ART. XIII.—*An Historical and Descriptive Account of Cockermouth Castle.* By WILLIAM JACKSON, F.S.A.
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PART I., COCKERMOUTH CASTLE AND ITS OWNERS TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

IT was Henry I. and not William the Conqueror, as the local historians (misled by the monks of St. Mary of York and the pseudo charter of Wetherall) relate, who gave to Ranulph de Meschines the Earldom of Carleol, or Carlisle, which included probably the whole of the county of Cumberland and certainly, in addition, the valley of the Eden to its source. That potentate portioned off the Border territory into the three baronies of Gilsland, Lyddale, and Burgh, retaining the districts less open to irruption for himself: but he did not long hold his newly created dignity, for when the Earl of Chester, with numerous other youthful Norman nobles, perished with Henry's only son in the "White Ship," Ranulph succeeded to his cousin's earldom, a position in the kingdom second only to that of the crown, and thereupon he surrendered the great fief of Carleol to the king. Henry I. followed the example of Ranulph, and created five new baronies,—Copeland, or Allerdale above Derwent, Allerdale below Derwent, Wigton, Greystock, and Levington, reserving to the crown the Forest of Inglewood and the City of Carlisle. The remaining portion of the fief went, as the Barony of Appleby, to the county of Westmorland.

Our enquiries will be confined to the two former, but more especially to the first, almost without reference to their sub-feudatories.

William de Meschines, who had obtained a grant from his brother Ranulph of the Barony of Gilsland but found that it was no bed of roses, was glad to resign that dignity to

to Henry I. in exchange for the Barony of Copeland; and Waldeoff received Allerdale below Derwent, which was increased by his neighbour Meschines making over to him the land between Cocker and Derwent, and the five towns of Brigham, Egglesfield, Dean, Greysouthen, and Clifton, which latter donation gave Waldeoff the whole valley of the Derwent, except the district around its embouchure at Workington.

It is remarkable that the name of Allerdale below Derwent should have usurped, and, so far as the civil district is concerned, ousted that of the parent Barony, of which at one time it formed only a minor part, though the ecclesiastical district of the Deanery of Copeland, which, I believe, is absolutely conterminous with the ward, still retains the ancient name.

Waldeoff was the son of that Gospatric who, having been appointed Earl of Northumberland by the Conqueror, was shortly afterwards expelled by him from that office, and on his flight into Scotland was created, by King Malcolm, Earl of Dunbar.

In a space of about fifty years this barony passed through the hands of Alan, son of Waldeoff, of his son and successor, a second Waldeoff, and of his sister Octreda, who carried the inheritance to her husband, Duncan, Earl of Murray, from whom it passed to their son William Fitz Duncan.

Meanwhile the neighbouring barony of Copeland had fallen, first into the hands of Cicely, the heiress of De Meschines, whose only daughter Alice by her husband Robert de Romilly, Lord of Skipton, had a daughter Alice who became the wife of William Fitz Duncan, and so for a short time these two baronies were joined.

And now it might have been supposed that a powerful family was likely to bear rule over a district which extended in length from the Duddon to the Waver, and in breadth from Dunmail Raise to St. Bees Head in Cumberland, possessing also as they did, the territory of Craven in Yorkshire, whose

whose fertility more than counterbalanced its deficiency in extent: whilst in Scotland the great Earldom of Murray gave to Fitz Duncan a status inferior to no other subject of that kingdom. The anomalous position of those great proprietors who held estates in both countries, is well illustrated by an event that occurred previous to the battle of the Standard, in 1138. David invaded England ostensibly in the cause of his great nephew Henry II., but really urged to do so by his Galwegian or Pictish, his Gaelic, and Norse subjects, who thought of nothing but the plunder to be gained. The address of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale and owner of large possessions in Yorkshire and Cumberland, to David when he renounced his allegiance, points out to the king the folly of which he was guilty in alienating those very nobles by whose valour and skill Galloway and other districts had been brought to acknowledge his rule, and he specially mentions Fitz Duncan's father as having been mainly instrumental in the conquest of that district.* For how many powerful nobles Bruce must have been speaking (Fitz Duncan amongst the number, for he survived till 1151), and how much this injudicious act must have alienated Cumbrian feeling from Scotland, and have led to the final separation in 1157! Fitz Duncan's only son, celebrated in tradition as the "Boy of Egremond," succeeded to these enormous territorial demesnes, and his connections were regal, for he was—through his grandfather Duncan, younger brother to David—second cousin to Malcolm, King of Scotland; and by the marriage of Duncan's sister, "Matilda the Good," with Henry I., he stood in the same relation to Henry II. of England.

There is a curious story which has only been brought to light by the researches of Mr. Skene: †

When David died his grandson, Malcolm, became entitled to the crown according to the Norman law of succession,

* Celtic Scotland, by W. F. Skene, Vol. I., pp. 465-6. † *Ibid*, pp. 471-2.

but

but the Pictish race withheld their obedience. Malcolm, it would seem, by his deference to his cousin Henry II., and his attendance upon him as a feudatory at the siege of Toulouse, fell into disgrace with his Gaelic and other supporters, some of whom desired to see his cousin, the "Boy of Egremond," placed on the throne in his stead. Winton says: —

"Quhen the Kyng Malcolme come agayne,
Off his legys mad him a trayne;
A mayster-man called Feretawche
With Gyllandrys Ergemawche,
And other mayster-men thare fyve
Agayne the King than ras belyve;
For caws that he past till Twlows
Agayne hym thai ware all irows;
Forthi thai set thame hym to ta
In till Perth, or than hym sla.
Bot the kyng rycht manlyly
Swne skalyd all that cumpany
And tuk and slwe."

Bk. vii., c. 7.

The "Orkneyinga Saga" says of William Fitz Duncan, that "he was a good man, and that his son was William the Noble, whom all the Scots wished to take for their king."

I have often wondered why the sad fate of the "Boy of Egremond," miserable though it was, should have so dwelt in the popular recollection till it has engaged in the present day the pens of our most celebrated poets; but when we learn that he was the child of such mighty hopes that he might have aspired to a kingdom, we cease to wonder at the wail which has made itself heard through the ages, and that of his mother Wordsworth should say; —

"Long, long in darkness did she sit
And her first words "Let there be
In Bolton, on the Field of Wharfe,
A stately Priory."

But the catastrophe in the torrent of the Wharfe did not leave the afflicted mother childless; she had three daughters, Cecily,

Cecily, Amabel, and Alice. We are interested in all three, for either one or the other or their descendants became, in their turns, possessed of Cockermouth. In the division that took place, the youngest sister got for her share the Lordship of Allerdale below Derwent, with the five towns. She became the wife of Gilbert Pipard, a justice itinerant, and a man who filled various public offices of importance. Supposing, as is most probable, that the death of their brother took place about 1160, she and her sisters would be young at that time. Alice, I gather from the Pipe Rolls of the Exchequer for the county of Cumberland (p. 61), was the wife of Pipard, and probably had been so for some time, in the 3rd of Richard I. (1192.) His name occurs again in the following year (p. 66), most likely the year of his death. I have little doubt that Papcastle is indebted for its name to Pipard, who was likely to erect a fortress on the site of the old Roman town, where stone was convenient and the position good. This is rendered more probable by the fact that the Castle of Egremont owes its origin to Reginald de Lucy, the husband of Amabel, the second of the co-heiresses.*

Alice was the wife of Robert de Courtenai, her second husband, in 7th Richard I. (1196), and became his widow in 10th or 11th John (1209-1210); for it is recorded in the Pipe Rolls of Cumberland for that year, that she paid to

* It may be that the well-known mill called the "Goat Mill" dates from this period, which would give it the very respectable age of seven centuries. but I am much disposed to ascribe to it an origin eight centuries earlier, and to believe that we have here a mill occupying the very site of a predecessor, which ground the corn for the garrison of the neighbouring Roman fort. It is certain that there were water corn mills in England in Saxon times. The Saxons, so far as the arts of daily life were concerned, followed *longo inter vallo* the patterns that they found existing in their adopted land. We know that water corn mills were in use in Rome in the fourth century, and I have observed that ancient mills are no uncommon neighbours to Roman Camps. The name of Goat, which has long puzzled me, is, it seems, the equivalent of the Icelandic "Gioto," a drain; technically "goit," the channel which takes the water from the mill wheel back to the parent stream. The, so called, tradition that, during the reign of Edward I, the Derwent was diverted from an original straight course by the foot of Mickle Brow to the Goat, and carried to the base of the hill on which Cockermouth Castle stands, is equally true with the popular belief that a secret passage exists from that place to Papcastle.

King John a fine of £500, ten palfreys, and ten oxen, to have liberty of the lands of her own inheritance, to have a reasonable dower assured to her out of the lands of both husbands, and that she might not be compelled to marry again (p. 133). The same authority mentions her as living 15th John (1214). I have not ascertained the exact period of her death. She was childless, and the greater part of her inheritance passed to her sister, Cecily, to whom I will presently allude more at length.

Robert de Courtenai is supposed by Dugdale to have been a brother of that Reginald de Courtenai who married Hawise, the heiress of the great Abrinces family, and both might therefore be sons of that Peter, younger son of Louis-le-gros, King of France, who married the great heiress of the old Courtenay stock and assumed the name. In the elaborate pedigree of that family compiled by Messrs. Oliver and Pitman* they hesitate where to place him.

The nobility of the race of Courtenay has been celebrated in pompous and befitting phrase by Gibbon.

The descendants of Reginald have left their mark in English History, but they have rarely flourished so far as wealth is concerned, and their melancholy mottoes,—one being:

"What we gave we have,
What we spent we had,
What we left we lost."

The other, "Ubi lapsus quid feci," are fitting comments on their story.

Cicely, the eldest daughter of Fitz Duncan and his wife Alice de Romilly, had carried the great barony of Skipton as her portion of the inheritance to her husband William-le-gros, Earl of Albemarle. Their only daughter, Hawise, married successively William de Mandeville, William de

* Archæological Journal, Vol. X., p. 324.

Fortibus,

Fortibus, and Baldwin de Bethune, by the second of whom only did she leave a son, who became second Earl of Albemarle of the Fortibus family.

I deem it most probable that on the death of Alice de Courtney it was to him a share of her inheritance fell: her portion had to be divided between the descendants of Cecily, afore-mentioned, and those of Amabel, the second sister of the three, who had married Reginald de Lucy, and who in the first division had obtained the barony of Copeland. There are traces in the Record volumes that no final and satisfactory partition was ever arrived at, but it is certain, at any rate, that upon the death of Alice the demesne lands between Cocker and Derwent, and the major part of the same in the barony of Allerdale below Derwent, went to this William de Fortibus; and it is none the less certain that Bridekirk, including Papcastle, went to the Egremont family, and thus what I think had been the "Caput Baroniæ" ceased to be so.

I will not deny the truth of the statement that Waldeoff may have been the founder of Cockermouth Castle; indeed, its remarkably strong position, at the junction of the two rivers, may have led to the site being fortified from the earliest times, for precisely such a site formed by the fork at the junction of two streams is the very nature of the one chosen by Viollet le Duc to illustrate his masterly and delightful "Histoire d'une Forteresse;" but everything points to this period having been the era of its becoming of any importance.

I would draw particular attention to the fact, that in the Close Rolls for the year 1215, there is a command from King John to the Sheriff of Cumberland, that he should deliver up to William de Fortibus the manor of Cockermouth with its appurtenances;* but in the year 1221, 6th King Henry III., we have in the Close Rolls† a command from the King to the Sheriff of Westmorland, that "without

* Rotuli Literarum Clausarum, Vol. I., p. 191. † Vol. I., p. 474b.

any

any delay he should summon the Earls, Barons, Knights, and Freeholders of his Bailliwick, and that they should hasten to Cockermouth and besiege the Castle there, and when they had taken the same should destroy it to its very foundations." It will be noted that in the first quotation we find only mention made of a manor, whilst the second relates entirely to the castle. I will not go so far as to say that this proves the castle was erected in the interim, yet it is worthy of note. But we have to account for this furious order on the part of Henry III., and reference to Roger of Wendover* supplies us with an explanation to the following purport: — Immediately after his coronation that monarch made a progress, with a view to ascertain who had the various royal castles in their custody, and, not improbably, to observe how many had been erected without authority, for it may be noted that the licenses to crenellate commence in this reign. The only noble from whom he met with any opposition was this very William de Fortibus, who declined to surrender Rockingham Castle, and subsequently broke out into open rebellion. Now this order, a duplicate of which was sent to the Sheriff of Yorkshire regarding Skipton Castle and other places also, would be a natural sequence. Whether or no the order was carried out in its extreme severity we have no record, but it is a curious fact that the western tower shows in its basement strong indications of being originally built early in the thirteenth century, and of its destruction very soon after; whilst a fourteenth century superstructure has been subsequently erected on the old foundation. Slighter traces, and therefore indicating more complete destruction, of a circular tower having once existed at the south-western corner of the present inner bailey may be discerned.

It would be curious if we had here a complete history,

* Bohn's edition, Vol. II., pp. 428-9.

partly

partly told us by the old chroniclers and partly by the Record, eked out by evidences in stone.

But William de Fortibus, finding matters were going against him, deemed it wiser to return to his obedience, and, by the intercession of the Archbishop of York, so far and so soon recovered the favour of the king, as to have accorded to him, in that very same year of 1221,* a grant of market for his town of Cockermouth, to be held every Saturday, whilst later in the year the day was changed to the one on which it has ever since been held.†

I may just add that this unruly Baron merits some national note as one of the twenty-five who secured Magna Charta; and some local note for having confirmed all his ancestors' gifts to Saint Bees Priory, and perhaps added a trifle to secure the good word "monachorum ibidem Deo servientium." He married Aveline, the heiress of the Monfichets, and died in 1241, leaving an only son, the third Thomas in lineal descent. His second wife was Isabel, the great heiress of Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devon. He died in 1260. His widow had Cockermouth as her dower, and in the year 1268, we find in the Record of Pleas,‡ she makes her complaint against Roger de Lancaster, Richard le Fleming and others that, *vi et armis*, they had come to her castle at Cockermouth, and seized and carried away a goshawk, three doves, and consumed her goods to the amount of forty marks.

The power and possessions which had been gathering for four generations, now culminated in the person of Aveline, sole heiress of the last William and Isabella de Redvers; and she was no unworthy prize for Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, King Henry's second son, to whom, in 1269, she was married—the King and Queen and almost all the nobility of England being present at the wedding;—but she died childless before 1275, and her vast posses-

* Rot. Lit. Clausarum, Vol. I. p. 458b. † *Ibid.* 481b. ‡ Placitorum Abbreviatio p. 173b.

sions

sions were held to have escheated to the crown, although there were descendants living, not only of Cecily's younger daughter, Amicia, but also of her second sister, Amabel.

Edward I. granted the Skipton barony to the Cliffords in exchange for certain lands in Monmouthshire, but he retained the barony of Cockermouth; and there are records of homage paid by the sub-feudatories, and grants of the custody of the Castle. One was made by Edward II., in his third year (1310),* to his favourite Piers de Gavestone and his wife Margaret for life; but that brief tenure lasted only two years, and in 1315 it was granted to Thomas de Richemond for his life.† Richemond enjoyed his grant for even a shorter period than Gaveston, for in 1316 a plea was entered at Westminster‡ on behalf of Thomas de Multon of Egremond and Anthony de Lucy, showing their respective descents from Amabel, the second sister; a plea which, although apparently overruled legally, or rather by the lawyers, was, as we shall see in the end, not without moral effect. The castle was in the custody of several seneschalls until it was again granted for his life to Andrew Harcla,§ who had gratified Edward by his defeat of the Earl of Lancaster at Borough-bridge, which nobleman had incurred his bitter hatred by the leading part he had taken in compassing the death of Gaveston.

But poor Harcla, who had been loaded with Manors and Honours, either overcome by ambition or out of compassion for the wretched state of the northern counties, subject as they were to endless invasions by the Scotch, entered into a league with Bruce, which Edward and his advisers deemed treasonable and, consequent upon this, he was seized in the Castle of Carlisle, as is related by the chronicler of Lanercost, to whose graphic account, largely

* Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii, Vol. 1., p. 170.
† *Ibid*, p. 209.
‡ Placitorum Abbreviatio, p. 323.
§ Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium, in Curia Scaccarii, Vol. 1., p. 245.

embodied

embodied as it has already been in Mr. R. S. Ferguson's paper on Carlisle Castle, Vol. II., p. 87, of our Transactions, I refer for more minute particulars.

Anthony de Lucy, having taken the leading part in the capture of the castle and of Harcla, was rewarded by the recognition of his claim on Cockermouth, which we may suppose was the prime motive of his undertaking. During the remainder of his life he occupied a high position in the kingdom, which, so far as his capacity was concerned, he undoubtedly merited.

I think I have succeeded in tracing in outline the history of this castle, or at any rate, barony, up to the grant to Anthony de Lucy, and I was justified in entertaining strong hopes that, as it had passed in almost uninterrupted descent from the period at which we have arrived to the present time, there might be documents existing which would prove of the greatest interest in elucidating its history. I have to acknowledge most thankfully the politeness of Lord Leconfield in looking over his archives at Petworth, in response to Mr. Clutton's very kind application on my behalf, none the less so because the investigation was without result. Earl Percy, too, caused diligent search to be made both at Sion House and Alnwick, and communicated through Dr. Ainger an abstract of a document, which had also been mentioned on page 47 of the Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. Like many other antiquarian discoveries, this document in place of assisting to unravel difficulties actually adds another, for it tells of a grant of the patronage of the Chantry of the Blessed Virgin in Brigham Church, to Thomas de Burgh, the rector, by Sir Henry de Lucy, Lord of Cockermouth, in the year 1330. Now the name of Henry never occurs in the Lucy pedigree we possess, which, however I grant, is little better than an outline and even imperfect in that respect, for we are ignorant of the name of Anthony's wife.

This

This Henry may have been an elder son of Anthony, to whom he had subfeoffed Cockermouth, and who predeceased him, for Anthony did not die until 17 Edward III., (1343).

His son and successor, Thomas, married Margaret, one of the three coheiresses of her brother John de Multon, of the kindred line of Egremont; Elizabeth having become the wife of Robert de Harrington and Joanne of Robert de Fitzwalter. Each of the three became entitled to a third of that ancient barony.

This Thomas is mentioned by Froissart as one of the great nobles who landed with Edward III. in Normandy, in the year 1346, and as the battle of Cressy took place soon afterwards, we may fairly conclude that he shared in the honours of that day. He filled many prominent offices and died in the year 1365.

His successor was his son Anthony, who married Joan Fitz Hugh, widow of William, Lord of Greystock, by whom he had an only daughter who died young. Shortly after his marriage, as we learn from an ancient Roll lately published by the Surtees Society, Vol. 66. p, 296, he proceeded to the Holy Land where he died. Upon his decease his sister Maud became the heiress of the Lucy line. She was the wife of Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, by whom she had a daughter. Becoming a widow, she married Henry, the first Earl of Northumberland. But I will narrate in the words of an old rhyming chronicler of the Percy family some particulars of special interest:

"The said sixt Henry Lord Pearcy had the vij Henery,
Whom to Elizabeth Earle of Anguish daughtr and heire hee
did marry
And to the same Henery and Elizabeth
The said Earle of Anguish that noble Lord
Gave the Lordship of Prudhoo wth the appurtenances
as faire evidences doe recorde
And to the foresaid Henery & his heires for evermore
whether hee had issue or none by the said lady
Elizabeth his daughtr but or these mariages were made
completely
Elizabeth departed a Vergin to God's mercy.

Then

Then afterwards Margret the Lord Nevills daughter his
second wife married hee
by whom hee had three sones whose names bee
Henry the eight, Raph the second, and the third Thomas
Margret dyed & and after her as fortuned the case
Hee married Maude Countess of Anguesh his therd wife
Which mother was to Elizabeth his first wife
And by the said Maud forthwithall
The Lord Lucy Lands by her guift came to him all.

Soe this noble man if yee wisely regard
had faire lands and possessions greate
ffirst by Elizabeth the Daughter, and by Maude her
mother afterwarde
of which noe lawe may his heires defeate.
Of this matter it needeth noe more to treate
the seventh Henry was the ffirst Earle & had his creation
of kinge Richard the second the day of his coronation.

This said Lady Maud Lucy as I understand
married herself conditionally to the foresaid
Seaventh Henry first Earle of Northumberland
as to say that the Lord Pearcey should beare continually
The blew Lion and the Lucies siluer in his armes quarterly
her name hee might not take, issue none had she,
therefore shee Did bind him to beare her armes as
in his armes yee may see.

The honour of Cockermouth came by her shee gaue it freely
to him & to his heires as by the Lawe she might
Bearinge the foresaid armes of her in memory
with the blue Lyon the Braband armes quarterly
The Seventh Henry had greate trouble in defendinge the
right
of his souiagne Lord Kinge Richard the second to whom
hee was true knight
And in his quarrell at last one Bramham more for his
truth slaine was hee
by the comandment of Henry the ffourth called
Henry Darby.

I have been desirous to give these particulars in detail, because they explain the existence and arrangement of the shields over Cockermouth Castle gate,—the tower on which they are placed having been built by this Earl. In the centre is the coat of the Lucys, gules three lucies hauriant argent; on the left, the blue lion of the Percies on a

golden ground; to the extreme left, "the silver saltire, clothed in martial red," of the Nevilles, the family coat of Margaret, Henry's second wife and the mother of his children; on the right of the central coat is that of Multon, argent three bars gules; and on the extreme right, the golden cinquefoil, surrounded by an orle of cross crosslets of the same on a bloody field of the Umfravilles, at once the coat of Maud's first husband and Percy's first wife. I blazon them in their proper colours, for so, when the tower was newly erected, as it then was, they would all be depicted.

I may mention, and, whatever may be the explanation, it is a fact, that the marriages of near relations or connections were never so common as at this period, when they were most prohibited. Of course the prohibition was withdrawn if mother church was properly propitiated.

The statement of the rhyming chronicler, that Maud settled her lands upon her second husband and his heirs, upon the conditions mentioned, is borne out by a document even more prosaic than his co-called rhymes. At the inquest held at Cockermouth, on Monday, September 21st, 1398, after the death of Maud, which occurred the Wednesday before Christmas day of the same year, it was stated that precisely the same beneficial results were to accrue to the Percy family, on precisely the same conditions.

I find in the Patent Rolls of the 19th year of Richard II. (1396),* a license to grant a chantry in the chapel of All Saints, beneath the Castle of Cockermouth, and in the first Henry IV. (1400),† another grant expressed in very similar words. I am disposed to think that Maud, who died in 1398, as we have seen, was making arrangements to found a chantry for her own sepulture at the former date, which was confirmed at the latter, after the interment had actually taken place.

* Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium p. 237b. † *Ibid*, p. 230.

And

And now this mighty Earl, having been mainly instrumental in dethroning Richard II, and placing Bolingbroke in his seat, had risen to such a height of power, having great possessions in Cumberland, Northumberland, Yorkshire, and the lordship of Man, that he and his son—the valiant Hotspur,—impatient of any superiors, (and having the great developement of the Burgundian power and the disorganized state of Germany before them, we need not be surprised at their indulging in such visions,)--had joined with Owen Glendower and Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, in a sort of partition treaty, according to which they were to dethrone Henry IV., and the Percies were to have the country north of the Trent. This project was defeated, for the Earl was prevented from joining his son and his brother, the Earl of Worcester, by the watchful behaviour of his wife's nephew, Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland, who maintained his allegiance. Hotspur and his uncle were overthrown by Henry the IV. at Shrewsbury, where the former was slain, and the latter being captured was executed. Picture the misery of the poor old Earl, whose wife Maud had died in 1398, and whose son and brother were now cut off by violent deaths. Still plotting treason he fled into Scotland; thence, hearing that a scheme was forming to surrender him, he removed to Wales, and after seeking in vain for help in Flanders he returned suddenly to England, gathered together his retainers, and advanced into Yorkshire, where he ended what must have become a miserable existence at Bramham Moor, leaving his grandchildren, however, safe in Scotland.

With this period may be said to commence the Wars of the Roses, for the usurpation of Henry led to that bitter struggle, and just as the fortunes of the Percies ebbed or flowed would be the varying fortunes of their Honour of Cockermouth. I do not think that the castle has ever been much of a place of residence for its proprietors since the Lucy line failed.

The

The second Earl of Northumberland, Hotspur's son, probably resided at Warkworth, at Alnwick, or at one of his Yorkshire castles. He fell at Saint Albans. The third Earl was slain at Towton, on the evil Palm Sunday, 1461, and his honours and estates became forfeited by act of attainder. The castle, the lordship, and the honour of Cockermouth, were granted in 1466, to Richard, Earl of Warwick, known as the King Maker;* and it is curious that Cockermouth should have belonged to two such powerful nobles as Henry Percy, the first Earl of Northumberland, who was the King Maker of his time (for Henry IV. owed his crown principally to that nobleman's support), and Richard Nevill, who gained the name by which he is so well known at a later period in the same century. Attainder again brought Cockermouth into the possession of the crown, after the Earl of Warwick's death at Barnet in 1471, when it was restored once more to Henry Percy, the fourth Earl of Northumberland, who was murdered at his seat of Cock Lodge, in Yorkshire. The fifth earl, as we know from his Household Book, lived principally either at Wreshill or Leconfield Castles, and the only mention in that most interesting record of Family Grandeur of his Cumberland estates at all, is to allude to them as a mere source of Revenue.† This earl, who died in 1527, was the first who died a natural death for 150 years. The sixth earl, known as the Unthrifty, only held the honours for a brief period, and also dwelt principally in Yorkshire. As he had no family, and his brother had been attainted, he was advised to leave all his estates to the crown, hoping they might be restored to his nephew by the Royal Clemency, as ultimately, indeed, they were.

It is worthy of note that the Commissioners who came down to suppress Furness Abbey passed on into Cumber-

* Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium p. 310.

† Northumberland Household Book, p. 283 and 287

land;

land; to quote the words of Southwell in his dispatch from that Abbey to Cromwell:—

"Accordyng to the Kynges Commandement we intende to repaire to Egremunt Castell and Cockermouthe, intendyng no more to returne to Furness; whereas we have made our abodd the longer to fynysshe all thynges fully. . Syr, the Kynges highness shall have here thre goodly Seniorys and welle peoplede; the one adjoyning nere to the other; the Seniory of Furness, the Barony of Kendalle, and the honour of Cokermouth."*

For twenty years the Percys were divested of their estates; the Northumberland property was, it is very probable, for a brief period in the hands of Dudley, who was created Duke of Northumberland; but although the Dudleys allied themselves at that time with the Radcliffes of the Isle, the Threlkelds, the Musgraves, and other Cumberland families, I do not think that the Cumberland estates passed out of the hands of the crown.

Thomas Percy was restored as seventh earl in 1557, and eleven years afterwards, on the 16th May, 1568, Queen Mary Stuart landed at Workington. Sir Richard Lowther, Sheriff of the county and Deputy Warden of the West Marches, hastened to meet her, and found her at Cockermouth, whence, on the following day, he conducted her to Carlisle castle. The Earl of Northumberland hearing of the same hastened to Carlisle, and on the plea that the Queen had landed within his liberty of Cockermouth, insisted that he ought to have her in charge, and wished to take her to Alnwick. Sir Richard declined to permit this, whereupon to quote Lowther's words†:—

"My Lord growing into some heat and angre gave me great threatenings with many evill wordes and a like language, calling me 'varlett' and suche others as I neither desserved at his handes, neither looked for at anye man's for the servyce of the prynce."

Northumberland got severely rebuked for his ill advised

* Annales Furnesienses by Thomas Alcock Beck, pp. 358 and 360.

† Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569, by Cuthbert Sharp, p. 340.

precipitancy,

precipitancy, and this, added to another cause for discontent, influenced him in following the mania of the family towards rebellion.

He had been working to some advantage the Goldscope mines for copper, and had either found, or been led to suppose, that gold existed there in considerable quantities. Elizabeth, always ready to grasp with the hand of avarice whatever she could make out the shadow of a claim to, and with judges not unwilling to see with royal eyes, averred that gold being a royal metal belonged of right to the crown; which the pliant judges endorsed. I doubt whether either litigant benefited much by the gold, but it is certain that the earl was deeply disgusted, and that actuated by that feeling amongst others, he joined Neville and the other malcontents in the "Rising of the North." He plunged into that wild rebellion, and paid the consequences by death at the hands of the headsman.

In the State Papers for 1569, relating to this rebellion,* there is a letter from Lord Scrope, Warden of the Western Marches, to the council, dated February 26, 1569:

"Upon the repair of the bearer, George Lamplugh, to Court, I must signify his true and faithful service in these troublous times. He stoutly and manfully apprehended Thomas Hussey in the field, by whose apprehension that part of the country which by his practices might have been persuaded to that section continued in good quiet. Cockermouth Castle being void of a keeper, I committed it to Lamplugh for the time, and he substantially and with good numbers caused it to be safely kept. He himself has been attending me, being always ready in person and with his advice to advance her Majesty's service to his great cost and charges." Ad. p. 168.

I find no record of Henry, the eighth Earl, being any less of an absentee than his predecessors, but a very instructive survey of the Cumberland estates was taken during his Earldom, bearing date May 20th, 1577, and the

* Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. —Addenda, 1566 to 1569, pp. 167-8.

following

following extracts relating to Cockermouth Castle and its demesnes, may not be without interest:

"There is also a Castle in Cockermouth situate between the waters of Derwent and Cocker, with a trench or dry dich about the same with two barns and other buildings, and also a parcel of land called the Green without the Castle Gates, containing by estimation 2 acres which is of small value, for that the Castle and other building are situate upon the same. The said Castle is now in great decay, as well in the stone work as timber work thereof. The said Castle is covered with lead and worth by estimacion. . . . There is also at Cockermouthe a parke called Cocker parke, fenced about in some places with a stone wall, and some places with a hedge and a dich, and in other some places with the River of Darwent; the said parke in compass by estimacon 3 miles, and containeth by estimacon of statute measure 340 acres, whereof there is of plain or pasture ground 200 acres, and of wood ground 140 acres and the woods thereof are numbered by est. as followeth;

There is in the wood ground within the compass of the parke aforesaid, a great number of small oak trees worth now psently one with another 6d. the tree as followeth; Horse Close Wood 1340: Middleton Spring 5220; St. Anthonie's Wood 5080; Richardson Spring 8140; High Side 1599; Frith 1141; Far Spring 83; How Fitts 103; Little Spring 28.

There is also about the said Castle certain Domain Lands as followeth;

The Garden and Orchard adjoining to the Castle Green worth	3/4
The Dear Orchard adjoining to the said gard. contg 2 acres	10/0
The land between the Horse Close and the waters of Darwent containing by est. 4 acres . .	26/8
The Horse Close lying betwixt the said land & the park containing by est. 16 acres . .	40/0
The Wheat Close adjoining to the Park cont. 20 acres	50/0
Sum total of the said domains .	£6 10 0

We have no special interest in the mysterious circumstances which attended the death of this Earl who died from the effects of a pistol shot in the Tower, where he was imprisoned for his supposed plots in favour of Mary Stuart.

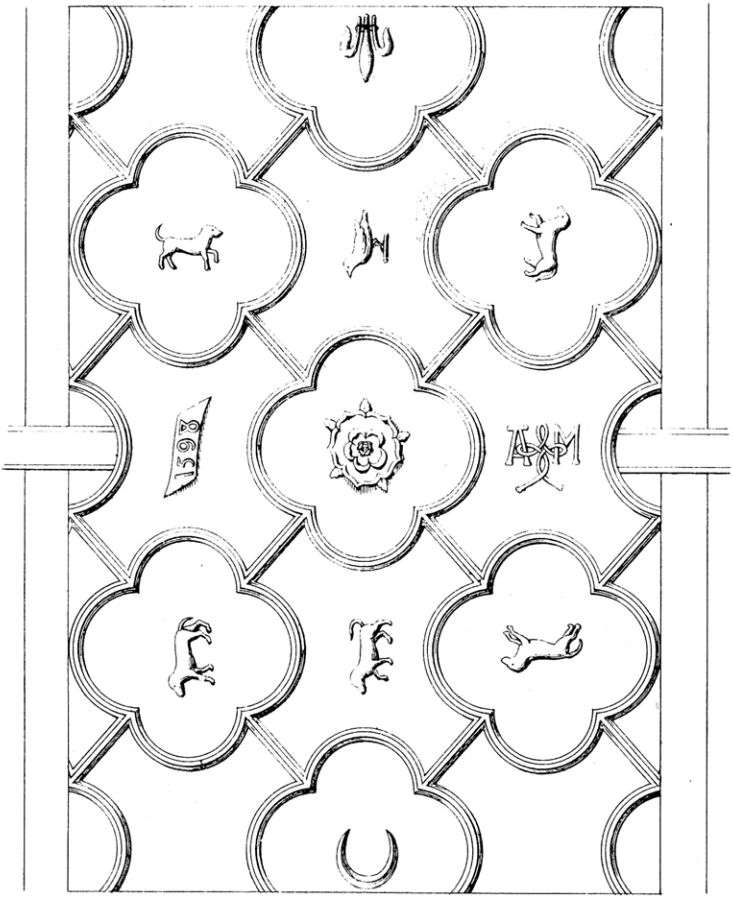
Henry,

Henry, the ninth earl, was one of the most remarkable characters of a remarkable age. I do not mean that in all respects he was great. He was a curious combination of heroism, of learning, of shrewdness, of simplicity even to simpleness, and numerous apparently contradictory qualities. He fitted out at his own expense several vessels, and personally assisted at the destruction of the Spanish Armada. He was the friend, the patron, and the fellow worker of Heriott the correspondent of Kepler. He was lauded by Bacon, and sneered at and cozened by Cecil, Suffolk, and Northampton. He told the former that he had much ado to love his daughters because they were their mother's children, and yet, when apprehended and taken off to the Tower for his long imprisonment of sixteen years, he was found romping affectionately with them in the gardens of Sion House.

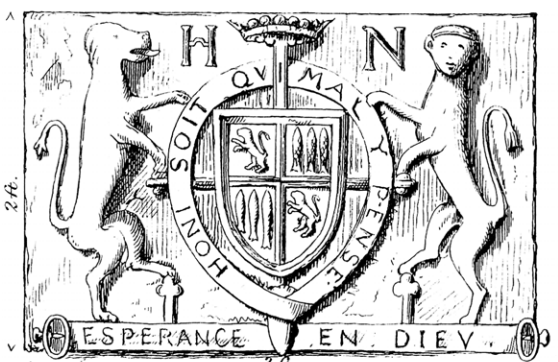
His marriage, at any rate during the period of his prosperity, was an unhappy one. His wife was Dorothy Devereux, widow of Sir Thomas Perrot, and sister to Robert, Earl of Essex, the cousin and favourite of Queen Elizabeth. The Devereux temper of that generation was warm, perhaps it came with the Bolleyn blood, and Percy was hasty; I am afraid the union, according to our Cumberland phrase, was "fire and tow." They were married, if not so late as 1595, very little previously, but in March, 1596, Anthony Bacon, brother to the future Lord Chancellor, writes the following anonymous letter to Lady Northumberland :—

"Most honoured Lady, If I could digest any injury offered you, I would rather conceal that which I write than trouble you with other's folly, protesting I am as free from malice as zealous to keep you from being abused. So it is, that your lord hath gotten him a chamber at Court, where one of his old acquaintance is lodged. What his meaning is I know not, but you may perceive he bears small respect to you, that will give occasion, if any will be so simple as to think he can neglect you for a ruined creature. Therefore, madam, support cheerfully yourself with your wonted wisdom, and let them not unworthy disquiet

CEILING OF A ROOM IN A HOUSE NEAR THE COCKER BRIDGE & CASTLE AT COCKERMOUTH; ALSO THE ARMS OVER THE FIREPLACE OF THE SAME ROOM.



Dimensions about 13 ft. by 10 ft.



Arms over the Fire place.

quiet your mind. Proportion your affection according to their deserts and consider that we are not bound by virtue to love them that will unloose themselves by vice, &c., &c.*

From other sources we know that the Earl flaunted this affair in the eyes of the whole Court.

I am induced to notice what otherwise I should not have drawn attention to, because I think it may afford an explanation of what has puzzled me greatly.

In an old house on the Castle side of and near to the river Cocker, belonging to E. J. Wilson, Esq., may be seen a curious plaster ceiling, remarkable, if only for its age, but still more so for its ornamentation. The space is divided into quatrefoils, skilfully separated from each other by four-cornered figures. In the centre quatrefoil is the Tudor rose; opposite to this, and surmounting the arms over the chimney-piece presently to be described, is the crescent of the Percys on a wreath, as a crest; whilst in a corresponding position on the opposite side is the Flower de-Luce, referring to the Lucys. Various devices are either in the quatrefoils or in the intervening and connecting square figures; in one of the latter are the letters A.M. united by a true lovers knot, and in the corresponding square the date, 1598. Over the chimney-piece are the arms of the Earl surrounded by the Garter, of which honourable order he was elected a Knight, 23rd April, 1593, succeeding to the stall vacated by the death of the well-known Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, his wife's step-father. The arms are quarterly the blue lion of the Percys, and the three silver lucies of the Lucys, surmounted by an Earl's coronet, and on a wreath, as described above, carried into the ceiling, the crescent. The initials H.N., one letter given on each side of the arms, of course indicate Henry Northumberland; there are the usual supporters, dexter, a lion rampant; sinister, a lion rampant

* Memoirs of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the original Papers of Anthony Bacon. By Thomas Birch, D.D. Vol. II., p. 455.

guardant, ducally crowned. Below the whole is the ancient motto and slogan of the line, "Esperance en Dieu."

Was this the bower of another Fair Rosamund?

It is pleasant to know that his wife was his frequent companion during his imprisonment, the termination of which she was not permitted to see, for she died August 3rd, 1619, and although petitioning without cessation for his liberty, he was not released until May 18th, 1621, having been lodged there since November, 1605. He died November 5th, 1632.

Part II.—A Descriptive Account of Cockermouth Castle.

By the Rev. Canon Knowles and Wm. Jackson, F.S.A.

WE have given some time and attention to the ruined Castles of Egremont and Cockermouth, purposing to lay before this Society the results of our examination. Whatever be the value of them, we feel bound in the first place to acknowledge the kindness and courtesy that we have received from the late Lord Henry Percy, Mr. Clutton, and Mr. Newby, who have given us more help than wehad any right to hope for.

Of Egremont Castle, which, though the reports of Roman fragments seem to be untrustworthy, stands, we believe, on or by the site of a Roman camp, we shall probably have a description ready for some future meeting. We have been not altogether unsuccessful there, but further investigation is required; a little use of pick and shovel may, if allowed, make us more sure of the plan; and this little castle, small as its remains are, has some very instructive fragments and details well worthy of illustration. Both the inner and the outer baileys are obscure at present.

As to this larger castle of Cockermouth, we have had difficulty

difficulty in deciding whether we should defer this, our paper, for a time, till we could search for documents in London, as our enquiries, though courteously met, have hitherto been fruitless.

On the whole, it seems better to offer to you now a first instalment of our work, accompanied by a plan and key, which, though they are rough, may render this paper less tedious, and may also serve as a guide hereafter to some of you in the examination of this picturesque and venerable ruin.

As we study the typical English Castle we find usually distinct traces of successive epochs. Not seldom, as at Castle Rising, earthworks of great antiquity, if not, as at Dover, actual buildings of Roman work. Then came the Norman owner and built his keep, a huge gloomy den, with its annexed entrance court, its palisaded inner bailey, its fosse or ditch, with barbicans of wood or stone. Then, towards the end of the twelfth century, when our great Richard of the Lionheart was the Vauban of the day, a change took place in military architecture—the fortified area was enlarged, palisades were replaced by stone walls, more personal comfort was secured, (either by a keep-tower of a new sort such as the Clifford's Tower at York, or by the erection, outside of the old keep, of ampler halls and chapels, of oriels and chambers of delight,) fire-places were multiplied, and water drains more attended to—probably after the example of monastic buildings. Then comes in what may be called the Palatial era, when strength indeed is not neglected, but comfort and splendour rule. Late in the fourteenth century we see this in the great hall of Kenilworth. Early in the fifteenth was built that masterpiece the cruciform tower of Warkworth. Lastly, comes the age of ruin, or, as at Alnwick, of yet more disastrous restoration. At Cockermouth we do not find *all* these stages.

In " Hartshorne's Memoirs of the Feudal and Military Antiquities

Antiquities of Northumberland," we read (p. 236) that Richard de Umphramville was summoned in the fifth year of Henry III., 1221, with other northern Barons to assist at the siege of Cockermouth Castle.

At this time William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, who had come into possession by marriage, was in arms against the king; and we think that vengeance was fully wreaked here, as no traces of the earlier castle seem now to exist. He made his peace, however, and possibly rebuilt his small fortress after a new design, as the most ancient remains are of about that date.

If you will look at the rough plan in your hands you will see that the western part of the castle, marked by a stronger black line, is in shape a spherical triangle, A,B,C. It had at least three circular bastion towers at the angles, one of which still stands, though altered, and a second has left a trace of its footing at B. In front, eastward, ran a broad deep ditch, probably dry, (5, 6, 7, and 8 on plan,) across which, at the south end, a ramp marked *x* led to the chief gateway, one jamb of which remains. It so led until this year, but has been removed; however, the threshhold of a later postern door still marks its line. There are what seem to be remains of a small barbican of stone on the east side (S). The ramp was fortified no doubt by strong palisades or by a wall on either side.

This new castle or house, for it was little more, must, we think, have been built about the time when William de Fortibus obtained license to hold the Monday market in Cockermouth, *i.e.*, about 1226; but if we may judge by what remains, parts of it at least were hastily and ill constructed.* Its great hall stood, no doubt, where the later Edwardian Hall now stands, and in the same relative position as the somewhat later hall of Millom Castle.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, it seems

* Here we may remark, by the way, that licenses to crenellate are only proofs of the legalization of work, they do not in many cases fix the date of a building.

that

that Thomas de Lucy, husband of Margaret, co-heiress of John de Multon, made considerable changes here, partly rebuilding the bastion tower at A., and before his death, in 1365, building the new hall.

There is this further likeness between Millom and Cockermouth, that at each place the fourteenth century kitchen and offices were added at the east of the Hall. Before that time, in fine weather at least, most of the cooking was probabily done outside in the court.

In the closing years of the fourteenth century, when a new style of Gothic architecture—the perpendicular—prevailed, a very considerable alteration and extension was resolved on. The northern lord was perhaps hardly so fastidious as his southern peer had grown to be. We suppose he still deigned to dine with his retainers in the hall, yet he required more comfort than one poor solar could give, more state rooms and bed chambers, ampler stabling, better cooking, larger cellars, &c. A great dry ditch covered this little castle eastward; it might be well used for cellars, and a new one might be dug in front of all.

The owner of Cockermouth had, we think, made some progress with the new work and had built the great kitchen, with butler's pantry and gallery, by 1387, when the Scots came suddenly down, and, probably in consequence of the alterations, surprised the castle and most likely burned it. After this injury, new roofs were put on, as certain changes and botchings in the corbels seem to prove, in the time, we can hardly doubt, of Maud de Lucy, who died 1399. Then the interrupted plan was proceeded with; the ditch (5, 6, 7, 8) was filled with spacious cellars, over which was raised a long range of rooms and convenient offices for the Lord's family. This new building was his private house; you will see that the doors at O, in the old wall marked 12, opened *inward from* the inner bailey and the original triangle A.B.C.

The

The new great entrance (and it was a grand one) stood at E, with guard rooms and with underground dungeons—(rather a rare feature in English castles). Above 6 we think a new chapel was made. In front of all stretched from north to south the second ditch, probably dry, which we think was afterwards retained in spite of the growth of the castle, since earlier fosses were preserved as interior defences at Carlisle, Kenilworth, and almost certainly in the tower of London, where a trace is still to be found. The foundations of this new front are very deep. A pier projected at E, to support the drawbridge.

Maud, the sister and heiress of Anthony, Lord Lucy, widow, of Gilbert de Umfreville, Earl of Angus, married for her second husband, Henry, first Earl of Northumberland.

More accommodation was now again after a very few years needful, especially perhaps for stabling. The area of the castle was therefore trebled by the addition of a large outer bailey, with a wide deep moat to the east. The entrance tower at I, K was certainly Henry's work, as it bears the shields of Umphreville, Multon, Lucy, Percy, and Neville, with Lucy in the central place of honour.

The still later additions, later indeed by a very few years, are of less importance. We think that the outwork *(p)* was built on about ten or fifteen years afterwards, and from this two walls seem by Buck's view, in which we place a hesitating faith, to have flanked a narrow causeway across the moat to an outer barbican.

Our approximate dates are: —

A.B., original angle-towers, with lower parts of walls - - -	ab.	1225.
Hall, 3 - - - -	,,	1360.
New house, 5, 6, 7, 8, -	,,	1380-1399.
Outer Bailey, - - -	,,	1400.
Outwork, &c. - -	,,	1415.

No

No doubt for much both of the older and newer work the Roman buildings at Papcastle were plundered.

Now, if we may take up the office of guides, we will speak briefly of details.

DETAILS—OUTSIDE.

Starting from A towards B we may notice (1) an original arrowslit, or oilet, of rather early form; a survival indeed from the late Norman style. At *t*, (2) the superstructure of the wall which is later, of ashlar, probably cribbed in the fourteenth century from Papcastle. (3) At B the mere footing of one of the round thirteenth century towers which had on the front a square flanking buttress, then common enough, and is now replaced by the bell tower of late fourteenth century work. (4) The later postern door which tells the site of the original ditch and causeway. (5) A very broad wall footing at *i*, which possibly marks some alteration in the completing of the outer bailey. The garde robe issue at *g*, *g*, *g*, for a house now destroyed and for the south-east tower—the flagstaff then. (6) The flagstaff tower itself at G, which has had late windows of a larger size inserted.

The high eastern front does not call for many remarks. At H is a solid buttress, added to carry a small piece of ordnance. At *p*, in the outwork, a small door opened on to the lice or foreclose, that is a palisaded path on the inside of the moat, made to facilitate sorties, &c. The moat was possibly filled with water from a small syke that now falls by a culvert through the garden to the north-east.

On the north side after the garderobes of the entrance tower (k), runs a long stretch of modernized wall, which probably had a small postern leading down to the river. Below us on the bank are remains of a stone wall, with a large drain from the Castle, and here probably, by Derwentside, lay a longish very narrow garden or pleasance. Above rises the huge kitchen, so great and stately that it has been taken for the keep; then comes the hall, against which three large buttresses have been built in the early fifteenth century to keep the north wall from settling, but the loose soil of the hill has given way beneath them and they have parted company with the building which they were meant to support. The three windows of the hall deserve notice: those of the stateroom beyond are later and less fine. Further on is a boldly projecting garderobe, probably of late 14th century, and evidently an insertion.

DETAILS—INSIDE.

There are two or three Roman fragments—two with inscriptions which

which are given in the Lapidarium Septentrionale*—at N, N2, and possibly one other at *g*.

Entering by the outwork (*p*) we see that it was open to the air, and had a door, above-mentioned, to the southern foreclose, and stone steps on both sides up to the alure. It is not easy to see what gate it had; possibly here, as at the inner entrance, a drawbridge when pulled up served as a door,—a very rude contrivance,—or the walls leading outside to the barbican gave the necessary rebate for the gate, but these have perished.

The gate-house of three house height, to use the ancient phrase, is of simple design and workmanship. The ancient windows have given way to larger. There is a good Newel staircase with a groined roof of latish but interesting design.

Entering the outer bailey we see (1) three modern ranges of buildings of no great beauty (2)—the flagstaff tower with stone steps up to its several stories, and to the wall-alure. Traces of considerable buildings, probably of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, have been found here, among them possibly those of a late chapel. But the chief object of interest is the fine front of about 1390. No doubt a wide dry ditch lay in front of it across this court at E, part of which, at least as we have said, was retained till after the siege of 1648, when the whole castle must, we think, have been dismantled and not simply neglected.

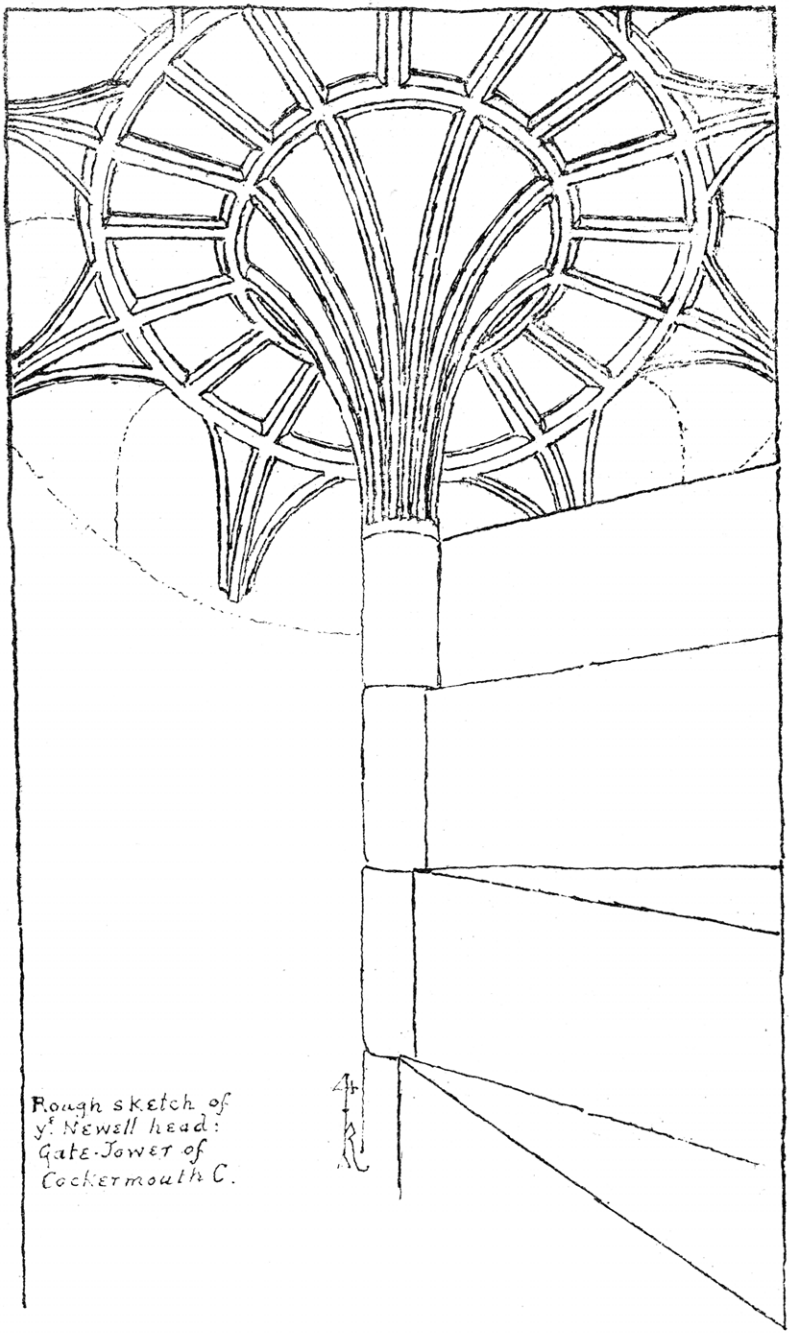
As we have noted in the Key, no battlement remains; this in itself is a proof of wilful destruction, though *very* early battlements are rare indeed. The only certainly genuine Norman embrasure that either of us can recollect has been preserved at Kenilworth by being built up nearly seven hundred years ago.

In the great gateway at E no signs are left, as we said of the "fixings of doors,' and the fact is worthy of attention. Above, at *u*, is a large bretesche-hole, for repelling assailants with missiles. From this part the way lies through a window—the moat having been filled up—into the cellar of the chief house, that is, into the original moat (7). In the story above a door seems to have been boxed off from the upper chamber. The whole work of this part appears to be consistent with the date given, 1380-1399, it is very plain. The east and west walls only *abut* you will observe on that of the great kitchen, which is ten feet thick.

A steep flight of cellar steps leads into the inner bailey, and we find

* The Lapidarium Septentrionale gives only one inscribed stone as at Cockermouth Castle, viz:— No. 906. This stone and the one that follows it in the Lapidarium, No. 907, were both found at Papcastle, and both mention the *cuneus Aballavensium*, thus proving Papcastle to be Aballaba. No. 907 is and has long been at Petworth.

ourselves



Rough sketch of
y^e Newell head:
Gate-Tower of
Cockermouth C.

ourselves close to the Castle well, 61 feet deep, with a constant supply of hard water. Near us are the hall entrance, one jamb of which is left, and the striking archway down into the 'Murk Kirk,' which we need hardly tell you is not a kirk or crypt at all, but simply the kitchen cellar, very good, but yielding to our scrutiny only a drain to the north, and a few mason's marks which we give in the Key.

The kitchen itself is a huge tower, open to the roof, having two fine arched recesses on the north side, under which were partitioned off the pantry and buttery with a door into the screens and hall, now built up. Above them evidently ran a covered gallery of wood, probably glazed in later times, which led from the kitchen at *n* to the music gallery and Hall. From this, as through a lengthened pertuis, the lord or lady may have looked down on kitchen doings. Near M the corner of the kitchen is rounded off to allow space for a newel staircase to the roof, the chambers, and a small room which must we think have been an oratory about 9ft. 7in., by 8ft. 4in. It has a singular cusped roof and in its eastern wall a small square hole which puzzles us. A modern arch has taken the place of the western wall of the kitchen, through which we descend into the site of the hall screens, in which the most noticeable feature is a fine double aumbry or sideboard at P. The hall itself was about 48 feet long and 30 feet wide. It has still traces of the tresaunce, or screens, and the gallery with its staircase, remains of the window seats, but no sign of dais. Beyond, to the western point of the Castle, at A, runs a small range of solar or state apartments. The inner wall is utterly ruined: the lower part of the outer wall is probably original, that is, of the thirteenth century, and shews one or two fragments which may have come from Papcastle (*g*).

In A, the archer's seats, much altered, still remain in the window-embrasures. Along the south wall may be seen many traces of 'domi' and workshops. At *y* we find one deep jamb of the thirteenth century gateway opening out on to the ramp, now removed. The newer cellars (5, 6, 7,) are very capacious and must have stored large quantities of provisions and materials for defence. They were meant to be vaulted like the Murk-kirk, but were never completed.

Above the great entrance stood, we think, a chapel.

In conclusion, we wish to express our hope of finding materials for a second paper that shall deal with the history and successive owners of this castle. In view of this, we have limited ourselves for the present to the character and details of the building, thinking that, even if we be

 unable

unable to complete our task, we have by our brief description, with the rough plan and its key, provided what may enable many to spend an hour or two pleasantly and not unprofitably in the great house that has owned for masters Lucys, Percies, and Wyndhams.

P.S.—Erratum in the Key.—Garderobes should have been marked, that belong to the chambers to the south of the great entrance-arch (E.)