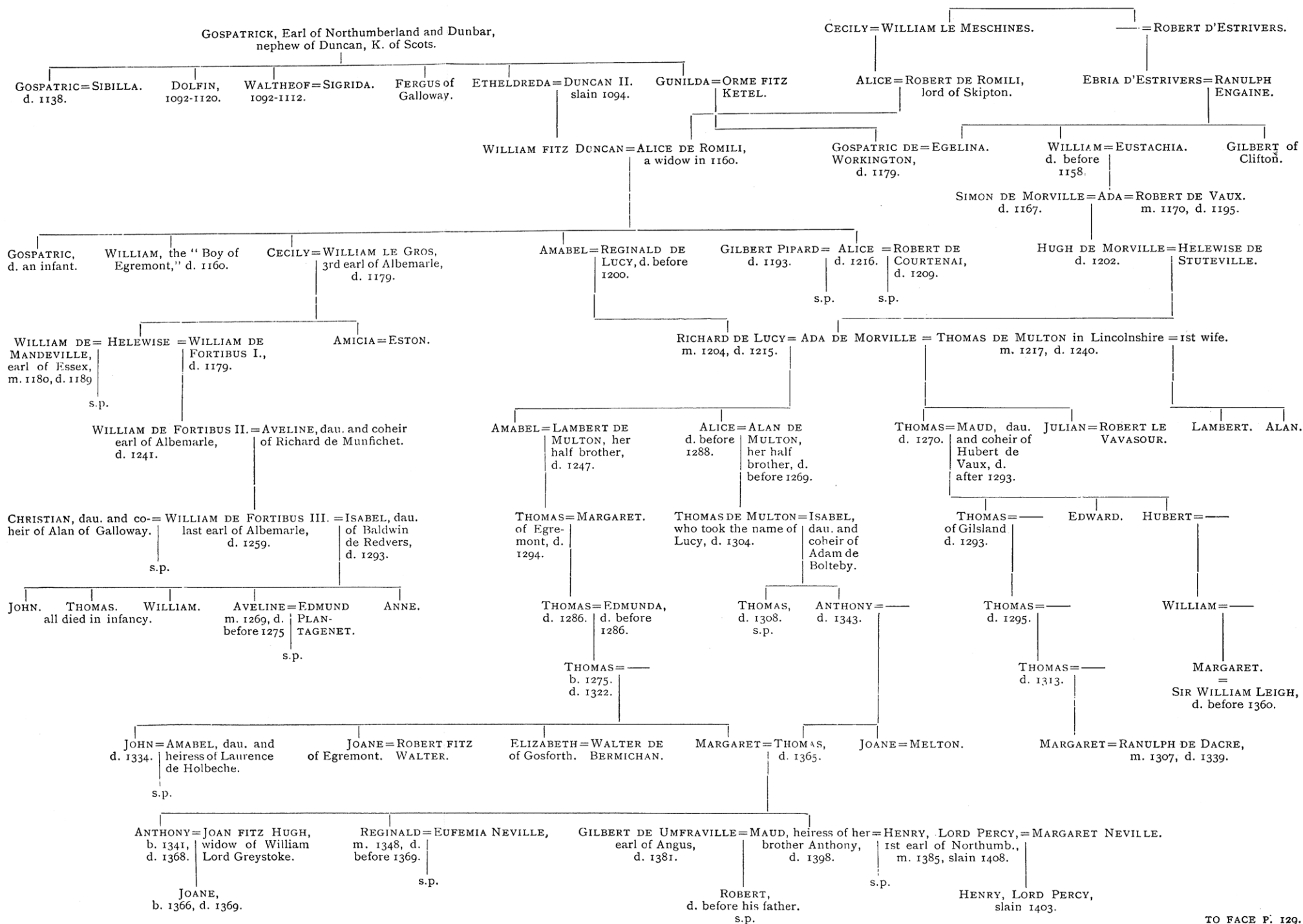


Pedigree showing the descent of the owners of Cockermouth Castle.



ART. VIII.—*Cockermouth Castle*. By JOHN F. CURWEN,
F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Read at the Site, July 7th, 1910.

THERE is no evidence that either the Briton, Roman, or Teuton availed themselves of this site.

Waltheof, the third son of Earl Gospatric, married Sigrida (*Guisborough Chartulary*, Surtees Society, ii., 318, 319), and succeeded his father in the barony of Allerdale-below-Derwent. He received also from William le Meschin, lord of Coupland, the whole territory in "Kokyr et Derwynt," along with the five towns of "Brigham, Egglesfield, Dene, Graysothern, Bramwhayt et duo Clifton et Stainburn," which completed his command of the whole valley of the Derwent. After a while these estates were settled upon his nephew William fitz Duncan, the son of his sister Etheldreda.

Meanwhile the neighbouring barony of Coupland, which lay between the Derwent and the Duddon, had fallen to Alice, the daughter and heiress of William le Meschin, who married Robert de Romili, lord of Skipton. Their daughter and heiress, Alice, became the wife of William fitz Duncan, so that for a short time these baronies were united.

Fitz Duncan's son, William, celebrated in tradition as the "Boy of Egremont," succeeded to these enormous territorial demesnes until the catastrophe in the torrent of Wharfe, *circa* 1160; they were then divided among his three sisters—Cecily, Amabel, and Alice. In the division that took place, the youngest sister received for her share the lordship of Allerdale-below-Derwent with the five towns already mentioned. At first the ward of Gilbert Pipard, she subsequently became his wife. Gilbert Pipard was sheriff of Lancaster and justice itinerant in Herefordshire in 1189.

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In 1192 he held the forest of Allerdale of the Crown at the yearly rent of three marks (*Pipe Rolls*, 3 Richard I., Roll 5, mem. 1), and it is thought that he erected Pipard or Pap Castle on the site of the old Roman station, where stone was convenient and the position secure. Pipard died in 1193, and Alice seems to have immediately married Robert de Courtenai (*Pipe Rolls*, 2 John, Roll 17, m. 2). Robert de Courtenai was sheriff of Cumberland 1203-1204, and in the latter year was assessed to the scutage of 20 marks for the barony which had been Gilbert Pipard's (*Pipe Rolls*, 6 John, Roll 11, m. 1). He died in 1209, and the *Pipe Rolls* for that year record that Alice paid to 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. She died in 1216 childless, when the greater part of her inheritance passed to her eldest sister Cecily (*Close Rolls*, 17 John, m. 6).

Cecily carried the great barony of Skipton as her portion to her husband William le Gros, earl of Albemarle. Their only daughter, Helewise, married successively William de Mandeville,* William de Fortibus I., and Baldwin de Bethune, earl of the Isle of Wight, by the second of whom only did she leave a son.

William Jackson (in these *Transactions*, o.s., iv.) draws particular attention to the fact that King John ordered the sheriff of Cumberland, in the year 1215, to deliver up to William de Fortibus II. the *manor* of Cockermouth with its appurtenances (*Rotuli Literarum Clausarum*, i., 191; *Close Rolls*, 17 John, m. 6). There is no mention of any castle, yet six years later—i.e., in the year 1221—Henry III. commanded the sheriff of Westmorland that “without any delay he should summon the earls, barons, knights, and freeholders of his bailliwick, and that they

* William de Mandeville, Magna Villa, was count of Aumâle. He succeeded his brother as earl of Essex in 1167, and died without issue in 1189.

should hasten to Cockermouth to besiege the castle there, and when they had taken the same, should destroy it, to its very foundations" (*Rotuli Literarum Clausarum*, i., 474b). William de Fortibus had declined to open Rockingham and other castles to King Henry, and had subsequently broken out into rebellion, so that this somewhat furious order was of natural sequence. Jackson comments on this by saying:—"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."

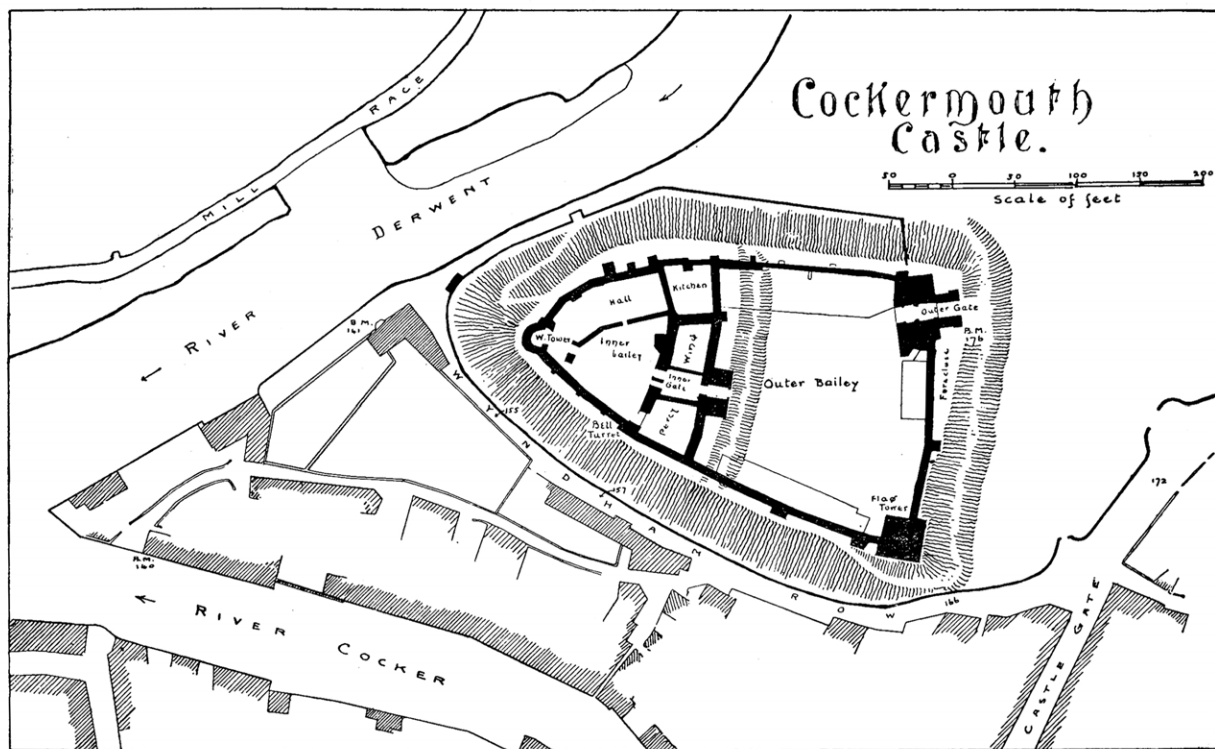
When we consider the troublous nature of the Border about this time, William Jackson's surmise is likely to be near the truth. Richard, the English Lion, whose hurried visits to his kingdom were mainly occupied in turning every available asset into cash for his crusades, had little care for English interests—Cumberland was too far off to be of any use to him, so that he sold his rights to it, and gave up the city and castle of Carlisle to William, the Scottish Lion. His brother, John, regained the territory, and once more made the Cheviot Hills the boundary between the two nations. But the Scots were not satisfied, and nothing seems to have daunted their determination to regain Cumberland for a Scottish province. In fact, by the 8th of August, 1216—*i.e.*, one year after de Fortibus had entered into possession of Cockermouth—the city of Carlisle had again surrendered to Alexander. Great uneasiness resulted from these invasions, and an extensive castle-building era set in by reason of them. Thus we find Hugh de Morville strengthening the Eden Valley, and closing the passage up the vale of Mallerstang by his castles of Kirk Oswald and Pendragon, whilst de Lucy was busy protecting his barony at Egremont about this time.

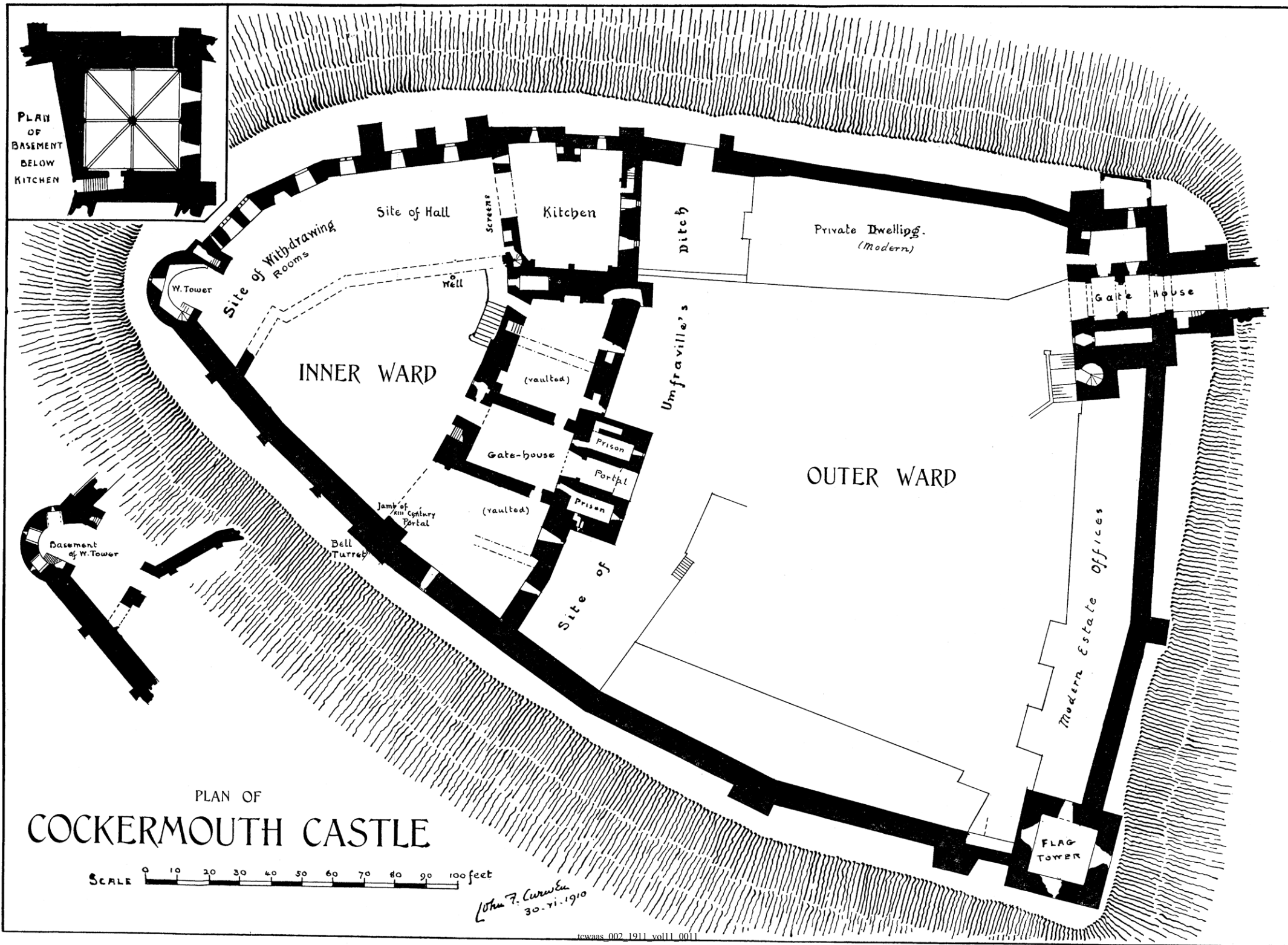
If a Norman keep ever formed a portion of this first castle, it must have been completely destroyed almost directly after it was built, when Henry III. wreaked his vengeance upon de Fortibus.

William de Fortibus II. died in 1241, leaving a son and heir, William III., who must have regained the king's favour. For we find that on September 18th, 1241, a mandate was issued to Henry de Neketon, escheator beyond Trent, as follows:—"The king having taken the homage of William, son of William de Fortibus, sometime earl of Albemarle, for all the lands, tenements, and castles which the earl held in chief, to deliver to him the castles of Cockermue, Skipton in Cravene, and Skipse in Holderness" (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1232-47, 258; see also *Roll of Fines*, Henry III., p. 353).

It was this William who rebuilt the small fortress upon this tongue of land which lies between the confluence of the Derwent and the Cocker, and which rises about 36 feet above the level of their waters. The two sides of the tongue are thus fortified by nature, but the eastern, or root of the promontory, has no such protection. Thus, to isolate the site effectually, William excavated a very wide ditch, connecting the cliff of the Derwent with the sloping bank of the Cocker. Within this area the castle formed a spherical triangle of about 42 yards each way, with its angles capped by circular bastion towers. The basement of the present west tower is of this period; so also is some 14 feet high of the present south curtain and the lower portion of the north curtain. The footings of the eastern curtain also remain, but the most interesting point to note is the one door jamb, which still remains erect, sufficient to reveal to us where the gatehouse of this early castle stood. Without, there must have been a barbican spanning the great ditch, and you will notice in the curtain a rude, round-headed doorway as if it had been a postern. An outer bailey existed surrounded by a timber palisade.

William de Fortibus died in 1259, having married for his second wife Isabel, the sister and great heiress of Baldwin de Redvers, eighth earl of Devon. Cockermouth was left to her as her dower, and in the year 1268 we find in the Record of Pleas (*Placitorum Abbreviatio*, 173b) that





she complained 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 and three doves, and consumed her goods to the amount of 40 marks.

Isabel died in 1293. As she left no issue, her vast estates were held to have escheated to the Crown although there were then living descendants of William fitz Duncan's second daughter, Amabel, who were of course her legal heirs.

From this time the castle was in the hands of the Crown for a period of 30 years, and there are records of homage paid by sub-feudatories and frequent grants of the custody of the castle. For instance, we find under date October 14th, 1298, the following royal order:—

Whereas the king learns by an inquisition taken by the escheator that Bertin de Ughtrethessat held of the king at his death, by knight service as of the manor of Cokermue, which is in the king's hands by reason of the lands of Isabel de Fortibus, sometime countess of Albemarle, tenant in chief, being in the king's hands the king orders the escheator to retain in the king's hands the lands that Bertin held, &c. (*Close Rolls*, 1296-1302, 180).

There is a further order to cause dower to be assigned to Joan, late the wife of Bertinus de Ughtrethessat (*Ibid.*, 226).

Again, under date 1300, we find that Thomas de Richmond, whose valour during the siege of Carlaverock has been signalised in the ancient poem upon that siege, was rewarded for his exploits by a grant of the castle for life.

Thomas de Richmond comes once more,
One gallant charge he led before:
Vermilion clad, on vermeil field
Gold chief with twice twin bars, his shield.

He must have relinquished the reward, however, for on the 26th September of the same year there was issued a grant to John de Sancto Johanne for life, in satisfaction

of 1000 marks of lands, farms, and rents which he was to have had in England until he could obtain seisin of 1000 marks of land in Galloway from which he was excluded by the Scotch wars, of the castle of Cockermouth with its members for £110, &c. (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1292-1301, 537). His tenure was of brief duration, for on the 20th January, 1303, there is an order to the constable of the castle of Cockermouth to permit the executors of the will of John de Sancto Johanne to have free administration of all his goods and chattels within the castle (*Close Rolls*, 1302-7, 10).

On the same day there is a confirmation of patent to John de Kirkeby, king's clerk, to the custody of the castle and Honour of Cockermouth, &c., with the proviso that he is to pay the executors of the will of John de Sancto Johanne, who held the premises for life, the issues thereof (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1301-7, 110). Kirkeby seems to have complained of this charge upon him, representing that de Sancto Johanne had allowed the premises to waste. Whereupon the king ordered, on 19th September, John de Kirkeby, fermor of the castle, to cause the king's houses within the castle, the weirs of his fisheries, the paling round his park, and his mills to be repaired out of the ferm of the castle, by the view and testimony of John, son of Christiana and Thomas le Oysilur (*Close Rolls*, 1302-7, 55). Again, in the following month, the king issued a commission to Richard de Abyndon and others to survey the castle, houses, parks and woods, and to enquire by jury what state it was in when Kirkeby received it, and what waste and destruction was done while it was in the hands of John de Sancto Johanne (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1301-7, p. 160).

On the 19th December, 1307, an order was issued to the constable that he should

Safely and securely keep and defend the castle of Cockermouth so that no damage or danger happen to the same; the king who intends shortly to set out for parts beyond sea desiring that the castles of

his kingdom should be diligently and safely guarded for the greater security and tranquillity of his people (*Close Rolls*, 1307-13, 50).

In July, 1309, Edward II. granted Cockermouth Castle to his favourite Piers de Gavestone and his wife Margaret for life, but in the following month there is an enrolment of surrender by them (*Close Rolls*, 1307-13, 225). Gilbert de Culwen then became keeper of the castle and Honour, and on November 26th following the king commanded him to pay David, earl of Athol, 50 marks in aid of his expenses on the march to Scotland.

On the 20th July, 1311, the king issued a mandate to Robert de Leybourne, constable of the castle and keeper of the Honour of the castle, to cause all defects in the castle *and peel* of the castle (*i.e.*, palisade to the bailey) to be made good from year to year by view and testimony of two good and lawful men of those parts (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1307-13, p. 377).

On April 7th, 1314, a grant for life was issued to Edmund de Malo Lacu, in consideration of his good services, of the castle and Honour of "Kokermuthe," together with the knights' fees, advowsons of churches, &c. At the same time a mandate was issued to Robert de Leyburne to deliver the castle and Honour to the said Edmund, together with the king's armour and all dead stock, *tota mortua garnistura*, which are in the castle. Another mandate was issued to the sheriff of the county of Cumberland that if Robert de Leyburne is unwilling to deliver, then he shall without delay retake into the king's hands the castle and manor, with its armour and entire dead stock, and deliver the same immediately to the said Edmund, taking with him, if necessary, a sufficient posse of the county (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 102).

In September following we find that Robert de Leyburne was granted all the issues of the king's manors of Penrith and Sowerby until he shall have received a sum of £599 15s. 3½d., being the balance of a sum of £1096 16s. 8¾d., in which the king was bound to him.

when he was constable of the castle of Are in Scotland. The castle and manor of Cockermuthe, to the value of £130 a year, had been granted to him to hold until he should be fully satisfied, but subsequently the king had committed the castle and manor to Edmund de Malo Lacu to hold for life, and by his letter patent promised to repay the said Robert de Leyburne before Midsummer Day last past the sum of £733 11s. 9½d. which still remained due, as well on account of arrears of the said sum of £1096 16s. 8¾. as for the costs and expenses incurred by him, at the king's command, in the repair and improvements of faults in the castle of Cockermouth, &c. (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1313-17, 177).

Edmund de Malo Lacu only held the position for one year, for we find that the castle was again regranted to Thomas de Richmond in 1315 for his life (*Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii*, vol. i., p. 170). Richmond's tenure was likewise of short duration, for on the 19th of June, 1316, a mandate was issued to him to deliver the king's castle of Cockermouth, which is in the king's gift, together with its armament and victuals, to Robert de Cliderhow, king's escheator beyond Trent (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1313-17, 479). From the Close Rolls, it would seem that Richmond retained 20 men-at-arms, 10 crossbowmen, and 80 footmen for the safe custody of the castle whilst it was in his keeping (*Close Rolls*, 1330-33, pp. 254 and 432).

From the Close Rolls, we learn that on August 3rd, 1316, Robert de Cliderhou was ordered to cause the castles of Brough-under-Stainmore and Cockermouth, both in his custody, to be supplied with victuals out of the issues of his bailiwick. This was at the time when Bruce was menacing the district.

Once again we find Robert de Leyburne keeper of the castle. On the 16th November, 1316, he was ordered to cause the following defects in the castle and lands to be repaired by the view of two men of his bailiwick, expend-

ing thereon the sums of money given below, as follows:— The little tower in the inner bailey, 40s. The little hall, the private kitchen, two bakehouses, and two chambers in the same bailey, £4 13s. 4d. The stone wall between the said bailey and the outer bailey, £20. The great hall and kitchen serving the outer bailey, £11 13s. 4d. The chapel there, 10s. The stone walls of the prison, 66s. 8d. The new peel, 40s. The stable there, 40s. The enclosure of the park, 40s. (*Close Rolls*, 1313-18, 374).

On September 9th, 1317, the king ordered the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to allow to Alexander de Bastenthwayt the sum of £99 18s. 8d., expended by him about the defence of the castle, the said Alexander having taken the castle into the king's hands, and having caused it to be provisioned with victuals and men-at-arms on account of the Scotch rebels who were then endeavouring to enter these parts. The said Alexander kept with him in defence of the castle from 15th July to 5th August last past, 37 men-at-arms, 51 hobelers (light horsemen), an engineer, a mason, a carpenter, eight crossbowmen, two porters, a watchman, and 60 footmen. But that after the retreat of the Scots he only kept with him eight men-at-arms, an engineer, a carpenter, a porter, a watchman, and 20 footmen. And that he expended in repairing the gate and engines of the castle 20s., the total of which wages and expenditure amounts to £99 18s. 8d. aforesaid (*Close Rolls*, 1313-18, 496).

Another order was issued on the 1st November following to Robert de Leyburne, constable of Cockermouth Castle, to cause that the castle be kept safely by sufficient men as he ought to have therein (*Close Rolls*, 1313-18, 505).

Thus it will be seen that the castle was in the custody of several seneschals who were constantly changing, until it was granted for life to the celebrated Andrew de Hartcla, who had gratified Edward by revenging the death of Gaveston when he defeated the earl of Lancaster at Boroughbridge (*Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium in*

Curia Scaccarii, vol. i., p. 245). On May 28th, 1321, an order was issued to Andrew de Hartcla to attend to the ordinance for the repair of the defects in the castles of Carlisle and Cockermouth, whom as constable of the castle the king commanded to view, survey, and report on all defects necessary to be repaired for the safe guarding of the castles, and to attend with Robert de Barton, his lieutenant, to the supervision of the repair. Further, the king ordered the abbot of S. Mary's, York, collector in the diocese of York of the tenth imposed upon the clergy by the pope for the king's use, to pay him 100 marks out of the tenth for the repair of the aforesaid defects (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1317-21, 608; also *Close Rolls*, 1318-23, pp. 395, 393). There is a note under date July 10th, 1337, in which Robert de Barton besought the king to order allowances to be made to him for his reasonable expenses, as he incurred greater expenses for the maintenance of himself and his men and serjeants, on the account of the scarcity of victuals in those parts through the Scots' frequent invasions, than was wont to be done there at another time. The king ordered accordingly (*Close Rolls*, 1337-39, 86; also 1339-41, 411).

In the meantime, 1316, a plea was entered at Westminster (*Placitorum Abbreviatio*, p. 323) on behalf of Thomas de Multon of Egremont and Anthony de Lucy for the moiety of the barony of Allerdale, which had escheated to the Crown on the death of Isabel de Fortibus, shewing their respective descents from Amabel, the second daughter of William fitz Duncan; a plea which, although unsuccessful at first, was recognised at the time of Hartcla's fall. Poor Hartcla, who had been loaded with manors and honours, either overcome by ambition or out of compassion for the over-run and despoiled northern counties, entered into a league with Bruce, which Edward and his advisors deemed treasonable. Anthony de Lucy was thereupon ordered to seize Carlisle Castle and capture Hartcla, and for this service was rewarded, as a matter of favour rather

than of right, with the manor and castle of Cockermouth to hold by the service of one knight's fee (*Charter Rolls*, 9 Edward II., 118, between Nos. 4 and 5).

There is in the possession of Lord Leconfield an ancient parchment roll, which from the character of the handwriting was probably written in the fifteenth century. It seems to be a collection of documents relating to the title to the Honour of Cockermouth. Here we find, under date 1323, the king's order to the custodian of the castle for the delivery of the same, and a further order to his tenants of the castle to do fealty to Anthony de Luci (Roll 70/7, F. 12 and 13).

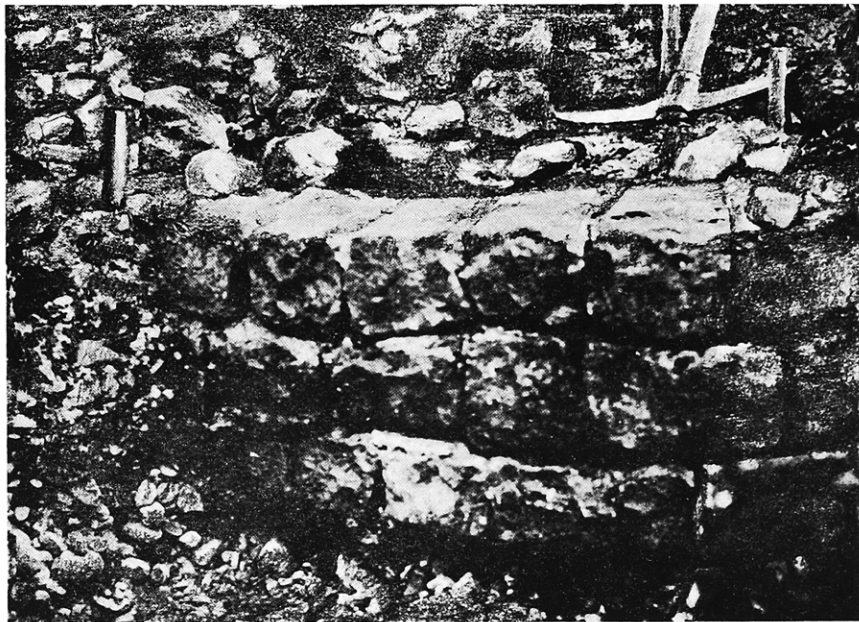
Anthony de Lucy died in 1343, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, who filled many prominent offices, and died in 1365. Now I think that it was during this Thomas de Lucy's occupation that the fourteenth century hall replaced the earlier timber erection on the north side of the inner bailey, and also that the bastion tower, at the western angle, was then raised upon the basement of the one erected by William de Fortibus. His successor was his son Anthony, who proceeded to the Holy Land, where he died in 1368. Upon his decease, his sister Maud or Matilda became the heiress of the Lucy line, and she was the wife of Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus.

In these days more comfort was sought after, more state rooms and bed chambers, better cooking and larger cellars were required. Now de Fortibus' great dry ditch, 18 feet deep, lay between the inner and outer baileys, so what could have been more natural than to adapt this as the basement for a new wing, and thus complete the ring of buildings around the inner bailey? Umfraville is supposed to have laid the foundation for the cellars, and to have excavated his new ditch without them. There is also every reason to believe that he made considerable progress with the erection of the kitchen tower, as it will be noticed that the walls of the wing do not bond in, but abut upon, the corner of this great tower. It is probable

that Umfraville, who died in 1381, did not live long enough to see the completion of his work.

The Countess Maud, becoming a widow, married again in 1385 Henry Percy, first earl of Northumberland, and settled her lands upon him and his heirs, who were to bear the arms of Percy and Lucy quarterly. This mighty earl, having been the main instrument in dethroning Richard II. and placing Bolingbroke in his seat, had risen to great territorial power. Although perhaps he did not make Cockermouth a place of close residence, yet it may fairly be assumed that he completed Umfraville's work by raising the stately set of apartments upon the new cellars, and the great portal with dungeons on either side and guard rooms above. Probably it was owing to these building operations that the Scots were enabled to surprise and capture the castle when they swept suddenly south, under the banners of the earls of Douglas and Fife, in the year 1387. We have every reason to believe that the Scots, following their usual custom, laid fire to the castle before leaving, for we learn that after the invasion new roofs were erected. There seems to be no doubt also that it was in consequence of this that Earl Percy rebuilt the large outer bailey with stone walls, erecting at the same time the flag tower at the south-east corner, and the main entrance gateway at the north-east corner.

Mr. Banks, one of Lord Leconfield's surveyors, informs me that whilst excavating, in the year 1904, for certain improvements to the terrace outside the estate offices, and just within the angle of the bailey near to the flag tower, they came upon three circular courses of massive masonry revealing the foundations of the original bastion tower which capped this angle. There was no lime mortar, but the huge stones were set up in a kind of brown clay. Now this is exceedingly interesting, as it shows, first of all, that the bailey was originally of somewhat smaller dimensions, and, secondly, that the tower was not solidly built with lime mortar, as were the buildings of the inner



FOUNDATIONS OF THE EARLY ANGULAR TURRET
TO THE OUTER WARD : COCKERMOUTH CASTLE.

TO FACE P. 142.



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COCKERMOUTH CASTLE: THE GATEHOUSE.

TO FACE P. 143.

bailey, but rather constructed temporarily, and more in keeping with a palisaded curtain.

Over the entrance to the gatehouse, Earl Percy erected five shields to illustrate the ownership of the castle up to this period. In the centre is the coat of his first wife, the heiress of the great de Lucy family—viz., gules, three luces, hauriant, argent; on the right of this, facing the building, is his own coat, the blue lion of the Percys on a golden ground; to the extreme right, the family coat of Margaret Neville, the earl's second wife, showing that this gatehouse was erected after the death of Maud in 1398—gules, a saltire argent; whilst on the left is the coat of Multon, argent three bars gules; and on the extreme left the golden cinquefoil pierced, surrounded by an orle of crosses of the same on a bloody field, for Umfraville. The crosses on this latter shield are flory, and six in number. It is curious that in each of the three other undoubted examples of the Umfraville arms that are found carved in stone in Northumberland, the form of the crosses composing the orle is different, while they are sometimes six and sometimes eight in number. For instance, the shield in Hexham Church on the effigy of Gilbert de Umfraville, who died in 1307, has eight crosses patonce; that on the battlements of the gateway of the inner ward at Alnwick Castle, *circa* 1350, has six plain crosses crosslet; while that on Elsdon Tower, probably dating between 1421 and 1437, has eight crosses crosslet patty.

Forever plotting treason, the earl was slain at length at the battle of Bramham Moor in 1408, and with this period may be said to commence the Wars of the Roses, when the fortunes of the castle followed the fortunes of the Percys as they ebbed and flowed. Hotspur, his valiant son, fell at Shrewsbury. Henry, the next earl and lord of Cockermouth, fell at St. Albans in 1455; and the third earl of that brave, brilliant, and unfortunate race died on the battlefield of Towton in 1461, when his honours and estates became forfeited by act of attainder.

The earl of Wiltshire and Dr. John Morton, chancellor to the young Prince of Wales, were taken prisoners at Cockermouth Castle during this year (1461), the earl being beheaded at Newcastle shortly after by the victorious Edward (*Paston Papers*, ii., 7).

There are some interesting items relative to the chapel of about this period preserved in the Castle Muniment Rolls, as follows:—

1446. Salary of Sir Thomas Darlyngton one of the lord's chaplains celebrating divine service in the chantry of Cockermouth Castle, granted to him for the term of his life, £6 13s. 4d. Salary of Sir John Richeman the other of the lord's chaplains, granted to him for the term of his life, £6 13s. 4d. (Roll 29/2, Receiver's Accounts, 24 Henry VI.).

1455. Chaplains, Sir John Richeman and Sir William Colby (Roll 29/3, 33 Henry VI.).

1477. Salaries of chaplains.—Paid to Robert Herryson and Thomas Armorer, chaplains of the chantry in the castle of Cockermouth for their salaries for this year, namely to each of them £6 13s. 4d. (Roll 29/7, 16 Edward IV.).

Paid to John Thomson for 3lbs. of wax bought from him for wax lights to be made thereof before the images of the Holy Saviour and Blessed Mary in the chapel of the castle at 7d. a pound, 21d. (Roll 29/7).

Paid for one hair rope bought for the bell of the chapel 2d. (*Ibid.*).

Paid to William Hall, smith, for the making of one new candelabrum of iron bought from him for the chapel, 6s. 8d., and paid for the setting up and fixing of the same on the wall before the image of the Holy Saviour (*Ibid.*).

1485. Salary of Robert Herryson and Thomas Armorer, chaplains celebrating divine service in the chapel of the castle, £6 13s. 4d. each (Roll 29/8, 2 Richard III.).

Paid to William Glazier hired in gross for repairing and mending all the defects in the glass windows in the chapel of the castle 6s. (*Ibid.*).

The castle, the lordship, and the Honour of Cockermouth were granted on April 11th, 1465, to Richard Neville, earl of Warwick (*Rot. Pat.*, 5 Edward IV., part 1, m. 14), and it is curious that Cockermouth should have

belonged to two such powerful king-makers during the same century. After the earl's death at the battle of Barnet in 1471, Cockermouth was restored to the Percies, by gift to Henry, the fourth earl, who seems to have looked to the welfare of the castle, for we find him paying an account to Thomas Walker for 900 shingles at 3s. the hundred for the repair of the roof over the kitchen tower (*Castle Muniment Roll*, 29/7, anno 1477). At this time Edward Radclif, Esq., was lieutenant of the castle.

The fifth earl, who died in 1527, was the first who died a natural death. The sixth earl had no child, and his brother was attainted; he left all his estates to the Crown, hoping that they might be restored to his nephew by the royal clemency as ultimately, after a space of 20 years, they were.

Southwell, having suppressed Furness Abbey in 1537, wrote to Cromwell as follows :—

Accordyng to the kynges commandement, we yntende to repayre and so forth to Egremunt Castell and Cockermouthe, yntendyng no more to returne to Furnes Syr the kynges highnes shall have here thre goodly Seniorys and welle peopled the one adjoynyng nere to the other, the Seniory of Furnes, the Barony of Kendalle and the honour of Cockermouthe (Beck's *Annales Furnesienses*, pp.358-360).

Leland, writing in 1539, says :—

The Towne of Cockermuth stondeth on the Ryver of Cocker, the which thwarteth over the towne; and Cocker runneth yn Darwent hard at the Point of the Castel of the Erl of Northumberland (vol. vii., fol. 70, 72).

Thomas Percy was restored by Philip and Mary as seventh earl in 1557. Eleven years afterwards, on the 16th of May, 1568, Queen Mary Stuart landed at Workington, and was escorted on the following day by Sir Henry Curwen to Cockermouth Hall, as the earl was not then resident at the castle. Very soon afterwards, however, he joined Nevill, and plunged into that wild "rising of the North" which terminated in his death at the hands of the headsman.

In 1570 Edmund Hall and William Homberston, the royal commissioners for enquiring into the castles and estates of those compromised in the unfortunate rising, surveyed both Cockermouth and Egremont Castles, and their report can still be seen in the Public Record Office. 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 26th, 1569, in which he says :—

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 (*Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Add.* 1566-1569, 167-8).

The Acts of the Privy Council give a letter dated June 13th, 1571, to George Lamplugh signifying the queen's pleasure that he should be restored, and thenceforth enjoy the office of deputy lieutenant to Thomas Lord Wharton and of the castle and Honour of Cockermouth. Another letter, dated August 16th, 1574, to George Lamplugh requires him to deliver the castle of Cockermouth, which was for a certain time committed to his keeping, unto such and in such order as he shall be appointed and required by the guardians of Philip Lord Wharton.

From a survey, bearing date May 20th, 1577, we gather the following extracts :—

There is also a castle in Cockermouth situate between the waters of Derwent and Cocker, with a trench or dry ditch about the same, with two barns and other buildings 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.

In Christopher Dacre's survey of the decayed castles and fortresses thought meet to be repaired upon the west borders, made in the year 1580, we find Cockermouth referred to thus :—

This house or castle doth belonge to y^e Earle of Northumberland, standinge x miles south west from Woulstre Castle partly

decayed and for divers good consideracons thought meete to be repaired, the charge of which reparacons wth helpe of such tymber as is there ready at this present and other the wood there, belonginge to the lord and owner of the same is esteamed to two hundred pounds (*Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Add.* 1580).

In the year 1591, Sir Wilfrid Lawson was made lieutenant of the Honour of Cockermouth by the earl of Northumberland, with the custody of the castle and a fee of £10. The State Papers for 1605 contain a warrant to Sir Henry Widderington to seize Tynemouth, Alnwick, Prudhoe, and Cockermouth, all castles of the earl of Northumberland, concerned in the Gunpowder Plot (*Calendar of State Papers*, 1603-10, p. 254). Following upon this we find, amongst the Muncaster papers, a letter dated November 14th, 1605, from Sir Wilfrid Lawson to Lord Salisbury, disclaiming all connection with Earl Percy, and begging that Cockermouth Castle should not be seised into the king's hand :—

The castle itself is for the most part ruinous. My wife's son dwells in the gatehouse by my direction. The dispossessing me of this castle will breed in the heads of the people an opinion that some suspicion is held of my loyalty, and disgrace me in the government of these parts.

Having no favourable response, Sir Wilfred seems to have become despondent and prepared for the worst. Writing to his bailiff, two days later, he says :—

You will do well to send your wife and children away, and to remain at Cockermouth Castle until the coming of Sir Henry Widderington, who will put you forth and put others in. We must obey the warrant from the lords of the Privy Council.

Probably Sir Wilfred's close association with Lord Cumberland, the favourite, worked to his advantage, for soon he had the satisfaction of receiving a letter from Sir Henry, dated November 24th, 1605 :—

I have received letters from the Council, desiring that I should forbear to seize or enter Cockermouth Castle, and that it should continue in your keeping.

On September 22nd, 1645, the earl of Northumberland, writing to Sir Henry Vane, says :—

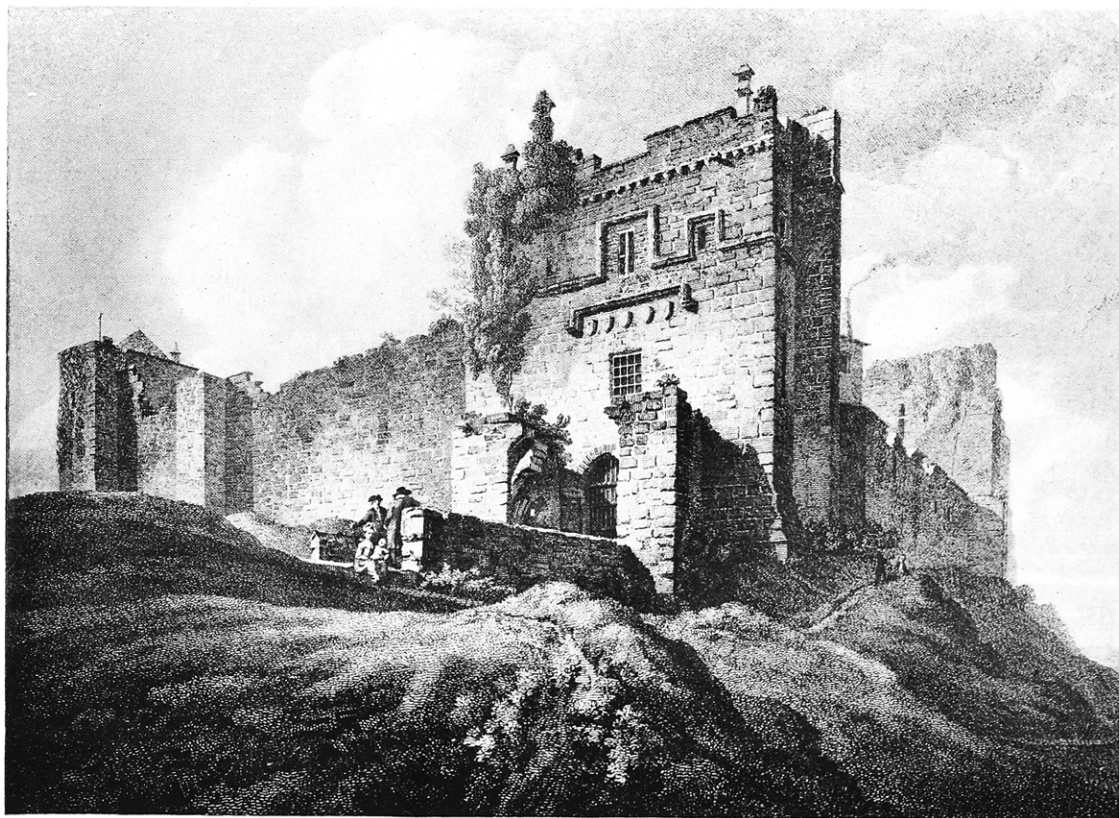
As to putting a garrison into Cockermouth Castle, I should very unwillingly admit of any there, because the place is neither strong, nor useful (*Calendar of State Papers*, 1645-47, 150).

In 1648 the castle, being held for the Parliament by Lieutenant Bird, was besieged by a body of 500 Cumberland royalists in the month of August. It held out until the 29th September, when it was relieved by Lieut.-Col. Ashton, sent out of Lancashire by Cromwell for that purpose. The effects of the Parliamentary strife upon the building, beyond the removal of the roofs, do not appear to have been very serious. Nevertheless it would seem that after this the castle was dismantled with the exception of the gatehouse, which appears always to have been occupied. It is known that in the year 1649 the new ditch, without the Percy wing, was filled up.

This magnificent and venerable ruin is now the property of Lord Leconfield of Petworth, by whose kindly courtesy we are able to inspect it, and before proceeding to explain the details as existing to-day, I am anxious to record my thanks to Mr. Herbert Watson, his lordship's agent, for allowing his assistants to render me invaluable aid.

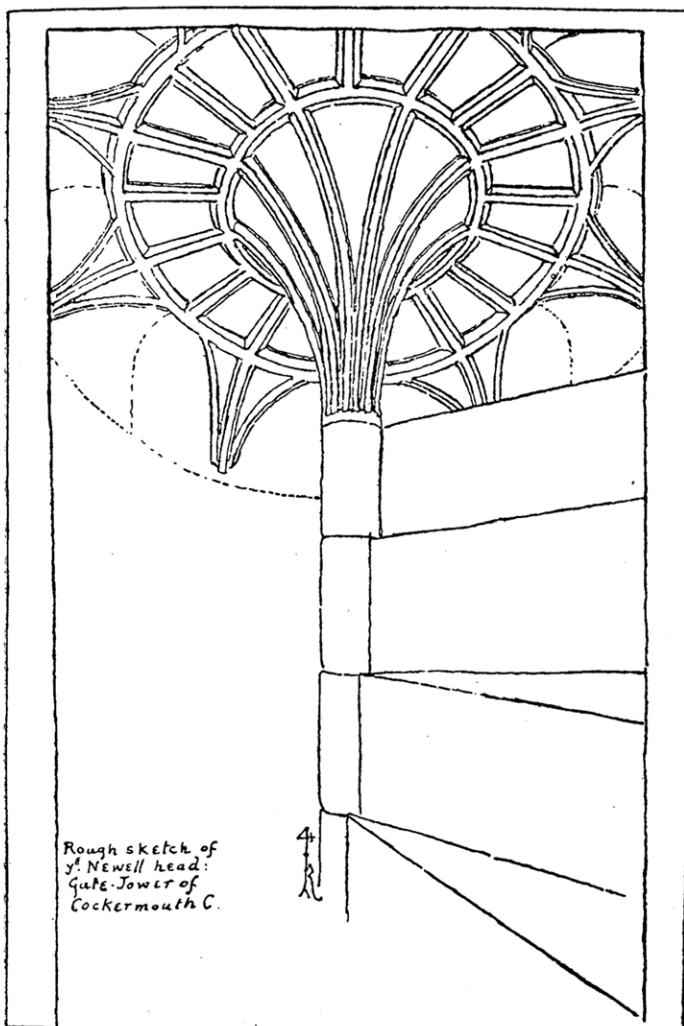
THE RUINS.

Climbing the Castle Hill from the town the great portal was reached by passing through a narrow causeway that spanned the outer ditch, as seen in T. Hearne's view, to the barbican. This outwork, which measures 18 feet long, seems never to have been roofed, but to have consisted merely of two flanking walls, some 15 feet high and seven feet in thickness. They were parapetted, and the rampart walk reached by lateral stairs let into the thickness of the wall. Through the southern wall a small doorway, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, opened on to the southern fore-close, which was doubtless palisaded, and used to cover



COCKERMOUTH CASTLE, FROM J. H. PEARNE'S VIEW, 1778.

TO FACE P. 148.



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

4
1
2
3

the gate when a sortie was in progress. The ends of these walls in front were terminated by square piers, which supported a cross arch of entrance likewise defended by a parapet, and the drawbridge when drawn up served the purpose of a gate. It will be noticed that the cross arch is set inward some 12 inches so as to allow of the thickness of this drawbridge being recessed within the walls.

The gatehouse adjoining forms a tower, 50 by 32 feet, and is of three storeys in height. Over the round-headed portal and beneath a long flat label are the five shields bearing the armorial coats of the owners of the castle, as already referred to. The passage within is vaulted, and has rebates for three doorways, one behind the other, of which the one nearest the entrance seems to have been inserted to replace a portcullis, the groove of which is clearly visible.

The lower portion of the tower is undoubtedly of fourteenth century work, but the upper part seems to have been rebuilt during the Perpendicular period, and the windows enlarged. There is a good newel staircase communicating with the rooms above, which has a groined roof of late but interesting design. This and the one at Johnby Hall are the only two specimens of a groined roof in our district. The illustration is from a drawing by the late Canon Knowles.

If we now turn along the eastern curtain we find about midway a solid buttress-turret projecting about eight feet square from the curtain, which seems to have been added for the purpose of carrying a small piece of ordnance. It has a plinth on the front face only, but there is no plinth to the ancient curtain.

The south-east corner of the outer bailey is now capped by the flag tower. It measures 31 feet square, and projects outwards about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet upon the two curtains. Above the basement there are two upper floors, which are each reached by separate external staircases. A third stair

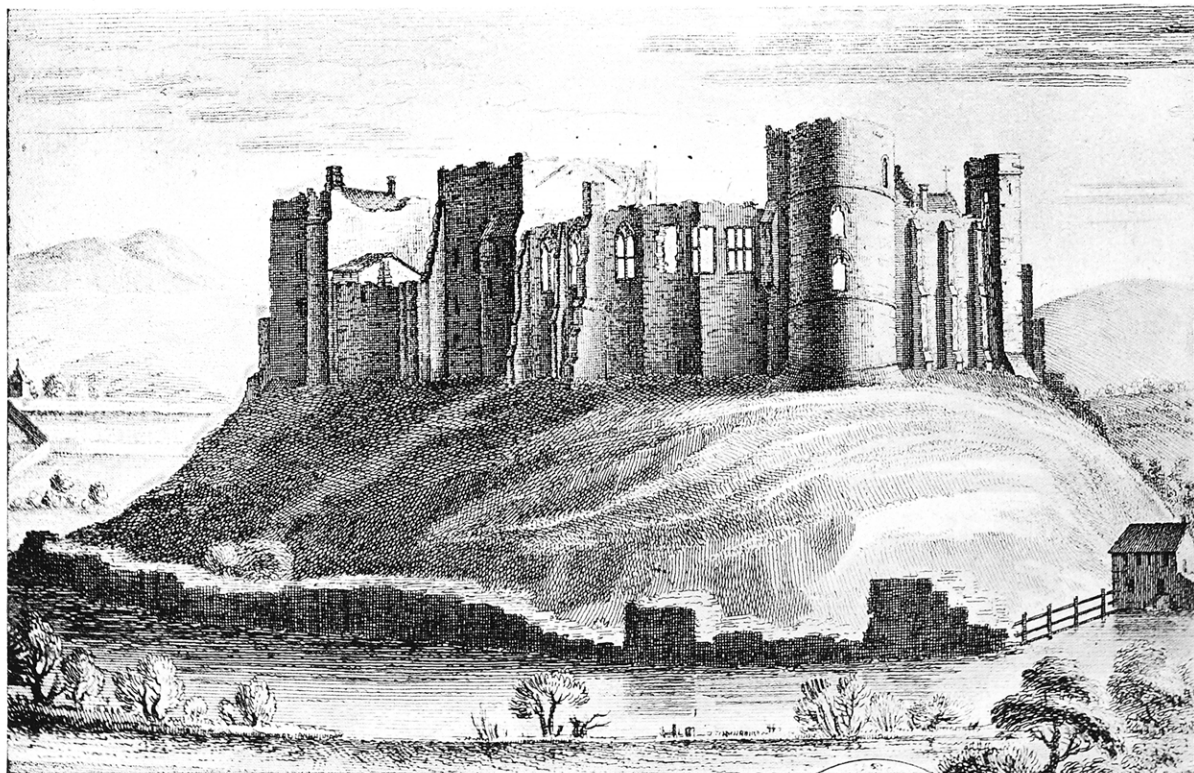
ascends from the east curtain to the battlements and rampart walk. It is worthy of notice that the roof is high pitched, having the coping of the south gable stepped in the Scottish fashion, like the tower of Kirkandrews-on-Esk. The north gable is set back about three feet to allow of the rampart walk being continued from the east to the south curtain. At the base there is a splayed weathering on each of the two main faces, and just below is a double plinth. Notice on the west side the two garderobe outlets between the two plinths.

There is nothing very much of importance to draw attention to on the south curtain beyond the fact that two rather large buttresses have been added externally to increase its strength.

On the site of the north curtain there now stands a long stretch of rebuilt wall, five feet thick, covered by Lord Leconfield's dwelling. On the top of the wall and above the roof are two ancient cusped window openings, which one can only suppose to be insertions, made for giving an ancient effect to this blank wall. In Messrs. Buck's view this wall is shown to be very much less in height, so that clearly the upper part has been rebuilt since 1739. Between this dwelling and the kitchen tower was, until quite recently, a large apartment known as the stone parlour or ball room. It can only be entered now through a window on the external face. An inscribed stone, said to be a portion of a Roman altar, is built into the wall.

The level of this outer bailey is some six feet below the surface of the inner bailey, so that the portal into Umfraville's wing as viewed to-day appears more like a large window, without its drawbridge inclining down across the ditch.

The outer arch of this portal supported an embattled parapet, and behind there is an opening, or machecoulee, through which missiles could be dropped on any assailants. The inner arch was evidently closed by great doors, and,



COCKERMOUTH CASTLE : S. BUCK'S VIEW, 1739.

TO FACE P. 152.

at the further end of a passage, a second doorway led directly into the interior of the gatehouse.

Here we find a room 29 by 21 feet, with a wooden floor supported on stone corbels. On either side of the entrance are two narrow doors, one segmental and the other square headed, each of which opens into a small, acutely vaulted prison, about 16 by 8 feet, and lighted by grated loops on to the outer bailey. From each there opens a small door into a mural garderobe within the outer side walls. In the centre of the floor of each prison there is a trap door forming the only entrance down into the lower dungeons, some 18 feet deep below the surface. It is rather ghastly to notice holes in the side walls of the upper prisons intended to hold a horizontal beam, from which a prisoner could be slung and lowered into these most loathsome dens.

In the side walls of the gatehouse there are two acutely pointed doorways which lead into lateral chambers, 18 feet wide. The cellars beneath these side rooms have been vaulted and groined, some of the springing stones of the ribs being still visible. They were entered from the central cellar, which was entered from the inner bailey, by a flight of twelve steep steps that led down beneath a lancet doorway into what was the original ditch. The walls to the lateral rooms to the north are tolerably perfect, and show the windows, garderobes, mural chambers, and fireplaces of two floors, whilst those to the south are now completely destroyed.

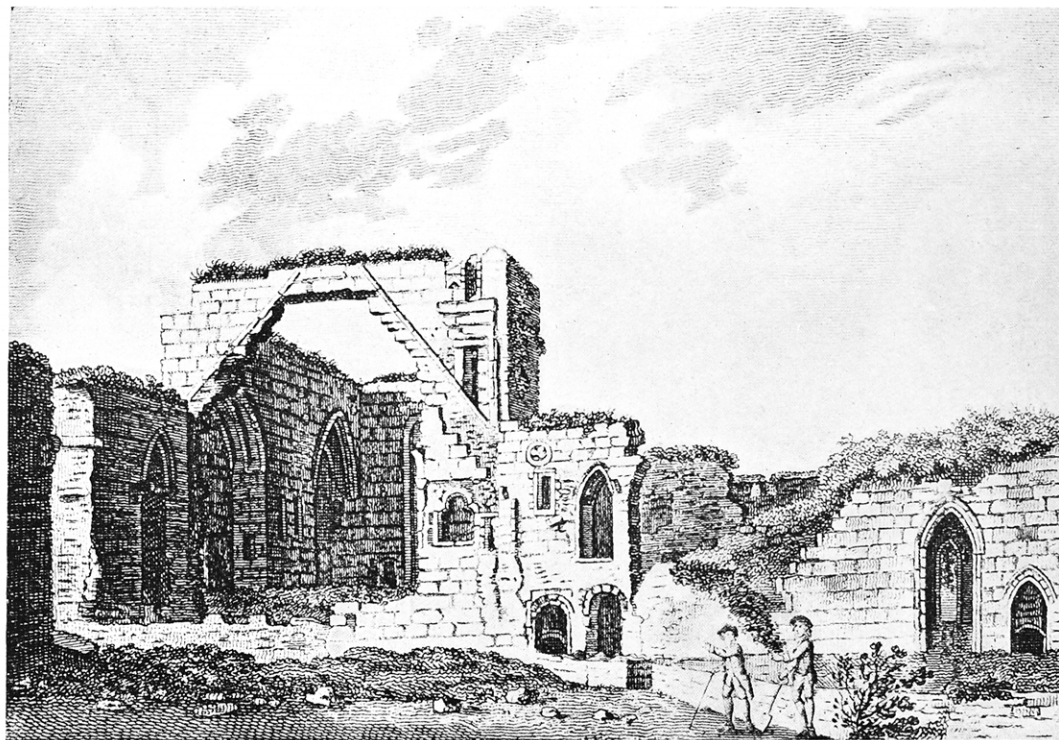
From the gatehouse an inner gateway, piercing a wall nine feet thick, led straight out into the inner bailey. The passage through is vaulted, and the outer arch rebated for a door. In the north side there is a narrow Carnarvon-arched doorway leading into a small mural and vaulted recess lighted by a loop.

Between the gatehouse and the great kitchen tower the space is filled in with state chambers, in which can be seen a good specimen of a fourteenth century hooded fire-

place. The windows are deeply recessed within Carnarvon arches; those on the first floor have garderobes leading out of a jamb, whilst those on the upper floor are fitted with stone seats. In the north-east angle of each floor a narrow square-headed door leads into a long but narrow mural chamber, with a loop out into the outer bailey. The first floor chamber is entered from an external staircase, which will be referred to later as being the main way up to the great hall; whilst a straight mural staircase in the western wall led up to the upper floor.

We now come to the kitchen tower, which is a very remarkable structure, and so stately as to be often mistaken, even by the Ordnance surveyors, for the castle's keep. The basement to it is entered from the inner bailey through a round-headed door of Decorated date, and which stands at the head of a flight of fifteen steps down a vaulted passage in the thickness of the wall. The chamber is about 30 feet square, having a central octagonal pier, without base or cap, from whence spring eight ribs; four span across to piers in the corners, and four to piers in the centre of each wall. The arches are pointed, and the vaulting is some 20 feet high. In the east wall there are two deeply splayed loops, whilst in the north wall there is a water drain. Tradition still calls this basement a chapel, but both George T. Clark and William Jackson say that it "bears no indication of having been used, or ever intended as such."

The kitchen itself is very lofty, with an open timber roof, the corbels to the hammer-beams of which remain. The floor has been built up, so as to be on a level with the hall floor—*i.e.*, about 10 feet above the ward level. In the south wall are two fireplaces, each 11 feet wide, with remains of stone hoods, and high up in the wall above them there is a long window or loop for the emission of vapour. In the east wall are two similar windows, about 24 feet long, crossed by a transome, square-headed but placed within shoulder-headed recesses. On the north



COCKERMOUTH CASTLE : FROM GROSE'S "ANTIQUITIES OF ENGLAND," 1774.

wall are two fine recesses, divided from one another by a bold pier $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 4 feet in depth. The soffits are ribbed, one with two and one with three ribs, plainly chamfered. There is a window in each, and, being partitioned off from the kitchen, they might have been used as pantries. Above them, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the floor, can be seen a string course which supported the floor of a wooden gallery that ran along the full length of the wall, passing in front of the pier. A similar gallery is to be found at Wharton Hall, and they were evidently used by the chef, from whence he could overlook all culinary operations. This one was entered by a small door in the east wall of the kitchen, from whence a mural stair ascends to a second door on the gallery level. From off the gallery two small doors, piercing the pier, led to a chamber in the thickness of the curtain wall. At the west end of the gallery another door opened into a mural passage which communicated with the minstrels' gallery over the screens.

An enormous modern arch has taken the place of the western wall of the kitchen. Grose gives a drawing in his *Antiquities of England and Wales*, taken in 1774, which shows this wall before the arch was inserted. On the north side of this arch is the only door to the kitchen. It is four feet wide and shoulder-headed, but it seems strange that so large a kitchen should only have this one door, and that communicating with the hall screens.

The most notable feature in the screens is a large plain-chamfered and trefoil-headed recess, or sideboard, with the remains of its stone shelf. Close beside it there is a small doorway to a newel stair, which led upward to the battlements over the Percy wing, and higher up to the leads over the kitchen. Half way up this stair there is a narrow doorway which opens into a tiny apartment, about $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 5 feet wide. This little room is worthy of considerable attention. From off a cavetto string the roof is beautifully vaulted in trifoliated form. In the only external wall, that toward the west, there is a narrow

loop, and over it a small cusped rose window, whilst in the east wall there is a recess as if for an aumbry. This mural chamber—scooped out, as it were, from the heart of the wall, hidden away and secluded from the turmoil of the castle, and entered from off a stairway that would seldom be used except in time of warfare—must surely have been devoted to the purposes of meditation and prayer.

The hall, built in 1360, was about 52 by 32 feet in measurement, and raised upon cellars some ten feet above the bailey level. It must have had a lofty open timber roof; some of the corbels remain, and the pitch of the weather moulding is seen in Grose's view. The entrance, as usual, is close to the screens, and was reached by a balcony and flight of external steps from the bailey. One jamb of the doorway, richly moulded in the Decorated style, is still left standing. There is in the bailey a mass of fallen stonework, which seems to indicate the position of this staircase, and a close examination of the arch stones over the doors that lead down into the cellars will reveal how that a level platform, or balcony, has crossed over them to the hall door. Moreover, we also have at this same level and from off the balcony the threshold to the door that leads into the state chambers.

The southern wall of the hall, where probably the fireplace was situated, unfortunately is now levelled nearly to the ground; but just outside we notice the castle well, which is said to be 61 feet deep, and which continues to give a constant supply of hard water.

The more massive northern wall still retains its windows, each of two trefoiled lights, below a quatrefoil head. Externally there are three large buttresses, built as additions in the fifteenth century to keep the wall from settling, but the loose soil of the escarpment has since given way beneath them, so that they have parted company with the building, which they were intended to support.

The dais was at the western end of the hall, and behind this the withdrawing rooms, but the dividing wall is now gone. The lower portion of the north wall is probably original—*i.e.*, of the thirteenth century—the three large Tudor windows, of course, being insertions. Further on we come to a straight stair which leads up to a mural garderobe, the opening of which is boldly projected upon two corbels, high up at the junction of the curtain with the west tower. This evidently seems to be an insertion of the fourteenth century. The Bucks' view, taken in 1739, gives a good idea of the general appearance of this side of the castle.

We now come to the west tower, the basement of which, as we have said, forms a portion of the first thirteenth century castle. It is drum-shaped on plan, and within deep recesses are three original loops with their archer's seats. Upon this basement has subsequently been erected a superstructure of three storeys, but here the walls take a hexagonal form. Each floor has a single trefoil-headed window of Decorated style recessed back below pointed arches, the soffits of which are double ribbed. The upper floors are reached by a newel staircase, and from the second floor a door on the north side opens upon a staircase leading to a garderobe immediately above the last-named one.

Passing round to the southern curtain we notice that the ancient masonry remains to a height of 14 feet, to which another 10 feet or so of ashlar face has been added above it, and the external buttresses much raised. It is likely that lean-to buildings were erected against this curtain, during the fifteenth century, as workshops and offices.

To complete the circuit we finally notice the bell turret of late fourteenth or early fifteenth century construction. It measures about 18 by 10 feet, and stands upon the curtain with a slight projection from it.

In conclusion, I must say that it has been a great

pleasure to me to endeavour to read the history of this noble ruin, following around its walls in the footsteps of such eminent authorities as George T. Clark and our late friend William Jackson, from whose descriptions I have derived very considerable help.
