Chapter 5

The Grahams of Edmond Castle

I have always been particularly interested in the Grahams of Edmond Castle, for a number of reasons. Firstly, my grandmother, Catherine Bond (Granny), would talk about them often; they were her grand rellies, the ones that gave her a reason for feeling superior to others. Secondly, I met Granny's cousin, Eric Graham, a couple of times when I passed through London on my various travels, the last time when I was 20 or so, and I corresponded with him when I was younger.[1] So I grew up on stories of how the Grahams of Edmond Castle were British Peers, how important the family was, and how splendid a place is Edmond Castle. Eric sent me the information from Burke's Landed Gentry [16] about the Grahams of Edmond Castle (which I mistakenly thought was from Burke's Peerage), I read how the Grahams of Edmond Castle were descended from the Grahams of Montrose, and I traced the history of the Grahams of Montrose with terrific interest; the regicides, the traitors, the executions, all that wonderful stuff. I drew pictures of the coats-of-arms of the various Graham branches and learned about heraldry. I had enormous fun. My ancestors assassinated King James of Scotland!, they were Earls and Dukes! I would tell my friends. I think they probably just ignored me, or didn't believe me, but I can't remember.

It wasn't until later that I came to realise that all these stories from my childhood, all those things that had so fascinated me as a boy, were mostly wrong. The Grahams of Edmond Castle were never in the peerage. They weren't even measly Baronets, the lowest rung. They were merely landed gentry; basically rich rural landlords. Well, *very* rich rural landlords, I suppose, but nothing more. They were not descended from the Grahams of Montrose. They were, at best, bog-standard border Grahams; cattle-thieves and raiders initially, almost certainly, gaining respectability as their misdeeds disappeared into the past, as they got wealthier, and as the borderlands became stable and peaceful. Even the so-called coat-of-arms of the Grahams of Edmond Castle is most likely incorrect. A branch of the family eventually made it to the lofty heights of Baronetcy (and hence the fanciful coat-of-arms), but that line didn't last, dying out after a couple of generations or so, leaving only the low-grade landed gentry Grahams. To add a final humiliating touch, a 1986 book about the House of Commons[2] calls Thomas Graham a "minor and unambitious Cumbrian landowner". So much for grand ancestors.

Still, shattered dreams of grandeur or not, I am still terrifically interested in the Grahams of Edmond Castle. There's something cool about being descended from a family with a castle in their name, even though it's not, and never was, a real castle. Or even close. And the history of the English/Scottish border has always interested me, with all the various Grahams, Armstrongs and other thugs and villains.

For those who are interested in sources, most of my information about the Grahams comes from Thomas Henry Boileau Graham, my grandmother's uncle. He lived from 1857 to 1937 and published eight articles about the Grahams and Hayton in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquities and Archaeological Society* [34]–[41]. While I was visiting The Ohio State University I was lucky enough to get copies of these articles (they are not easy to find). He did an

[1] In French, as I remember. My French was, and is, execrable, so this must have strained his patience to the limit.
[2] R.G. Thorne, *The House of Commons (1790–1820)*, Volume 3, 1986

extensive search of the parish records and the old estate records to turn up all the information he could about the early Grahams of Edmond Castle; he claimed there was nothing more to be found than what he published, and this is likely to be correct. He even reproduces the parish records verbatim; they are extensively damaged, with many entries missing.

For the later Grahams a lot survives, but most of this I haven't seen yet. For instance, there are many old legal records in the Carlisle archives, and the Lambeth Archives contain extensive records of the family, including correspondence, poems they wrote, as well as some editions of the family newspaper. Since discovering the existence of this archive I haven't been able to get to Lambeth – it's not so easy from New Zealand – and there is no electronic version of the records; so anybody who wants to help out can go and make copies.[1]

The Debatable Lands

Although the first known Graham of Edmond Castle doesn't appear until 1603, it is impossible to understand the history of the Grahams without going back a little into the past, into the 1500s, when the border between England and Scotland was a no-man's-land of robbery, violence and murder, a land in which the clan was king and the long arm of the law was very short indeed. It's not at all surprising that the border was like this, borders usually are. It was in the interests of England to disrupt the Scots, and *vice versa*, each side conniving at the actions of the rogues on their side and complaining about the rogues on the other. For the rogues themselves, of course, patriotism was a long way down on their list of priorities. They were Grahams or Armstrongs first, and English or Scottish a very distant second, if at all, and then only when it was convenient to be so.

Cattle-raiding and all the associated violence that went with it was essentially a way of life for the border clans, often called the *Border Reivers*. They shut themselves up in high stone towers, robbed, burned and murdered their neighbours, and were robbed, burned and murdered in their turn. Their only security was their immediate kinship group, and that not always; Graham would happily murder Graham if the need arose. The Border Reivers were immortalised by Sir Walter Scott who portrayed them in a relatively romantic fashion, in much the same way that the Wild West of the U.S.A. is the subject of so many completely unrealistic movies. But it wasn't a romantic time, not at all. The border areas were fought over by England and Scotland, to and fro, for hundreds of years, and when the invading armies weren't reiving them, the locals couldn't imagine any other way they could possibly live, so they reived each other.[2] Extortion and protection rackets (the origin, it is claimed, of the modern work blackmail[3]) were a profession, and one popular method of execution was drowning, it being cheaper than hanging as no rope was needed. Walter Scott wrote about the Border Reivers that "they abhorred and avoided the crime of unnecessary homicide", a comment that is quite clearly ridiculous. As Fraser says, with typical dry wit, the borderers might indeed have avoided unnecessary homicide, but they certainly found it necessary with appalling frequency.

One of the great documents of the time came from the pen of the Bishop of Glasgow, Gavin Dunbar, who was inspired to the heights of true genius at the thought of the activities of the Border Reivers. He was not a pleasant man – he was famous for his persecution of perceived heretics, many of whom he burned; one of his victims was burned alive for six hours before dying, as the wood was wet – and when he came to the borderers he let it all hang out, at least in a literary sense. His *Monition of Cursing* puts him, as Fraser says, "among the great cursers of all time". Here's a sample:

> I denounce, proclamis, and declaris all and sindry the committaris of the said saikles murthris, slauchteris, brinying, heirchippes, reiffis, thiftis and spulezeis, oppinly apon

[1] The reference number is GB/NNAF/F186879, IV/4, and hurry up please.

[2] The best book on this time and this area is *The Steel Bonnets: the story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers*, by George MacDonald Fraser [28]; it's a great read, and widely regarded to be accurate as well. I also like [66] and [42]. Another excellent book, fiction this time, is *The Sterkarm Handshake*, by Susan Price. It's aimed more at young adults, I suppose, but it's still a bloody good read, and, I suspect, an excellent portrayal of the times. I recommend it highly.

[3] There are different etymologies for "blackmail" (one of which even claims it was invented specifically by a Graham! This is not one of the convincing ones.) but the most likely seems to be that the 'black' part came because the protection money was paid in kind rather than in money, while the 'mail' part is Old English (from Old Norse) for tribute or rent.

> day licht and under silence of nicht, alswele within temporale landis as kirklandis; togither with thair partakeris, assitaris, supplearis, wittandlie resettaris of thair personis, the gudes reft and stollen be thaim, art or part thereof, and their counsalouris and defendouris, of thair evil dedis generalie CURSIT, waryit, aggregeite, and reaggregeite, with the GREIT CURSING.
>
> I curse their heid and all the haris of thair heid; I curse thair face, thair ene, thair mouth, thair neise, thair tongue, thair teeth, thair crag, thair shoulderis, thair breist, thair hert, thair stomok, thair bak, thair wame, thair armes, thais leggis, thair handis, thair feit, and everilk part of thair body, frae the top of their heid to the soill of thair feet, befoir and behind, within and without.
>
> I curse thaim gangand, and I curse them rydand; I curse thaim standand, and I curse thaim sittand; I curse thaim etand, I curse thaim drinkand; I curse thaim walkand, I curse thaim sleepand; I curse thaim risand, I curse thaim lyand; I curse thaim at hame, I curse thaim fra hame; I curse thaim within the house, I curse thaim without the house; I curse thair wiffis, thair barnis, and thair servandis participand with thaim in their deides. I wary thair cornys, thair catales, thair woll, thair scheip, thjair horse, thair swyne, thair geise, thair hennes, and all thair quyk gude. I wary their hallis, thair chalmeris, thair kechingis, thair stanillis, thair barnys, thair biris, thair bernyardis, thair cailyardis thair plewis, thair harrowis, and the gudis and housis that is necessair for their sustentatioun and weilfair.

There's a lot more. Not too shabby, if you ask me.

One of the very worst places along the border was in the Western March, in an area just north of Carlisle, between the Rivers Sark and Esk, where neither England nor Scotland could agree on who owned what (see Maps 3 and 4 on pages 239 and 240). In the early 1500's the policy was just to kill anything that moved there, in the hope that this would stop anybody actually trying to settle, thus solving the problem. It didn't work, of course; the Debatable Land became home to the very worst of the worst along the border[1], a haven for criminals of all descriptions, and an endless source of trouble for the March Wardens on either side.

The Debatable Land and its surrounding regions was also the home of large numbers of Grahams, that "viperous generation" according to Lord Scrope, Warden of the English Western March.[2] There were three major clans of Grahams; along the Line River (often called the Leven), from Solport to the junction with the Esk, lived the Grahams of the Leven, "great riders and ill-doers to both the realms."[3] There was Black Dick, Dick Graham of the Woods, John Graham of Westlinton, Richard Graham of Randilinton, Andrew Graham of the Mill, Will Graham of Stonystonerigg, and Parsell's Geordie, who was murdered (see below).

Along the banks of the Sark lived another Graham clan, called unsurprisingly the Grahams of the Stark. They lived on both sides of the river, some in England, some in Scotland, although it's not likely they thought of themselves in those terms.

Probably the largest Graham clan was the Grahams of the Esk, who lived along the banks of the Esk, from the sea to its junction with the Liddell. This is clan about which we know the most, thanks to a pedigree, *A Catalog of the Greames*, written by Lord Burghley[4] in May of 1596. Things must have been pretty bad for such an important and busy person as Lord Burghley to spend time trying to figure out what the hell was going on with the Grahams, and then to write it all down. The motivating factor seems to have been the raid on Carlisle Castle, in which Buccleugh, together with a large number of assorted Grahams and others, broke Kinmont Willie (William Armstrong of Kinmont) out

[1] Or so it was claimed at the time. I suspect exaggeration.

[2] He also called them "caterpillars" in a phrase that is so reminiscent of the "cockroaches" of the Tutsi massacres in Rwanda, I find it disturbing, at the very least.

[3] I'm not sure whom T.H.B. Graham is quoting here; there were a number who would have thought this – Scrope, Dacre, Musgrave or Wharton, just to name a few.

[4] William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley (sometimes spelled Burleigh) (13 September 1520–4 August 1598) was the chief advisor (and a good friend) of Queen Elizabeth I for most of her reign. He was twice Secretary of State (1550–1553 and 1558–1572) and Lord High Treasurer from 1572.

of prison. This event was one of the celebrated border forays, immortalised, completely inaccurately, in *The Ballad of Kinmont Willie*, one of the ballads collected by Francis Child in the late 19th century.

By tradition, the Grahams of Esk were the descendants of "Lang Will", who was banished from Scotland around 1516. Lang Will seems to have come originally from the Mosskeswra barony in the parish of Hutton, in Dumfriesshire, and moved to Cumberland under pressure of circumstance. This would make him a descendant of the older branch of the Grahams, and unrelated to the Menteith and Montrose branches, as later claimed (more on this later). In Burghley's pedigree it was claimed that William Grame, alias Longe Will, was banished out of Scotland "about 80 yeires since". However, in 1537 a petition was presented to Henry VIII by Arthur Graham of Canobie, the second son of Lang Will, in which he and his brethren claimed that their father has "dwelt on Esk for sixty years". Actually, the whole petition is a good read, so here it is:

> Our father, yet alive, has dwelt on Esk for sixty years, and served your Grace and the wardens, and, till now, was never rent demanded of him. Once an Englishman, rebel to your Grace, who had slain fourteen Englishmen, robbed a merchant in Carlisle, and we took him, and I, Arthur Graham, who spoke with your Grace lately, smote off his head and set it on the walls of Carlisle. In the Insurrection we rescued your Grace's serjeant from the rebels, and brought him to Carlisle. Afterwards, when the commons made the "sawte" to Carlisle, half of us went to defend the castle without wages, and the other half to stay the country. Afterwards we put all our force together, put the rebels to flight, and took seven score of them, and I, Arthur Graham, took one of the captains.

So Arthur Graham, son of Lang Will, met Henry VIII and chopped heads with relish. It's always nice to know these things.

Personally, since Arthur Graham had a point to prove (that they didn't have to pay rent, but should be allowed to live free) it's not unlikely he exaggerated a little. T.H.B. Graham writes that, according to documents in his possession (which, I imagine, are now lost for good), Lang Will (William Graham of Arturet) was given lands around the Esk "by indenture dated April 13, in the 29th year (1538) under seal of the Duchy of Lancaster" by Henry VIII. Most likely, the grant from Henry VIII was related to the request of 1537, and merely confirmed the situation on the ground. For Lang Will was already mentioned in a document of 1528, and by 1534 was already well enough known to be appointed as an assessor for England in mediating in an Anglo-Scottish argument. The earliest reference to Grahams in Cumberland was in 1528, in course of some squabble where the Scottish warden burned Netherby, and the Armstrongs and Irwins burned some buildings belonging to Lang Will Graham of Stuble. So, all-in-all, I think it's pretty safe to conclude, with Lord Burghley, that Lang Will, being ejected out of Dumfriesshire, came to Cumberland around 1516, establishing himself and his sons as the local Graham chief.

The pedigree of Lang Will, as given by Lord Burghley, is a treat to read. The eight sons were Richard of Netherby, Arthur of Canonby, Fergus of the Mote, John of Medoppe, Thomas of Kirkanders, George of the Fauld, William of Carliell (Carlisle), and Hutchen (base, i.e., illegitimate). Their various offspring are given in greater or lesser detail, with such interspersed notes as ".... if his service hereafter be no better than as yet, the pension might be better bestowed, for he is a daily abettor of evil", "now common spoilers of the Queen's subjects", "their issue a great number", "dwelling inward in England, very good subjects", "divers daughters", and so forth.

There are a couple of particularly telling sentences in Burghley's pedigree. The first reads "... to unite friendship between the houses of Netherby and Mote, who had been long at civil dissension and much bloodshed, ...". Now, this is interesting because the houses of Netherby and Mote came from two sons of Lang Will Graham. Clearly, even close kinship ties were not sufficient to ensure goodwill, and cousin was quite happy to murder cousin whenever "necessary". We even have a first-hand account of Graham murdering Graham. In 1584 a coroner's jury at Carlisle returned a verdict that Simon Graham of Meadop (one of the Meadop Grahams from the line of Lang Will's fourth son), John Graham of the Lake (brother of Richard Graham, alias 'Meadop') and Richard Graham, alias 'Longtown', of Breconhill (a son of Fergus of the Mote, and thus a grandson of Lang Will), and a large party of others, assaulted George Graham (Percival's Geordie, or Parsell's Geordie) at Leven Bridge; that Longtown, with a lance, value 20 d., struck George Graham between the shoulders,

and he fell to the ground. When he rose, Sim of Meadop, with a sword, worth 7s 4d, struck him on the calf of the left leg, giving him a mortal wound $8\frac{1}{2}$ thumbs long, four broad, and three deep, and a similar wound on the calf of the right leg, of which he died, and that Thomas Carleton of Askerton, gentleman, harboured 15 of the murderers. I have to admit that, amidst the bloodshed, I find it hilarious how the coroner records the value of the lance and sword. What on earth could this have to do with the murder? You have to wonder.

The second telling sentence of Burghley's pedigree reads: "There are also another sort of Grames, which inhabit upon the rivers of Levyn and Sarke, which are not of this race, but by course of tyme have maryed together, and are become of one partie to the nomber of foure or five hundred, allmost all evel disposed, besydes Stories, Taylers, Fosters, and Hetheringtons, and Bells, which are matched with them and like disposed." So although it is tempting, for the sake of order, to try and distinguish between the Graham clans of the Esk, the Leven and the Sark, it's almost certainly quite inaccurate to do so. They quickly became so interbred that distinctions, particularly at the remove of several hundred years, are probably not very useful. Also, note how *many* Grahams there were. Hundreds of them, all called Graham, all with nicknames to distinguish themselves from their neighbours, and all quite impossible to sort out now.

As for the antecedents of Lang Will, tradition (and Burke's Peerage) asserts that he was descended from the Menteith branch of the Grahams, but T.H.B. Graham knocks this theory down convincingly. If you're interested, read his arguments in the original. They are too long and involved to reproduce here. Suffice to say that it's much more plausible that Lang Will came from Dumfriesshire, descended from a cadet branch of the old Graham branch of Dalkeith and Eskdale. The later claim of a connection to Menteith and Montrose was pretty clearly entirely political, and a later fabrication. No more certain pedigree can be given.

The tale of how the Border Grahams were broken up in the early 1600s is not pretty. Their treatment was brutal even by the standards of the day, but one can see why, I suppose. Once there was no border any longer, the government just couldn't tolerate semi-independent crowds of lawless outlaws running things their own way. The Border Reivers were useful no longer, and they were doomed, one way or another. The Grahams of the Debatable Land essentially disappeared – murdered, executed, or deported – only to be resurrected by later Grahams who established the Netherby and Norton-Conyers branches later that century, an interesting story in itself.

The Early Grahams of Hayton and Edmond Castle

By 1598 the barony of Gilsland (which included the regions of Hayton and Brampton) was in almost complete anarchy, as can be seen from the reports of John Musgrave, the newly appointed land serjeant. The entire district had been so ravaged by the Scots, the Border Reivers and the plague that many towns were completely uninhabited, while others were controlled directly by Scottish lords. In 1600 a group of Grahams attempted to murder John Musgrave at Brampton by discharging more than thirty "dagges and gunnes" at him and his company, and tried to burn him in his house. While the assizes were being held in Carlisle, they broke into the gaol and liberated Jock Grayme 'Jock o the Peartree'. They kidnapped the eight-year-old son of a Salkeld in Corby Castle, and used the boy to force the release of Watte Grayme. They burned down Hutchin Hetherington's house, and when he came out they cut him into pieces. They levied blackmail. They threatened and assaulted all followers of "hue and cry", and murdered those that gave evidence against them. They defied the lord warden of the Marches to his face, and more than sixty Grahams were outlawed for murder and other offenses, as can be seen from the records of the Sessions. No wonder that Lord Scrope, the March Warden, detested them.

Thus do the Grahams appear in the records of the district, but what was the connection, if any, with the Grahams of Edmond Castle? In Burke's Landed Gentry [16] it is claimed that the Grahams of Edmond Castle were descended from a branch of the Grahams of Esk, but it is entirely unclear whether or not this was really the case. It's almost certainly true in the general sense. The Grahams of the Debatable Land raided much further south than Hayton, and the whole area between Brampton and Carlisle would have been strongly influenced by them. It's highly likely that there were kinship

ties of one degree or another between the Grahams living in the various places, but more than that it's difficult to say for sure.

By 1581 there were already at least four Grahams living in Hayton Parish, as attested by a muster roll, dated February 9th, 1581; Thomas Grame (steel coat, cap and spear), Thomas Grame younger (cap and spear), Richard Grame (spear and cap) and Anthony Grame (lance). It's not so plausible that all these Grahams were directly related to the Grahams of Esk and Long Will. After all, it was only 70 years of so since Lang Will had arrived in Cumberland. T.H.B. Graham also believes they were an older branch, who had probably been there a while. Then, on June 4th, 1596, a paper entitled "Note of lands in the baronies of Burgh and Gilsland, late the possessions of Leonard Dacre attainted, whereof the Graimes are tenants", listed Edward, Richard, Anthony and Edrus Graime, all of the Manor of Hayton. It seems likely that the recent Graime listing was motivated by the fact that they were recent arrivals, settled there as a result of the incessant border fighting. But apart from that likelihood, there is no indication of a direct relationship between the Hayton Grahams and the Grahams of Esk.

Enter the Grahams of Edmond Castle, first mentioned in 1603 in the household accounts of Lord William Howard (published by the Surtees Society), who paid a small sum to Andrew Graham of Edmond Castle. There seems also to have been another reference in a contemporary account, in which Lord William Howard required William Grame, tenement at Emount Castle, to pay 8 shillings and 2 capons. The problem is that there were very likely lots of Grahams of Edmond Castle. Not to mention everywhere else. For instance, parish records from the mid 1600s are impossible to reconcile without assuming at least two, and probably three different families of Grahams at Edmond Castle, in addition to those at the Castle itself. In the Hayton parish register the earliest recorded Graham of Edmond Castle is "James Graim de Edmond Castle sepult. fuit quarto die Junii 1628"; the next Graham to die was John Grame, the son of David Grame of Edmond Castle, who was buried on the 30th of August 1648. The year 1656 saw two Grahams of Edmond Castle getting baptised, John, the son of John Graham (in November) and Jane, the daughter of Thomas Graham (in July that same year), and so it continues on. The records are incomplete, but from what is still extant it is impossible to connect any of these Grahams with the Thomas Graham that is my direct ancestor.

The Grahams of Edmond Castle from the 1600s to the 1800s

The first Graham of Edmond Castle whom we can be sure is in my direct lineage (well, reasonably sure) is **Thomas (i) Graham**, who was probably born around 1630.[1] He had three sons that we know of: **Thomas (ii)**, who married **Sibyl Scaife** of Old Wall, William, who married a widow, Jane Muncaster, and Gerard, who married Mary Graham of Walton. Grahams marrying Grahams was of course not an uncommon occurrence.

Thomas (ii) was presumably the eldest (he was called Thomas, for one, and it appears he inherited the estate), and he and Sibyl had two sons, Thomas (iii) and John.[2] The younger brother, John, died unmarried, but **Thomas (iii)** married **Mary Nicholson**, a widow from Warwick Bridge. They initially lived at Warwick Bridge, but later returned to live with Thomas's parents at Edmond Castle, which the younger Thomas eventually inherited.

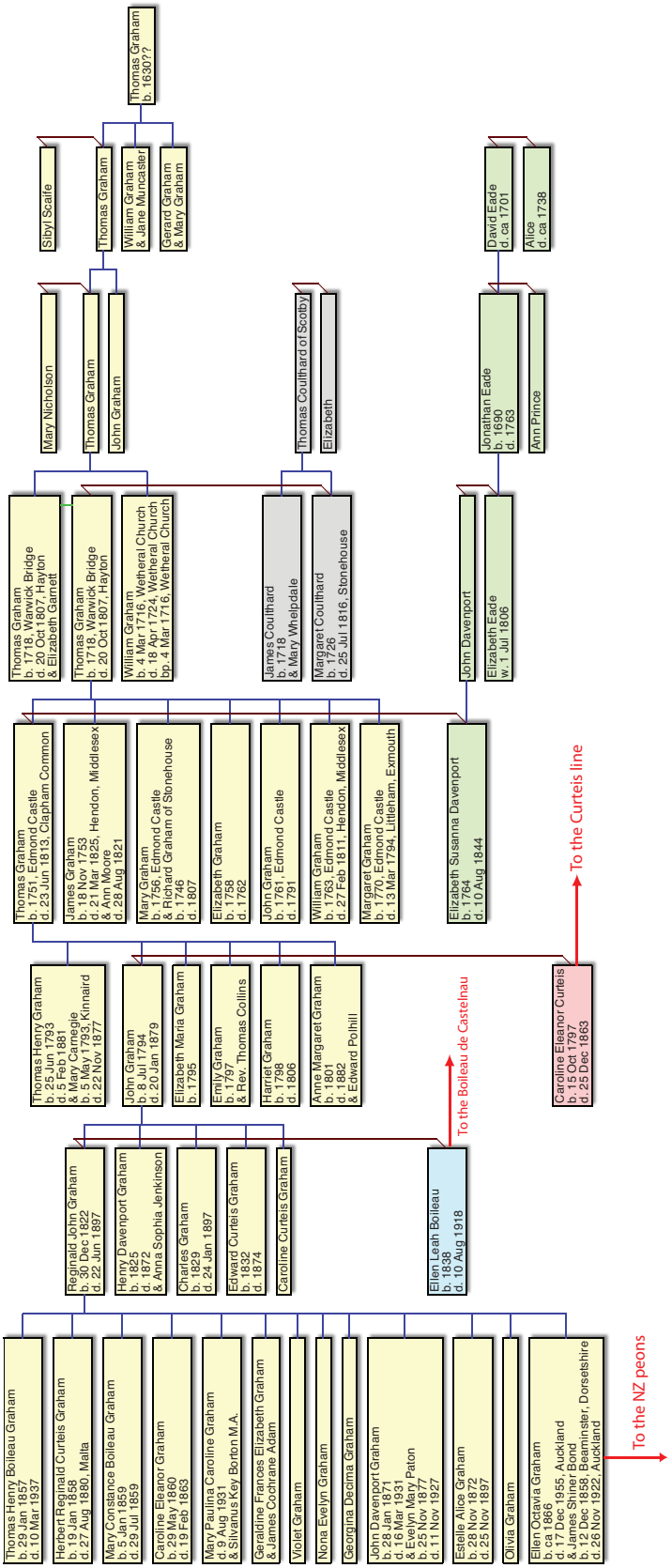
Thomas (iii) and Mary had two children only; William, who died when he was only eight, and **Thomas (iv)**, whose first wife was **Elizabeth Garnett**. They were married in 1746.

The Grahams of Edmond Castle seem to have had Stuart sympathies. Thomas (iv) got married very soon after the landing of the Young Pretender (Bonnie Prince Charlie) in 1745, and the story goes that he planted a Scotch fir tree outside Edmond Castle to commemorate this. This tree is still there, a beautiful old tree standing just outside the front door of the 1824 mansion (page 119). His father, Thomas (iii) got married in 1715, the date of the first Scotch rebellion, when the Old Pretender tried to grab the throne, but this is probably no more than coincidence.

Elizabeth Garnett died only sixteen months after her wedding, most likely due to childbirth, as her child died then also. She was 24. A family prayer-book contains the following entry: "My dear

[1] Names can get tricky. There are just so many Thomas's, for example, it's easy to get confused. So I'm going to follow a common convention and number them where necessary with lower-case Roman numerals.

[2] A lamentable lack of originality in the names quickly becomes apparent.



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wife died the 15th day of December, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, being 24 years of age. Her funeral sermon was preached by the Reverend George Gilbanks, minister at Wetheral." On the fly-leaf is scrawled in a childish hand[1]:

Elizabeth Garnett's book
God gave her grace on it to look
And when the bells . . .

This is the beginning of a rhyme which ends:

. . . begin to toll
The Lord have mercy on her soul.

I have always thought this little poem to be particularly poignant.

In 1749 Thomas (iv) remarried **Margaret Coulthard**, the daughter of Thomas Coulthard of Scotby. This seems to have begun, or at least continued, a close connection between the Coulthards and the Grahams. Margaret's elder brother, James Coulthard, was a solicitor in London, at Symond's Inn in Chancery Lane [61]. All of the sons of Thomas and Margaret began their legal careers in James Coulthard's office, with the two eldest sons, Thomas (v) and James becoming partners. The company still exists as Lawrence & Graham, a London firm of solicitors. I seem to remember that, when Eric Graham died, his legacies were paid by this law firm. However, I never kept the letter (stupid, stupid, stupid me), so I can't be sure.

Questions: Who was Thomas Coulthard of Scotby? I know a Thomas Coulthard of Scotby was given an official coat-of-arms on the 16th of June, 1784,[a] but these arms were granted too late to have been given to my Thomas. Multiple Coulthards were Mayors of Carlisle [47]: Thomas (1708, 1757, 1763; surely there were two Thomas's), Richard (1739, 1759) and Morris (1771, 1779, 1796). The later Mayor Thomas Coulthard was a rich tanner — his daughter married Dr. John Heysham in 1789 — but there is no evidence that my Thomas is related to any of these mayors. The most plausible story is that the elder Mayor Thomas Coulthard (mayor in 1708) was the father of my Margaret, and that the arms were granted to the second Mayor Thomas. The dates are consistent with this story, but I have no evidence. Just to confuse things further, [25] says that John Coulthard, Esq. at Carlisle, twice Mayor of that Corporation, died in July, 1787. However there is no John Coulthard listed in Jefferson's list of the Mayors of Carlisle. Very puzzling. I suspect that the elder Mayor Thomas was meant, not John.

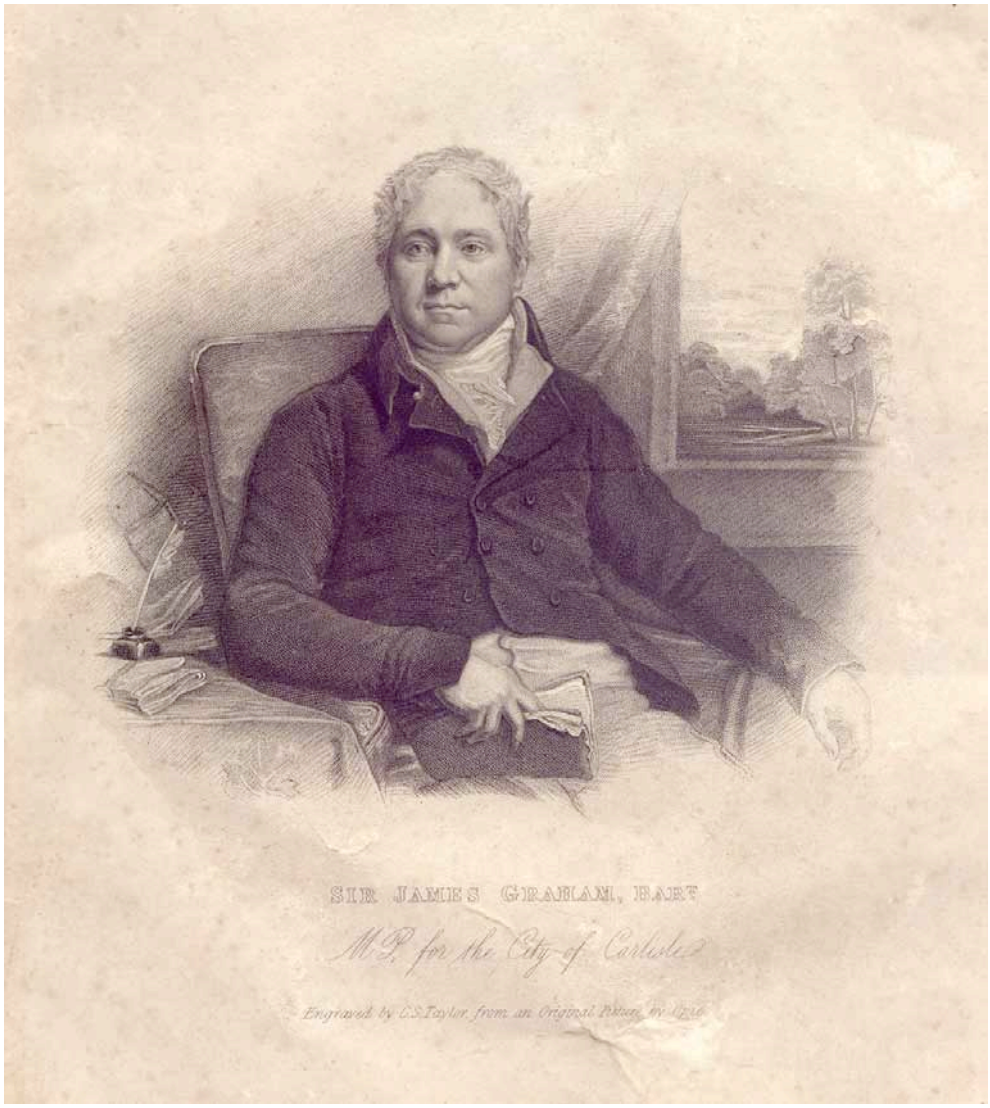
[a] Somerset Record Office, DD\SAS/C795/FA/6, C/795, Title: Thomas Coulthard of Scotby (Cumberland), Esq. Description: Certificate of matriculation of arms in the Lyon Office, Edinburgh, 16 June 1784. [Parchment, with seal; given by Mr H D Stone, 1918].

Thomas (iv) and Margaret had seven children. Thomas (v) and James, the two eldest sons, about whom I shall have more to say shortly; Mary, born in 1756, married Richard Graham of Stonehouse, Hayton (another Graham on Graham marriage. Talk about confusing![2]) Stonehouse no longer exists; the only thing left is Stonehouse Farm, in Hayton, and there's no grand house there at all, just a few paddocks and a gate (this was true in 2005 when I visited, anyway). The next daughter, Elizabeth, died when she was only four; the next son, John, trained as a lawyer but died at the age of 30 (he's buried under the chapel at Lincoln's Inn); the next son, William, was a solicitor also and died unmarried; and the last daughter, Margaret, died unmarried when she was 24.

James, the second son, was the only member of the family ever to reach the lofty heights of the Baronetage. He married a crap-load of money, name of Anne Moore, (Anne was, apparently,

[1] I have not seen this book. I'm quoting directly from T.H.B. Graham here.

[2] The Grahams of Stonehouse have their own pedigree in Burke's Landed Gentry, and in Hudleston and Boumphrey [46]. Richard Graham of Stonehouse was a J.P. for the county. On the wall of Mary Magdalene church in Hayton is a plaque that reads: "In memory of Richard Graham of Stonehouse who died May 8th 1807 aged 61 and of Mary Graham his wife who died May 8th 1833(35?) aged 77. Likewise of their two grandchildren Mary Jane Ross who died 21st Jan 1825(23?) aged 4 years and 2 months and John Richard Ross who died 28 March 1826 aged 7 months." The writing wasn't all that clear and the 3's and 5's are difficult to distinguish.



Sir James Graham of Kirkstall, my 5G Uncle. He was the only member of the family ever to reach the lofty heights of a Baronetcy.

the heiress of the ancient Sandford upon Eden family, whoever they are) and was a prominent local politician, being rewarded by being created Sir James Graham of Kirkstall, Baronet (page 109). Kirkstall was the estate that came to him from his wife.

There is, in fact, a book [53] written about the Grahams of Kirkstall, written by a proud descendant in much the same way that I am writing this book. Never officially published, but still full of useful information, or so we like to tell ourselves. Simon Graham-Harrison, a descendant of James Graham of Kirkstall, sent me a copy. The second baronet of Kirkstall was Sir Sandford Graham, the son of James, and he and his wife (Caroline Langston, the daughter of John Houston Langston of Sarsden House) had three surviving sons and two surviving daughters (as well as two sons and one daughter who died young. The story goes that Willy, one of the sons, had been taken by his parents to Arundel Castle, was standing on top of one of the towers when he was startled by an owl and fell to his death, aged only eight.) The three sons, Sandford, Lumley and Cyril inherited the baronetcy one after the other, but none of them had any children so the title died out. It couldn't possibly go to a *girl* of course. Sandford just about lost the whole lot through gaming debts on bad horses. Well, not necessarily *bad* horses, but certainly *slow* horses.

According to [53], the Kirkstall estate lay in the valley of the River Aire, three and a half miles from Leeds; a survey of the estate was made for Mr. Moore in 1778 by John Crookes of Leeds. It was then entirely agricultural and consisted of 550 acres of farm land let on short leases. There were 24 farms, besides two corn mills.

A visit to Kirkstall in 1810 is described in a letter of T.H. Graham, son of James' eldest brother, then a boy at Harrow. He first visited Kirkstall Abbey, which was close to, but not part of, the estate. James' nephew said the estate was very large, and he found good accommodation for sleeping. He was conducted by his uncle's steward over the manufactories there, which consisted principally of wool, oil, flour, and cloth: they were worked by water and very well worth seeing; and he was especially interested in the cloth factory, because it was lighted entirely by gas, which was then a novelty rarely seen.

The estate was eventually subsumed into Leeds.

Thomas (v) Graham and Elizabeth Susanna Davenport

But it is with Thomas (v), the eldest son, that we are most concerned here. Although he was the heir to Edmond Castle, he seems to have had very little to do with it for most of his life. He became a partner in his uncle's London law firm and established himself at The Hall, Clapham Common, on an estate that originally belonged to his wife's father. He was a Justice of the Peace, a member of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, was admitted an attorney of the King's Bench June 28th, 1773, and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquities, 29th April, 1808. So much for the bare details.

His father, Thomas (iv) didn't die until he was 89, and Thomas (v) only outlived him by six years, so I don't think that the family moved up to Edmond Castle when Thomas (v) inherited the estate. You can see the problem. There was some need for the children to support themselves – the family wasn't *that* wealthy, particularly not before they married into money a bit later on – and so they moved south, took to the law, and established themselves in rather more temperate climes, close to London and the sea, in much nicer places than the wilds of Cumberland. Don't forget that the fancy house now on the site hadn't yet been built. I don't know what was there previously, but it was unlikely to be as comfortable as The Hall, Clapham Common. At any rate, you don't really want to live in the same house as your parents, and they can't really afford to keep you in lazy style, so you move away. But then, when the old man dies and you inherit the estate, what do you do? You're over 50 years old, you've lived most of your life down south, and your wife is from the south also. It's not too attractive to have to move up to Edmond Castle, so you don't. You just leave it to your eldest son to take over. Which is, I'm quite sure, what happened.

It was Thomas's eldest son, Thomas (vi), that moved up north, took over Edmond Castle, married into Carnegie money, and built the grand house that stands there today (see below).

The wife of Thomas (v) was Elizabeth Susanna Davenport, whom he married in August 1791. She came from a wealthy London family; her father, John, was Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1775, and woolen draper to the King. He bought a large estate, called The Hall, on the

north side of Clapham Common, near the present Sugden Road apparently (I have never been there, just looked on maps), and Elizabeth and Thomas lived there when they married, her father having died a couple of years earlier. Indeed, both Thomas and Elizabeth lived at The Hall for the rest of their lives. The name of the estate was The Hall, which seems rather unimaginative, but the family owned another estate in Clapham, called Rose Lodge. Son John lived there for a time.

Questions: Where did the Grahams live? All the various London and Eastbourne places owned, and lived in, by the Grahams can be confusing. Thomas (v) lived at The Hall, Clapham Common, as did his wife, Susanna Davenport. In 1830, their son, John, was living in Upper Gower St., and he was in business at Lincoln's Inn [32]. However, very soon after that John gave up working, the family took a tour around Europe, and then resided chiefly at Rose Cottage, which was in Eastbourne, although they also spent a year in Brighton and a winter in The Crescent, Clapham. Around 1833 or so the family was spending half the year at Rose Cottage and half the year at Rose Lodge, which was within "ball-shot" of The Hall in Clapham Common. Rose Lodge was later called Northfield. I have a pencil sketch of Rose Cottage, Eastbourne, made in 1832 by some member of the family, presumably soon after they came back from their European tour. When Elizabeth Davenport died in 1844, son John moved into The Hall, but sold it in 1853, and it was presumably then that he moved to The Elms, Eastbourne. This was on Seaside Road, according to an 1867 Post Office directory, and was almost certainly where the current Elms Road and Elms Avenue form a triangle, just off Seaside Road.

Elizabeth Davenport must have been a most interesting person.[1] She wrote at least a couple of books; one under the pen name of Theresa Tidy, with the title *Eighteen maxims of neatness and order*, was published in 1817 and was an exceedingly popular guide to tidiness for children. American editions came out in 1829 and 1833. She also wrote *Voyage to Locuta; A Fragment: with Etchings and Notes of Illustration, Dedicated to Theresa Tidy*, a pastiche of Gulliver's Travels, intended to teach grammar to young children. Unfortunately, both these books are now collectors' items and difficult to find. According to her grandson, Henry Davenport [32], "...she was a superior and very clever woman, very *particular*", and her publisher observed of her "Mrs. G. was a lady who made herself beloved and feared". She sounds like a right old tartar.

Her father, John Davenport was also an author, or so the story goes. It is claimed that he wrote *Rules for Bad Horsemen*, under the pen name of Charles Thompson. I've never found any independent evidence of this (it's just a piece of family lore, I suppose), but I've never found any evidence it's incorrect, either. Pay your money and make your choice. The book itself is available on Google books and comes across as more than a little pompous. At some stage the family was granted a coat-of-arms, which appears on a bookplate of one of Elizabeth Davenport's books (page 123). It's possible that John Davenport was the one granted these arms, as it's likely that he was the first member of the family to become wealthy (otherwise his father's name would have been mentioned somewhere), but I'm just guessing.

John Davenport married Elizabeth Eade whose ancestry can be traced back two more generations via wills in the Public Trust Office. Her parents were Jonathan Eade and Ann Prince, while her paternal grandfather was David Eade, a mariner. The beginning of David Eades' will reads: "I David Eades of the town of Woodbridge in the County of Suffolk Mariner being outward bound to sea and considering the dangers thereof and the frailty of all mankind do therefore make publish & declare .....". This was written in 1692 and by 1701 David was dead. I've always thought his death was most likely due to the dangers thereof and the frailty of all mankind, but I could be wrong.

Anyway, to return to Thomas (v) and Elizabeth, they had six children. The eldest, Thomas (vi) inherited Edmond Castle and lived there for most of his life. He married into some serious money, in the person of Mary Carnegie, who was related to all sorts of Baronets and Earls. It wasn't his wife's money that he used to rebuild Edmond Castle, as he started this before he got married, so he must

[1] Most likely a whole lot more interesting than her husband one feels.

have gone north with a lot of cash on hand, seen the state of Edmond Castle and begun an extensive rebuilding project to make the place liveable. In other words, he inherited a fixer-upper. He became prominent locally, and was very popular with Hayton church, where he paid for the construction of a special Graham stall, and presumably donated lots of money. A plaque in Hayton Church says how wonderful he was, so Devoted to the Service of God, so self-denying, so full of unwearying efforts for the spiritual welfare of the young, etc etc. Another plaque in Hayton Church says how he built and endowed Talkin Church and Hayton School and built the chancel of the church. This explains the first plaque, I imagine.

To be honest, he sounds like he was a bit of a prig. He even built a special house right beside the Hayton Church so that he and his nearest and dearest could stay there overnight to avoid missing any part of the sermon. I mean, that really is going a bit overboard if you ask me. Some people would call this devout; I call it righteous. Still, priggish or not, he was clearly generous with his money, and was probably a good sort of person.

Thomas (vi) and Mary died childless, so the Edmond Castle estate was inherited by a nephew of Thomas, the eldest son of his brother John. This seems a little sad to me. I feel sure that Thomas and Mary loved children and would have liked a family of their own, to fill their huge, new house. But they never had any, for whatever reason, and the estate was passed on to his nephew in the south. The fancy new Edmond Castle, upon which Thomas had spent so much money, was never (or hardly ever) a place where Grahams raised a family; Thomas's nephew inherited the estate, and moved up from the South to live there, but his children didn't raise families there, either remaining unmarried, or nipping off down south to live in London. Eventually, Edmond Castle just sat uninhabited to be hocked off to developers in the 1930's. Not what Thomas and Mary would have wanted, I'm sure.

The second son of Thomas (v) and Elizabeth was John Graham, and since he's my GGG-grandfather I'll discuss him in more detail below. After John came three girls, one of whom was Harriet who died when she was only eight. Elizabeth Maria (known as Maria) remained unmarried and was instrumental in building St. George's Church, Battersea[1], with its associated school and vicarage, while Emily married the Rev. Thomas Collins. And that's all I know about them. Not a lot.

The youngest was Anne Margaret, who married into the Polhill family and whose letters survive in such abundance in the Lambeth Archives. Anne was almost certainly the painter of two water-colours of Edmond Castle that were auctioned by Lunds in the late 1990s. I was surfing the web one day, as one does, searching for anything about Edmond Castle, and there they were. Two water-colour paintings of Edmond Castle, signed by A.M. Graham. I have no idea how they ended up at Lunds Auctioneers, or who bought them, or where they are now, but I'd dearly love to get my hands on them.

As well as containing the correspondence of Anne Margaret, the Lambeth Archives also contain potentially one of the most interesting of all the Graham family documents; a Family Chronicle, published as a newspaper and called *The Strawseat Chronicle*, which was produced by Elizabeth Susanna and her children, detailing the week's happening in the style of grand society reporting. It contains verses, ink sketches, rhymes, stories, and letters, and has to be a fascinatingly detailed glimpse into the lives of the Grahams in the early 1800s. There are 183 files in this archive, an enormous amount of information, and I am determined to get copies of it all, somehow, sometime. Then I will probably have to rewrite these sections of this book.

Thomas (v) died in 1813, Elizabeth in 1844, and they were both buried in the Davenport family vault at Acton.

[1] Damaged by bombing during the London Blitz in 1940 and since demolished.

Ann Margaret Graham, my 4G Aunt.

Questions: Where was Elizabeth Davenport buried? Acton, we are told, but there are Actons all over the place, and I don't know which Acton is meant. There is an Acton in West London (St. Mary's is the parish church) and possibly this is the one. How many generations lay in the family vault? Was it just her parents, or were her grandparents wealthy also? I'd like to find this Davenport family vault at Acton, wherever it is, and have a look. Her father, John Davenport, being an eminent draper, must appear in records also, but, as always, it's a matter of finding them. Overall, there's an awful lot to be discovered about my Davenports. A lot of my information about John Davenport comes from Patrick Baty, a descendant of Margaret Graham; here are some of the tidbits he has sent me. The Davenports appear in a map of Clapham families in C. Smith's *Actual Survey of the Road from London to Brighthelmston*, 1800 (reproduced in *The London Rich*, by Peter Thorold, 1999). In the book *Robert Bevan: A Memoir by His Son*, it is claimed that "An ancestor on his mother's side, John Davenport, wrote an amusing Hints for Bad Horsemen, published in 1786 under the pseudonym Charles Thompson." This is the source of my information about the identity of Charles Thompson. A letter from R[ichard?] Davenport to his mother from Eton (21st March, 1779) was addressed to 432 Strand. In 1794 that address was occupied by Gilpin & Newton, Woollen Drapers and by Davenport & Gilpin, Army Clothiers. Musgrave's Obituaries prior to 1800 records John Davenport, Clothier 16 July 1789 aged 70. John Davenport was mentioned in Jonathan Eade's will of 1762 (PRO – Prob 11/1181). He (John Davenport) left his three unmarried children £10,000 each.

John Graham and Caroline Eleanor Curteis

As I said above, when Thomas (v) died, the Edmond Castle estate was inherited by his eldest son, Thomas (vi), who moved up north, married a pile of money in the person of Mary Carnegie, and rebuilt Edmond Castle extensively. The second son, John, stayed in the south, where he married Caroline Eleanor Curteis, a member of an old Kent family based in Tenterden, Rye, and Windmill Hill, and continued to practise law. I'll deal with the Curteis family separately (Chapter 6), as a lot is known about them.

John bought an estate at The Elms, Eastbourne, but I don't know when, exactly. According to the Lambeth Archives, John moved to Rose Lodge (later called Northfield), Clapham, in 1833, but returned to The Hall in 1844 when his mother died. He left The Hall in 1853 and presumably moved to The Elms, Eastbourne. The Hall was sold to developers in 1886, which was the end of the Graham connection with Clapham.

He was a Justice of the Peace for Sussex and a Deputy Lieutenant also. This latter title, as far as I can tell, is pretty much a honorary title given out to old farts who are thought prominent in the county. They are deputies to the Lord Lieutenant, another honorary position, who seems to have no duties at all, so I doubt it was an onerous job. According to Wikipedia they tend to preside at ceremonial openings and the induction of vicars. Sounds like a blast.

John and Caroline had five children. The eldest was Reginald John, my GG-grandfather (see below). The next was Henry Davenport who married Anna Sophia, the daughter of John S. Jenkinson, Vicar of Battersea, a name and title that has always amused me for some immature and pathetic reason. Henry Davenport was the author of [32], which contains some interesting tidbits of family history. Charles, the next son, was a lawyer like his father, while Edward Curteis, the fourth son, went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and became the Vicar of Wartling.[1] The final child was a daughter, Caroline Curteis (the younger), who married her cousin, Jonathan Darby of Leap Castle[2], Kings

[1] Just as well he wasn't the Vicar of Fartling.

[2] A famously haunted castle in Ireland where an oubliette was discovered, with spikes lining the bottom of the fall. It took three cartloads to carry out all the human bones there. It's a good story. It might even be true, although I doubt it. It didn't help when, in 1909, a Mrs. Mildred Darby dabbled in the black arts and called up an elemental! The size of a sheep, which seems a bit of an anticlimax, but complete with lustfully burning eyes and the stench of a decomposing corpse, so it can't have been all bad. In 1922 the castle was severely damaged during the Irish fight for independence and the Darbys were driven out. Being owned by an English family it would have been an obvious target.

A pencil sketch of Rose Cottage, Eastbourne, made in 1832 by an unknown person.

Co. He was the cousin of the younger Caroline because the older Caroline's sister, Laura Charlotte Curteis (page 126) married a Darby and Jonathan was their son.

Reginald John Graham and Ellen Leah Boileau

John Graham died before his elder brother, Thomas (vi), so Edmond Castle was inherited by Reginald John Graham, the eldest son of John Graham and Caroline Curteis. This must have been quite a shock to him, suddenly to inherit an estate way up in the boonies, a long way from the civilisation of the south, in a place to which, by now, he would have felt little connection. After all, he had never lived there, and neither had his father, who hadn't even been born there. And even though his grandfather had been born there, he hadn't lived there for most of his life. He probably wondered what on earth he was going to do with it (while he collected the rents, of course, and laughed all the way to the bank). However, he did go up to live in Cumberland; in 1911 his widow was still living there with some unmarried daughters and a few grandchildren.

Like his father, Reginald was also a Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant for Sussex (after Harrow and an M.A. at Trinity College, Cambridge. The Grahams were clearly a bunch of top ho Trin. Coll. gents), as well as a Justice of the Peace in Cumberland.

Reginald John married Ellen Leah Boileau, of the Boileau de Castelnau, of whom so much is known that they get an entire chapter to themselves (Chapter 7). They were originally French Huguenots who fled to England and Ireland, became wealthy selling wine, and sent their sons off to die for the British Empire, mostly in India. However, let me not preempt the Boileau chapter.

The Boileau were a fecund lot and in typical fashion Ellen Leah produced 13 children; 10 girls and 3 boys. It was the eighth child, Ellen Octavia, who sailed around the world and met James Bond in New Zealand (Chapter 4). Thus, finally, the New Zealand connection.

Thomas (vii) Henry Boileau Graham. He was the heir to Edmond Castle, and the author of the articles about the Grahams of Edmond Castle in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquities and Archaeological Society* [34]–[41]. He was clearly very interested in family history, but he didn't live in Cumberland for his entire life, even though he was a J.P. there. He was a lawyer and another Trin. Coll. gent. During his lifetime Edmond Castle was

uninhabited for many years, eventually to be sold by his son, Eric Graham. He died on the 10th of March, 1937.

I don't know who his wife was, but he had three sons and a daughter. The eldest was Herbert Henry Cecil, who served in the Royal Navy and was a Commissioner of Taxes. Herbert died in 1950, well after his father. Family records show another unnamed son (this is unusual; sons were nearly always well remembered, it was only the girls who tended to get forgotten) and then a daughter, Violet, who also had a son, or so I'm told.

It was Thomas Henry Boileau's youngest son, Eric Graham, who inherited Edmond Castle, and there have always been questions about why this was so. Rumours fly of illegitimate older brothers discovered in dramatic circumstance, but I know nothing of this. I visited cousin Eric (well, first cousin twice removed) in London a couple of times when I was younger. He was a charming man, and very kind to me. I particularly remember the vicious gin and tonics (just a wee smell of tonic) that I tried to drink at his club. They were quite disgusting.

Actually, the whole of my family (Mum, Dad, kids, the lot) visited Eric en masse in about 1972. It's easy to imagine how he must have felt, a horde of colonial rellies descending on him for a formal afternoon tea, from New Zealand, totally loud and vulgar. My sister Catherine is famous in family history because of this visit to Uncle Eric. Catherine and the other younger children were given tea and cakes at a separate table. Catherine farted loudly, all the children collapsed in giggles[1], and Mum and Dad were highly embarrassed. Farting is something a young lady shouldn't do, but I guess Cathy didn't know that. I'm quite sure she still doesn't.

If I'd had any sense at all I would have asked him about his family history, but I didn't so I didn't. Talk about an opportunity missed! I feel like such an idiot.

Eric left all us children a rather nice legacy in his will. He was, as I said, a very kind man. He died in 1998, but I'm not sure of the exact date.

Herbert Reginald Curteis Graham. He was a Lieutenant in the 10th Lincoln Regiment, and died, unmarried, of a fever at Malta.

Mary Constance Boileau Graham. Died young, less than one year old.

Caroline Eleanor Graham. Died young when almost three.

Mary Paulina Caroline Graham. She married Silvanus Key Borton, the Rector of Binstead[2], Isle of Wight, and had two daughters, Violet and Silvia, both unmarried.

Violet Graham. She had two husbands; Thomas Inglis and Charles Bolton and at least one child from the first marriage.

Geraldine Frances Elizabeth Graham. Married James Cochrane Adam and, as they say, had issue. A daughter, Violet Estelle Adam married George Sylvester Grimston and had a daughter, Caroline Elizabeth Mary Grimston, with whom I have corresponded. She is now Caroline Siggins (she married Richard Siggins, an Irishman. She never said whether being an Irishman was a good thing or a bad thing) and has sent me information about her side of the family.

Ellen Octavia Graham. Get it? Eighth child – Octavia. They must have been running out of names. My GG-grandmother, and the entire reason I've got a chapter on the Grahams of Edmond Castle in this book. You can read more about her in the Bond chapter (Chapter 4).

Nona Evelyn. Aunt Nona. Unmarried.

Georgina Decima. Aunt Decie. Unmarried. Maybe she and Aunt Nona should have gone to New Zealand too; they might have found a handsome husband, just like Octavia did. Or maybe they spent their lives thanking the Good Lord every day that they were back in England, not

[1] Mum probably did too.
[2] Another good name.

stuck at the ends of the earth like their poor sister Ockie, in daily danger of being devoured by cannibals or killed by ravening lions.[1]

John Davenport Graham. The Roll of Honour of the Parish of Hayton (on the wall of Hayton church) lists an officer, John Davenport Graham, as fighting in the Great War. (For some time I thought it said he was killed in that war, but I was just misreading the plaque. Doh!). Also, my father's cousin, Brian Tidmarsh (page 96), inherited from his mother (who was the daughter of Ellen Octavia Graham), an old compass, made in 1918, and in a leather case. The case is inscribed J.D. Graham, Edmond Castle, 5th (?) Warwickshire Regiment, and must surely have belonged to this John Davenport. Ellen Octavia would have got it from her brother and passed it on to her daughter, Nellie.

John Davenport married Evelyn Mary Paton, the daughter of Major James Paton, 3rd of Crailing, Jedburgh, Roxburghshire, a deputy lieutenant for that county.

Estelle Alice Graham. There is a plaque about her on the wall of Hayton church. She died, unmarried, when three days shy of her 25th birthday. This must surely have been a terrible family tragedy; yet another thing I know nothing about, yet another story for me to discover.

Olivia Graham. Aunt Olive. In 1920, when she was over 40, she married the Rev. Edward Evelyn Barber, Rector of Ongar 1913-1928. Apparently she was of a scientific bent; she was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, a real live F.R.G.S. I like to believe she was good at it. Dad doesn't. He is so cynical. She had no children, which is hardly surprising given the age at which she married.

For years I had only a single photograph of Aunt Olive, out of focus, repainted, and with horrible red cheeks, and knew very little more. But then, in 2010, some kind person read my web page and sent me some scans from a book that Olivia had written[33]. She was a very keen motorist, back in the days when cars were not usually driven by ladies, and she was awfully proud of herself. She writes about her trips around the countryside, and down to London and back; "Jim" Bond and Octavia and their two daughters visited, coming on the ship *Rotorua* on the 10th of April, 1912, their first visit to New Zealand together, and James's first visit for over 30 years.

This book contains a few more photographs of Olivia, then about 35 I suppose. She was clearly an interesting and strong-minded person, quite willing to step outside conventions and do whatever the hell she felt like doing. Probably not too dissimilar from her siblings, one suspects.

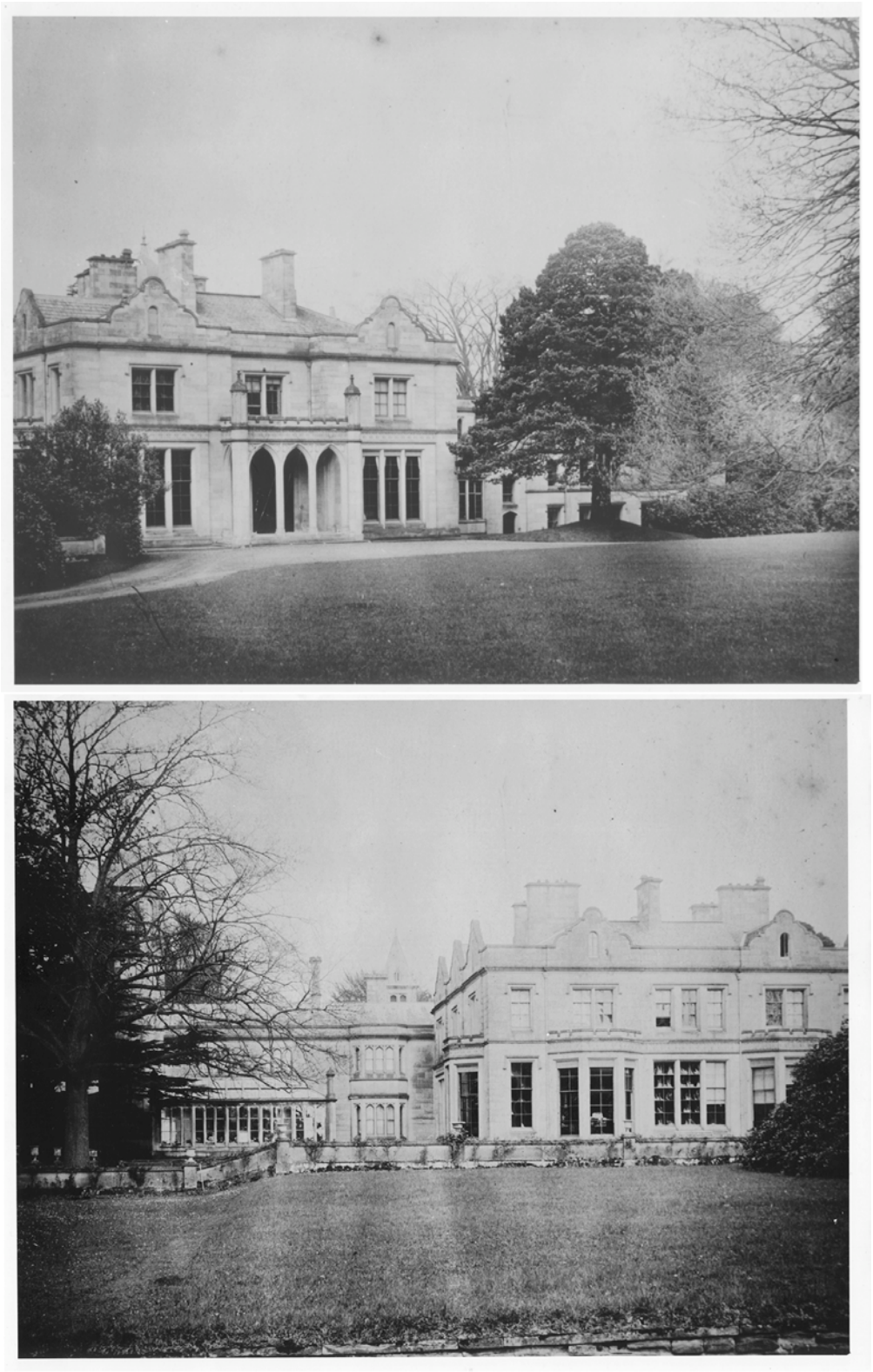
At the time of the 1911 Census, Ellen Leah was living at Edmond Castle (a widow, aged 73, 13 children born alive, 9 still living), as were Nona Evelyn, Georgina Decima, and John Davenport. Another daughter, Geraldine Francis Elizabeth, was also living there with her husband, James Cochrane Adam, and two daughters, aged 4 and 3. I wonder where Olivia was living, as she wasn't mentioned.

Interestingly, there were also seven servants: Elizabeth Graham (aged 23, single, a nurse), Francis Brown (aged 55, single, a cook), Adam Bell (aged 64, married, a butler), Olive Clark (aged 59, single, a lady's maid), Lilian Bateman (aged 19, single, a housemaid), Barbara Midleston (aged 27, single, a kitchen maid), and Isabella Crom (aged 16, single, a housemaid). Must have been rather a comfortable life; seven servants to look after six adults and two children.

Edmond Castle

Most likely, Edmond Castle was originally a peel (pele) tower, the usual kind of defensive tower built on the Anglo-Scottish border. According to tradition, it was named after Edmond Graham, who built it when the adjacent land was lying common.

[1] This is a joke. I am perfectly well aware that there were no lions in New Zealand when Ellen Octavia was.



Edmond Castle in two old photographs (of unknown date; they were sent to me by Ruth Smithson who lives nearby Edmond Castle). Top panel is the view from the front of the house; the Scotch Pine that was planted to commemorate the invasion of the Young Pretender can be seen to the right. The bottom panel shows the side of the house, with the conservatory on the left (note the lovely windows).

Edmond Castle in two recent photographs that I took in 2005. Top panel is the view from the front of the house; the Scotch Pine that was planted to commemorate the invasion of the Young Pretender can be seen to the right as in the previous figure. The bottom panel shows the two distinctive towers. The remains of the original pele tower can be seen to the left, while that ugly grey wall with the trellises is all that is left of the conservatory.

The hamlet of Edmond Castle originally consisted of a number of buildings, but, as the Grahams prospered, they gradually bought out their neighbours, leaving only their own house, which took on the name of the hamlet. According to [35], at the end of the eighteenth century there were four dwellings in the hamlet of Edmond Castle, in addition to the big house:

1. Dixon's, which was sold to Thomas (iv) Graham in 1759;
2. Willie's House, the property of James Graham of Fenton, whose relationship, if any, to my branch of the Grahams is uncertain. He sold to Thomas (iv) in 1784. Apparently this was the centre of the local smuggling trade, and brandy was sold at fourteen pence a quart.
3. Charley Tom's, property of Thomas Graham, *alias* Charley Tom. He had a son Thomas, who was known as "young Charley Tom".
4. Reed's, occupied by John Nixon, and bought by Thomas (iv) in 1786.

As a side issue, this gives some idea of how many Grahams there were, even just in the vicinity of Edmond Castle.

All these houses were demolished at around the same date (presumably soon after 1786) to make way for improvements to the big house, the house of the Grahams of Edmond Castle. By 1796, Dr. John Heysham, a well-known Carlisle doctor and naturalist, was able to comment on the sand martins in the artificial lakes which Thomas Graham was making [54], so the renovations must have been well under way by then.

The Edmond Castle that exists today (or did, until it was chopped to pieces by developers in 2005 or so) was built, in a second major round of improvements, by Thomas (vi) Graham (1793-1881; my 4G Uncle) who married Mary Carnegie in 1829. The building was designed by Sir Robert Smirke between 1824 and 1829. On the external walls of one of the wings is a plaque to commemorate that. You can see the Graham escallops on the left, and the Carnegie eagle on the right. Above the shield it reads TH 1829 MG(C?) (page 123). It was then extended by Robert Smirke's brother, Sydney, in around 1846.

In 1937 T.H.B. Graham died, and his son Eric inherited. However, he wasn't too keen on Edmond Castle and sold it, with the entire estate and associated cottages. For £38,500 according to the conveyancing deed. They dickered over the deposit. Eric wanted £3,850, the buyers wanted to pay £500, and they settled on £1,000. Nothing much changes, huh?

Fortunately, the new owners, Henry Studholme Cartmell and Stanley Walton did not simply sell the timber and demolish the house, as often happened in the Depression, but allowed Czech refugees to take shelter there from about June 1940. Ruth Smithson sent me copies of some of the letters of complaint written about the Czech refugees, who, apparently, left gates open (horror! Sometimes twice a day!), interfered with rabbit traps (Oh No!), used Ruddick's spring cart and broke a shaft (unimaginable disaster!), and generally trespassed where they weren't supposed to. It's a delightful set of letters.

The owners then sold the hall to the Home Office in 1942 for use as an approved school. The school trained delinquent boys in plastering, plumbing, painting, joinery and bricklaying, employing them to carry out repairs on the property and painting murals of rock'n roll singers, cowboys and undersea discovery. During the latter stages of the war, my grandfather (Alfred Sneyd, or Pop) visited Edmond Castle when it was a Borstal, and gave a talk to the boys. He was in the New Zealand Navy. Presumably he was sent by my grandmother, who was the Graham descendant and never let anyone forget it. Especially not her husband.

The Castle was later turned into a hotel, but I don't know when. I visited in 1990 and took some photographs, but they are little different from the photographs I took in 2005. Actually, there's a neat story about how I first found Edmond Castle (it wasn't easy in 1989, as it was called Hayton Castle Hotel, and the name Edmond Castle didn't appear on any maps, at least that I could find). It wasn't me who found it, as it happens, it was my mother. My wife Monique and I lived in Oxford in 1989 (approximately anyway) and we went on a tiki tour of Britain just for fun. My mother came along, and Monique's aunt Helen and her mother Mary too.[1] Anyway, we went up to Cumberland,

[1] I know what you're thinking. Me and Monique and two mothers-in-law sounds like a recipe for total disaster. But it wasn't at all, it was rather fun.

A photograph of the interior of Edmond Castle, taken at some unknown date, but certainly before 1937 when the house was sold. Thanks to Ruth Smithson for sending me a copy of this photograph.

on our way to Scotland, and we stopped at Lanercost Priory just to have a wee look. I knew a little about the Grahams of Edmond Castle then (but very much less than I know now), and I kind of knew that the Castle was close by, but I didn't know where. I didn't care too much, and would have been quite happy just to visit Lanercost and keep on driving. Not Mum, oh no. She sees some old geezer wandering around Lanercost Abbey and trundles up to him and says, basically, Hi, I'm a country hick from New Zealand. Where is Edmond Castle? I remember being too embarrassed to ask, and a little embarrassed that my mother had so little shame. Oh, says the old geezer, yes, I know that. It's called Hayton Castle Hotel. It's X miles along the road, after the Y turnoff, keep on going for Z miles, and then the driveway is on the right. Can't miss it.[1] I remember clearly how flabbergasted I was. It was hard to believe that Mum's brazen shamelessness had paid such dividends. Anyway, off we went, up the driveway, and there it was. Easily recognisable from the shape of the two towers, which I had seen in family paintings. Cool. Into the lobby, where Mum does her Hi, I'm a county hick routine, and I blush. No go this time. Piss off, they said. Well, they didn't actually *say* that, but you see they meant it. So we stuck our heads around the corners, had a wee look at as many rooms as we could, ate lunch at the cheapo place in the stables (we couldn't afford the real restaurant inside the house), and carried on to Scotland.

In 2005, Edmond Castle was sold again, broken up by a developer and sold. If I had had the money, I would have bought it. I wasn't even close.[2]

I visited Edmond Castle again in August, 2005, when the builders were there to do the developer's dirty work. A terrible shame. The house was being broken up and sold off in pieces; a bit here, a bit there, a two-bedroom apartment in this bit, a four-bedroom apartment in this bit. Walls were being built to break the garden up and I just hate to think of the damage being done inside.

[1] Yeah, right.

[2] Well, maybe. As Dad said, if you bought it you'd feel obliged to live there, and imagine having to live in Britain. Shudder. No thanks.

Soon there'll be essentially nothing left of the grand old house it used to be. Ah well. Nothing I can do about it.

The coat-of-arms of the Grahams of Edmond Castle

I know, I know. Heraldry is ridiculous. It embodies everything[1] I detest about Britain; the class structure, the snobbishness, the pretensions to grandeur, the belief that a person is defined by their parents or their accent, and that an inherited title somehow makes you a better person.[2]

However, no matter how offensive it is, I do love heraldry. So I'm completely inconsistent. And I don't care.

The coat-of-arms which was entitled to be used by the Grahams of Edmond Castle is a matter of considerable confusion, as the written evidence doesn't agree with various inscriptions and carvings. The official arms are given in Burke's Landed Gentry [16] as: *Per pale indented erminois and sable, on a chief per pale of the last and or, three escallops counterchanged. Crest: two armed arms ppr., garnished or, embowed issuing out of the battlements of a tower, also ppr., holding an escallop gold. Motto: N'oublie*. There's a picture of them on page 123.

All very well, so far. Burke even gives a picture. However, the actual arms used by Thomas Henry Graham and Reginald John Graham in their burial monuments in Hayton church are quite different, being merely the usual Graham three escallops in chief. So, it seems clear that the Grahams of Edmond Castle didn't actually use their official arms, if they had any in the first place, and just used the three Graham escallops. I'm sure it's not impossible that the arms given by Burke (and reproduced in Hudleston and Boumphrey [46]) were a pure invention. I was surprised to find in Hudleston and Boumphrey that practically every Cumberland Graham family also used the three Graham escallops in chief. I'm betting that anybody called Graham in Cumberland just used them without worrying too much about whether they were officially entitled to use them.

However, the plot thickens. A carving on an external wall of Edmond Castle commemorates the marriage of Thomas Henry Graham to Mary Carnegie, in 1829. If you look closely (page 123) you can see along the top the carving reads TH 1829 MG. The right of the shield contains the Carnegie eagle, while the left contains the three Graham escallops, with the colour scheme clearly indicated (the spaced dots are the usual way of denoting gold, and the small cross-hatching is the usual way of denoting black. This can be seen in Holland's illustrations of Rietstap [59].) However, the escallops are not in chief now, but in bend. Nowhere can I find a Graham coat-of-arms that has the escallops in bend rather than in chief. I suspect artistic license. Maybe the carver just put them in bend to give himself more room to carve the escallops. Maybe it was just a mistake. Maybe Thomas Henry was being creative. Whatever the reason, it's quite possible the specific design has no particular heraldic significance. However, a bookplate of Elizabeth Susanna Graham (born Elizabeth Davenport; page 110) in which the Graham escallops are also in bend, with the Davenport arms on the right, suggests that the escallops in bend may have been a deliberate choice of Thomas Henry's father. It is confusing.

So if there is no evidence of the Burke coat-of-arms ever being used, where did it come from? I believe it was most likely invented for the Kirkstall Baronets and then just used for the Grahams of Edmond Castle also, either by mistake or from a desire for them to have a 'proper' coat-of-arms.

On the other hand, the crest of the Grahams of Edmond Castle is consistent in everything I've ever seen. It's a tower, presumably referring to the original Edmond Castle. This tower is on an old gold ring I have of the Grahams, a silver christening mug, on all the funerary monuments, and in the descriptions of the coat-or-arms. It was clearly the tower and the escallops they cared about; all the rest was just flummery.

[1] Well, not everything. It doesn't have much to do with hugely overcrowded beaches, people not washing, and soggy luke-warm fish and chips

[2] Oh, shut up James. Stop ranting.

Coats-of-Arms of The Grahams of Edmond Castle. Top left: the arms and crest given in Burke's Landed Gentry [16]. I believe this to be incorrect, applicable only to the Kirkstall Baronets. Top right: a bookplate of Elizabeth Susanna Graham (Davenport), as you can tell from the fancy ESG. On the left are the three Graham escallops, on the right are the Davenport arms. Bottom left: the Graham and Carnegie arms on the wall of Edmond Castle. Bottom right: the arms of Graham of Edmond Castle and Boileau de Castelnau, from the funeral monument of Reginald John Graham, who married Ellen Leah Boileau.