie Croser	William Walker

*Robert Game's men son to Hutchin's Davie and Andrew his brother:*

[Robert Game]	Davie Carrudders
[Andrew Game]	John Glendoning
Jamie Game	George Sarkbrigs
John Armstrong	Willie Sarkbriggs
John Armstrong	William Turner
John Bell	Edie Waughe

*Hutchin's Arthur doth answer for:*

Hutchin Game son to Arthur	John Moodie
William Game son to Hutchin's Arthur	William Mounsey
Edmond Game	Mathew Palmer
Edward Game	Willie Rawling
Thomas Clerke	John Rennyck
Christie Cowtert	Arthur Steale
Sandie Cowtert	Hubbie Urwen
Sandie Henderson	Runyon Urwen
Mickell John Hewett	Christie Wilkin
Davie Jackson	William Wilkin
Mathew Kennydie	Peter Willson of Bankhead
Willie Lay	

*William Game of the Fald will answer for:*

William Game of the Fald	William Game
Walter Game	Robert Game
Mathew Game	Hutchin Game

*Their Tenants*

Rinyon Game	Geordie Kennedic
Wattie Bell	Herbert Martin
Herbert Blakeburne	John Maburnie
George Carne	John Michelson
William Cowtert	John Michelson
Adam Glendoning	

*William Game of Rosetrees will answer for:*

William Game of Rosetrees	
William Game	} his sons
Walter Game	
Geordie Game	} his brether
Walter Game	
Andrew Game	} sons to Geordie
Justice Game	
Francie Game	} his brether
Geordie Game	
Fargue Game Plump	
Jock Game his brother	
Wattie Game son to Quintine	
John Game his brother	

Geordie [Grame] of Steale  
 John [Grame] of Steale  
 Archie the Grame  
 Geordie the Grame  
 Hutchin Grame  
 Sim the Grame  
 Christie Allison  
 Stephen Baitie  
 David Bell  
 Edward Bell  
 Humfrie Bell  
 Jockie Bell  
 Richie Bell  
 Robert Bell  
 Geordie Byers  
 William Byers  
 Adam Fargueson  
 John ffarish  
 Jamie Gay  
 Christie Glendoning  
 Jamie Glendoning

*Their tenants:*

Thomas of Glendoning  
 Simon Hennell  
 Geordie Johnston  
 Edward Litle  
 Edward Litle  
 Wattie Litle  
 Geordie Marke  
 Andrew Martin  
 Thom Pattison  
 Geordie Purdom  
 Georg Richieson  
 Jock Storie of burnefoote  
 Will Storie  
 Francis Turner  
 John Twedop  
 Jamie Twedop  
 Richie Urwen  
 John Watson  
 John Waughe  
 Thom Wilkin  
 Thom Wilkin

*Davie Bankhead undertakes for:*

Davie Grame  
 Thomas Grame  
 William Grame  
 Regnald Grame

} his sons

Jock Grame  
 Thom Halliday  
 John Phillip

Nicholl Moffet  
 Mathew Urwen

*His Tenants*

Alex Grame  
 Rinyon Grame  
 Francis Grame  
 John Armstrong  
 Robert Batie  
 Gilbert Blakelock  
 John Blakelock  
 John Cuvert  
 Geordie Gibson  
 John Gledstons

Thomas Pronefoote  
 Thom Pronefoote  
 Willie Readpeth  
 James Tinding  
 James Turner  
 Thomas Turner  
 George Wilson  
 John Wilson  
 John Wilson

*Jock of the Lake undertakes for:*

Jock Grame of the Lake  
 George Grame  
 Richie  
 Christie  
 Arthur  
 Francis

} his sons

Robert Grame of Akeshawhill  
 Fargus Grame  
 John Grame

} his sons