ART. XIV.—*Brougham Castle.* By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., D.Litt.

BROUGH, Appleby and Brougham, the three chief castles of Westmorland, strung out along the Stainmore Road, form a group closely linked alike in history and in structural development. Two of them, Brough and Brougham, stand within the entrenchments of a Roman fort: for the Stainmore Road owes its origin to Agricola, and the two forts in question, *Verterae* and *Brocavum*, appear to have been held until the close of the Roman period—as part, it would seem, of the final frontier reorganisation carried out by Stilicho in 395.* All three castles began as keep and courtyard strongholds of the usual Norman pattern. At Appleby there was certainly a *motte* before the stone keep was built, and at Brough an earlier stone keep preceded the present one. In all three castles, the external defences of timbered earthwork were soon refashioned in stone, and stone internal buildings replaced their wooden predecessors. All three castles, moreover, came under the restoring hand of the famous Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, in the middle years of the seventeenth century. But whereas at Appleby and Brough the stone buildings perpetuated the simple layout of the Norman defences, Brougham was recast, about the year 1300, on far bolder and more original lines, which brought the castle, by a most skilful and ingenious adaptation, into harmony with the latest theories of fortification current at that time.

* On this subject see my *St. Ninian and the Origins of Christianity in Scotland*, pp. 12, 23-4, 32, 86-8; also my paper on "Stilicho and Britain," in *Journal Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, forthcoming.

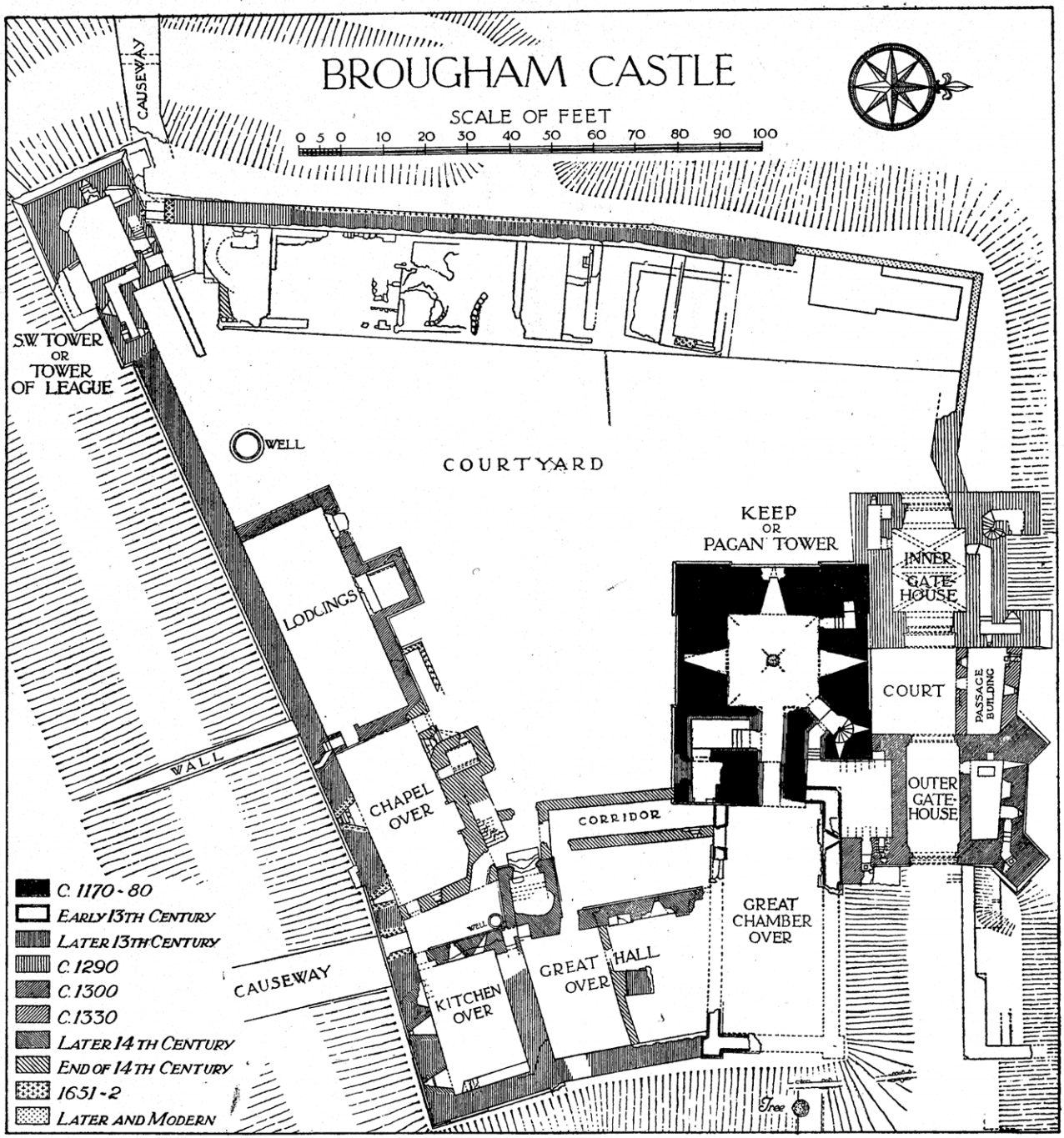

FIG. 1.

By permission of the Comptroller of H.M. Stationery Office.

To face p. 170.

For this reason, to the modern investigator Brougham is much the most interesting of the group.

Four previous descriptions of Brougham Castle are of value to students of the ruins. The first, by George T. Clark, is included in his collected papers on *Medieval Military Architecture*, published in 1884.* To Clark belongs the credit of having realised, to some extent, the special character of the reorganisation effected on the castle, though its full implications were hidden from him. "Usually," he wrote, "when a Norman fortress was remodelled in the Edwardian period, the keep was neglected, and left in its original isolation; here, however, it was decided to turn the keep to account, and to ornament its principal chambers, and connect them with the suite of rooms in the upper floor of the gatehouse."

Our second account of Brougham Castle was contributed by Mr. E. Towry Whyte to the *Archaeologia* in 1903.† It is a careful paper, illustrated by a good set of plans, and corrects a number of mistakes in Clark's description.

In 1922 Mr. John F. Curwen published a paper on the castle in these *Transactions*.‡ His clear and full description mainly follows Mr. Whyte's account and the latter's plans were used as the basis of Mr. Curwen's drawings: but on the historical side there is a great deal of new and valuable matter.

Lastly, in 1936 appeared the superb volume on Westmorland issued by the Historical Monuments Commission. It contains an excellent short description of the castle,§ accompanied by plans embodying the result of the excavations conducted by His Majesty's Commissioners of Works after the owner, Lord Hothfield, placed the castle under their guardianship in 1928.

* Vol. I, pp. 286-304. (Originally published in these *Transactions*, vol. vi, pp. 15-37).

† Vol. LVIII, pt. 2, pp. 359-82.

‡ N.S., xxii, 143-57.

§ pp. 57-62.

Perhaps it may be thought that, with all these authoritative descriptions available, a further paper on Brougham Castle is an *opus supererogatum*. I do not, however, propose in the following paragraphs to compile a fifth description of the ruins, but rather to analyse the typological significance of the reorganisation carried out (it would seem) by Robert de Clifford, who succeeded in 1283 and perished at Bannockburn in 1314. He was one of the foremost magnates of his time, Lord Admiral and Earl Marshal, as well as Warden of the Western Marches. In this last capacity, he would have every inducement to strengthen a castle of his own which guarded a vital ford in the days when the Scottish war was going ill for England, and the Stainmore road offered a favourite line of penetration to the northern moss-troopers.

The only stone and lime remains of the Norman castle are the keep and the primary chapel, but the great ditch doubtless preserves the outline of the triangular court-yard by which the early buildings were enclosed. As it is unlikely that massive Norman curtain walls would disappear entirely—substantial portions remain, amid all the later rebuilding, at Appleby and Brough—it seems that the outer defences at Brougham will have been of timber, hurdles, or wattle-work loaded with clay.

The ditch is at present traversed by two earthen causeways, one near the east end of the south front and the other just north of the Tower of League. In each case the causeway gives access to a postern which is thought to be the work of the Countess Anne ; and the Historical Monuments Commissioners take the view that the causeways also are of this period. But the southern causeway measures 13 feet across—much too wide, that is, for the narrow postern to which it conducts.*

* The Hist. Monuments Commission plan shows the causeway as if it did not bear directly upon the postern, but this is an error. The official H.M.O.W. plan, available on the site, shows the causeway correctly.

It may therefore well be older, and may perhaps represent the original main entry to the Norman castle from the Roman enclosure, which evidently served as an outer bailey. Thus it would be in the same position, upon the long front of the *enceinte* and not close to the keep, as the main entries at Brough and Appleby. Had the Norman entry been on the lines of the present one, the garderobes of the keep would scarcely have been in its north-west buttress, where they were obviously intended to drain off freely towards the river, which in former days flowed much closer to the castle.*

Similarly, the western causeway looks anterior to the Tower of League, and the postern here is most awkwardly placed—crowded into the angle, and opening immediately under a corbelled garderobe of the tower. Lady Anne, who rebuilt the apartments backing on this curtain, could surely have placed her postern in a better position. Its present site is understandable only on the assumption that the causeway already existed, and that she (or whoever made the postern) desired to take advantage of it. More than likely, therefore, there was a Norman postern here, before the curtain wall and Tower of League were thought of. In confirmation of this view, a second ditch exists outside this postern, and is clearly designed to give it extra protection, much as the ditched enclosure of the Roman fort supplies an outer defence for the southern postern.

If these causeways are of early date, they would presumably have been interrupted by a bridge pit. A little excavation would soon clear this point up.

As Clark pointed out, when a Norman castle was remodelled in Edwardian times, the keep was usually left aside in the new arrangements, and abandoned to neglect, and sometimes to downright ruin. This may be seen at Appleby and Brough, in both of which the Norman

* Whyte, *op. cit.*, p. 362 and Fig. 1.

tower was not organically incorporated into the domestic arrangements of the castle as reorganised in the fourteenth century. Goodrich Castle in Herefordshire supplies us with another instance. But when Brougham Castle came into the restorer's hand about the end of the thirteenth century, a much bolder and far more original scheme was devised, which brought the fortress into line with the most recent developments of defensive science of its time. By the reign of Edward I, the conception of a donjon tower, tucked away into a corner of the castle and serving a purely passive function as a *dernier ressort* if the rest of the building had fallen, had long been abandoned. In its place there was for a time a vogue of building the castle as a simple enclosure, with curtain walls and angle towers and a gatehouse which at most was merely a defended entry between two flanking towers. Such a castle is Barnwell, the licence to erect which was given in 1264. But the great increase in the arts of attack led to the need for developing enormously the defences of the gatehouse, and of combining with it the lord's private residence, so as to ensure its close control. Thus was evolved a kind of composite structure, which in default of a better term may be called a keep-gatehouse. The weight and mass of the building, and its principal residential apartments, are brought forward and concentrated frontally over the entrance. This type of keep-gatehouse is characteristic of the great concentric castles built by Edward I in North Wales, such as Harlech and Beaumaris. But in its origin it is distinct from the concentric plan, and it is found in castles of the single envelope type, such as Llanstephan in South Wales or Dunstanburgh and Bothal in Northumberland.

In practice, however, the keep-gatehouse thesis did not prove a success, owing to the obvious difficulty of interpolating the complex mechanism of drawbridges and portcullises into living apartments. Hence the keep-gatehouses were soon given up, and in the latter part of

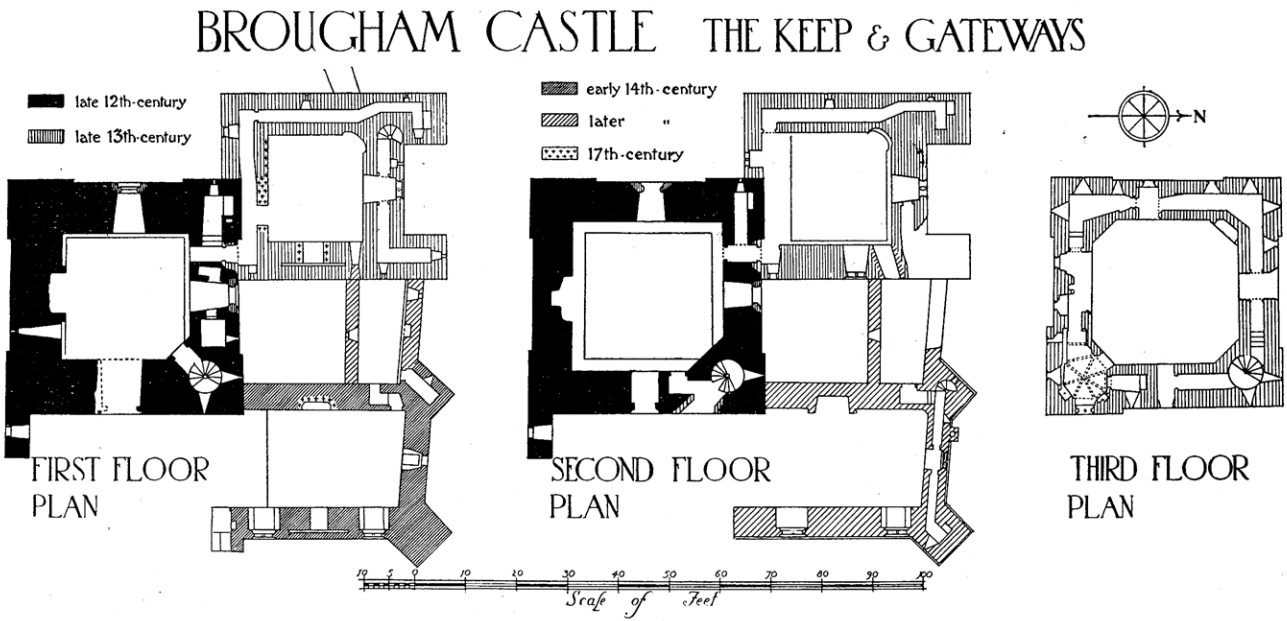

FIG. 2.

By permission of the Comptroller of H.M. Stationery Office.

the fourteenth century the castle plan reverted to the single quadrangular enclosure, with angle and gatehouse towers, the apartments being arranged more or less symmetrically round a central courtyard, without any concentration of weight upon any one quarter of the building. This type of castle is illustrated by Bodiam, erected pursuant to a royal licence granted in 1386.*

The alterations carried out at Brougham Castle about the year 1300, instead of leaving the old Norman keep out of the scheme, incorporated it, in a most ingenious way, into a keep-gatehouse of the new fashion. These alterations were carried out in two stages. In the first, a square gatehouse tower was attached *en échelon* to the north-west angle of the Norman keep, its basement containing the gatehall and the first floor forming a *camera* opening off the old lord's hall in the Norman keep—this hall now being embellished with arcading and new and wider windows, and otherwise brought up to date. About the same time an extra storey was added on top of the keep, giving the lord a solar or private room, with an oratory of very great beauty. From the second floor of the keep was reached a bedroom over the *camera*; and from the *camera* itself a newel stair led down to a postern, thus securing for the lord a means of private entry and egress, as well as escape in time of need. The position of this postern is a well concealed one, and it is covered by a loophole in the adjoining buttress.

The next stage, soon after the year 1300, was the adding of an outer gatehouse in front of the first one, leaving a narrow court between the two. The first floor of this outer gatehouse contained a large and well-appointed common hall;† and it is notable that, while this common

* For all this in more detail, see my paper on " Castles of Livery and Maintenance " in *Journal Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, 3rd Ser., vol. IV, pp. 39-54.

† The dimensions of this common hall are stated by Clark as 21 feet by 32 feet. Its exact length, however, cannot be given, as the south wall has perished. But the slant passage (a secondary insertion) communicating

hall was reached by the old Norman forestair which gave access to the lord's hall in the keep, there was no direct communication between the common hall and the lord's hall and *camera* beyond. This is entirely in accordance with the principles governing the new type of castle, in which a separate hall is always provided for the general body of the retainers, quite apart from the accommodation of the lord and his personal suite. In the event of treachery among the retainers delivering the outer gate to an enemy, the inner gatehouse was completely under the lord's control, its portcullis being operated from his *camera*.

The final result, with its two gatehouses and the old keep articulated into a single unit, providing a complete suite of domestic accommodation and an entry long and formidably defended, was a most ingenious one, and reflects the highest credit on the architect. I use the singular designedly, for the detail of both gatehouses is so similar that I imagine the erection of the outer one followed very soon upon the inner, and under the guidance of the same master mind. That the outer gatehouse was the second stage in the process is, I think, clear both from the logic of the scheme and also because it is on a much less massive scale than the inner gatehouse, for which it is clearly intended to provide a kind of barbican. Furthermore, the masonry of the outer gatehouse is slightly later in character than that of the inner, showing the incoming of the shorter ashlars and frequent "closers" usual in the fourteenth century. In the normal fashion of the period, the doors at either end of both gatehalls close outwards, so that the gatehall could be held against an attack from either side ; but the provision of a portcullis in the front arch of the inner gatehouse tends

between the forework and the newel stair of the keep, is clearly designed to carry the access past the end wall of the common hall, and more or less fixes the position of the wall.

to confirm the view that it is the older of the two. It should be noted that the only way to the upper floors of the whole complex was, after passing through the various strongly defended portals, by going round the two inner sides of the keep to the original doorway in its forework. Observe also that in the outer gatehouse there is no communication between the basement and the upper floors, which were reached only *via* the keep forestair. On the other hand there is a passage through into the basement of the keep.* By contrast, the inner gatehouse, which in the basement contains nothing but the trance, has no communication with the keep on the ground floor, but on the upper floors opens off it at each stage.

On the topmost floor (or heightened portion) of the keep, the lord's private room was reached only by a mural gallery which starts from the newel stair, passes round two sides of the tower—threading its windows *en route*—and then enters the lord's room by a handsome door on the third side. Thus the lord's privacy was fully secured, and an impressive approach to his presence was provided, like the mural gallery which admits to Lord Cromwell's room in the great tower of Tattershall Castle.

A subsequent alteration, designed to provide still more accommodation, was effected probably about a generation after the completion of the original scheme. It consisted of adding an extra storey above the common hall on the outer gatehouse, and inserting, on the north side of the open court between the two gatehouses, a narrow building containing lodgings.† On the upper floors, these lodgings were reached only through the outer gatehouse, a

* The dating of this passage in the Hist. Mon. Com. plan is wrong. Obviously it was made at the time when the outer gatehouse was built.

† In the Lady Anne's time the extra storey above the common hall in the outer gatehouse was known as the Painted Chamber, and the room at the same level in the narrow building was the Passage Room, leading to Lady Anne's own chamber on the second floor of the inner gatehouse.

garderobe passage being altered for the purpose in the common hall, and a mural passage provided on the floor above. On this level there is now a door into the room above the *camera* in the inner gatehouse, but this door, which is plainly an insertion, is extremely unlikely to have been intended in the original arrangements.

In its ultimate form, the Brougham gatehouse must be regarded as a *tour de force* of exceptional resource and skill. Yet, clever as it was, it could not escape the condemnation that elsewhere befel the keep-gatehouse thesis. So, ere the fourteenth century was done, we find that fresh domestic buildings, separate from the gatehouse, were being added to the castle. The old kitchen at the south-east corner of the courtyard was now reconstructed to serve the needs of a new hall on the east side, and at the opposite end of this hall the primary chapel was desecrated and converted into the great chamber, a new chapel being provided against the south curtain. These additions and alterations are authenticated as the work of the fifth Lord Clifford, who died in 1389.

With the single exception of Warkworth, it may be doubted whether in all northern England there is a more instructive castle than Brougham. The governing principles of late medieval military and domestic construction are here displayed in unique combination, and the resultant value of the building is enhanced by its good preservation.

Acknowledgment is due of the courtesy of the Historical Monuments Commission in allowing the reproduction of their measured drawings, and to H.M. Stationery Office for giving permission to use the blocks.