

ART. XVII.—*Extinct Cumberland Castles* (Part III.). By
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Communicated at Keswick, July 7th, 1910.

TO the list of border castles, actual and reputed, contained in these *Transactions*, N.S., ix., p. 209, and N.S., x., p. 102, I now add other examples, which have lost their original character of mansions or strongholds, and may be regarded as extinct, together with some interesting scraps of information, which elucidate the history of those castles and their immediate vicinity.

DUNMALLOK CASTLE.

Sir William Dugdale called this castle "Dunwalloght," and suggested Cumrew as its position, and I have accordingly given a description in these *Transactions*, N.S., ix., p. 218, of certain banks of earth situate near that village at a spot marked on the Ordnance Survey as the "site of Dunwalloght Castle," but I have discovered some fresh facts, which indicate that its true site may be looked for in a different locality.

On August 24th, 1307, William de Dacre obtained licence to crenellate his dwelling-house of Dunmalloght* (*sic*), co. Cumberland, in the marches of Scotland

* It is perhaps worth noting that the name Dunmalloght must have been given not later than about the eleventh century, when Gaelic-speaking immigrants (Irish-Vikings or Galloway Scots?) may have named some non-Cymric and non-Teutonic places in our district. It implies an already existing *dun* or fort. For the second part of the word compare Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, i., 379:—"The peasantry understood Kilnamullagh to mean the church of the curse (mallacht) . . . At the year 1251 the Four Masters call it *Cill-na-mullach*, which O'Sullivan translates *ecclesia tumulorum*, the church of the hillocks or summits, and the name admits of no other interpretation." Now Dunmalloght (or, with the *m* "aspirated" in composition, Dunwalloght) looks like a parallel case—"the fort of the summit," which would apply to Dunmallet at Pooley Bridge, or "the fort of the mounds" (ruined remains?), which would apply to the Cumrew site, if already ruined. The notion of a place under a curse might be confused with this, as in Ireland, making Dunmallok into Dunmalloght. There is no reason why the name should not have been used at both sites.—ED.

(*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1 Edward II., p. 11); and in 1329, Thomas le Sawyer of Templesowerby speaks of an event which occurred 17 years previously, because he was then working at a certain pele (*pelam*) of Dunmallok, belonging to Ranulph de Dacre (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, 3 Edward III., p. 190).

In 1485 the possessions of Humphrey Lord Dacre of Gilsland, then lately deceased, included the manor of Dacre, within which was the site of a capital messuage, on which was newly built a certain tower (Dacre Castle is referred to), and at Soulby, parcel of the same manor, was "a wood called Dun Mallok," containing 20 acres. (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, 1 Henry VII., p. 67). At the foot of Ullswater is a lofty hill called Dunmallard or Dunmallet, and here, in Cumberland and in the marches of Scotland (a very elastic term), may be the long-forgotten site of Dunmallok or Dunwalloght Castle. Mr. J. F. Curwen suggests that this little tower may have been destroyed when Dacre Castle was built.

The said inquisition upon the death of Humphrey Lord Dacre (see pedigree *ad fin.*) is a document of more than ordinary interest, because it is rich in old place-names and local allusions. His "manor of Irthington," held of the king by the service of two knight's fees, appears by the context to have been co-extensive with the barony of Gilsland. Irthington became later on a subsidiary manor, but it was then apparently still regarded as *caput baroniæ*, or capital of the lordship. It included in 1485 Naward, where there was a castle;* Brampton and a park in Brampton, with a wood outside it called Brigwood; the fishing of the pools called Tynyel (Tindal) loch and Tauken (Talkin) loght† worth 6d., and a new built house there called Ternehouse (Tarnhouse); coal mines

* Ranulph de Dacre had obtained licence to crenellate "his dwelling-place at Naward" in 1335 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 9 Edward III., p. 168).

† "Talkane terne lacus" belonged to Thomas de Multon in 1294 (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, 23 Edward I., p. 126).

in Tynyel fell, valueless on account of the Scots, who are again and again stated to have destroyed everything; and the escape or evasion of the beasts of Ainstable to be had over a certain pasture, parcel of the said manor of Irthington, called Kynhenry, a transitional form of "King Harry."

WOLSTY CASTLE.

King Stephen granted Cumberland to Prince Henry, eldest son of David King of Scots, and the said prince in 1150 planted an abbey of the Cistercian order of white monks at Holm Cultram, giving them two-thirds of that manor and the remaining third to another grantee, who forthwith transferred his share to the monks. After Stephen's death, Henry II. resumed possession of Cumberland, and confirmed these gifts to the religious community, by the description of "the whole island of Holmcultram." The abbey was in great need of protection, for it had been ruthlessly pillaged by the Scots under Alexander II. in 1216 and under Robert Bruce in 1322, and Wolsty Castle was erected for its defence.

The last abbot, Gawin Borrowdale, surrendered his lands to Henry VIII. in March, 1537, and in the following year the tenants of the manor presented a petition that the chapel of the abbey might be left standing, because it was their parish church,* and a great defence against the Scots (Ellis's *Original Letters*, p. 89). So the abbot was appointed first rector of the parish of Holmcultram. The manor, including Wolsty Castle, remained in the hands of the Crown until after the Restoration (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Edition 1825, vol. v., p. 293). The Solway, instead of affording protection to the abbey, exposed it to sudden attacks by sea, and was always incroaching upon the fertile holm from which it derived its name and

* There had been, properly speaking, no parish church of Holmcultram, but here, as at Lanercost and elsewhere, the tenants of the manor seem to have been permitted to use the *nave* of the conventual church as a parish church, and after the Dissolution it was so constituted.

revenue. The large sea-creek, which has here eaten its way into the abbey holm, was supposed by Camden (*Magna Britannia*, ed. by Gough 1789, vol. iii., p. 172) to be the estuary which the geographer Ptolemy calls Moricambe, and it is so named on some modern maps, though most critics of Ptolemy's writings believe that he indicated Morecambe Bay in Lancashire.

Edward I.'s wars against Scotland brought the neighbourhood of Wolsty Castle into prominence. On February 12th, 1301, the king granted to the abbot and convent that their town of *Skynburgh*, within their island of Holmcultram, should be a free borough and the inhabitants free burgesses, so that the said borough should be kept by a faithful man to be chosen by the abbot and convent, and that all merchants might come to the said borough with their merchandise by land or water. And he further granted to the abbot and convent that they should hold within the said borough a weekly market on Thursday, and a yearly fair on the vigil and feast of St. John the Baptist and fifteen days following (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1301, p. 2).

But there is another charter, dated March 28th, 1305, which recites that the abbot had informed the king that the greater part of the said borough of Skynburgh and the road leading thereto had been so carried away by tempests of the sea that men could not go there or dwell there as they were wont to do, and grants to the abbot and convent that their town of *Kyrkeby Johannis*, instead of Skynburgh, shall be a free borough, with all the liberties previously granted to the latter, including the market and fair on the same dates (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1305, p. 55). In the abbot's petition of the previous year the name of the town (villa) is spelt Skynburnese (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. i., p. 161).

On April 11th, 1304, Bishop Halton empowered the abbot and convent of Holmcultram to erect (*de novo construere*) a chapel or church at "Arlosk," because their

lands there were not within the limits of any parish, and had suffered from the invasions of the Scots (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Edition 1825, vol. v., p. 595).

The old map in Camden's *Magna Britannia*, Edition London 1607, appears to place "Kirkby" somewhat nearer the mouth of the Wampool than "Long Newton" (Newton Arlosh).

The expression *de novo construere* and the place-name Kirkby-John may imply that a chapel had anciently existed in the neighbourhood.

The authority granted in 1301 to build a parish church at Skinburness (Dugdale, *Ibid.*, p. 593) had never from force of circumstances been exercised, but Skinburness was not annihilated, for it continued to be a port and the destination of stores for the expeditions against Scotland until the close of Edward I.'s reign (see *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1301-1307).

Wolsty was occupied from the time of Edward III. downward by a branch of the family of Chamber, one of whom, Robert, filled the position of abbot. On October 13th, 1348, the abbot of Holmcultram obtained licence to crenellate "the manor of Wolmsty, which is within the limits of Holmcultran, co. Cumberland" (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward III., 1348-50, p. 194).

Wulsty Castle, says Hutchinson (vol. ii., p. 340), stood nearly due west from the monastery, in a strong situation not far from the coast. A small part is now (1794) remaining, but sufficient to show it was a place of great strength, with a broad and deep ditch surrounding it. It appears to have been the custom in the northern parts of this kingdom for the monasteries to have a fortress of this kind, in which they might lodge with security their treasures and records on the approach of an enemy.

In this castle, according to tradition, were preserved the occult works of Michael Scot, who, some say, was buried at Holmcultram about 1234, and from his deep learning obtained the reputation of being a wizard (Camden, *Magna Britannia*, Edition London 1607, p. 636, and *Dictionary of National Biography*).

An inquisition respecting the Crown manor of Holmcultram was held in 1572 (15 Elizabeth), and the return made by the jury states that Wolsty Castle was in decay—the hall, the chamber at the end of the hall, the evidence house, the kitchen, the peat house, byer and stable were ruinous. The estimated cost of repair was £107 10s. 4d., and, if the fortress was not maintained for the defence of the western part of the lordship in time of war, 14 townships, therein named, of the yearly rent to the Crown of £120 17s., would be spoiled and destroyed by the enemy (Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 339).

Newton Tower, “a strong safeguard and security to the tenants on the east side of the Waver,” is stated by the same return to have been in decay. The massive pele, attached to the church of Newton Arlosh, is here indicated. An excellent picture and plan of that ruined tower, as it appeared in 1816, will be found in Lysons’ *Cumberland*, p. cxc.

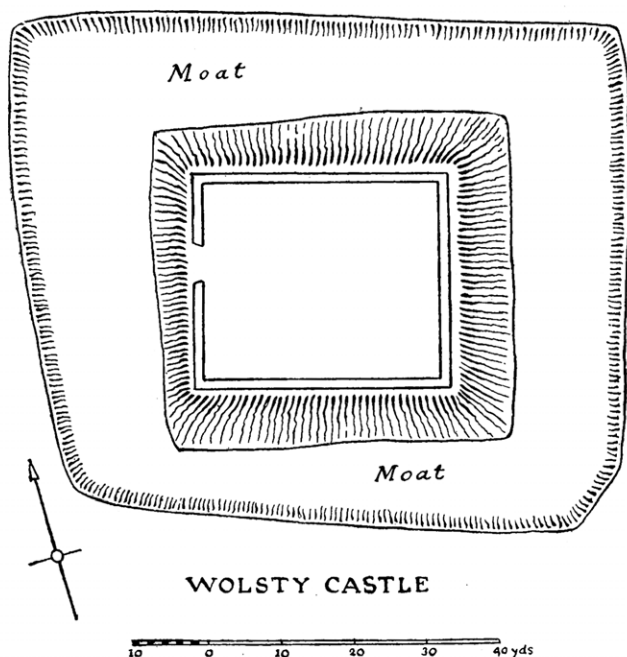
In a report made March 7th, 1593, by Alexander King, auditor to the Exchequer (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Add.* Elizabeth, 1593, p. 349), “Woulstre Castle” is described as lying seven miles west-by-south from Bowness Tower, a quarter of a mile from the sea-creek which divides the English and Scottish borders, and about four hours’ boating over the creek to Scotland.

From a survey of 1638 (see these *Transactions*, N.S., i., p. 203) it appears that Wolsty Castle had been granted to Robert Chamber and Thomas his son, with a fee of 20s. a year for keeping the same, but it had for the most part fallen into ruin and decay. Robert had at his own cost expended £100 over and above the £150 then necessary for repairs. After the death of the said Robert and Thomas his son, Wolsty Castle was in 1596 granted to Richard Chamber as keeper, and he was succeeded by his brother William, who died in 1629. Robert, the son of William, began to repair the castle in 1630, and after expending £100 and upwards upon it, “upon the 20th May, 1634,

the said Robert, his wife, children and servants, to the number of nine, being in their beds, the roof of the bed-chamber did suddenly fall down," breaking down the loft on which their beds stood, "though (praised be God) nobody therein was hurt thereby, and the said chamber is now built up again by Robert Chamber aforesaid" (*Ibid.*, p. 206).

At the Restoration a survey was made, and the jury found that

Thomas ffitch, late p'tendid gouvernor of Carlisle, caused the castle of Wolstie to be ruined, and the material thereof he caused to be carried to the Citie of Carlile, and for the land there remaineth [nought] save only the mote or ditch about the walles" (*Ibid.*, p. 207).



The site is marked on the Ordnance map $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles due

south from Silloth Railway Station, and five furlongs from the foreshore. The building has been razed to the ground, but its foundations are traceable, and its moat very distinct. A gap in the foundations on the western side may possibly mark the position of the entrance. A large block of masonry lying on the northern side shows that the walls were at least seven feet thick, and built of rough cobbles. Probably this is only the core, the dressed stones being removed.

BOWNESS TOWER.

Leland, who appears from internal evidence to have written his description of Cumberland in 1539, six years after he received his commission to travel from Henry VIII., mentions

Bolnes, wher ys a lytle poore steple as a fortelet for a brunt, and yt ys on the hyther syde of the ryver of Edon, abowt a viii myles from Cair Luel (*Itinerary*, 3rd Ed., vol. vii., part i., p. 55).

Auditor King, in his above-mentioned report of 1593, refers to

Bowness House or Tower, belonging to the Parsonage, two miles west and by north from Drumburgh, adjoining a sea-creek which divides the English and Scottish borders, a place of small receipt, yet very necessary for that part of the border (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Add. Elizabeth*, 1593, p. 349).

The building was not a church tower, for Bowness does not possess one, and if it were not for the words "belonging to the parsonage," I should be at a loss to know where to look for its site. Mr. Wills, a native of Bowness, tells me that he has never heard mention of such a tower, but he remembers, some 50 years ago, a building known as "the old rectory," though not occupied as such, being demolished.* It stood near the gate of the present rectory,

* "The old rectory is about to be rebuilt; the rector resides at present (1858) in the village" (Whellan's *Cumberland*).

and its foundations were so solid that it was necessary to blast them with gunpowder. I can only conjecture that this was the site of "Bowness House or Tower."

DRUMBURGH CASTLE.

The manor of Bowness, situate between the rivers Eden and Wampool, was from an early period held of the barony of Burgh by Gamel le Brun and his descendants, who are sometimes styled *de Feritate* "of the waste," on account of their territory being largely composed of mosses.

On August 24th, 1307, licence was granted to Robert le Brun to crenellate his dwelling house of Drombogh* (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1 Edward II.). This was the origin of Drumburgh Castle. The lords of the manor always held the advowson of Bowness Rectory, so the names of the successive occupants of the castle may be gleaned from the ecclesiastical records printed in Nicolson and Burn's *History of Cumberland*, vol. ii., p. 215.

For instance, in 1300 a presentation to the living of Bowness was made by the lady Ada de Feritate.

In 1307 Sir Richard le Brun† made the presentation. In 1322 Sir Robert le Brun held the advowson. In 1342 his son Richard was "lord of Drumburgh." In 1354 Robert Brun and in 1381 John "Broyne," lords of Drumburgh, presented successively to the rectory. After them came Richard le Brun, and he left three daughters co-heiresses, who married William Curwen, Nicholas Harington,‡ and Thomas Bowett respectively (John Denton's *Accompt*, Ed. R. S. Ferguson, pp. 50 and 78).

Alexander King, in his said report of 1593, says that it

* Spelt in a charter of Thomas de Multon, before 1240, Drumboc (Prescott's *Wetherhal*, p. 194).

† He died seised of the manor of Drumbogh in 1312, having held it of John de Castre and Isabel his wife by service of 4s. 9d. yearly for cornage (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, 6 Edward II., p. 215).

‡ In 1416 Jacobus Harington miles held one-third part of the manor of Bowness and the hamlets of Drunbough and Est as of the barony of Burgh (*Ibid.*, 5 Henry V., p. 27).

was "neither castle nor tower, but a house of strength, and a very fit place for defence." Mr. John Aglionby purchased this portion of the old Dacre possessions from Henry, Duke of Norfolk, in 1678, and repaired the ruined castle, which he afterwards exchanged with Sir John Lowther for Nunnery (Lysons' *Cumberland*, p. 30), and thus Lord Lonsdale is the present owner of Drumburgh Castle.

The present building was erected in Henry VIII.'s reign by Thomas Lord Dacre (see pedigree *ad fin.*), Knight of the Garter, for Leland states that "the Lord Dacre's father built upon old ruins at Drumbuygh a pretty pile for defence of the country" with stones taken from the Picts' wall. That Thomas Lord Dacre was a great builder of castles, for besides this he erected those of Askerton and Rockcliffe and enlarged Naworth. Drumburgh Castle is an oblong building facing northward, and measuring some 28 yards by 10. Upon the front is a weather-beaten stone with the initials *T. D.* in its upper angles, and bearing the arms of the said Thomas Lord Dacre encircled by the garter, which is inscribed with the words *Honi soit qui mal y pense*; while below them are the concluding letters of the motto *Fort in loyaltie*, which has become illegible. Jefferson inferred that the inscription "J. L., 1681," upon the locks of the doors marked the date when the exterior assumed its present appearance (*History of Carlisle*, p. 398).

BURGH CASTLE.

The barony of Burgh takes its name from the manor of Burgh-upon-Sands (*super sablones*), and it is in that manor one would look for the site of the castle which in early times formed the residence of the chief lord of the barony. There are some extremely vague allusions to such a castle. Polydor Vergil, bishop of Bath and Wells, in his *Historia Anglica* dedicated to Henry VIII., records the capture in 1174 by William the Lion, King of Scotland, of a fortress

which some have identified with Burgh, but the context rather points to Brougham in Westmorland. His words are :—

Ipse arcem, parum citra Edenam flumen sitam, quam incolæ Burghum (vocant), et alteram, in ejusdem fluminis ripa positam quam Appelbiam vocant, capit (Edition 1555, Book xiii., p. 229).

A reference in 1254 to "Bourg," cited by Lysons, relates to a town of the same name in France (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1254, p. 303).

But Leland, writing in 1539, says "Burgh in the sand is a village, by the which remain the ruins of a great place now clean desolated, where Edward I. died"* (*Itinerary*, 3rd ed., vol. vii., part i., p. 55).

He appears to refer not to the Roman station, but to some mediæval dwelling to which the dying king was removed in 1307 from his camp upon the marsh. Its site is indicated by Camden when he writes :—"The station has been a little east of the church near what is called 'the old castle'" (Edition 1789, vol. iii., p. 187). Then again John Denton speaks of Burgh, "where the barons of Burgh had a capital messuage, the ruins whereof are yet seen at the east end of the town" (*Accompt*, p. 79). And lastly, Whellan states that "near to Burgh is the site on which the castle of Sir Hugh de Morville formerly stood. The adjoining field is called 'Hangman Tree.' A neighbouring enclosure bears a designation not less ominous 'Spillblood Holme'" (p. 153). The latter is the small pasture field on the north-west side of the bridge leading to Carlisle, but as there are no visible traces of a building there, I must refer to the map of Burgh contained in Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 3rd edition, 1867, which purports to show the position of "Hangman's Tree" and "Sir H. Morville's house." Sir Hugh Morville died in 1202 (these *Transactions*, N.S., vol ix., 264).

* "Venit usque Burgum super Sabulo, ubi . . . dies . . . consummavit"—Matthew of Westminster, 1307. Called "Parochia de Burgo" in a charter of 1158-67 (Prescott's *Wetherhal*, p. 188).

When the castle was destroyed, the great pele tower of the parish church seems to have become the local stronghold. A plan of that church tower is contained in Lysons' *Cumberland*, p. cxc.

I can only find one unequivocal reference to this submanor of Burgh super sablones. In 1328 Robert Parnyng and Isabella his wife held it (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, 3 Edward III., p. 26), and their superior lord was Ranulf de Dacre, who married Margaret de Multon (*Ibid.*, 13 Edward III., p. 89, and these *Transactions*, N.S., vii., p. 235).

BEWCASTLE.

Sir John de Swynburne purchased the dale of Bothe-castre from Matildis and Emma de Carrig. It was their share of the land which originally fell to the six aunts of Helewisa de Levington (see *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, Bain, vol. iv., p. 361, where much light is thrown on this difficult title).

In 1296 Sir Adam de Swynburne (probably son of Sir John) held Bothe-castre, but it was seized by the Crown in that year, because he had been an adherent of John de Baliol, late king of Scotland (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 172). In February, 1338-9, King Edward III. granted to John de Strivelyn (Stirling) and Barnaba his wife respite from reliefs due by them on the deaths of her father, the said Adam de Swynburne, and her brother, Henry de Swynburne (*Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 238); and finally in February, 1357-8, although it had been found by inquisition that the said Sir Adam de Swynburne sided with the Scots in the time of the king's grandfather, rode with banners displayed, and aided in burning Hexham Priory, and took part with Gilbert de Middleton and the Scots in the king's father's time, and his said daughter Barnaba had in her father's lifetime and before her marriage lived in family with Robert de Bruce and others the late king's enemies, yet King Edward III. restored to John de Strivelyn the

lands of Barnaba his wife in Bothecastre, and pardoned them for all felonies committed by her father or ancestors (*Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 2).

Not many years later Bewcastle came into the possession of the family of de Middleton (one of whom is above referred to), for on September 1st, 1401, King Henry IV. wrote to his chancellor:—

As the castle of Bothe belonging to John de Middleton, son and heir of the late Sir John de Middleton, knight, was lately, from default of good governance, taken by the Scots, and John with Christiane his mother made prisoners, spoiled, and robbed by them, but soon after, by the aid of God and their cousins and friends, they regained and now hold the castle, the king has pardoned them, and permits Christiane to hold the castle for life, and John her son after her death, and commands letters accordingly (*Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 121).

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to whom Bewcastle had been granted by Edward IV., became king in 1483. The subsequent *hiatus* in the history of the castle is filled by an interesting deposition made in 1538 by an aged tenant of the manor (*Calendar of State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. xiii., part ii., p. 553). James Noble of Kirkbeck-mouth, aged 80, therein states that sixty years by-past King Richard's commissioners let all the lands of Bewcastle to Cuthbert and John Routledge, Robert Elwald and Gerard Nixon, and before that the castle, and all the lands belonging to the same, of long time lay waste. The said four men paid no rent, but were to maintain the king's wars, and pertained to the captains of the castle under the king. Thomas Lord Dacre (see pedigree *ad fin.*) undertook to occupy under Sir John Musgrave captain there until the said Lord Dacre was troubled at London, and did send unto William, now Lord Dacre, that he should give over his occupation to Thomas Musgrave, who had succeeded his father as captain. All the time that Thomas Lord Dacre ruled under the captain he caused the inhabitants to appear at his court of Askerton. John Musgrave received the farm, before the late com-

motion, to the use of Sir William Musgrave, now captain there. When deponent entered into the farm he paid gressome to Sir John Musgrave, aforesaid captain under the king that now is.

The following records appear to confirm the statements of the deposition.

In 1514 there is a grant in survivorship, to Sir John Musgrave and his son Thomas, of the offices of constable of Bewcastle and chief forester of Nicholforest,* and a grant for the repair of the said castle, of certain lands in Bewcastle dale, lately belonging to Sir John Middelton, and the park of Plumpton† in Inglewood Forest, and an annuity of £40, payable as to one-half out of the manor of Sowerby and as to the other half out of the manors of Randollinton, Arthuret, and Liddel in Nicholforest (*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 746); and in the following year Thomas Musgrave was appointed to the same offices, and was granted the same lands and annuity (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., part i., p. 285). But in December, 1527, William Lord Dacre was made constable of Bewcastle and chief forester of Nicholforest on the vacation of these offices by Thomas Musgrave (*Ibid.*, vol. iv., part ii., p. 1672), and he complains to Wolsey that Bewcastle is in such decay that no man can dwell there, for Thomas Musgrave has spoiled it, taken away all the lead, and broken the glass windows (*Ibid.*, vol. iv., part ii., p. 1827).

In April, 1531, Sir William Musgrave was appointed constable and chief forester (*Ibid.*, vol. v., p. 106), and in October of the same year the following incident occurred. John, Ingram, and Richard Musgrave, sons of John Musgrave of Bewcastle, had a dispute about some horses with the Armstrongs. In the fray which ensued an Armstrong

* It is called "the forest of Nicholas" in 1346 (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 20 Edward III., part i., p. 30).

† The tenants of Plumpton complained in 1565 that they had to carry all the captain of Bewcastle's hay and corn a distance of 15 miles (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Add.* Elizabeth, p. 566).

was struck with a spear by "John Musgrave the younger," and died immediately. The Musgraves fled to Bewcastle pursued by the Armstrongs, and John the younger would have been taken if the drawbridge had not been hauled up. John Musgrave from the walls refused to deliver up the felon (*Ibid.*, vol. v., p. 225).

In 1532* Lord William Dacre paid £100 to Sir William Musgrave for the repairs of Bewcastle (*Ibid.*, vol. v., p. 596).

It appears from a letter written in 1537 by the Duke of Norfolk to Cromwell that Sir William Musgrave, who had the rule there, lived in London, and Jack of Musgrave, a bastard, was his deputy—a tall, hardy man, but not meet to have the rule of so many ill men† (*Ibid.*, vol. xii., part ii., p. 86). But the latter distinguished himself five years later, when he and the Grahams "pricked sore" at the Scottish army at Solway Moss (*Ibid.*, vol. xvii., p. 617); and in 1544 John Musgrave, "the king's servant," was appointed constable of the castle of Bewcastle, with the same rents from Bewcastle dale as Sir John Middleton had (*Ibid.*, vol. xix., part ii., p. 418).

The last-named John Musgrave, sometimes referred to in contemporary records as "Jack à Musgrave," is an interesting personality, though his name does not appear in the published pedigrees of this eminent local family. In 1543 Sir William Musgrave obtained licence to settle certain lands upon John Musgrave of Bewcastle for life with remainders to Adam, John, and Ingram, sons of the said John, respectively (*Ibid.*, vol. xviii., part i., p. 366).

Not only did Jack Musgrave himself marry a daughter of Thomas Chamber of Raby Cote, but his daughter married another Thomas Chamber of the same place. The inscription upon her tombstone refers to him as

* The payment is wrongly assigned by Nicolson and Burn to a much earlier date.

† The same letter mentions that "the house at Rockcliffe" built by Thomas Lord Dacre was then occupied by the Grahams.

"Jack Musgrave, captain of Bewcastle, knight" (these *Transactions*, n.s., vol. i., p. 202). So far as I can ascertain he was never knighted, and there may perhaps be some confusion here with Sir John Musgrave, who had also been captain of Bewcastle.

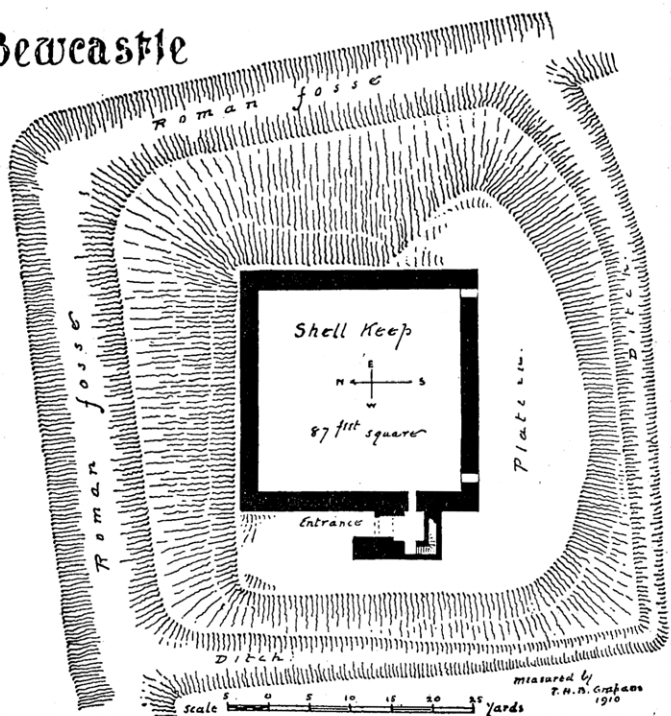
Sir Simon Musgrave,* a younger brother of Sir William, succeeded "Jack" at Bewcastle, and had his own son Thomas as deputy. The latter was styled "Captain Musgrave" when he entertained Bothwell there in 1592 (*Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, p. 610). He was re-appointed constable of Bewcastle for life by James I. in 1607 (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, James I., 1603-10, p. 360), but the same king, in 1614, leased to the Earl of Cumberland the castle and lands of Bewcastle, "formerly kept by an officer" (*Ibid.*, 1611-18, p. 242). And thus ended the long connection of the Musgrave family with this ancient border fortress.

The castle is built in an angle of the Roman station, so that it is protected on the north and east by the broad fosse 12 yards in width. On the other two sides a narrow ditch, three yards wide, has been cut to complete the circumvallation. The main building is a square block of walling seven feet thick, to whose western flank has been attached, perhaps as an afterthought, an entrance tower facing north. The south wall of the main building is nearly perfect, and retains most of its facing stones. There is a string-course at the height of seven feet from the ground, above which the thickness of the wall is somewhat reduced. There were only two windows high up in the wall on this side—one seven feet from the east angle, and the other, now blocked up, ten feet from the west angle. Within, at the height of about 12 feet from the ground, is a series of square holes into which were inserted the beams of the upper floor, and in the space

* He was already captain in 1570 (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Add. Elizabeth*, p. 429), and his second cousin Leonard Musgrave of Cumcatch, near Brampton, describes himself as deputy captain in 1567 (*Ibid.*, p. 35).

between the windows are the remains of two chimney flues. The east wall is pierced, six feet above the ground level outside, by two openings for ventilation—one measuring seven inches square at the distance of 12 feet from the south angle, and the other measuring six inches square at 29 feet from the north angle.

Bewcastle



The gateway tower is 12 feet square internally, and from a recess on its western side a flight of steps, 27 inches broad, winds upward through the thickness of the wall to a short passage, ending in a *cul de sac*, and lighted by a window facing south. There are two peep-holes from this passage to the interior of the gateway tower. The western wall of the entrance tower is extended eight feet north-

ward, so as to conceal persons entering or leaving the castle. Inside the gateway are two long openings running right through this wall, into which the stout wooden bars for securing the outer door were shot back when not in use.

Chancellor Ferguson considered that a castle was built here in the reign of William Rufus to prevent the Scots from availing themselves of the adjacent "Maiden Way" (*History of Cumberland*, p. 140), but a recently expressed opinion limits the date of its erection to the period between the great raids of 1296-7 and the death of Edward I. in 1307 (*Journal of British Arch. Association*, N.S., vol. xiv., p. 207).

TRIERMAIN CASTLE.

There can be no doubt that Triermain was included in "the land of Gillēs Bueth" which Henry II. granted in 1157 to the patriarch Hubert de Vaux, for it has always formed part of Gilsland. Triermain had previously been in the occupation of a native chief Gilemor, son of Gilander, who built a church there (these *Transactions*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 243, note). It was a timber structure, and a chapel of Walton parish. Hubert's son Robert gave "ecclesia de Walton cum capella de Treverman" to the priory of Lanercost when he founded it in 1169 (Dugdale's *Monasticon*), and so in 1346 Trevermane is described as being in the "parish" of Lanercost (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 20 Edward III., part i., p. 30). Robert de Vaux, grandson of Hubert and lord of Gilsland, gave Gilemor's lands—that is to say, the manors of Triermain and Torcrossok (Tercrosset)—to his bastard brother, Roland de Vaux, to hold of the barony (Prescott's *Wetherhal*, p. 120).

They were enjoyed by his lineal descendants Alexander and Ranulf (Denton's *Accompt*, p. 143), and in 1295 Robert de Vallibus, or de Vaux, of Treverman held that free tenement of Thomas de Multon of Gilsland, by the service

of one-seventh part of a knight's fee (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 23 Edward I., p. 416). Licence was given on February 4th, 1340, to Roland de Vaux to crenellate his dwelling place of Trevermane in the march of Scotland (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 14 Edward III., p. 417).

In 1352 Roland de Vaux made a feoffment of Torcrossok manor and Threcherman to Roland his son and Johanna his wife, with remainder to himself the said Roland senior (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, 27 Edward III., p. 184). And in 1485 a Roland Vaux still held lands in Trethremane and Torcrossoke of the barony of Gilsland (*Ibid.*, 1 Henry VII., p. 67). No definite information about the castle and its surroundings is forthcoming until the close of the sixteenth century, when an inquisition was held in August, 1588, at Carlisle, by Alexander King, auditor of the Queen's Exchequer, of all the manors late in the possession of Leonard Dacre, Esq., attainted of high treason.

The record of the findings at this inquisition are of the highest interest and importance. Hutchinson made copious extracts from an apparently incomplete copy, which was then in the possession of Mr. J. Graham, attorney of Carlisle. In the following passage I have modernised the spelling of words other than place-names, and it will be noticed that the clerk who drew up the verdict had no personal knowledge of the localities therein mentioned :—

MANERIUM DE TRADERMAYNE.

Lord's rents, £13 5s. 6d. Bailiff's fee, 13s. 4d. Land Serjeant's fee, 3s.

Memorand. The site of the said manor of Tradermayne was sometime a fair castle called Tradermayne Castle, a house of great strength and of good receipt. It stood and was built opposite to the wastes of Scotland and Tyndell, and about six miles distant from Lydderesedell, and was a very convenient place both for annoying of the enemy and defending the country thereabouts, but now the said castle is utterly decayed.

Item. There be divers and sundry groves and places of wood

within the said manor viz—Willparke, Halegarth wood, Dundell wood, &c.

Item. There are divers commons of heath and moor grounds belonging to the said manor, viz. Wisey Rigg, Torthoy (Torties), Dundell Rigg (Dumblar Rigg), Graggell (Craighill), Malescroft, Knorren Moor, and others, containing 500 acres, wherein the tenants of this manor have common of pasture for their cattle.

Then the boundaries are given, and it is possible to follow them with the aid of the Ordnance map.

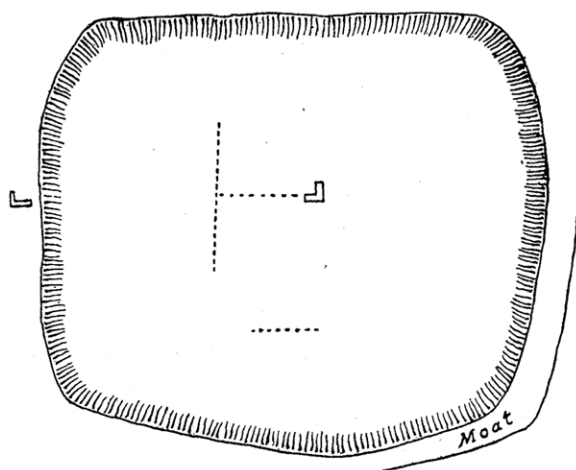
Item. The bounder of the said manor beginneth at the foot of Knorren, and up Knorren to the foot of Cragg-burne, so up to the head of Cragg-burne. From thence to the Graystone over against Grenese burne (Greens burn). From thence up the heads of Dundley rigge (Dumblar rigg) to Troutebeck (Trout-beck). From thence up King to the Middle Shealdes. From thence to Irdinge. From Irdinge down to Brudessolle (Burdoswald), from thence to the Wall Bowers, from the Wall Bowers to the Ragg-hill (Craighill), from thence to the Frier Waine-gate, from thence to the Harehirst, and from thence to the Stone cross, and from thence to the foot of Knorren where this bounder first began (Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 100).

Two of the above mentioned localities are again mentioned in describing the boundary of the manor of Walton Wood, which abuts upon that of Triermain. "From the Swates Rigg . . . to the Frier-waine-gate, and so over the water and down to a ditch till it cometh almost to the houses called the Harehirst" (*Ibid.*, p. 101). The Frier-wainegate, or wagon road used by the monks of Lanercost, crossed the river King at a point still known as "the Wain-gate," two miles due north from the priory as the crow flies. That point is marked by a bridge with precipitous approaches.

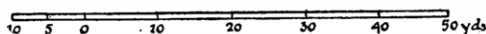
It is therefore evident that Harehirst is the hamlet called Hardhurst in Fryer's county map of 1818, and Hardest on the Ordnance sheet. The suffix "hurst," meaning a wood, is unusual in Cumberland place-names, but here within a narrow compass occur Flowery Hirst near Lineholme, the Hurst near Tercrosset, Burthing-

hurst and Hardhurst near Walton Wood, Birkhurst and Long Hurst near Naworth, and Hawkhurst near Brampton.

A halo of romance is shed around the castle by Sir Walter Scott in his poem "The Bridal of Triermain.* I have adopted his familiar spelling of the name, but it occurs elsewhere as Treverman (1295), Trethremane (1485), and Tradermayne (1588), and there is nothing



TRIERMAIN CASTLE



(North at the top of page.)

romantic about the solitary shaft of masonry propped by buttresses which still rears its head in the landscape from a low grassy mound. The shaft once formed the angle of a building which faced the cardinal points of the compass, but that it was an internal structure is shown by the

* Coleridge's "Christabel" also uses the name, though little more, in aid of romance.

spring of two doorway arches visible on the south side. The surface of the mound on which it stands is encumbered with blocks of fallen masonry, and the original extent of the building could be ascertained by digging.

There are traces of a moat on the southern and eastern sides. At the foot of the mound on the western side, and on what was probably the edge of the moat, are the remains of a building of much less massive construction than the castle itself, the southern and western walls being respectively only four and two feet thick.

Fryer's county map shows a mansion called "Demesne" near the road a quarter of a mile east of the castle (thereon called "Toddermain"), and the former name seems to indicate the cultivated field of the manor.

ASKERTON CASTLE.

The castle was built, according to Camden, "by the Barons Dacre," and it probably occupies the site of the older manorial mansion. It was visited by our Society in 1905 (these *Transactions*, N.S., vol. v., p. 295). The road to Bewcastle traverses its wild park for more than a mile. Two furlongs north-east from the castle is a conspicuous eminence called "Gallows Hill," which has doubtless been the site of the manorial gibbet, while about the same distance south-west of Askerton is another hill called, presumably for the same reason, "Gallowberry." The accompanying plan shows the outline of the original building, while the following concise account, contained in a note at page 176 of the *Household Books of Lord William Howard* (Surtees Society's publications), describes its present appearance :—

Askerton Castle, now used as a farmhouse, is a very interesting specimen of a small Border fortress. The type of the larger castles is followed upon a lesser scale. It does not seem to have grown out of a pele tower as so many of them did, but to have been built in its present form at one time or nearly so. Two square towers flank the central part of the building, which faces the south

The angles (formed by the junction of the towers with the central building) have been contrived to accommodate the external apertures of the latrines in the upper stories of each tower. The initials *T. D.* on the weather moulding of the south-western tower seem to identify Thomas Lord Dacre* as the builder.

Behind is a small quadrangle, with a curtain wall to the east, and the stabling to the north. Over the latter have been apartments, as is shown by old fireplaces and mullioned windows now walled up, but all in their original position. The space is now used as a hay loft. The western side of the little quadrangle is occupied by a building attached to the south-west tower, which was probably the hall. It has a three-light window at its northern end, probably inserted by Lord William Howard. Each tower has very small square openings to the south, for the admission of light and air, high up in the wall. Similar openings occur in the upper story of the central building. The other windows in this portion are modern, except a two-light mullioned one of sixteenth century work. In the apartment now occupied as a kitchen is a wide arched fireplace, on the mantle of which is carved in low relief THOMAS CARLETON JUNIOR 1576.

Auditor King's inquisition of 1588 gives the following account of the castle and its surroundings:—

MANERIUM DE ASKERTON.

Lord's rent, £26 8s. Bailiff's fee, £1 6s. 8d.

Memorand. There is situate within the said manor one castle called Askerton Castle, which is at this present in very great decay. If the same were in good repair it were a house of very good receipt and of convenient strength against any common or sudden assailing by the Scots, and is about two miles distant from the castle of Bewcastle.

Item. There is belonging to the said castle a park called Askerton park and certain demesne lands.

Item. There is within the said manor a great waste of heath and moor ground called the North Moor, containing by estimation 2000 acres or more. Part thereof adjoineth to the wastes of Scotland, and another part thereof adjoineth to the wastes of Tyndell, in which the tenants of this manor and tenants of divers other manors in Gilsland have use to shiel or common their cattle in summer time, viz. from St. Ellenmas unto Lammas, and to pay for the same the

* He writes in 1517 to Queen Margaret "from my manor of Askerton" (*Calendar of State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. ii., p. 1171).

yearly rent of 70s. 4d., which rent was paid by the tenants of the lordships following, viz.—Askerton 29s 4d., the demesnes there 8s., Treddermaine 17s. 4d., Walton Wood 4s., Brampton 6s., and Irthington 6s., of which said rent there hath been answered nothing by divers years past, but only for the demesnes of Askerton 8s. The cause of the decay of the said rent is for that the said tenants dare not use the said common of shieling, as in times past they have been accustomed, for fear they should be robbed and spoiled of their said cattle and goods by the Scots.

Item. There are within the said manor divers other commons, &c., containing by estimation 300 acres, &c.

Item. There are within the said manor two parsonages, the one called Stapleton and the other called Kirkcamok, and either of them have glebe land belonging to the same, and both of the said parsonages are at this present void of any incumbent.

The boundaries of the manor are unfortunately omitted in the copy of the survey quoted by Hutchinson (vol. i., p. 98), and there are several points which require comment.

A similar common of shieling—that is to say, the pasturing of cattle under the care of herdsmen living in temporary shiels or huts—is noticed in the case of Bewcastle (Denton's *Accompt*, p. 146).

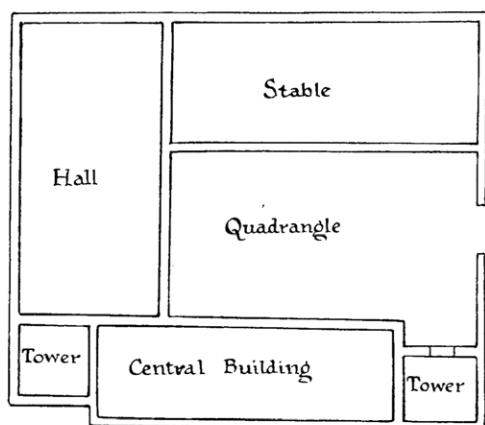
If Askerton North Moor actually abutted on the Scottish border, the manor must have included a long narrow strip of fell intervening between the county of Northumberland on the east and Nichol forest and the manor of Bewcastle on the west. In 1295 Isabel, the widow of Thomas de Multon, had assigned to her in dower "Askerton with the chief messuage, and a moiety of le north more, which is a member of the barony of Gilsland" (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 23 Edward I., p. 416).

Again Askerton is made to comprise Stapleton and Kirkcambeck, but each of them was an ancient manor in itself, though held of the same barony, and the former is mentioned as such nine years later (these *Transactions*, N.S., vol. viii., p. 63).

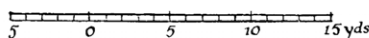
The manor of Kirkcambeck belonged in Henry II.'s time to Alfred Cammock (Denton's *Accompt*, p. 144), and

in 1295 to Richard de Tirergh of Cambok, who held it of Thomas Multon, lord of Gilsland, by one-eighth part of a knight's fee (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 23 Edward I., p. 416).

In 1306 Thomas de Leveresdale held Camboc of Thomas de Multon as of the barony of Gilsland, and was succeeded by his son Thomas (*Rot. Fin.*, 35 Edward I., m. 8). Later on a portion of the manor was in the hands of the Stapletons of Edenhall, for in 1368 William de Stapleton and Mariota his wife (see pedigree, these *Transactions*, N.S., vol. v., p. 294) made a feoffment of



Sketch plan of ASKERTON CASTLE



Cambok hamlet to Adam Armstrong with remainder to himself the said William (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, 43 Edward III., p. 301). It is significant that Cambok is here called a hamlet, because the church on the Cambeck (pronounced Cammock), which gave the manor its name, had been demolished and not rebuilt, for it is stated in 1346 that "Cambok with the parish of that town was totally burnt and destroyed by the Scots after Michaelmas last" (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 20 Edward III.,

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part i., p. 30). In 1467 Margaret Stapleton of Edenhall had one-third of the manor and advowson of Camboke (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, 8 Edward IV., p. 344), but it appears by the bishop's register that no appointment to the living was made after 1386 (Nicolson and Burn, ii., p. 506). Lastly, in 1485, the respective heirs of Robert de Lyversdale and of William Stapleton held their lands in Kirkcambok of Humphrey Lord Dacre (*Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, 1 Henry VII., p. 67).

When pursuing the subject of this paper one meets at every turn with the Dacres, an illustrious family who attained to the pinnacle of fame and power. The accompanying pedigree will show at a glance who were the individual members to whom reference is made.

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. J. F. Curwen for producing, from my measurements, the small-scale plan of Bewcastle, and for other valuable help in writing this paper; and to our Editor for kindly re-drawing to scale my rough plans of the other castles herein described.

The Dacre Family (see Coke's Peerage).

