

## REPORT OF THE SUMMER MEETING OF THE ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AT CARLISLE IN 1958

The Summer Meeting of 1958 was held at Carlisle from Monday, July the 14th to Saturday, July the 19th, in association with the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society<sup>1</sup> and the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

The Institute last visited Carlisle in 1939, during the course of its Summer Meeting at Dumfries, and the report of that meeting will be found in Volume XCVI of the Archaeological Journal. Previously Summer Meetings had been held at Carlisle in 1859 and 1882, and the reports of these are contained in *Arch. J.* Vols. XVI and XXXIX.

The Patrons of the Meeting were the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, The Right Rev. Thomas Bloomer, D.D., The Lord Lieutenant, Sir Robert Chance, J.P., The Right Worshipful the Mayor of Carlisle, Councillor I. Burrow, The Dean of Carlisle, The Very Rev. W. C. Mayne, M.A., Professor Eric B. Birley, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., (President, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society), Dr. J. Harper, (President, Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society), and the late Charles Roberts, Esq.

The Local Committee for the Meeting was formed by Professor Eric Birley, Miss K. S. Hodgson, F.S.A., C. G. Bulman, Esq., Robert Hogg, Esq., B.Sc., F.M.A., Roy Hudleston, Esq., Brian Black, Esq., and Major R. Scott-Little.

The Institute is much indebted to Professor Eric Birley, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A. for writing the introductory article on The Archaeology of Cumberland and Westmorland, and for his general help in arranging the programme. Thanks are also given to Mr. Robert Hogg, B.Sc., F.M.A., for the note on Roman Carlisle, and Mr. M. W. Beresford for that on Planned Towns. The Institute is also grateful for the help given by the local committee, and in particular by Major R. Scott-Little, in regard to arrangements for the Meeting; it also acknowledges the assistance given by the officers of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society in arranging the programme for Wednesday, 16th July.

The President, Professor W. F. Grimes, C.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., F.M.A. was present throughout the Meeting, which was attended by 130 members and their guests.

The following report of the Meeting follows the order of events given in the synopsis of the programme below:

MONDAY, 14th JULY. Reception by the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Carlisle.

TUESDAY, 15th JULY. Naworth Castle, sections of the Roman Wall at Gilsland, Birdoswald Roman Fort, section of the Roman Wall at Appletree Farm, Banks East Turret, Lanercost Priory, Askerton Castle, Bewcastle Cross and Roman Fort.

Evening: Lecture by Mr. Robert Hogg on 'Excavations in Carlisle, 1953-56.'

WEDNESDAY, 16th JULY. Carlisle Castle and Cathedral, Ruthwell Cross, Caerlaverock Castle, and either Sweetheart Abbey or Burnswark Hill Fort and Roman Camps.

THURSDAY, 17th JULY. Long Meg stone circle, Brough Castle, Appleby Castle and Borough, Brougham Castle, Countess Anne Clifford's Pillar, Mayburgh and King Arthur's Round Table.

Evening: Visits to the Town Hall, Tithe Barn, and West Walls, Carlisle.

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviation is used:

C.W.A.S.                      Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and  
Archaeological Society.

FRIDAY, 18th JULY. either Route A : Ravenglass Roman Fort and Bath-house, Hardknott Castle and Gosforth pre-Conquest sculpture.

or Route B : Rose Castle, Hutton-in-the-Forest, Graystoke Church, Dacre Castle and Corby Castle.

SATURDAY, 19th JULY. Hutton John.

Thanks are especially due to Mr. Robert Hogg for his evening lecture on 'Excavations in Carlisle, 1953-56' and for his guidance on an evening tour of the city; and to Mr. T. L. Jones, the Secretary of the Meeting. The Council thanks all those who acted as guides or prepared accounts of the various monuments: Mr. P. K. Baillie Reynolds, Professor Eric Birley, Canon Lowther Bouch, Mr. C. G. Bulman, the Very Reverend the Dean of Carlisle, Mr. John Charlton, Mr. S. H. Cruden, the Hon. Michael Eden, Miss Clare Fell, Mr. John Gillam, Major Hasel, Miss K. S. Hodgson, Mr. Robert Hogg, Mr. N. Hudleston, Mr. T. L. Jones, Major H. Levin, Mr. C. A. R. Radford, the late Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. R. S. Simms, Mr. W. M. F. Vane, and Mr. Norman Ward.

The Institute is grateful to the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Carlisle (Councillor I. Burrow) for the Reception at the City Hall, and to the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Appleby for welcoming members to the Borough of Appleby. We are indebted to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle for permission to visit Rose Castle, to the incumbents of the churches visited; and to the Commanding Officer, the Border Regiment (Carlisle Castle), Appleby Castle Estates, Ltd. (Appleby Castle), The Castlemilk and Corrie Estates, Ltd. (Burns-wark Camp), Lady Henley (Askerton Castle), Major Hasel (Dacre Castle), Mr. Nigel Hudleston (Hutton John), Major H. Levin (Corby Castle), Lord Muncaster (Ravenglass Fort), Naworth Estates, Ltd. (Naworth Castle), Mr. W. M. F. Vane, M.P. (Hutton-in-the-Forest), and the Ministry of Works (Caerlaverock, Carlisle, Brough, Brougham and Hardknott Castles, Lanercost Priory, and Sweetheart Abbey).

## THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND

BY ERIC BIRLEY

This is not the first time that the Institute has called on a member of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (hereafter referred to as the Society) to write something for its members to refer to during its meeting in Carlisle—though in 1882 R. S. Ferguson was given longer notice, left the task far longer unattempted and finally (with the aid of lighting printers) produced fuller measure than my other commitments have allowed me to provide; it will be pardoned, I hope, if it is to Roman archaeology that the bulk of my details refers, but I hope that the mainly bibliographical treatment of the subject will enable readers whose special interests are in other periods to find their way about the printed sources.

The record begins with John Leland in Henry VIII's reign, furnishing one or two items of interest (for example, under Burgh-by-Sands or Netherby), but the first framework and incentive to study the subject in our district came from William Camden; until his visit of 1599, with Cotton, he had had to rely for his Cumbrian chapters on local correspondents like Reginald Bainbrigg of Appleby or Oswald Dykes, or on Cumbrians *in partibus* such as Edward Threlkeld, but the editions of 1600 and 1607 include information furnished by various other people whom he can be shown or inferred to have met during that visit. One of them, John Denton of Cardew (d. 1617), may be regarded as the first of our local historians: his *Accompt* of Cumberland, written c. 1610, was used in MS. by most of the later county historians though it was only printed as recently as 1887 (as No. 2 in the Society's Tract Series). It was not until the Restoration, however, that archaeological studies really took root and became widespread, mainly as the spare-time interest of men who had become introduced to 'Septentrional learning' at Queen's College, Oxford: three or four of them had a share in the new edition (1695) of the *Britannia* ultimately completed for the press by Edmund Gibson, a Westmorland man of that college, younger than any of them. Thomas Machell, rector of Kirkby Thore, had the widest interests and could excavate and describe structures as well as find his way through family history or ancient records. After his death in 1698 William Nicolson, then Archdeacon and later Bishop of Carlisle, who had been his pupil at Queen's, arranged Machell's collections towards a history of Westmorland and Cumberland into six massive folio volumes, which have provided a rich, and still inexhausted, harvest for later workers (cf. *C.W.A.S.* 2, lv, 132-153): they may be consulted by courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, in whose library Bishop Nicolson deposited them. He had been responsible for the additions to the 'Picts' Wall' and to Northumberland in the 1695 *Britannia*; Cumberland was entrusted to Hugh Todd, Westmorland to Machell; and connecting links were provided by Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal and by Ralph Thoresby of Leeds: it will often be found that useful evidence is contained in their correspondence or in their writings, not all of which have been published.

It is something of a surprise to note that the 1695 edition had little effect on Cumbrian archaeology, apart from furnishing a few details to the 'impartial Hand' responsible for the Cumberland section of Cox's *Magna Britannia*—that made a good deal more use of Denton's MS.,—or to Alexander Gordon; and though Nicolson talked of doing more, his contributions to the 1722 edition of the *Britannia* were few and unimportant. But it seems to have been that edition which really led to the spate of activity in the next few years: Sir John Clerk's visit to the Wall in 1724 (with Gordon accompanying him), Stukeley's with Roger Gale in 1725, and John Horsley spurred by the publication of Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale* in 1726 to write his *Britannia Romana* (1732). All of them found local men ready to give them guidance during their visits and afterwards to keep them in touch, by letter, with new discoveries: witness Richard Goodman or the two Rouths at Carlisle, or Humphrey Senhouse of Netherhall (whose ancestor had entertained Camden and Cotton), or Robert Patten (who had managed to live down his part in the 1715 affair). Several of these men will already be familiar to readers of the Stukeley correspondence, published by the Surtees Society; we cannot afford to neglect them or their contemporaries such as George Smith of Wigton (d. 1755), the ablest of the early archaeological correspondents of

the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Its publication, gradually taking over from the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society (in which some of Machell's discoveries at Kirkby Thore, and of Christopher Hunter's on the Wall in Northumberland had been printed), not only maintained local interest but also attracted further travellers such as Bishop Pococke and the indefatigable Thomas Pennant, whose Scottish tours contain a good deal of useful information about Cumberland. It was another tourist, William Hutchinson of Barnard Castle, whose *Excursion to the Lakes* (2nd ed., 1776) had included a journey through Cumberland, Northumberland and County Durham as well, who was to provide the first substantial county history—if we except Nicolson and Burn's *Westmorland and Cumberland* (1777) which draws largely on Denton and on Machell but concerns itself preponderantly with ecclesiastical records and manorial descents : one would get little inkling of the counties' archaeological riches from their two volumes. Hutchinson's *Cumberland* (1794) is a very different matter, though its value varies greatly, according to the contributors responsible (Hutchinson himself having been content to give his name and some of his collections for use by Francis Jollie of Carlisle, who published the work) : in particular, it makes a point of quoting the earlier antiquaries' accounts as well as offering fresh descriptions of individual monuments. Much of its background material was furnished by John Housman, whose *Topographical Description* (dealing also with parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire) was issued by the same publisher in 1800, but it will be of more use to the social and economic historian than to the archaeologist. Britton and Brayley's *Cumberland* (1802), in the Beauties of England and Wales series, has little to offer ; but *Westmorland* (1814) is from the pen of John Hodgson, best known as the historian of Northumberland, and it contains much of value despite its necessarily brief treatment. The Lysons brothers' *Magna Britannia*, iv, (1816) includes a long section on the Roman antiquities of Cumberland, contributed by the bishop of Cloyne, and useful surveys of Roman inscriptions and other antiquities by the Lysons. The extent to which Horsley's book had been supplemented by later discoveries, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* or, more recently, in *Archaeologia* or by Pennant or others, is brought out well by them—and they have the results of excavation by local gentry to report, the Senhouses at Maryport and Richard Matthews at Old Carlisle for example. Finally, Samuel Jefferson of Carlisle brought out three volumes of a series intended ultimately to cover the whole of Cumberland : *Carlisle* (1838), *Leath Ward* (1840) and *Allerdale Ward above Derwent* (1842), all of which contain at least some useful material, as does Cornelius Nicholson's *Annals of Kendal* (1832, 2nd edition 1861) ; and Roman archaeology received great stimulus by the foundation of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, John Hodgson being one of its secretaries and his brother Christopher, an architect in Carlisle, a useful local observer. The last volume of his *History of Northumberland* that Hodgson lived to publish (part II, vol. iii, 1840) contains a great deal about Roman Cumberland, not merely about the Cumberland third of Hadrian's Wall ; he, too, had useful local correspondents to make acknowledgements to, and local newspapers to cite (in particular, the *Carlisle Patriot*) for details of archaeological discoveries.

The man who made most use of Hodgson's work was John Collingwood Bruce, who planned and led the first Pilgrimage of the Wall in 1849, and presently brought out a book of his own on *The Roman Wall* (1851, 2nd edition 1853) which aroused great interest—and some controversy, for a number of Cumbrians found it hard to abandon their attachment to the claims of Severus to have built the Wall : witness Robert Bell's dignified quarto pamphlet of 1852, or the more slashing (and entertaining) attack by John Maughan, rector of Bewcastle, under the name of 'Cumbrian' (1857).

Such was the published basis of material for the archaeology of the two counties when the Institute held its first meeting at Carlisle in 1859. On that occasion, a special archaeological museum was formed in the Fraternity, and from the printed catalogue of the antiquities and works of art exhibited one gets a good idea of the extent to which local collectors had already begun to accumulate archaeological material—and of their readiness to exhibit it. It seems not improbable, indeed, that the Institute's visit served to set off the spark that led to the foundation of the Society seven years later ; its first printed list of members includes more than a dozen names of men who had exhibited some of their collections in

1859—including R. S. Ferguson, soon to become editor and later president of the Society. One further stimulus was provided by Whellan's *History and Topography of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1860), one of the contributors to which was William Jackson, an early pillar of the Society and a benefactor to historical studies by his bequest to Tullie House of that splendid collection, the Jackson Library, to which all later writers on the two counties are tremendously indebted.

When the Institute next met in Carlisle, in 1882, Ferguson was mayor of the city as well as editor and largest contributor to the Society's *Transactions*, and it is a measure of their range and quality, as well as of his energy, that the special *Hand-Book* to the principal places and monuments in the programme for that meeting, should have been based largely on papers already printed in those *Transactions*. We may note that

'Mr. Hartshorne, the Secretary of the Royal Archaeological Institute, imposed on me this task. I rashly consented. But a press of civic and other duties occupied my time, and I found myself at the beginning of July with nothing done. I proposed to abandon the project, but Mr. Hartshorne was relentless'.

The preface, from which these sentences have been taken, is dated 18th July 1882; and the handbook was apparently ready for issue to members by the opening of the week's meeting on 1st August<sup>1</sup>. On this occasion, too, a special museum had been assembled, in the upper assembly room of the County Hotel; but perhaps the most important feature of the meeting was the series of papers read, with a wide range of archaeological subjects (members of the Society playing a prominent part, as we should expect) and, in particular, a paper by E. A. Freeman on 'The place of Carlisle in English History'<sup>2</sup>. Chancellor Ferguson died in 1900: the sixteen volumes of the Old Series of the Society's *Transactions* would have been a sufficient monument to his editorship, and to the width of his archaeological and historical interests; but we must also take into account the by-products, such as his two county histories—*Cumberland* (1890) and *Westmorland* (1894)—or the volumes in the Extra Series, six of them edited by him, or the Tract Series (in which writings of Denton, Fleming and Todd were printed for the first time, as part of Ferguson's plan for publication of the materials which would one day be used for a fuller history of the two counties); and he had written a chapter for the first Cumberland volume of the Victoria County History, published two years after his death.

It would be difficult to overestimate the Society's debt to Ferguson, who built up and maintained the standard of its publications, kept its local workers in touch with wider fields of study, and by example or by direct encouragement saw to it that no part of the Society's own field should be left uncultivated: witness his furtherance of excavations on the Wall, at Low Borrow Bridge or at Hardknott Castle; his care for the surveying and recording of prehistoric sites and of medieval buildings, of stained glass or of church plate; and above all, perhaps, the range of studies which he caused to flow smoothly from the careful planning of the Society's excursions, so that monuments or problems which seemed to need study might be allotted to people competent to study them and then to write suitable accounts for publication in the *Transactions*. Some of these studies were ultimately included in volumes of the Extra Series: for example, M. W. Taylor's *Old Manorial Halls* (1892, E. S. vii), W. S. Calverley's *Early Sculptured Crosses* (1899, E. S. xi) or J. F. Curwen's *Castles and Towers* (1913, E. S. xiii). An obituary notice of Ferguson, and a full bibliography of his writings, is given in *C.W.A.S.* 1, xvi, pp. vii-xx.

He was succeeded as editor by W. G. Collingwood, whose influence on the whole field of the Society's work was tremendous—and equally disinterested (see the obituary notice by R. G. Collingwood: *C.W.A.S.* 2, xxxiii, 308-312, and more recent estimates in li, 189 and liii, 253). The New Series of *Transactions* was his creation and remains perhaps his best memorial, but for the archaeology of the Society's district, and adjacent areas too, several of his books are also indispensable: *Lake District History* (1925), *Northumbrian Crosses*

<sup>1</sup> For its *Proceedings*, cf. *Arch. J.* xxxix, 427-471 or the condensed version in *C.W.A.S.* 1, vi, 490-505.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. J.* xxxix, 317 ff., *C.W.A.S.* 1, vi, 237 ff.

(1927), *The Lake Counties* (2nd edition, 1932), and the historical novels in which he illuminated in particular the period of the Norse settlements (*Thorstein of the Mere* and *The Bondswoman*) or the less known *Coniston Tales* (1899). Ferguson had collaborated with H. S. Cowper in producing an archaeological survey of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands for the Society of Antiquaries (*Archaeologia* LIII, 1893, 485-538); Collingwood, towards the close of his editorship of the *Transactions*, provided an invaluable supplementary inventory (Cumberland, *C.W.A.S.2*, xxiii, 206-276; Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands, with addenda to Cumberland, *C.W.A.S.2*, xxvi, 1-62) in which the early authorities quoted by Ferguson were only repeated in so far as they had not been superseded by later studies. A fresh survey is an outstanding need.

During Collingwood's long period as editor and latterly as president of the Society, it more than maintained its standing and reputation. On prehistoric and native sites he himself took a lead in active work, Roman archaeology being already in the safe hands of Haverfield—who had been the chief mouthpiece and planner of the Cumberland Excavation Committee's work, mainly on the Wall, during Ferguson's reign, and was president of the Society from 1915 until his death in 1919,—and soon largely devolved on R. G. Collingwood, who became joint editor of the *Transactions* in 1920 and succeeded his father as president in 1932. If one were to single out one particular item from the long list of W. G. Collingwood's editorial achievements it would perhaps be the part he played in securing the full and prompt publication of F. G. Simpson's reports on excavations at Poltross Burn and in the High House sector and on the line of the Stanegate in Cumberland (*C.W.A.S.2*, xi, 390-461; xiii, 297-397); and if an editor is to be judged by the quality of his contributors' papers even more than by his own published writings, it would be difficult to find a man more worthy of remembrance.

R. G. Collingwood's part in the Society's work is perhaps too recent, and his reputation in the outer world too great, for more than a brief reference to be needed here; but *pietas* requires me to record how his encouragement led younger men to take an active part in the work on Roman archaeology which he himself had been directed into by Haverfield, and it is right to record the decisive part which he played in enabling F. G. Simpson to continue his researches *per lineam Valli* in Cumberland, by securing financial support from the Haverfield Trust and from many members and friends of the Society, and by constant support and advice. He did equally valuable work in reviving active interest in prehistoric studies, founding the Society's standing committee for that purpose—the terms of reference to include other sites of prehistoric character irrespective of date—in 1932, and providing it with a splendid basis for its work in a long paper on the prehistory of the Society's territory (*C.W.A.S.2*, xxxiii, 163-200). His own contributions to *Transactions* are of value more, perhaps, for the stimulus which they gave and, in many cases, still give to further research, than for the conclusions to which they came: his speculative mind often led him to interpret the evidence in ways which later students have found themselves unable to follow, but there can be no doubt that he deserves to be remembered equally with his father and with Ferguson as one of the chief furtherers of archaeological studies in the area for which the Society is primarily responsible.

The Victoria County History of Cumberland has only yielded two of the volumes originally planned (I, 1902 and II, 1905), and at present there seems no prospect of its resumption, but it is a pleasure to place on record the debt that the Society owes to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments for its volume on *Westmorland*, and to the Place-Name Society for the three parts of its study of *The Place-Names of Cumberland* (1950, 1950 and 1952): both works have already proved indispensable in the study of the Society's district—would that counterparts on Cumberland and Westmorland respectively were in prospect!

For recent surveys of some of the main problems of the area, reference may be made to papers by Miss Clare Fell, F.S.A., and by the present writer, communicated to a joint meeting with the Prehistoric Society at Carlisle in 1948 (*C.W.A.S.2*, xlix, 192 ff.), and to the *Proceedings* of the joint meeting with the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1950 (*C.W.A.S.2*, li, 188-196), when many of the monuments included in the present programme

for the Institute's visit were described, and Sir Ifor Williams contributed a most stimulating paper on 'Wales and the North' (*ibid.*, 73-88); and in general it may be noted that subsequent editors have maintained the policy inaugurated by Ferguson, of including in the *Proceedings* adequate accounts of such monuments as did not receive fresh studies suitable for printing as articles in the next convenient volume of *Transactions*, usually referring back to the previous accounts in *Transactions* or in the county histories. It is perhaps right to stress the high standard which the Society has set in this respect.

Lastly, it may not be out of place to say something about the main needs for further research into the archaeology of our area, which I hope that the Institute's visit may help to stimulate and encourage. Geography has made it an exceptionally difficult area to treat satisfactorily as a unit; the Society itself only meets three times in any normal year, and it has no single centre such as the Newcastle Antiquaries enjoy (though Tullie House is its base as far as library and museum are concerned, thanks to the generous co-operation and support of the civic authorities and of successive directors of the institution). That is why in recent years it has encouraged the formation of regional groups, based on Carlisle, Penrith, Kendal and, most recently, Seascale, with the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club, through its archaeological section, helping those of our members who live in North Lonsdale to watch over the archaeology of that district.

Prehistoric studies, in which many of our members are deeply interested, have been less represented in our *Transactions* than successive editors could have wished, though it will be sufficient to refer to papers by Miss Clare Fell, Miss K. S. Hodgson or the late Marjorie Cross (whose death we have to lament), to show the high quality of the work which has been done; it is a pleasure to record the help which has been given by Professor Piggott in the recent excavation at Ehenside Tarn, and we hope that other helpers from outside our district will join in the development of this branch of the Society's work.

Roman studies have from the first taken a prominent part in the Society's programme and Pelham, Haverfield and R. G. Collingwood saw to it that they should not be conducted in a vacuum; much of the late F. G. Simpson's work was done in Cumberland, and we are proud to remember the outstanding contribution which Professor Richmond has made, initially as Simpson's right-hand man and latterly as chairman of the Cumberland Excavation Committee. The time is perhaps drawing near when a synthesis of the evidence for Roman Cumbria ought to be attempted, including not only special studies of individual sites, on the lines first laid down by Ferguson on Hardknott or by Haverfield on Old Penrith and Old Carlisle, and of Roman roads (on which Mr. R. L. Bellhouse in recent years has contributed some valuable papers to *Transactions*), but also a study of the relationship between Roman and native. The new edition of the Ordnance Survey map of Roman Britain helps to stress the apparent paradox of a couple of dozen Roman forts, providing a total garrison in the region of 15,000 men, in an area which has not yielded adequate archaeological evidence for a native population of anything like that size. But recent study of the civilian settlements outside many of those forts, and the investigation of native farmsteads which Miss Hodgson, Mr. Brian Blake and others, have been engaged on during the past two or three years, are already combining to suggest that there was in fact a far more considerable population than for many centuries after Cumberland became part of the kingdom of England. And on the analogy of other Roman frontiers, we may be justified in supposing that the establishment of Hadrian's Wall was in fact intended to lead to the economic development of its hinterland and to a marked growth in its population.

Post-Roman archaeology has received less attention than it deserves since the death of W. G. Collingwood, as reference to the *Transactions* of the past quarter of a century will show; but there are grounds for hoping that a fresh study of the Anglian period will soon be shown, greatly aided by the Place-Name Society's Cumberland volume, under the general direction of Miss Rosemary Cramp. There is no less need for resumed attention to the period of the Norse settlements and to the last centuries of sub-Roman Cumbria, on which Sir Ifor Williams' paper has given us such a stimulating lead. For medieval archaeology, a tremendous field lies open: Mr. Robert Hogg's meticulous work in Carlisle has yielded a fine series of pottery, on which Mr. Jope and Mr. Hodges have furnished an illuminating

report (*C.W.A.S.2*, lv, 59-107), and studies by Mr. C. G. Bulman and Mr. R. W. Brunskill will serve to show that the tradition established by M. W. Taylor or J. F. Curwen is being maintained worthily; but we must hope that other workers will join in attention to the period—tackling, for example, the lost villages or the successive systems of agricultural exploitation or the different traditions in domestic architecture to which attention has been directed in one or two recent articles in *Transactions*. For such studies the Society looks with confidence to the Institute, and to other outside bodies, to provide support and encouragement, and the editors of *Transactions* will be glad to find room. Lastly it is one of the finest traditions of the Society that it should throw up local antiquaries, such as the late Miss M. C. Fair (see the obituary in *C.W.A.S.2*, liv, 307-310) or Colonel Oliver North (*ibid.*, 305-307), ready to give active and informed attention to the archaeology of their own part of the Society's territory without confining themselves to one or two selected periods.

The moral, I hope, is clear: for the archaeology of Cumberland and Westmorland—and of Lancashire North-of-the-Sands—a wealth of material, much of it of the highest value, can be found in the publications of the Society: and full particulars of them are given at the end of every volume of its *Transactions*.

### ROMAN CARLISLE (LUGUVALIUM)

BY ROBERT HOGG

The Institute's visit to Carlisle coincides with the completion of a small display *in situ* of Roman foundation-work within the grounds of Tullie House. It seems to be the remains of a 3rd century native shrine, and it is the only structure of the Roman town which members will be able to see—for whatever survives of the rest lies buried at depths of up to 14ft. beneath the modern surface of the historic city-centre. Until 1953 no attempt had been made to study the complex stratification of this great thickness of accumulated history; so that though the approximate limits of the Roman town were known, and much archaeological material, giving some impression of the place's character and importance, had been found, virtually no evidence had been recovered for its plan and development from the initial fort to the later town.

There is no doubt that *Luguvalium* was by far the most important town north of York and Aldborough, as its known area (some 70 acres) and extensive cemeteries would suffice to indicate; its geographical position, at a major road-junction, makes it the obvious place for an administrative centre and a market for civilians, while its position close to the trunk route through Hadrian's Wall must have given it added military importance: for the fort at Stanwix, on the north bank of the Eden, was occupied by the *ala Petriana*, a cavalry regiment a thousand strong, whose commander was the senior officer north of York and presumably in immediate charge of the whole frontier zone. The town is bound to have benefited from the military market, serving the garrisons of many other forts as well as Stanwix.

Figured Samian found in the lowest Roman level below Tullie House, more than half a century ago, makes it reasonably certain (as the late J. P. Bushe-Fox first appreciated) that the first Roman occupation of the site came under Petillius Cerialis, c. A.D. 71, after the defeat of Venutius and as a base from which an advance further northward could be organised. The fort was built on the eastern escarpment of the Caldew and not on the promontory site, now occupied by the castle and in pre-Roman times probably a native settlement; tactically strong, the promontory did not give adequate room for a Roman fort of some size, such as we must suppose to have been established at that stage.

A recent study of the stratification in the grounds of Tullie House has revealed two levels assignable to this first military phase, the second seeming to represent reorganisation or reconstruction of the fort c. A.D. 100; in both levels the structures were of timber, as in the contemporary fort at *Corstopitum*.

The military history of the site presumably ended when Hadrian's Wall was built and a new fort was constructed for the *ala Petriana* on the other side of the Eden. The buildings of the Trajanic fort were demolished and the site was completely re-planned for civilian occupation, apparently in the second quarter of the 2nd century. Three major reconstructions occurred later, no doubt contemporary with the three reconstructions on Hadrian's Wall in the time of Severus, Constantius Chlorus and Count Theodosius respectively; the place continued in occupation to the end of the Roman period and no doubt well into post-Roman times, when the Celtic sources make it clear that it had an important part to play in the history of Cumbria: but as yet archaeology has no contribution to make towards knowledge of Dark Age Carlisle.

## MEDIEVAL TOWN PLANTATION IN THE CARLISLE AREA

BY M. W. BERESFORD

The deliberate plantation of a new town as an act of policy or commercial speculation indicates that the existing provision of urban centres was considered insufficient and that no large village seemed fit for promotion to the more exalted rank and function of a town. Promotion of existing villages was the most common form of medieval borough-making<sup>1</sup>, but alongside the villages-turned-town England can show upwards of eighty examples of plantations in the period between the Norman Conquest and the Black Death, after which new foundations virtually ceased until the industrial revolution<sup>2</sup>. The same pattern of town-creation is visible in Belgium, Holland, France, Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia. English kings, bishops and magnates were actively associated with this movement in Gascony, Wales and Ireland: Scotland did not escape the fever<sup>3</sup>.

In England there is no case where purely military needs suggested the foundation of a town bound tightly to a castle, and even in Edward I's castle-towns of North Wales<sup>4</sup> the market place was an integral part of the new foundation, and the surrounding rural economy was intended to be captured and stimulated by the sight of the booth and stall and shop. The same commercial role was played by even those Gascon *bastides* whose surviving battlements and gates remain to impress the visitor from across the Channel<sup>5</sup>. Many of the English *bastides* in England, such as Baldock, Royston, Chelmsford, Boroughbridge and Hedon were quite undefended and were probably indefensible.

The bastides of the Carlisle area, to borrow the convenient Gascon word for the new plantations, naturally exhibit relationship with the troubled military history of the north-western frontier, although none of them was an integrated military-cum-civil unit like the Edwardian walled towns of Conway, Flint and Caernarvon. But like the coastal towns of North Wales, the bastides of the north-west were equipped for the war of trade by the provision of market places and the grants of charters authorising the establishment of fairs and markets within them. Indeed, the multiplication of such foundations in the very centuries when so many old-established villages were receiving borough and market charters indicates the pace at which the demand for commercial facilities was expanding. It is easy to see how kings, bishops, magnates and monastic houses seized the chance to organise centres of trade where they could collect tolls and hire out the space for stalls and booths; but the territorial lords also stood to gain from the increase in urban rents; and, less obviously, from the increased demand for the goods produced on their own surrounding rural manors once an active centre for collection and marketing of surpluses had been

<sup>1</sup> For example, Kendal.

<sup>2</sup> The basic treatment of this subject in English is T. F. Tout, "Medieval Town Planning" reprinted in his *Collected Papers*, iii, (1934), 59-92; more recent treatments are M. W. Beresford, *History on the Ground* (1957), 125-50, and M. W. Beresford and J. K. S. St. Joseph, *Medieval England, An Aerial Survey* (1958), 197-226.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. Mackenzie, *The Scottish Burghs* (1949), 45-61.

<sup>4</sup> E. A. Lewis, *The Medieval Boroughs of Snowdonia* (1912); J. G. Edwards, "Edward I's Castle Building in Wales", *Proc. British Academy*, xxxii, (1946), 15-81.

<sup>5</sup> J. P. Trabut-Cussac, "Bastides ou Forteresses?", *Le Moyen Age*, (1954), 81-135.

organised in the new towns. Thus the new towns of the north-west speak not only of the troubled border but of the colonisation of the countryside and its production increasing both in volume and in the degree of specialisation.

The notes which follow are an interim comment from work which is still in progress<sup>1</sup>.

#### APPLEBY<sup>2</sup> founded c. 1110 by Ranulph de Meschines.

The pattern of streets is a simple grid lying between castle and church in the manner of Ludlow or New Windsor. The broad main street is the market place. On the opposite bank of the river is the church of St. Michael and the site of the older settlement described in a law-suit of 1265 as 'Old Appleby'. The new town on the west bank was provided with its new church of St. Lawrence, and the first borough charter was granted by Henry II c. 1179.

An indication of the relatively late arrival of the town, apart from its street-plan's uniformity, is the way in which the busy main road from Stainmore to Carlisle bypasses the town on the other side of the river. Traffic lured into the market place of Appleby had to cross the bridge and make the awkward turn into Boroughgate.

#### CHURCH BROUGH<sup>3</sup> founded c. 1092-1100 by William II.

W. D. Simpson has written: 'the plan of Church Brough shows an unmistakable if incomplete attempt to lay out a town . . . in the normal manner of a *ville neuve*'. The new town was placed outside the castle on the eastern edge of the Roman fort of *Verterae* within whose banks William II's castle had been built as one of a line of defences along the Stainmore road into Scotland after his acquisition of Westmorland and Cumberland in 1092. Church Brough lay in Kirkby Stephen parish and the late arrival of the town is indicated by the subordinate status of its church as a chapel of Kirkby. The town has declined in importance and is now little more than a cluster of farms around the castle; the former market place is discernible in the plan.

#### MARKET BROUGH<sup>4</sup> founded c. 1190?

This town is an even later arrival, although there may be no single act of foundation, only a chain of events. It is thus a New Town but not a bastide. In the late 12th century the Pipe Rolls begin to record payments from two Broughs: thus in 1196 the *villata* of Upper (i.e. Church?) Brough paid 9s., but the 'burgesses' of Brough twice that sum. The same proportions were paid in 1198 and 1200. In 1201 a Sunday market and a two-day fair were purchased. Three years later the king granted away the castle to Robert de Vipont and the Pipe Rolls cease to be informative about the position of the two settlements. It is clear that the Stainmore road was already passing north of the castle and leaving the market place of Church Brough in isolation: unlike Appleby, where the seigneur drew traffic off the direct road by his market magnet, the king seems to have acquiesced in the eclipse of Church Brough by tolerating the privileges of Market Brough. If this suggestion is correct, the charter of 1330 to Market Brough may represent only a reconstruction of commercial life after the Scots had damaged the settlements in 1314 and 1319, but a reconstruction with a sole and not a dual focus. Modern Market Brough is a small town with a broad main street and a small grid of side-streets on the Church Brough side. The arterial road keeps it prosperous.

<sup>1</sup> My *New Towns of the English in the Middle Ages* (Lutterworth Press), in preparation.

<sup>2</sup> W. D. Simpson, "The Town and Castle of Appleby", *C.W.A.S.*, xlix, n.s. (1950), 118; *R.C.H.M., Westmorland* (1936), 4-14, with plans; Nicholson and Burn, *History of Westmorland* (1777), i, 313.

<sup>3</sup> W. D. Simpson, "Brough under Stainmore", *C.W.A.S.*, n.s., xlii (1946), 230; Nicholson and Burn, *op. cit.*, i, 564-6; air photograph in Beresford and St. Joseph, *op. cit.*, 132.

<sup>4</sup> W. D. Simpson, *op. cit.*; *Pipe Roll Soc.*, n.s. vii, 98; ix, 140; xii, 34; xiv, 257; xv, 156-7; Public Record Office, E. 179 195 17; C. 134 39.

NEWTON ARLOSH<sup>1</sup> founded 1304-5, by Holm Cultram abbey.

The village of Newton Arlosh lies thirteen miles west of Carlisle at the fringe of the Solway marshes. Here, by 1185, the Cistercian house of Holm Cultram had established a grange, the sixth in this area. Another of its granges was Skinburgh (see below) and the foundation of a borough at Newton Arlosh was the result of the failure of the plantation projects near Skinburgh. Newton received its borough charter in March 1305. A year earlier the bishop had licensed the building of a chapel here with parochial rights. Town plantation at Cistercian granges is rarely found in England, although some other orders (e.g. the Templars at Baldock, the Knights Hospitallers at New Eagle) were responsible for engineering a charter for a new town on their lands. In south-western France there are many examples of grange-bastides: the type-site is the little town of Granges-sur-Lot. Modern Newton Arlosh has two parallel streets, only one of which is metalled. The uniform length of burgess plots still shows in the shape of the crofts behind the houses. Behind the reclaimed marshland is the marshy channel of the river Wampool. The setting and appearance of Newton is very similar to the decayed borough of Newtown (alias Francheville) founded on a creek of the Solent by the Bishop of Winchester in 1255-6.

SKINBURGH<sup>2</sup> founded by Holm Cultram abbey, 1301: abortive.

When Newton Arlosh was founded, its charter and a Parliamentary petition of 1305 related how the abbot had paid 100 marks to the king for a fair and market to be held at the new town of Skinburgh, near the present Skinburness. But the town and the approach road to it had been washed away by the sea and the abbot requested that similar privileges (borough, market and fair) should be granted to Newton instead. In August 1301 the Bishop of Carlisle had granted a licence for a parish church to serve Skinburgh: that, too, was to be transferred.

WAVERMOUTH<sup>3</sup> founded by Holm Cultram abbey, 1300.

The borough of *Wauremuth* was the first of the abbot's three speculations and seems to have been abandoned when floods overwhelmed the site. It is probable that all three towns were connected with the victualling of the English fleets which assembled in Solway Firth for operations against Scotland and with the resultant civil trade. Wavermouth should not be confused with the abortive Warenmouth in Northumberland, founded in 1247 as a port for Bamburgh<sup>4</sup>.

RELEVANT MAPS FOR THE SITES VISITED : 1-Inch Ordnance Survey, New Popular Edition.  
 Sheet 75 : Wednesday.  
 Sheet 76 : Tuesday, Friday.  
 Sheet 83 : Thursday, Friday, Saturday.  
 Sheet 84 : Thursday.  
 Sheet 88 : Friday.

<sup>1</sup> A. Ballard and J. Tait, *British Borough Charters* (1923), xlvii-xlviii and 6-7; Halton Register (Cant. and York Soc.) i, 161; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, i, 161b; F. Grainger and W. G. Collingwood, *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram* (1929); air photograph in Beresford and St. Joseph, *op. cit.*, 214.

<sup>2</sup> The references are given in Ballard and Tait, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Charter Rolls*, ii, 488, with a contemporary note: 'vacated'.

<sup>4</sup> Ballard and Tait, *op. cit.*, xlvii; *Northumberland County History*, i, (1899), 194-6.

## PROCEEDINGS

MONDAY, 14TH JULY

RECEPTION by the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Carlisle at the City Hall, Castle Street.  
After the Reception, the Tullie House Museum was visited.

TUESDAY, 15TH JULY

### NAWORTH CASTLE.

On July 27th, 1335, Randolf, first Lord Dacre, who had married in 1317 Margaret, daughter of Thomas de Multon, Lord Multon of Gilsland, had licence to crenellate his house of Naworth. On the death of his great-grandson Thomas, sixth Lord Dacre, the peerage descended to Sir Richard Fienes of Hurstmonceaux, the husband of Thomas' granddaughter Joan and the ancestor of the Lords Dacre of the South. Naworth descended to Thomas' second and eldest surviving son Randolf as heir male, summoned to Parliament in 1459 as Lord Dacre of Gilsland. He was killed at Towton in 1461 but his attainder was reversed in favour of his brother Humphrey, from whom the estate passed through four generations until the death at an early age in 1569 of George, Lord Dacre. His sisters and co-heiresses were married by their stepfather, Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, to three of his sons. The third sister, Elizabeth, the wife of Lord William Howard, inherited Naworth, and her husband did much to improve and alter the house. Lord William, famous on the border as 'Belted Will', died in 1640. His great-grandson Charles was created Earl of Carlisle in 1661, and the house has passed through succeeding generations to the present holder of the title.

The situation of the castle is extremely picturesque on a high tongue of land between two small tributaries of the Irthing. The house is an imposing example of a Border stronghold, chiefly of the 15th and 16th centuries, but somewhat modernised after a fire which took place in 1844. It forms an irregular quadrangle, approached through an outer courtyard and surrounded by domestic buildings, with towers at either end of the south face. The chief features of the building are the rooms on the principal floor, largely remodelled in the time of Lord William Howard's long occupation and well restored after 1844. These include the hall, dining-room, drawing-room and the oratory or chapel. Few English houses afford a better example of the combination of domestic comfort with defensive precautions.

Reprinted from the account by A. Hamilton Thompson written for the visit of the R.A.I. in 1939.

### ROMAN WALL NORTH OF GILSLAND VICARAGE.

A good stretch of the Narrow Wall on the Broad foundation has been exposed and consolidated on the north side of the road, opposite Gilsland Vicarage. At this point the Wall and Vallum converge as they drop down to the crossing of the River Irthing at Willowford Bridge. The stretch includes Turret 48a.

### BIRDOSWALD ROMAN FORT. BY ERIC BIRLEY

This, the twelfth of the forts *per lineam valli* in the Notitia list, is the Roman *Cambog-lanna* ('crooked glen'), garrisoned in the 3rd century and later by *coh. I Aelia Dacorum milliaria*, an infantry battalion a thousand strong; but its plan and original relationship to the Turf Wall require the assumption that it was at first intended to house a cavalry regiment 500 strong. From the time of Elizabeth I, when Camden and Cotton and Bainbrigg came there, until the dawn of the age of excavation early in the 19th century, Birdos-

wald was one of the most visited Wall-forts—and it had the distinction of yielding the largest harvest of Roman inscriptions, mainly altars dedicated by commanders of the Dacian cohort.

The earliest record of excavation there is by John Hodgson (*History of Northumberland II*, iii, 207), who gives meticulous details of discoveries made shortly before 1833; excavations by Henry Glasford Potter in 1850 and 1852 and some further discoveries in 1859 are recorded (*A.A.I.*, iv, 63-75, 141-149, 249, f.); but the principal interest of the site is

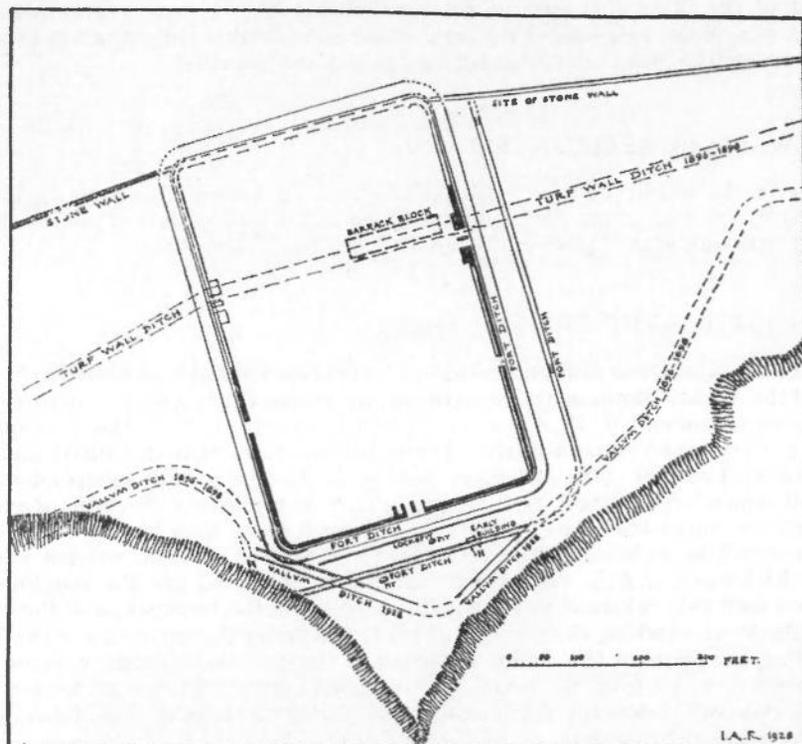


Fig. 1. Plan of Birdoswald, to illustrate the excavations of 1928.  
(Block kindly lent by the Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. and Arch. Society)

derived from Haverfield's study of its relationship to the Turf Wall (*C.W.A.S.I.*, xv, 180-183, recording the work of 1897) and the Vallum (*C.W.A.S.I.*, xiv, 415-420; xv, 174-175), and from the series of excavations planned by the late F. G. Simpson and carried through largely in co-operation with Professor Richmond, from 1927 onwards (*C.W.A.S.2.*, xxviii, 377 ff.; xxix, 303-314; xxx, 169-205; xxxi, 122-134; xxxii, 140-145; xxxiii, 246-262; xxxiv, 120-130); in recent years the Ministry of Works has been consolidating the impressive remains of the fort's walls and gateways, placed in its custody by Lord and Lady Henley, and some resulting discoveries have been recorded (*C.W.A.S.2.*, i, 63-69; liv, 56-65).

The excavations of 1929 by good fortune yielded two inscribed stones, re-used as flags in the latest floor-level of a barrack in the *praetentura*, which made possible a definitive dating of the four structural periods which had already been noted elsewhere on the Wall—to Hadrian, Severus, Diocletian and his colleagues, and Valentinian respectively—besides yielding a most instructive series of stratified pottery and coins. Comparatively little has

been learnt of the internal buildings of the fort, the main effort of the excavations from 1928 onwards having been devoted to a study of its relationship to the Vallum and to the pre-Hadrianic fort then postulated : a fresh interpretation of the results obtained, both in the *retentura* and outside the south rampart, is long overdue.

The most impressive structure as yet found outside the fort is the fine masonry-revetted roadway across the Vallum, the first of its kind to be discovered, but it had to be covered up again after excavation (illustrations and description, *C.W.A.S.2*, xxxiii, 247-252) ; so had the remains of Turret 49a, found by Mr. Simpson and Professor Richmond a little west of the main east gate of the fort (*P.S.A.N.4*, x, 274). The main external settlement was on the east side of the fort, where considerable indications of buildings are still to be recognised, but they still await methodical investigation.

#### ROMAN WALL AT APPLETREE FARM.

Opposite the former cottage at Appletree, now converted into a barn, down a lane leading south, a section of the Turf Wall is exposed and in a good state of preservation. The laminated structure of sods piled one on another can be clearly seen.

#### BANKS EAST TURRET. BY ERIC BIRLEY

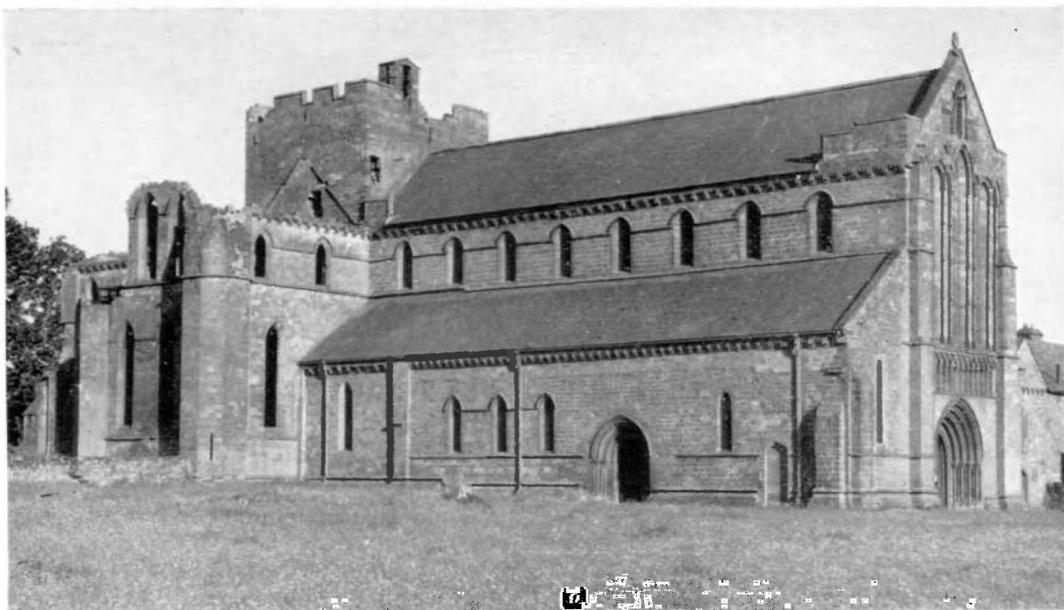
This turret, (52a), was first located in 1927, excavated in 1933, and finally placed in the custody of the Ancient Monuments Department, to become the first such structure conserved as an ancient monument (*C.W.A.S.2*, xxviii, 382 f. ; xxxiv, 148 f. : the large quantity of stratified pottery is still unpublished). It was the discovery that this turret and the next two eastwards, Lea Hill (51b) and Piper Sike (51a), had been built independently of the Stone Wall, which led the late F. G. Simpson, in 1927, to undertake the series of excavations that ultimately enucleated the original plan and much of the later history of the Turf Wall (on which it will be sufficient here to refer to his definitive account, written jointly with Professor Richmond, *J.R.S.* xxv, 1-18). Points to be noted are the roughness of the masonry on each side, where it was originally masked by the turfwork, and the chamfered plinth on the front, marking the point at which the batter of the north face of the Turf Wall began. Also can be seen the drains at intervals through the secondary Stone Wall, to carry off surface water from the berm, here once sloping up northwards, for the Wall has been built some way below the sky-line, ignoring purely tactical considerations (as Roman artificial frontiers so often did).

The Flavian fort on the Stanegate at Nether Denton can be made out to the south-east, and the direct eastward view is blocked by the summit of Pike Hill, on which excavation has revealed the remains of an extra watch-tower, inserted between Milecastle 52 and Turret 52a in order to make use of the highest point on the Wall in Cumberland, no doubt for long-distance signalling (*C.W.A.S.2*, xxxii, 145-147 ; xxxiii, 271-275).

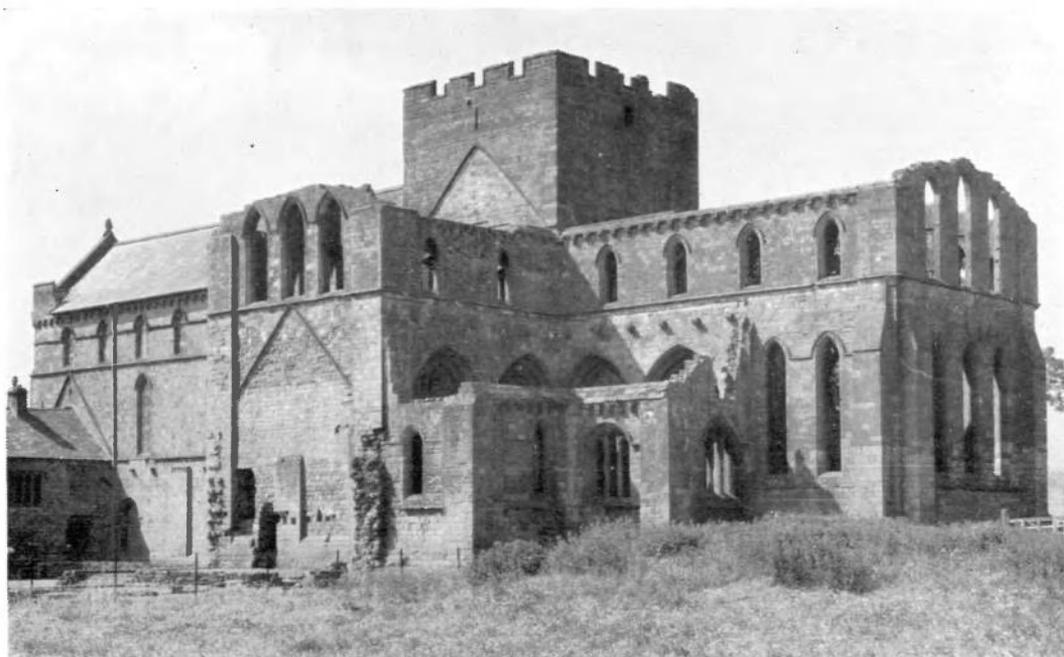
#### LANERCOST PRIORY. BY PETER EDEN

The priory of Lanercost is situated on the English side of the river Irthing at a convenient crossing from Bewcastle and the north. It is some eleven miles east of Carlisle and about a mile south of the Roman Wall. The selection of this site may well have been prompted by a national policy of consolidation in a disputed area. In the event the continual irruptions of the Scots, after an initial century of relative security, condemned it to a progressive decline.

The church consists of a nave with north aisle, central tower, transepts aisled to the east and an unaisled choir linked to the transepts by chapels in the eastern angles. It has a clerestory throughout.



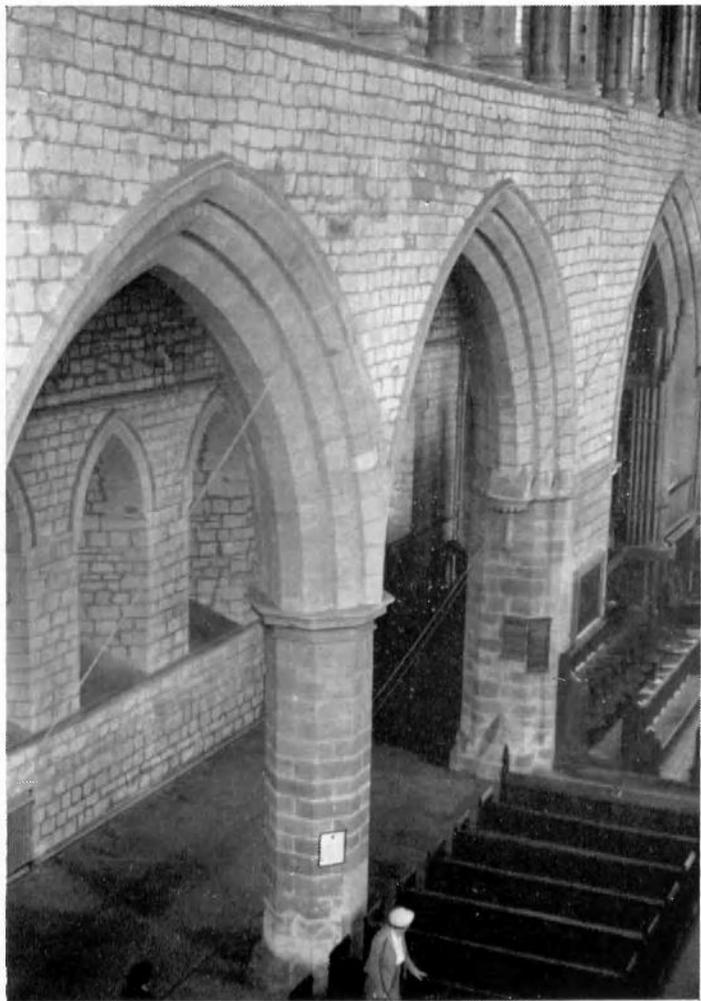
A. The Priory church from the north-west



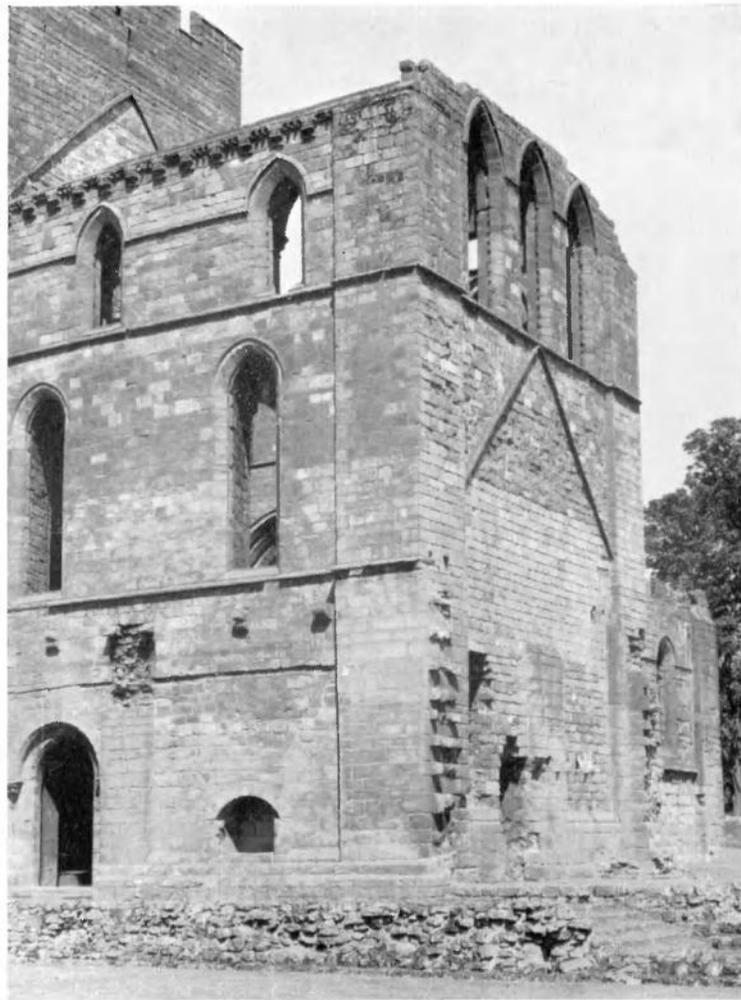
B. The church from the south-east

LANERCOST PRIORY

*(Photographs : Peter Eden)*



A. The nave arcade, looking east



B. The south transept from the south-west

LANERCOST PRIORY  
(Photographs : Peter Eden)

A transcript from the Lanercost cartulary now in the Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle gives the date of consecration as 1169<sup>1</sup>. The ceremony is said to have been performed by Bernard of Carlisle, but as that see was vacant at the time this documentary evidence inspires little confidence. However the earliest part of the fabric could very well date from the third quarter of the 12th century. The founder, Robert de Vallibus, is believed to have acquired the barony of Gilsland in 1165. His father seems to have died in 1164, and one of the express objects of the foundation was the welfare of his soul. A beginning in the years 1165 or 1166 seems indicated and the alleged date of consecration is reasonable enough, whoever the officiating bishop may have been.

On a previous visit by the Institute in 1882 the meeting was addressed by J. T. Micklethwaite<sup>2</sup>. He referred to the characteristic single-aisled nave plan which he explained as the product of an original aisleless cruciform lay-out, based on contemporary parish church typology, modified later in accordance with changing fashion by the addition of an aisle on the north side. The provision of two aisles which would have been normal was, he thought, precluded in such cases by the prior existence of a cloister on the south side. His views were hotly contested by J. F. Hodgson who devoted three articles in subsequent numbers of our journal<sup>3</sup> to a general review of the architecture of the Austin Canons in this country with the object of demolishing Micklethwaite's position.

That position may well have seemed novel to his audience. Less than a decade previously R. S. and C. J. Ferguson<sup>4</sup> had published their lengthy study of Lanercost Priory, the starting point for all later discussions on the subject. In their view (although they are not altogether consistent on the point) examination showed that 'a comprehensive plan had been made from the first which was carried out by degrees as funds came in and time permitted'. Later writers have tended to a similar opinion which a certain deceptive air of unity about the ruins themselves in their lonely setting may have done something to reinforce.

It is the purpose of this note to direct attention to some strictly archaeological considerations which suggest that the original plan was a comparatively modest one and one which was subjected in the course of building to major revision, entailing even the destruction of some work already carried out; the general picture being one of extension in accordance with expanding resources<sup>5</sup>. It does not set out to trace systematically the historical development of the building, still less to serialise and date the complexities of stylistic evolution involved. The most that can be said about these is that allowances would probably have to be made for certain northern archaisms (among them the tendency to hang on to the round-headed arch in the 'Transitional' period, and also to the lancet at a time when geometrical tracery was already in vogue further south) and for the deceptive impression which can be created when doors, windows and the like are re-set for reasons of economy in the course of additions. Taken together such allowances would mean that the completion of the church may be ascribed to a rather later date than is sometimes favoured<sup>6</sup>.

Before detailing these archaeological considerations it is appropriate to recall some differences which distinguish Augustinian foundations in general from those of their monastic rivals, the Cistercians for example<sup>7</sup>. They were most numerous throughout the 12th century, but their average initial size was noticeably smaller than that required by the full Benedictine convent of thirteen members. There was a tendency moreover for even

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Dickinson, 'A note on the foundation of Lanercost Priory', *C.W.A.S.*, n.s. xlii (1942), 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. J.* XXXIX (1882), 457.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. J.* XLI-XLIII. On the difference of plans alleged to exist between churches of Austin Canons and those of monks; and the frequency with which such churches were parochial. A. H. Thompson, *English Monasteries* (1913), 66, followed Micklethwaite in believing that the nave aisle at Lanercost was an addition.

<sup>4</sup> *C.W.A.S.* I, i (1874), 95-140.

<sup>5</sup> These resources are discussed in detail in *C.W.A.S.*, n.s., xlvi (1948), 'The estates of the Lanercost Canons, with some notes on the history of the Priory', by J. R. H. Moorman.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. by Dickinson *op. cit.*, 186, 'round about the end of the first quarter of the 13th century'. I have the feeling that this is too early.

<sup>7</sup> J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*. (1950) ch. III deals with these differences at length.

moderate prosperity to stimulate the creation of fresh houses by hiving off rather than the consolidation and expansion of the original enterprise. Thus Lanercost, as J. C. Dickinson has suggested, is likely to have been colonised from Pentney in Norfolk, which itself never attained any size by ordinary monastic standards. Architecturally these traits are reflected in a number of quite modest establishments, and where that adjective cannot be applied equally modest beginnings may be inferred or proved. There is no reason for supposing Lanercost to have been any exception. Modest beginnings are certainly suggested by the first endowment<sup>1</sup>.

The materials of the fabric themselves imply a comparatively shortsighted approach. Collingwood in his revision of Bruce's *Handbook* (9th ed. p. 182) describes the priory as 'built almost entirely of stones taken from the wall'. This is an overstatement as far as the church is concerned. Use was also made in it of sandstone ashlar quarried expressly for the purpose. Nevertheless the quantity of re-used Roman stones even in the church is very extensive. In the 12th century parts of the fabric, ashlar is largely confined to dressings. It is of a buff colour and has weathered well. Later in the more intensive 13th century building phases recourse was sometimes had to a red sandstone which proved less reliable. At times it seems to have been avoided for external facing. No doubt the sandstones gave a classier finish, but perhaps also the supply of readily accessible Wall stones ran out from time to time, to be renewed as a result of fresh benefactions. A start was probably made with the supply afforded by the north boundary of the 'lawn of Lanercost' and from Walton, both of which were included in Robert de Vallibus' initial endowment. All three materials were probably employed throughout, and the position is complicated by re-use when modifications of plan entailed the demolition of earlier work. Accordingly no very reliable conclusions are to be drawn in general from the stuff of which the various walls and features are made.

The eastward extent of the church at the time of the consecration (assuming 1169 to be the correct date) has been presumed to have been sufficient to accommodate a high altar, but even if this is correct it is doubtful whether any of an original eastern limb now survives. The oldest part of the present fabric, that is to say the south transept up to the middle of the jambs of its west windows, the easternmost bay of the south wall of the west limb to the same height, and the remainder of that wall (including perhaps the south-west buttress) to the level of the original cloister roof can be accepted as work carried out in this first phase. Externally this phase is characterised by a comparatively primitive (though not entirely homogeneous) plinth which commences at the south-west corner and can be traced eastward with diminishing conviction as far as the south transept aisle. Internally it is marked by a keel-moulded string-course in the south and west walls of the south transept set at the sill level of its west windows. This string passes under the post-medieval blocking of the west arch of the crossing to emerge in the nave, where it runs the entire length of the south wall save for the last yard or two. The double respond at the junction of the nave and choir on the north side has a short length of this same string on its south face. It seems unlikely that it was placed there for decorative reasons and is more probably a survival from an aisleless nave of 12th century date. There would then be three builds represented in the double respond, as there so often are in those features, and the nave arches would emerge as insertions in an earlier wall. A tell-tale sagging of the masonry above and around these arches seems to confirm the deduction (see Pl. XXIVA). It presumably happened when the old nave wall was breached to insert the arcade.

The angles of the crossing are not uniform. The south-west one with its keel-moulded respond to the east is the odd man out, and as it is abutted to the west and south by work of the first phase it seems reasonable to accept it as work of the first phase also. On the assumption that the tower had been carried up as far as the arches at least when the consecration took place, the three remaining angles as they now are must connote a later rebuilding or underbuilding of the central tower. Taking into account the corbels supporting the east tower arch which resemble the capital of the earlier respond (those of the

<sup>1</sup> Moorman, *op. cit.*

west arch are masked by the blocking) an underbuilding rather than a rebuild seems more likely.

This modification of the crossing is probably to be associated with a re-thinking of the transepts and their adjuncts. The 12th century project seems to have allowed for eastern transept aisles of some sort, and that of the south transept may well have been in existence at the consecration. Indeed a case can be made out for regarding the lower parts of its present south and east walls as work of the first phase. But the present east arcade is fairly obviously a modification, its south respond being quite roughly fitted into the old south-east corner of the transept proper. When this arcade was put in, the outer walls seem to have been rebuilt and heightened, doubtless re-using some of the old materials. It may have been at this time too that the chapel was added in the angle between the transept aisle and the already rebuilt eastern limb.

This change of plan, or perhaps one should say refinement in stylistic expression, affected the north transept also, but it caused less disruption there as little or nothing seems to have been done on this side by 1169. The progress of the north transept throughout probably lagged behind that of the southern one. The internal splays of the lancets are a useful criterion, those of the north transept passing straight into the heads, whereas the corresponding windows in the south transept have, presumably earlier, shouldered rere-arches. The design of the north transept as completed is of course in elevation a departure from the south side precedent, its east side together with the return on the north side of the choir being in three heights instead of two, with relatively low arcades surmounted by a tribune over a vaulted ground stage. A straight joint in the north wall of the choir immediately east of the north-east angle of the crossing and above the springing of the west arch must mean that both transepts were to have been in two heights and probably identical in design. The change was doubtless decided on when the transept had already been built to a fair height. The lower courses of the north-west stair-turret appear to be built against the transept and the addition of stair-turrets may well have been decided on when the tribune was introduced.

The present east end is apparently of the 13th century entirely. It may slightly pre-date the remodelling of the transepts. The 12th century east limb, assuming it to have been completed, is likely to have been shorter.

It is arguable that the intentions of the 12th century pioneers did not extend to clerestories, at least to such as the church now has. The clerestory windows range rather awkwardly with those of the intermediate stage in the nave and transepts, and there is a building break adjoining the tower at clerestory level in the east faces of both north and south transepts, the string-courses dying out in both cases a foot or so before the junction with the tower. Internally the responds of the clerestory arcades on the north, east and south sides of the tower are curiously botched with monolithic lengths of red sandstone. The corbelling out of the south wall of the east limb noted by the Fergusons also seems to suggest that the clerestory was an innovation as far as this (earlier, doubtless) lateral wall was concerned.

On the north and south sides of the tower are weatherings for a roof of similar pitch to that which now covers the nave. There is no equivalent to the east, but grooves cut into the masonry of the tower on that face and below the presumably older roof lines on the north and south sides suggest low-pitched roofs of lead. The evidence is consistent with a change of intention in the course of construction of the clerestory, the lead to take the place as a roof-covering of stone slates or other material. This change of roof pitch during building can sometimes be clearly deduced e.g. in the parish church of Claypole, Lincs. Here the true story may be obscured by later medieval alterations to the tower. However the gradation of the lancets at the east and north ends of the church rather suggest a low-pitched roof.

The progress of the nave was in general later, stage for stage, than that of the rest of the church. The appearance of its south wall from the cloister garth makes this fairly obvious. The carrying up in the first phase of the intermediate stage in the easternmost bay on the south side to the same height as the work in the south transept has already been described.

Above it the easternmost bay of the clerestory (i.e. that part of it which corresponds to the westernmost extremity of the choir) repeats the pattern. It is likewise clearly earlier than the rest. The break is accentuated by a change of detail and internally by a slight drop in the floor of the wall passage. The execution of the clerestory arcades in the western limb exhibits some puzzling anomalies. The north side is of a different (and later?) pattern from the south side, which includes an exquisite, but apparently quite arbitrarily introduced foliated cap to the pier between the tenth and the eleventh bay. The foliation of this cap suggests a date of about 1260<sup>1</sup>.

The west end is as so often among the latest elements of the church but its history has been obscured by fairly extensive rebuilding (c. 1375 according to the Fergusons) consequent, it would appear, on settlement, and by the introduction and subsequent demolition of a western gallery with openings which now appear as blockings behind the decorative arcade on the facade below the window. This gallery may have been an integral part of the final scheme for the west front; it could account for the otherwise unexplained displacement of the west door. The door in the north-west corner of the aisle, which has obviously been associated with some sort of annexe to the north, perhaps a stair, may have provided an access to this gallery. It is tempting to explain the whole arrangement in terms of a special pew, such as Edward I might have used on the occasions when he visited or resided at Lanercost. The building of the tower to the immediate south-west of the front (the nucleus of the so-called 'Mansion of Uttergate') has already been explained by Messrs. Ferguson in terms of these royal visitations. A timber-built corridor connecting these outbuildings with the church was apparently in existence in the 18th century but the Fergusons were of opinion that it was of no significant age.

The history of the north aisle is somewhat doubtful. It has already been suggested that the nave was planned in the early days without one. The actual extension of the church in this direction may indeed have been among the last of the major changes in the building. The double respond between it and the nave retains on its north side the hacked-back vestiges of a short length of plinth. This plinth looks as if it had been of the same section as that now uniform to the whole of the north side of the church. If that is so it would imply that the enlargement and remodelling of the church in the earlier 13th century was still based on the notion of an unaisled nave. The deduction is a somewhat speculative one. But in any case there are good grounds for regarding the north aisle as a late addition judging from the appearance of the west front, for at the junction of the main west wall with the west wall of the aisle there are distinct indications of a north angle buttress at the old north-west corner. It is true that the windows in the long wall of the aisle have the shouldered rere-arches of the earlier work but these can be well explained as re-set from the old north wall. It seems better to date the aisle from its north door which is a miniature version of the great west door. There is no reason to think it is an insertion, the irregularities to the side of and above it being evidently connected with a lost porch. There is also a west window to the aisle with plain rere-arch which has equally the appearance of being one with the adjacent walling.

The east bay of the aisle (i.e. the aisle to the west extremity of the ritual choir) is of different design to the western part and is no doubt also of different date. By analogy it should be earlier. But it has to be admitted that the evidence, particularly the oddly deformed buttress marking the junction of the two builds externally, is conflicting, not to say baffling. Inside at the same point there has been a cross-wall which has left a scar in the side walls. Such a cross-wall could have been part of a screen but it might also have been a temporary closure. The comparative uniformity of the arcade separating the aisle from the main body of the western limb gives the impression that no long interval elapsed between the building of the eastern and western parts of the aisle, so that only a temporary wall at this point was probably necessary.

In this matter of the north aisle as in many if not most of the others which have been discussed in this note, the peculiarities described may be susceptible in each case of more

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig, F.S.A. for a confirmatory opinion.

than one explanation. Taken collectively however they point fairly conclusively to a complex building history on the lines adumbrated by Micklethwaite, whatever is to be thought of his theory of typological origin. They make it difficult to speak, except in the vaguest sense, of a 'comprehensive plan'.

#### A NOTE ON THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS<sup>1</sup>. BY MARY BALDWIN

The south and west ranges flanking the former cloister are still standing, and the character of the walls facing the garth resembles that of the north side, i.e. the south wall of the nave that Dr. Eden assigns to the first building phase. There seems no reason to doubt that these walls are, essentially, part of the original lay-out.

The modest round-headed doorway in the north-west corner of the western range, leading into the passage to the cloister, is compatible with an early date: the range itself has been badly hacked about and the ground storey is entirely lined internally with modern brickwork with the exception of the southernmost bay, but in this bay the original 3 ft. 6 in. walls can be traced. The west wall of this range has no less than five modern openings at ground level, and the fenestration of the upper floor is as altered by Sir Thomas Dacre after the Dissolution. The east wall has, near its south end, a massive projecting Tudor chimney-stack which includes some interesting re-used Roman and medieval worked stone. Under the eaves can be seen the weathering of the cloister roof and some courses beneath this there runs a narrow wandering horizontal scar. This scar also crosses the entire length of the south wall of the nave where it abutted the cloister, cutting into the pilaster buttresses, and it is scored across the west wall of the transept (see Pl. XXIVB). It probably represents a poor attempt to reconstruct the penthouse roof of the cloister after a visitation by the Scots.

In the south end of the west range there survives the stump of the southernmost of the centre line of square columns that supported the original roof. It is 2 ft. 2 ins. in diameter with a 3 in. chamfer at the base, and is now embedded in a blocking wall. This wall is contemporary with an inserted vault of 13th century date and the pier has been roughly hacked about for the insertion of a moulded springer for this vault. A square-headed opening, now blocked, led from the south side of the south-east bay into the frater range.

The vaulted undercroft of the frater occupies the whole of the south range. It survives as transformed in the 13th century by the insertion of a handsome vault of nine bays, the walls being new-lined with stone for the purpose and thus nearly doubling their original thickness. The north wall, towards the cloister, has had inserted in it an elaborate lavatorium, and east of this a stone bench along the wall, while east again is an inserted doorway in whose soffit can be traced the line of the join between the 12th century outer wall and the later interior wall. The above features are inserted into a wall which, like the first phase of the church and (less regularly) the west range, are built of the small squared stones typical of the Roman Wall.

The same stones occur on the east and south exterior walls of the range, but the east wall has no datable features and those on the south wall may be re-set as the south wall has a finely cut deep chamfered plinth of 13th century type throughout, the wall stones being used between the ashlar buttresses that the plinth follows. It is probable that this south wall is further south than that of the original lay-out. Scarring on this wall shows that another vaulted range or room of later date once existed south of the frater.

At the western end of the range a 14th century pele tower was added towards the south, its north wall overlying the plinth of the frater range. In the angle between the range and the tower the plinth follows the projection of a chimney stack. This belongs to a magnificent hooded fireplace built to warm the compartment formed by the three western bays of the undercroft, which are at a lower level than those to the east and are more elaborate, the

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. J.* XCVI, 323, has a plan of the church and conventual buildings. The hatching of the latter does not correspond with the dating here suggested. The production of a new plan was however, felt by the present authors to be impossible in the limited time at their disposal on the site.

plain chamfered ribs of the vault being replaced by hollow chamfers, and with moulded capitals, and centrally a double respond where the level drops. The room was lit by two elaborate traceried windows in the west wall and in the north-west corner was a garderobe entered through a shouldered doorway<sup>1</sup>. Outside, the plinth reappears at a lower level than it was beyond the pele tower; it outlines the buttresses between the windows, and is also carried round the carefully finished outer face of the wall containing the garderobe pit. The old entrance to the room from the west range, now inconveniently opposite the fire, was blocked, and a new door cut next to the opening to the garderobe. At some subsequent date, probably after the Dissolution, an ill-contrived little opening was cut in the south wall to give access to the pele tower.

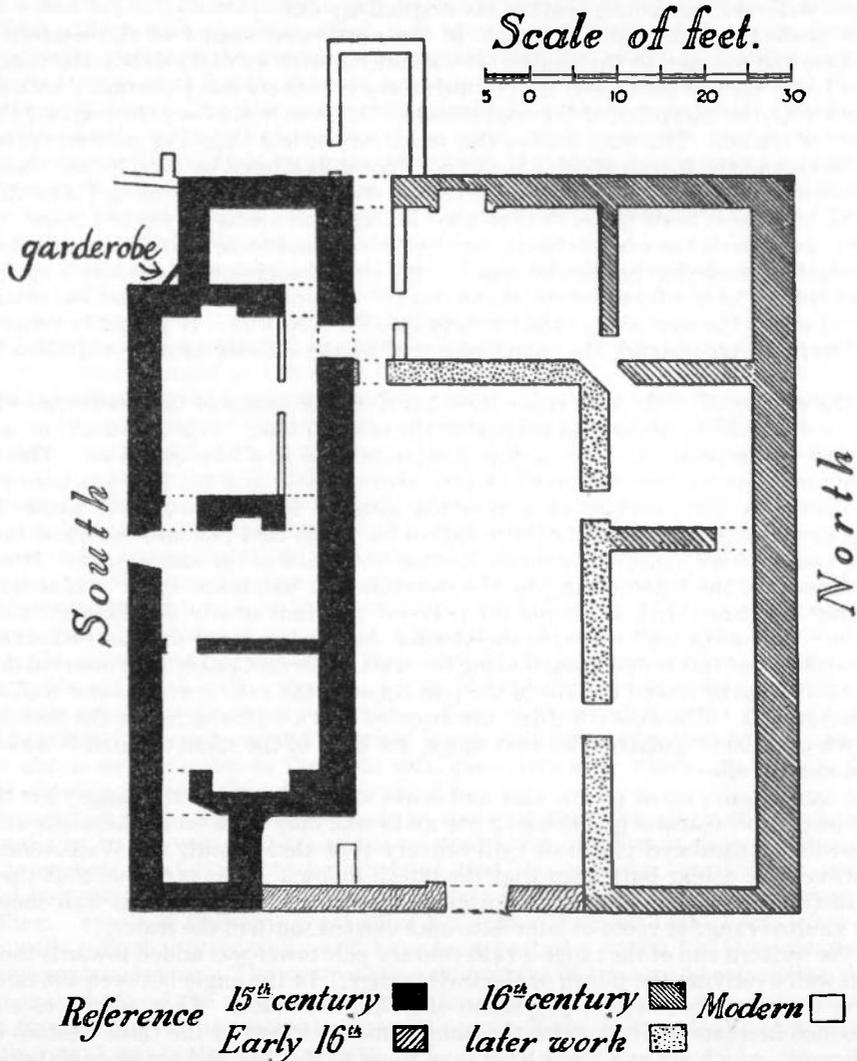


Fig. 2. Plan of Askerton Castle

<sup>1</sup> The wealth of mason's marks is extraordinary. Every worked stone in the range and the garderobe bears one or several.

The foundations of the east range of the cloister are enigmatic. The wall flanking the cloister itself was only 2 ft. 9 ins. thick, as against the 3 ft. 6 ins. of the other ranges. Parallel with it to the east lie the foundations of another wall thought to be of 13th century date but in fact appearing to run into the bottom of the transept wall which is here scarred to a width of nearly 5 ft. though the surviving wall is only 2 ft. 10 ins. wide. The fragmentary remains of openings in this wall look as if they are se-set, and a splay opening towards the east can be seen north of the opening towards the replanned former chapter-house. Further south the wall is of the same width as that of the rest of the claustral ranges.

#### ASKERTON CASTLE. BY THE HON. MICHAEL EDEN

Askerton Castle was probably built by the Lords Dacre in the closing years of the 15th century; the initials T. D. on the weather moulding of the south-west tower refer to Thomas, Lord Dacre (1485-1525) who occupied it when Warden of the Marches. It was dismantled after the Rising of the North in 1561 and remained for some time in a ruinous state but was restored again before the end of the century. The castle stands on the east bank of the Cambeck; it is a simple quadrangle in plan, with the hall on the west side, and a fortified range with small angle-towers on the south. The hall had a three-light window in its north end; the roof of the south wing is probably original but the others have been modified.

J. F. Curwen, *Castles and Towers of Cumberland and Westmorland*.

#### BEWCASTLE ROMAN FORT. BY ERIC BIRLEY

For published accounts of the fort reference may be made to the paper by R. G. Collingwood (*C.W.A.S.*2, xxii, 169-185) which describes the site and its setting and lists the

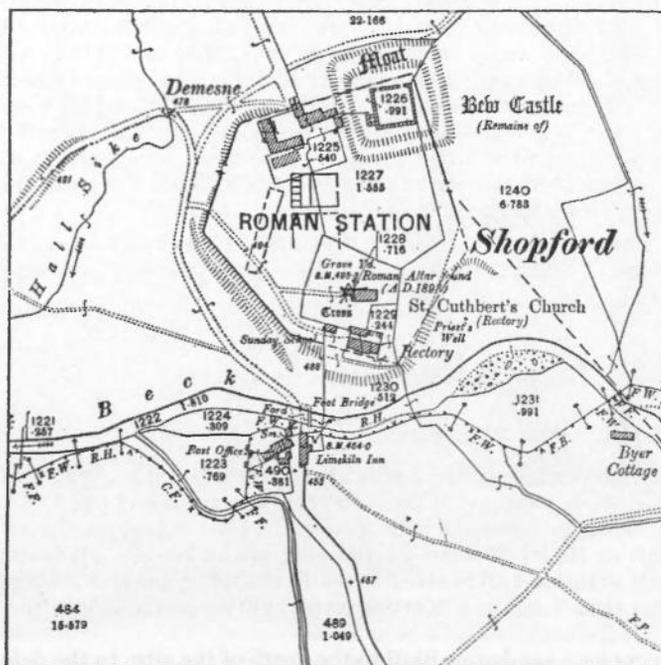


Fig. 3. The Roman Fort at Bewcastle

(Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Block kindly lent by C.W.A.S.)

inscriptions found there up to 1921, and to the report of excavations by the Cumberland Excavation Committee in 1937 (*C.W.A.S.2*, xxxviii, 195-237). Mr. Gillam's work on the internal bath-house, initially undertaken on behalf of the Ministry of Works and subsequently for the Durham University Excavation Committee and the Cumberland and Westmorland Society (1949, *C.W.A.S.2*, xlix, 216-218, and 1954, liv, 265-267 with plan), has yet to be published in full, but was described to the Institute by him.

The fort was established under Hadrian, as one of a series of three outposts north of the Wall in the west (the other two being at Netherby and Birrens); in the 3rd century it was garrisoned by a battalion one thousand strong, *coh. I Nervana Germanorum*, which presumably remained there until the final evacuation of the fort by the Romans when Count Theodosius reorganised the northern frontier after the 'barbaric conspiracy' of which Ammianus Marcellinus has given us an account. The most spectacular finds from the excavations of 1937 came from the *sacellum* of the headquarters building, including two silver plaques dedicated to the local deity Cocidius, the only Romano-British god known to have been allowed the privilege of official dedications by a unit of the Roman army: the explanation is perhaps to be sought in supposing that the fort had been planted on the site of that god's shrine, the *Fanum Cocidi* attested for us by the Ravenna List. (The customary identification of Bewcastle as *Banna*, first suggested by John Hodgson, seems difficult to maintain).

#### BEWCASTLE CROSS. BY C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

The tapering shaft of this cross stands in its original position in the churchyard. The shaft is 14 ft. 6 ins. high; the head, which was formed in a separate piece, is now missing. On the west, or principal, face are three panels with figures of St. John the Baptist, Christ and St. John the Evangelist. The east face is filled with a vine scroll inhabited with birds and beasts. The two narrower edges have panels with other vine scrolls, interlace and chequers. Below the figure of Christ are eight lines of Anglian runes. The reading has been much disputed, but it is now generally agreed that they record the erection of the cross for Alcfrith the king. There are further short inscriptions in runes, including one with the name Kyneburg. Alcfrith is recorded by both Bede and Aeddi and his name appears in the genealogies. He was a son of Oswiu of Northumbria and acted as under-king of Deira; he was present at the Synod of Whitby (664). He married Kyneburg, a daughter of King Penda of Mercia. The identification of these two names dates the cross to c. 670-80. The figures and ornament are consistent with this dating.

G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, vol. v.

A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, 55-65.

T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, 126-42.

#### WEDNESDAY, 16TH JULY

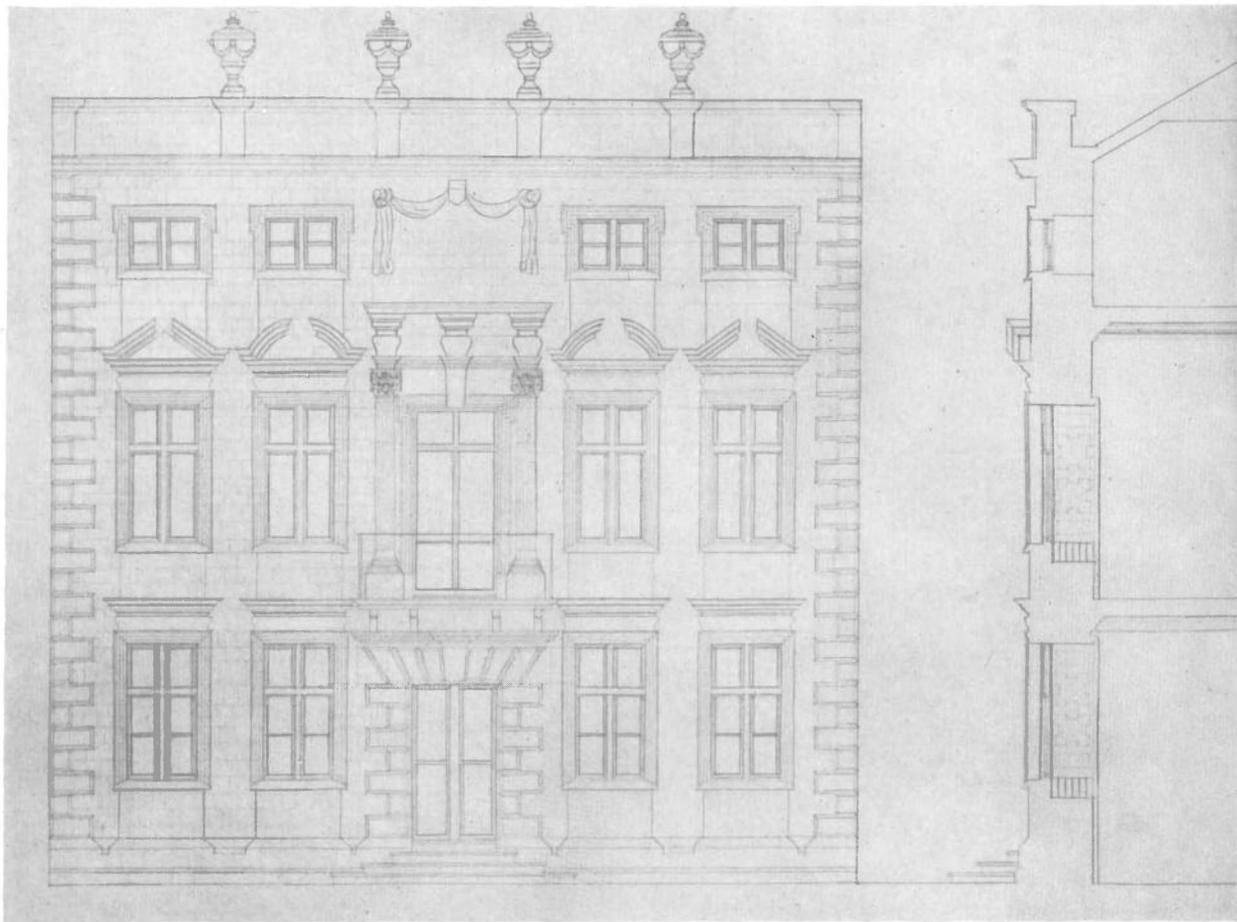
#### CARLISLE CASTLE. BY JOHN CHARLTON

There are now no remains of the fortifications constructed by William II when he took Carlisle from the Scots in 1092, nor of the tower said to have been built by David of Scotland during the brief Scottish domination of 1136-57. The history of the present structure begins in the reign of Henry II with the building of the Keep. Thereafter for some five centuries the castle withstood all Scottish assaults, including those of Robert the Bruce, and it was not till 1644 that it fell to a Scottish army fighting as the ally of the English Parliament.

The castle occupies a sandstone bluff to the north of the city, to the defences of which it was linked by wing-walls which largely survive. Its southern wall, however, was separated from the city by a broad stockaded ditch, some hundred yards to the south, thus ensuring a wide and clear field of fire. To the north, east and west of the castle the ground falls



Carlisle Cathedral. The Salkeld screen, north side  
(*Photograph : Tassell (Carlisle) Ltd.*)



Hutton-in-the-Forest. The centre block on the east front  
*(Reproduced from the measured drawing of Peter B. Armstrong, Penrith, by his kind permission)*

steeply, so that no additional defences were needed, though an outwork was constructed near the south-east angle in the 16th century, when artillery was introduced.

The main entrance is from the south over a stone bridge which replaces an earlier drawbridge. A short barbican leads to the gateway, known as William of Ireby's Tower, a structure of 12th-century origin, but now mainly of 13th and 14th century date, with many later alterations. It is now occupied by the Border Regiment, whose headquarters are in the castle.

The level of the three-acre outer ward was raised some 5 ft. in 1830, an alteration which somewhat mars the impression gained of the latest feature of the ward: the half-moon battery of the time of Henry VIII. Behind it stands the inner curtain, itself widened and buttressed to carry Henry VIII's artillery. The inner gateway, though it has at various times been clumsily patched externally and obscured internally by Tudor alterations and additions, still retains some pretension to architectural distinction. From the inside can be seen a rear-arch of trefoiled and cusped arcading, formerly flanked by slender shafts, of which the southern one survives. This gateway may be part of the work executed early in Edward III's reign by John Lewyn, perhaps the best-known provincial builder of the Middle Ages.

The inner ward was always small and its congestion was increased by the 16th-century accretions. In it were crammed the domestic buildings—the palace, in fact—occupied by the sovereign during the Scottish wars. The Great Hall where Edward I held a Parliament has gone, but the skeleton of the king's private apartments survives along the east side of the ward. An architectural feature of some merit is the elaborately decorated stair-turret, known as Queen Mary's Tower. The gateway tower which formerly stood in the south-east angle of the ward was destroyed in 1825, but a postern near it, carved with the Dacre arms, survives.

The dominating feature of the castle is, of course, the Great Tower or Keep—a structure comparable with the keeps of Newcastle and Bamburgh. It was originally entered in the usual manner by a staircase, continued in a fore-building, which led to the first floor. The foundations of the fore-building may be seen in front of the entrance—a forced opening probably of Edwardian date. From this entrance inserted stairs lead to the principal floor where there are remains of an original fireplace. The floor above has two small apartments later used as prisoner's cells and containing a remarkable series of prisoner's carvings, comparable with those at the Tower of London and Windsor. From the much altered third floor access may be had by a ladder to the outside of the roof, itself a gun-platform in the latest period of the castle, the battlements being modified to suit the needs of artillery.

#### CARLISLE CATHEDRAL. BY C. G. BULMAN

The early history of the cathedral church of St. Mary at Carlisle is somewhat obscure. William Rufus came north to Carlisle with a large army in 1092 and recovered the town and district from its Scottish rulers. Tradition relates that he left behind him a chaplain, named Walter, who immediately began the foundation of a priory for Augustinian canons in the town. Little progress appears to have been made with the foundation until the visit of Henry I in 1122, and the Pipe Roll for 1130 records a grant to the canons of Carlisle of £10 'for the building of their church'.

In 1133 the See of Carlisle was formed and the priory church became a cathedral. Athelwold, prior of Nostell in Yorkshire, was consecrated the first bishop in York Minister, on 6th August, 1133. Carlisle was the last diocese to be formed in England before the Reformation.

In 1188 the Pipe Roll records payment of 26s. 9d. towards 'work of the great altar and pavement in the church of St. Mary, Carlisle.' Presumably the Norman church was then complete. Only the two surviving bays of the nave, the lower portion of the piers of the crossing, and the south transept remain of this early church. Excavation has shown that when entire the 12th century nave was eight bays in length; in addition there were transepts of moderate projection, each with a small semi-circular apse, and an eastern limb of two

bays, terminating eastwards in an apse. A plan of the original church is here reproduced (fig. 4).

Architecturally the Norman work surviving at Carlisle is not significant. The surviving bays of the nave display ponderous cylindrical columns supporting semicircular arches, unmoulded and practically destitute of ornament. The eastern bay to north and south shows distortion and settlement caused by the weight of the early tower. The south transept is almost entirely of the 12th century, equally plain except for a little zig-zag ornament to the arch opening into the south aisle. The severity and even poverty of the work may be attributed to the lack of funds and of skilled workmen in the early years of the foundation.

It is singular that the Norman work at Carlisle should draw its inspiration from the west of England school of romanesque design. The moderate length of the nave, the exclusive use of the cylinder for the arcade and the paucity of moulding and ornament all point to a master-mason familiar with the churches of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, St. John's, Chester and Leominster. The influence of the Durham school of design is completely wanting.

In the second quarter of the 13th century a great rebuilding scheme for the eastern limb was undertaken. The See had been vacant for several years and in 1218 a new bishop, Hugh of Beaulieu, was enthroned. He had been abbot of Beaulieu in Hampshire, where a new choir in the Early English style was then in course of erection. He may have been dissatisfied with the small and severe choir of his cathedral church at Carlisle and determined to create a new choir in the style which he had seen at Beaulieu. No exact building date can now be given, but a new choir was set out on a most ambitious scale, seven bays in length, with a small projecting aisleless sanctuary at the east end. Not only was the new choir vastly longer than the old one, but it was also twelve feet wider. All the additional width had to be gained on the north side owing to the presence of the conventual buildings to the south. The work was begun on the north side and carried on throughout the middle of the 13th century as funds allowed. It is in fully developed early English style with fine contemporary detail, deeply undercut mouldings, and a little carved stiff-leaf ornament. The aisle windows are lancets, richly shafted internally, and the aisles are vaulted. In the south aisle three lancets are grouped under an arch.

The new choir was not completed in 1280 when a vacancy in the See resulted in the appointment of Ralph Irton as bishop. He appears to have been a masterful character, for immediately upon his arrival at Carlisle he called the clergy of his diocese together and demanded money from them for the completion of the choir. In consequence of having to pay £24 the chronicler of Lanercost, upon the occasion of the bishop's death in 1292, describes him as 'that wicked extortioner' and a 'brigand rather than a high priest'. Whatever his faults it was to Ralph Irton that Carlisle owed the completion of the new choir.

The bishop died on 1st March, 1292, and on the 18th May following a great fire destroyed two-thirds of the city and in the flames the newly-completed choir was burnt out and wrecked. This was indeed a major disaster for there are indications that the canons had contemplated the rebuilding of the transepts and probably the crossing on the great scale of the choir. The disaster prohibited these plans and instead the canons were compelled to start again to renovate their shattered choir. It is now only in the aisles that the fine early English work can be seen; they were protected by the stone vaults from the effects of the fire.

In October 1292, the same year as the fire, national events came to the aid of the canons. Edward I came to Carlisle with a great army in pursuit of his Scottish campaigns, and for several years that monarch was in and around Carlisle and held parliaments in the city. With the advent of the king and his feudal train, funds must have been easier to obtain for the rebuilding, and the canons showed their optimism by embarking on a slightly larger choir. A master-mason of the York school of design was obviously employed for the work of renovation. The piers of the main arcade, shattered by the fire, were skilfully underpinned and removed, and columns of Decorated style, with finely carved floreated capitals, inserted below the arches. The triforium and clerestory were taken down and

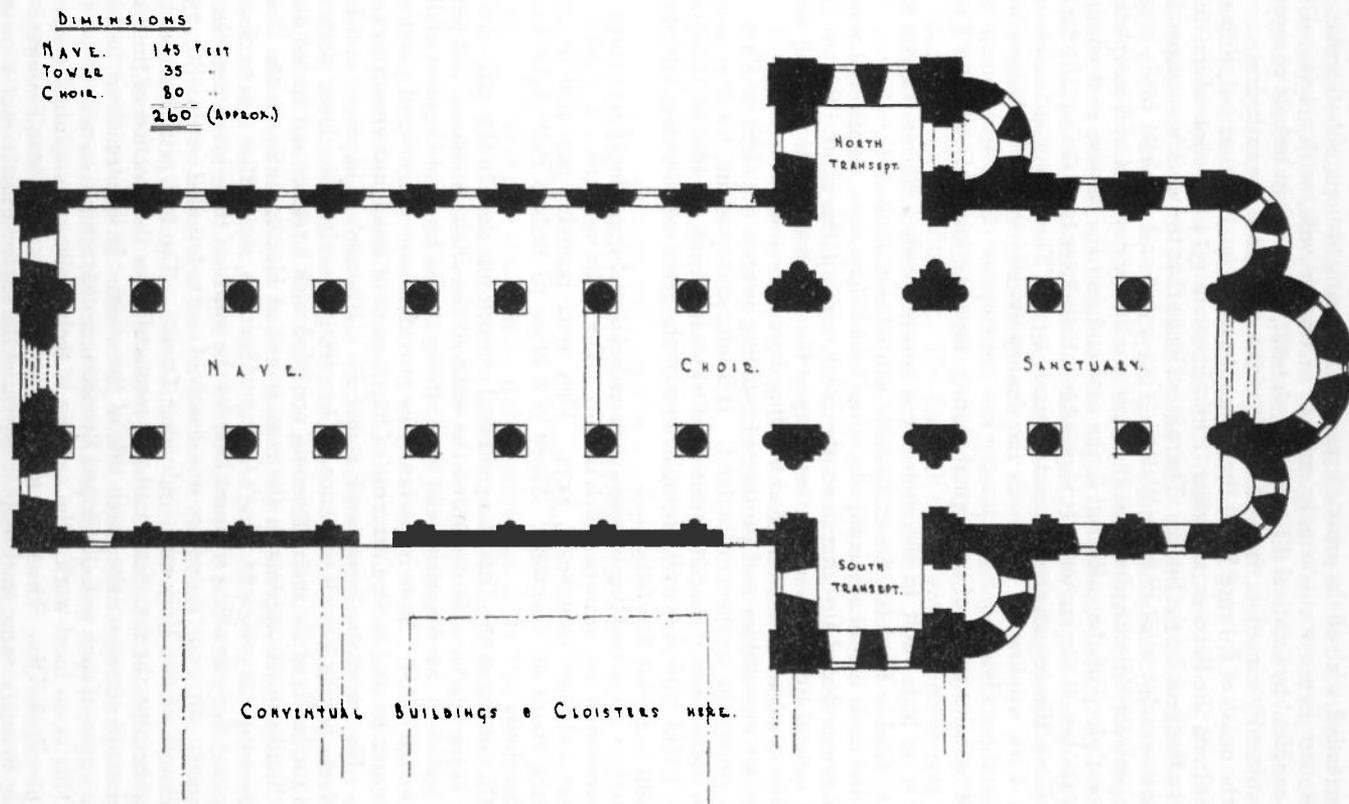


Fig. 4. Carlisle. Plan of the Norman church of St. Mary

rebuilt, and the east end completely remodelled, the aisles being taken full length. It was in the half-ruined choir that the famous service was held on 28th February, 1306 which Edward I attended, with all the great officers of state, many bishops, abbots and barons, and at which Robert Bruce was solemnly cursed 'in terrible wise, with ringing of bells and burning of candles' by Cardinal d'Espagnol. A head, which might be held to represent the king, is prominently carved on the wall arcade at the east end of the cathedral.

With the death of Edward I and the succession of his incompetent son, Edward II, an evil time set in on the Borders, and after Bannockburn in 1314 the whole of the district was wasted year after year by the Scots. There is evidence that the work was suspended over a period, and it was not until Bishops Welton (1353-1362) and Appleby (1363-1395) issued building appeals for the cathedral that the choir was finally roofed in and completed.

The great glory of the cathedral is the east end and the famous east window. Unfortunately its date is not known. It is possibly a little later than the equally famous west window of York Minster which was erected before 1330. The master at Carlisle may have known the York window for he avoids the duality evident in it and divides his Carlisle window into three divisions. The tracery is a masterpiece of construction as well as of design, and contains much of its original glazing, representing a 'Doom', or Last Judgement.

There is no high vault to the choir; it is covered with a timber waggon vault, the largest of its kind in England, the underside coloured and decorated.

When the choir was finally complete, some time before 1400, no attempt was made to rebuild the remainder of the church on the great scale of the choir. Bishop Strickland rebuilt the central tower of modest design upon the old piers of the crossing which were heightened at the same time; the great building days were over.

Despite its vicissitudes and protracted building periods the choir at Carlisle can lay claim to be among the loveliest in England. It is lofty and spacious, full of atmosphere and light. The warm tones of the red sandstone of which it is built, the blue and gold decoration of the timber roof, and above all, the splendour of the great east window with its coloured glass, all help to give it distinction.

Although no great building schemes were undertaken during the 15th century a number of fittings were inserted, some of which remain. The stalls were erected by Bishop Strickland c. 1400 and their canopies c. 1433. They were probably provided by one of the wood-working shops of Yorkshire. There is a brass to Bishop Bell (1478-1495) in the centre of the choir.

With the coming of the Tudors a good deal of work was done in the cathedral by Prior Gondibour (1484-1507). He decorated the walls of the choir in colour, and painted the lives of St. Cuthbert, St. Augustine and St. Anthony on the backs of the choir stalls, still to be seen although faded. More importantly he provided some magnificent parclose screens to the choir arcades and to St. Catherine's Chapel, most of which unfortunately perished in the 1760's. The surviving screenwork round St. Catherine's Chapel is non-English in style and shows strong French influence. The pierced panels in the lower portions of the screen, and the heads of the main divisions, are filled with intricate and varied flamboyant traceries. Similar work appears in the rood screen at Hexham also on the Border, and surviving contemporary work at King's College, Aberdeen, shows that it is to Scotland and possibly beyond to France that we must look for the source of these lovely screens.

On January 9th, 1540, the priory was dissolved and re-founded on May 8th, 1541 as the cathedral church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. The last prior, Lancelot Salkeld, (1532-1559) became the first dean, and was responsible for the erection of the remarkable early-Renaissance screen on the north side of the choir. It is astonishing to find at this early date a screen of such well-developed Renaissance character in so remote a cathedral as Carlisle. This is no local work; the carving is technically accomplished and extremely exuberant (see Pl. XXV). The screen may well have been ordered from Flanders or France, and possibly from the same workshop as provided the earlier Flamboyant screens of Prior Gondibour. The devices on the screen are remarkable too. Above in the centre on both sides appear the Royal Arms, showing the Royal Supremacy over the Church; a very

early example of its kind. On the south or choir side the emblems and devices are all ecclesiastical and devotional, including the emblems of the Passion, the Arms of the Priors, and Prior Salkeld's initials. On the north or aisle side the devices are Royal and secular, and prominently displayed three times are the Prince of Wales' feathers, accompanied in two instances by the letters G.S.P.E. These can only stand for 'God save Prince Edward', and the screen apparently commemorates Edward Tudor, the son of Henry VIII by his third wife, Jane Seymour. It was probably erected about 1541.

The cathedral appears to have suffered little damage at the time of the Reformation, but after the siege and capture of Carlisle by the Scots under General Leslie in 1645, the six western bays of the Norman nave, occupied by the parishioners of St. Mary, were removed. At the same time the chapter house, the cloisters, dormitory and other domestic buildings were demolished to provide material for the repair of the city walls, and the curtailed cathedral left in much the same state as it is seen today. The chapter house was an octagon and its loss must be deplored. Only the deanery was left standing, and the fine refectory, rebuilt above a crypt by Prior Gondibour *c.* 1500.

There was a disastrous 'restoration' in 1764 by Bishop Lyttleton, when most of Gondibour's splendid medieval screenwork was swept away, and the choir fitted up with box-pews and other clumsy fittings. The fine oak barrel vaulted ceiling was partly demolished to make way for a poor lath and plaster 'vault'.

There were further restorations in the 1850's when Lyttleton's plaster 'vault' was removed and his fittings replaced, and in the 1880's when the parish church of St. Mary, crammed into the two surviving bays of the nave, was removed and a new church (since demolished) built for the parishioners at the entrance to the cathedral grounds.

The lower portion of the great east window was filled with stained glass in 1861 as a memorial to Bishop Percy. It is extremely good for Victorian glass and harmonises well with the ancient glass in the tracery above.

The external stonework is now being restored and the repair of the ancient glass in the east window will also be undertaken, and the re-colouring of the barrel vault.

C. G. Bulman, 'Carlisle Cathedral and its development', *C.W.A.S.2*, xxxvii, 56-66; xlix, 87-117; 'The Gondibour and Salkeld Screens'. lvi, 104-127.

#### THE RUTHWELL CROSS. BY C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

The Ruthwell cross now stands in an apsidal projection of the Parish Church, built for its protection in 1887. It was thrown down and broken at the Reformation and has been reconstituted. The monument was originally in two pieces, the head and upper part of the shaft forming a single stone, socketed into the main part of the shaft. It stands to a height of 17 ft. 4 ins.

The main faces, now north and south, bear scenes from the Life of Christ; the two edges have inhabited vine scrolls. The front of the head has St. John with the eagle in the top arm and St. Matthew with the angel in the base. The corresponding spaces at the back have an eagle and an archer. The cross bar is modern, but on the front the side arms undoubtedly contained the figures and symbols of the other two evangelists. On the shaft the scenes from top to bottom are: on the front, or north, side, St. John the Baptist, Christ, the Desert Fathers St. Paul and St. Anthony, the Flight into Egypt and, at the base, a fifth scene, probably the Nativity; on the south side, the Visitation, Christ with St. Mary Magdalene, Christ healing the Blind Man, the Annunciation and the Crucifixion. On the margins around the scenes are explanatory inscriptions in Latin and in Anglian runes. The runes on the cross also include verses, which correspond very closely to part of the Saxon poem, the Dream of the Rood. The text of this poem is preserved in a MS. at Vercelli, dating from the 10th century.

The figure sculpture and the ornament on this cross are very similar in style and technique to the panels on the shaft at Bewcastle. Like that cross it dates from the end of the 7th century.

Bibliography as for Bewcastle Cross.

## CAERLAVEROCK CASTLE.

Remarkable both for its triangular plan, and for the siege which it underwent at the hands of Edward I in 1300, Caerlaverock Castle is one of the foremost examples of military architecture in Scotland. The exact date of construction is not known, but it is reasonably certain to belong to the troubled period of the last decade of the 13th century, when Edward had embarked on his campaign to subjugate Scotland. Thus it was almost new when the siege which is the subject of the contemporary French poem, *Le Siege de Karlaverock*, took place. The triangular plan of the castle, its wide moat, and the basic features of the walls, are original, but the machicolated parapets and the extensions to the great gatehouse are additions of the mid-15th century. Improvements in the accommodation were made at intervals, culminating in the 17th century range which has been described as 'one of the finest examples of the early Classical Renaissance in Scotland'.

Ministry of Works Official Guide, by B. H. St. J. O'Neil (1952).

## SWEETHEART ABBEY.

This Cistercian house was founded in 1273 by Devorgilla, widow of John Balliol, founder of Balliol College, Oxford, to commemorate him; the first monks came there from Dundrennan. In 1289 Devorgilla was buried in front of the high altar clasping the embalmed heart of her husband; hence the name given to the Abbey. The site is one of the most beautiful in Scotland, but little remains of the conventual buildings except the church with its conspicuous central tower. Much of the work is early 14th century, noteworthy in that this troubled period in Scottish history saw little building. A striking feature is the well-preserved precinct wall which is apparently original.

Ministry of Works Official Guide, by J. S. Richardson (1938).

## BURNSWARK ROMAN CAMP. BY ERIC BIRLEY

It will be excused if I repeat the description which I wrote for the Institute's visit in 1939 (*Arch. J.* xcvi, 315-317), taking into account the report on the excavations of 1898 (*P.S.A. Scot.*, xxxiii, 198-249) and later observations on the ground or from the air, notably by the late O. G. S. Crawford.

Burnswark is one of the most spectacular sites anywhere in the Roman world. The visible remains fall into two groups, native and Roman. Burnswark hill itself is a prominent landmark, visible from as far east as Winshields, the highest point on Hadrian's Wall, southwards as far as the Lake mountains, and from many points in the Cumberland plain; viewed from that quarter, it appears as a flat-topped hill with steeply sloping sides. Its main axis lies north-east to south-west, its length being 1700 ft., while its breadth in the eastern half is 400 ft., the western half swelling to an average breadth of 700 ft.

Round the edge of the hill top, where the steep slope begins, there has been the rampart of a native town: in places it is double, and it is pierced by gateways, of which three are on the south-east side, one on the north-west and the last (and least prominent) at the south-west end. Within the ramparts the area is approximately 17 acres. The Roman structures consist of two camps of the type sometimes described as semi-permanent, one of them incorporating a small post of an entirely different type.

(a) The South Camp (facing the south-east side of the hill-town, and pushed up an inconveniently steep slope to within 100 yards of its rampart) is the larger and better preserved of the two. It is an irregular rectangle, containing nearly 14 acres; and the arrangement of its gateways shows that it was designed to face the native fortification, opposite the three south-east gateways of which it too has three gateways, each masked by an extremely large *titulus*—the three mounds being known locally as the 'Three Brethren'. The single gates in the remaining three sides are each protected by a *titulus* of more normal dimensions. The irregularities in the sides of this camp are due in part to the unevenness of the terrain, but at the north angle they are the result of the incorporation into the large camp of an earlier post of the type sometimes described as a 'Police Station'.

(b) The North Camp is set back a considerable distance from the north-west side of the hill-fort, occupying more level ground at a lower level ; it was perhaps never completed, though the rampart nearest to the hill-fort was finished and provided with a comparable

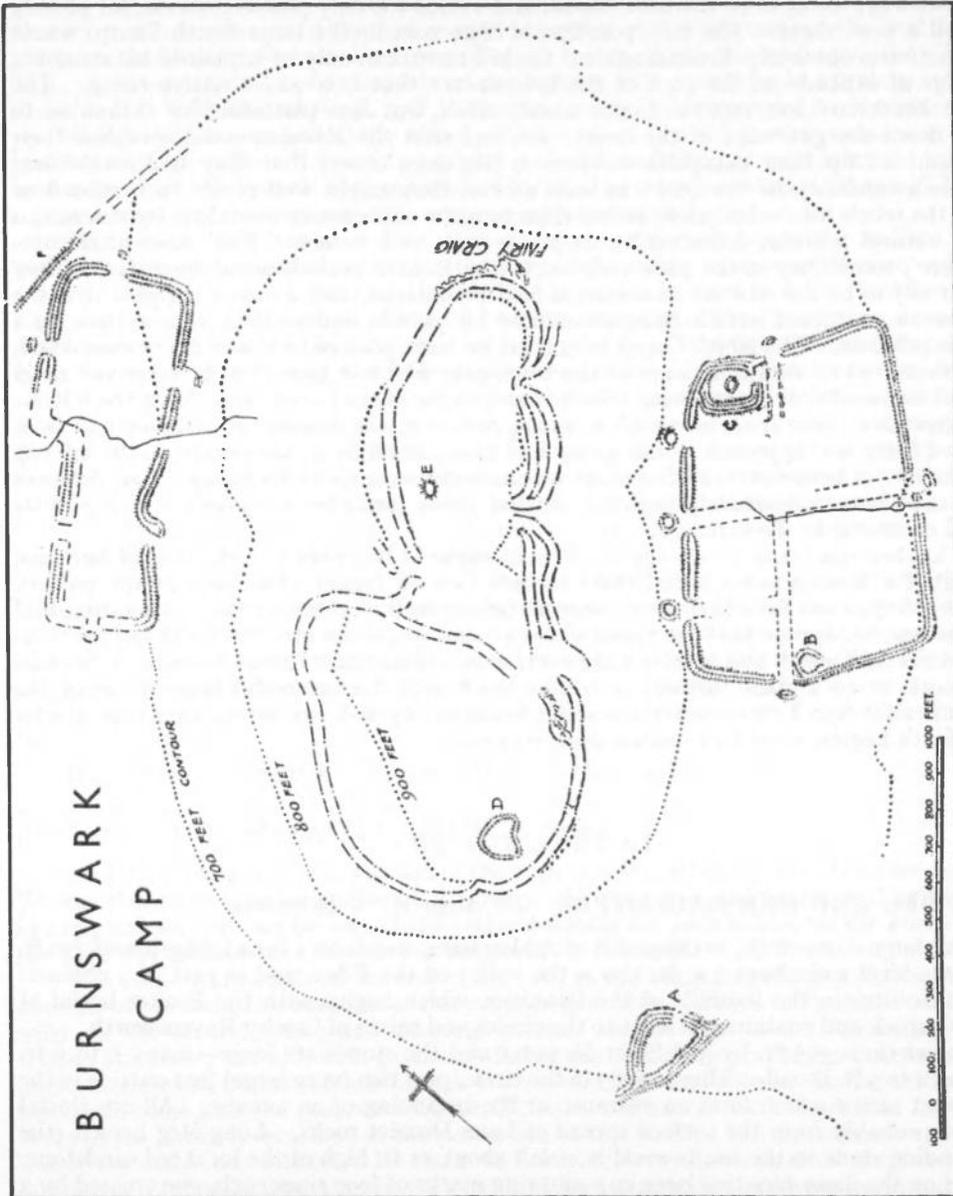


Fig. 5. Burnswark Roman Camp  
 (Reproduced by permission of H.M. Stationery Office. Crown Copyright reserved)

large mound, facing the north-west gateway of the hill-fort and also the spring, some distance outside that gateway, which seems to have been the principal source of water-supply. It should be added that another spring has been included within the area of the South Camp.

From the structural remains it seems possible to infer something of the history of the Roman operations at Burnswark. The 'Police Station' is the earliest Roman structure of all; and its position on the sheltered side of the hill, conveniently placed for supervising the goings on in a friendly native town and traffic on the main road which passes a short distance away, seems to be the best reason, and indeed the only possible reason, for placing so small a post there. The incorporation of that post in the large South Camp, whose construction is obviously directed against the hill-town, can only be explained by assuming a change of attitude on the part of the townsmen: that is to say a native rising. The 'Three Brethren' too, represent, not merely *tituli*, but also platforms for catapults, to batter down the gateways of the town; the fact that the Romans could establish their camp and set up their catapults so close to the town shows that they had established absolute ascendancy in the field; in such a case, they might well prefer to bombard or starve the rebels into submission, rather than to incur unnecessary casualties by storming a strong natural position defended by desperate men and women. The 'lines of circumvallation', sometimes in the past assigned to the Roman period, seem (in so far as they exist at all) to be the remains of medieval field-boundaries, and we must suppose that the rebels were contained within their stronghold by patrols and pickets, rather than by a ditch or palisade. The North Camp, which (as we have pointed out) was never completed, seems to be out of catapult range of the town-gate which it faces, but it is conveniently situated for bombarding the spring which comes to the surface some way down the hillside from that gate; and it seems simplest to suppose that the moment a catapult had been mounted there and approach to the spring had been cut off by it, the people on the hill-top capitulated—or broke out—so that there was no need to complete the camp. The defences of the town were presumably slighted, so that there could be no danger of any similar trouble occurring in the future.

It has been customary to assign the Roman works at Burnswark to the time of Agricola, although the Roman coins found there include two of Trajan; but such of the pottery found in 1898 as has been preserved seems to belong to the middle of the 2nd century, and it seems best to suppose that the rising whose closing stages are attested by these spectacular works is that which had involved the overthrow of Hadrian's fort at Birrens; it may be permissible to go a stage further, and to connect with the successful suppression of the rising the altar found many years ago at Kirkandrews upon Eden, set up by a commander of the Sixth Legion *ob res trans vallum prospere gestas*.

THURSDAY, 17TH JULY

LONG MEG AND HER DAUGHTERS. BY MISS K. S. HODGSON

This large stone circle, in the parish of Addingham, stands on a broad ridge about 350 ft. above sea-level and about 300 ft. above the valley of the Eden, and is part of a chain of prehistoric sites in the foothills of the Pennines, which begins with the Beaker burial at Castle Carrock and continues at least to the circles and cairns of Crosby Ravensworth.

The circle is 305 ft. by 360 ft. in diameter and the stones are large—many 5 to 6 ft. high and 4 to 5 ft. broad. There are 65 in the circle, plus two (very large) just outside in the south-west sector which form an entrance or the beginning of an avenue. All are glacial erratics, probably from the surface spread of Lake District rocks. Long Meg herself (the tall standing stone to the south-west) is a slab about 12 ft. high of the local red sandstone. It bears on the inner face two large cup-and-ring marks of four rings each, one crossed by a slanting groove, and there are also faint traces of a smaller cup-and-ring.

No excavation has been done here.

*C.W.A.S.I.*, v; 2, xii, xxxiii.

Camden, *Britannia* (Gibson's Ed.), 831.

Stukeley, *Iter Curiosum* II, 47.

## BROUGH CASTLE.

## (a) THE ROMAN FORT OF BROUGH UNDER STAINMORE. BY ERIC BIRLEY

Camden rightly identified this site as the *Verterae* of the Antonine Itinerary and of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, but it was left to Pennant and Hutchinson in the 1770s to point out that there are visible remains of the fort around the ruins of Brough castle; the first detailed study of the Roman site was by Henry Ecroyd Smith (*Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Cheshire*, N.S., vi, 137-152), and a plan and a brief description, with a useful select bibliography, are given in R.C.H.M. *Westmorland*, 47 f. The most notable finds come from the river below the bluff on which fort and castle stand, where erosion (mainly in the period 1820-1860) yielded large quantities of Roman and later material, including in particular the inscribed lead seals which Professor Richmond studied in detail twenty years and more ago (*C.W.A.S.* 2, xxxvi, 104-125), and considerable evidence of metal-working.

Little excavation has been done there as yet: in the early 1920s the Ancient Monuments Department, while consolidating the keep of the castle, came upon Roman walling at a low level below it, and a short trial excavation in 1954 confirmed that the Normans re-dug the ditch and heaped the material from it over the ramparts of the Roman fort, to make an outer bailey for their castle (*C.W.A.S.* 2, lviii, 50-53). Only two inscribed stones have been found (in 1879, during the restoration of the parish church), one recording Severan rebuilding in A.D. 197, the other the epitaph in Greek hexameters of a sixteen year old boy from Commagene, presumably the son of an officer, a doctor or a merchant: it was at first thought to be runic, and readers who are curious may like to consult the paper by George Stephens of Copenhagen which puts forward an elaborate interpretation of it on that basis (*C.W.A.S.* 1, v, 291-310). Pottery and coins suffice to show that the site was first occupied in the Flavian period, perhaps by Cerialis rather than Agricola, and continued in Roman hands at least until the end of the 4th century.

The fort seems to be facing south, turning its back on the trunk road to Carlisle, as though to emphasize that its particular function was to watch the hill-country and to keep open communications through Mallerstang to Bainbridge and through Ravenstonedale to Low Borrow Bridge and Watercrock. Its garrison was probably *coh. VII Thracum*, a battalion 500 strong (including 120 mounted infantry), at least in the 3rd century; in the *Notitia* it is given as the station of a *numerus Directorum* (compare the Guides of the old Indian Army).

cf. Eric Birley, recent account in *C.W.A.S.* 2, lviii, 31-56.

## (b) THE MEDIEVAL CASTLE. BY R. S. SIMMS

A castle was built here at the end of the 11th century, when William II added northern Westmorland and Cumberland to his kingdom. It was taken and demolished by the Scots in 1174 and all that can be seen of the earlier building are foundations on the north side of the keep and herring-bone masonry in the north curtain wall.

The castle was rebuilt at the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century and consists of a rectangular keep, three storeys in height with entrance to the first floor hall; a solar on the second floor; and sleeping quarters on the top floor. The bailey, which follows the line of the hill, with gatehouse facing south and a round tower at its south-east angle, contains the remains of a hall with kitchen and the usual offices. In the 14th century the castle came into the possession of the Cliffords, and except for a short time during the Wars of the Roses it remained in the possession of this family. At the accession of Henry Tudor the castle was inhabited by the 10th Lord Clifford, known as the 'shepherd lord', but during Christmas festivities in 1521 the buildings caught fire and were burnt out; they remained a shell until restoration (1659-62) in the medieval style by Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke.

The present buildings are partly the remains of this restoration, which did not last for many years. By the end of the 17th century the masonry was being removed to Appleby Castle and at the end of the 18th century a corner of the keep collapsed.

Lord Hothfield, the present owner, made H.M. Commissioners of Works guardians of the castle in 1923.

Ministry of Works Official Guide, by W. Douglas Simpson (1949).

#### THE BOROUGH OF APPLEBY. BY MR. NORMAN WARD

The Domesday Survey contains no references to this part of Westmorland, which formed part of the kingdom of Malcolm of Scotland until 1092. The earliest settlement was in the Bongate area, but the town was probably refounded as a market town dependent on the castle at the beginning of the 12th century. It achieved independence after Hugh Morville's estates were forfeited for his part in the rebellion against Henry II in 1174. The earliest charter dates from 1179, and in all, twelve charters are in existence. The borough sent two members to Parliament from 1298 to 1832.

The town lies in a large loop of the River Eden, which forms a natural moat enclosing it on three sides; the fourth, or north side, which is open is protected by the castle. The lower (north) end, is dominated by the fortified church tower. (See R. C. H. M. *Westmorland*, 13, for plan). The town is planned round a broad main street, widening towards the south end, with very narrow streets running off to either side. The grass verges at the south end are the remains of the soft ground where pens for livestock were erected on market days.

THE MOAT HALL stands at the north end of the main street, and contains a display of the borough charters and regalia.

TWO CROSSES at the north and south ends of Boroughgate, are late 17th or early 18th century replacements of earlier crosses which marked the limits of the medieval market.

WAITE HOUSE (East side of Boroughgate). This was built by John Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury in Lord North's Government (1770-1782), and the original of the phrase 'as soon as you can say Jack Robinson'.

ALMSHOUSES. South-east end of Boroughgate. These were built by Lady Anne Clifford in 1651-1653 for 'the yearly maintenance of a Mother, A Reader, and twelve sisters for ever'. The buildings which are ranged round a quadrangle have been much altered, but the chapel in the north-east corner is largely original. It contains shields of the Clifford and allied families in panels set in the walls.

#### ST. LAWRENCE'S CHURCH.

The present church on this site dates from the late 13th century or early 14th century, when the 12th-century structure which preceded it was demolished. Of this earlier church there remains the lower part of the west tower. The rebuilt church had north and south aisles and chancel chapels, and a south porch; in the 15th century a clerestory, and an upper stage to the tower were added, and the south chapel lengthened eastwards to the full extent of the chancel. Lady Anne Clifford later left her mark on the building, as so often elsewhere in Westmorland, rebuilding the north chapel and much of the arcades and roofs.

The monuments and fittings of the church are in some respects more noteworthy than the fabric. Among these may be mentioned the tombs of Margaret, Countess of Cumberland (1616), in the north chapel, and of Lady Anne Clifford herself (1675-76) against the north wall; and the organ and its case—now in the north chapel, formerly in the west gallery—which came originally from Carlisle Cathedral and was presented in 1684. The case suggests a date early in the 17th century.

R. C. H. M. *Westmorland*, 4.

## APPLEBY - PARISH CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE

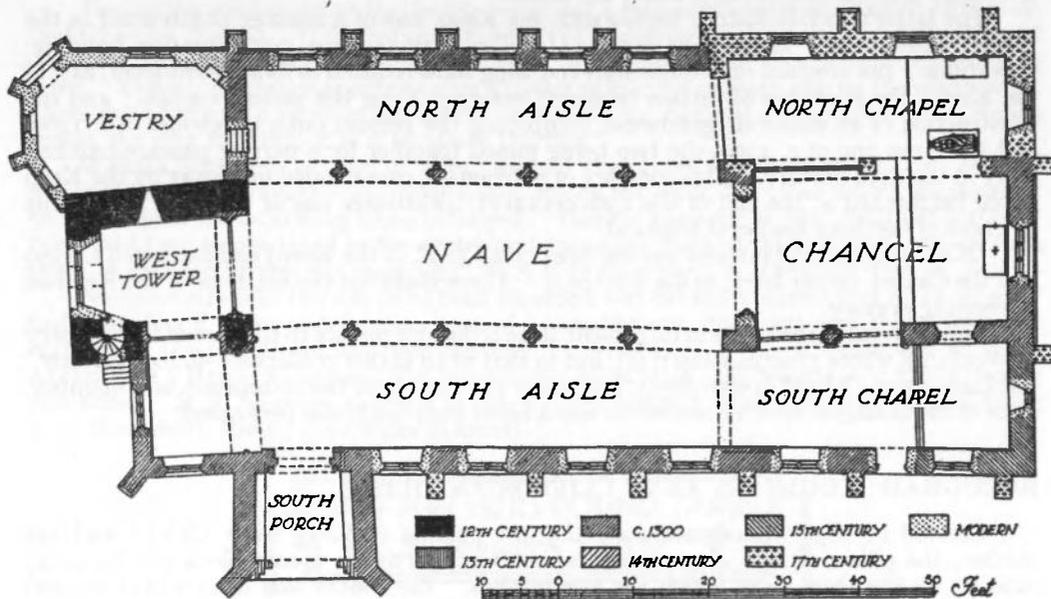


Fig. 6. Plan of Appleby church

(Reproduced from R. C. H. M. Westmorland, by permission of H.M. Stationery Office. Crown Copyright reserved)

## APPLEBY CASTLE. BY R. S. SIMMS

In the 12th century a motte and bailey castle was constructed on this site, of which the earthworks still remain; a stone tower or keep being built on the mound in the second half of that century. This building was captured by the Scots under William the Lion in 1174, and it may have been after this disaster that the tower was heightened and a stone curtain wall was constructed round the bailey.

In the late 13th century the Cliffords obtained possession, and the main part of the medieval building dates from that period.

In 1648 the castle was partly dismantled by the Parliamentarians, but in 1651-3 the keep was restored by Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, and work of that period still remains. The estate passed by marriage from Lady Anne to the Earls of Thanet and from thence to the present owner Lord Hothfield. The existing house was largely rebuilt by the 4th Earl of Thanet in 1686-8, and was further restored in the 19th century.

This house stands on the site of the original medieval hall wing (the plan of which can still be traced), and has a considerable amount of late 17th century and 18th century panelling with a good late 17th century main staircase.

The outbuildings, such as the stables and brewhouse, were built by Lady Anne Clifford.

R. C. H. M. *Westmorland*, 7-12.

## BROUGHAM CASTLE. BY JOHN CHARLTON

Brougham Castle is architecturally the most interesting of the castles held for much of the Middle Ages by the great family of Clifford. (Two others visited were Brough and Appleby). These castles are strung out along the Roman road from York to Carlisle, which

joins the Roman road from Chester at Brougham, where the remains of the Roman fort of *Brocavum* may be seen to the south of the castle.

The latter's visible history begins with the Keep, one of a number constructed in the Border lands at the instance of Henry II. The 13th century saw extensive building-operations: the erection of a three-storeyed wing (now reduced to foundation-level) east of the Keep; the provision of further domestic buildings along the eastern curtain; and the construction of an elaborate gatehouse, comprising the present outer gatehouse of c. 1260, and the inner one of c. 1290, the two being joined together by a narrow passage-building early in the 14th century. This complex of gatehouses, commanded moreover by the Keep (itself heightened at the end of the 13th century), constitutes one of the most formidable defences of northern medieval England.

Other structures of interest are the Great Hall (S.E. of the Keep) reconstructed c. 1350 and the Chapel, rather later, to the west of it. There is also on the top floor of the Keep an interesting oratory.

The survival of the castle in its present state is due not merely to the care of the Ministry of Works (in whose guardianship it is), but to that of an earlier conservator—indeed restorer; the Lady Anne Clifford (1589–1675), last of her line, to whom the restoration and maintenance of the strongholds of her ancestors was a pious duty faithfully performed.

#### BROUGHAM : COUNTESS ANNE CLIFFORD'S PILLAR.

Erected in 1656 to commemorate the last parting of Lady Anne Clifford and her mother, the pillar consists of an octagonal shaft supporting a square block which carries sundials on the three sides which the sun reaches. The fourth side has two carved and painted shields bearing arms of the Clifford family, and the date 1654. The south face has also an inscribed brass tablet relating the circumstances of the erection of the pillar.

R. C. H. M. *Westmorland*, 62.

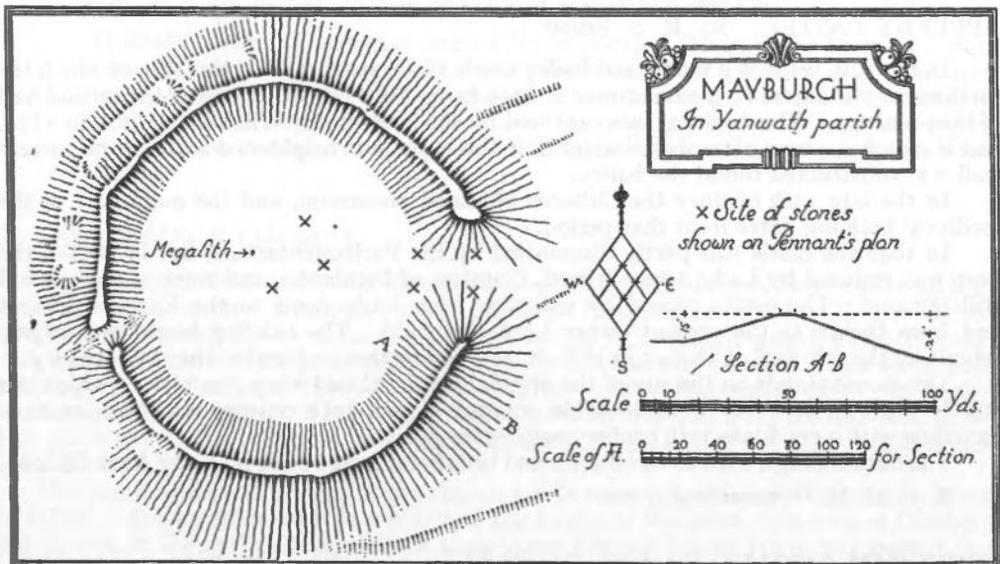


Fig. 7. Mayburgh

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MAYBURGH. BY MISS CLARE FELL

The earthwork known as Mayburgh lies about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile south-west of Eamont Bridge on slightly rising ground. It consists of a rampart of loosely-piled stones, now mostly covered with turf, rising to a maximum height of 15 ft. and encircling an area of approximately  $1\frac{1}{2}$  acres. There is one original entrance on the east side and a modern gap on the south-west. There is no trace of a ditch either inside, or outside the rampart. One large stone stands within the area to a height of 9 ft. above the turf.

William Stukeley, writing in 1725, claimed that there had been two circles of huge stones within the rampart—one immediately inside the bank, the other with a diameter of 50 ft. to which the remaining stone belonged. Thomas Pennant, in his 'Tour of Scotland' 1796, said four stones stood in the centre and four more flanked the entrance, two on each side. A detailed survey was made for C.W.A.S. in 1890 by C. W. Dymond (OS., xi, 191).

No excavations at the site have been recorded, but Stukeley stated that a 'brass celt' had been found there and in 1879 part of a roughed-out stone axe was found near the entrance. The monument has been classified by Professors J. G. D. Clark and R. J. C. Atkinson as a Henge Monument and presumably dates from Late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age times. It is, however, unusual in many of its features, the closest comparison being with Maumbury Rings, Dorchester (Dorset).

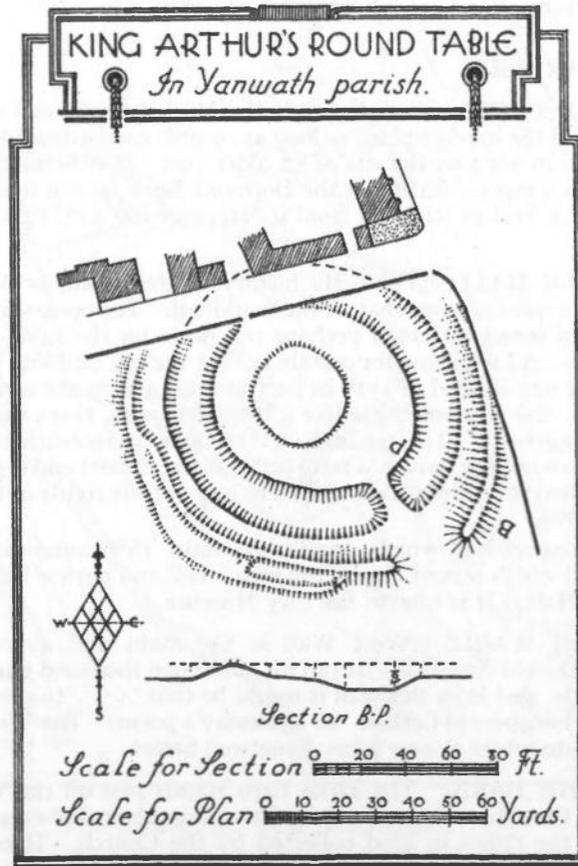


Fig. 8. King Arthur's Round Table

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## KING ARTHUR'S ROUND TABLE. BY MISS CLARE FELL

This earthwork lies at the road junction 400 yards south-south-east of Eamont Bridge and is partly cut into by the road on the north and east side. The work consists of an outer bank and inner ditch encircling an area 150-160 ft. in diameter. There is a wide berm between the inner face of the bank and the ditch. Two causeways originally led into the central area on the north-west and south-east and there were gaps in the bank opposite the causeways.

This monument has suffered much damage by ploughing, road-work and alteration. It is known that Mr. Bushby of the Crown Inn deepened the ditch and threw earth up onto the central area early in the 19th century, and the road to Tirril has cut away the north-east entrance at which two large stones are known to have stood in the 17th century.

Excavations were undertaken by the *C.W.A.S.* in 1937 by Professor R. G. Collingwood and in 1939 by Dr. G. Bersu, but no dateable material was found. Dr. Bersu concluded that the monument was sepulchral, a cremated body covered by some sort of structure having been found in the central platform on the axis of the entrances, though not in the middle of it. He related this tomb to others of similar type dating from the Early Bronze Age. He suggested that a circle of stones may once have stood on the wide berm inside the bank.

R. C. H. M. Westmorland (1936), 252-3.

## THE CITY OF CARLISLE.

**CARLISLE CROSS.** Carlisle Cross, the Market Cross, or Carel Cross, has been the centre of the market place as long as records can be traced. The present cross was erected in 1682 on the site of an older one. It is surmounted by a lion with one paw on a representation of the Dormont Book, above four sundials. Carlisle Great Fair is still proclaimed from its steps at 8.0 a.m. on the last Saturday in August.

**THE TOWN HALL.** The early history of the Town, or Moot Hall, is rather difficult to separate from that of the Guildhall. It appears to have been built in Elizabethan times, although perhaps not quite on the same spot as the present Town Hall. All we know for certain is that the old building was dismantled and the present one erected in 1717 in part at any rate on the same foundations. In those days, and for something like a hundred years, there was only one flight of steps leading to it. The tenants of the shops underneath the Town Hall held their shops on cullery tenure (a term peculiar to Carlisle) and it proved an expensive business when the Corporation wished to buy out the rights of the tenants between 1859 and 1886.

The market bell which, from 1584 until 1886 announced the opening of market and which served also as the watch bell and curfew bell was housed above the Town Hall. It is now in the City Museum.

**THE WEST WALLS.** West Wall is the main and almost only remaining portion of the old city wall. It ran for about one thousand yards from the Citadel to the Castle, and from this wall it would be that ' . . . the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle ' in Macaulay's poem. The West Wall was broken by Irish Gate where it now joins Annetwell Street.

**THE TITHE BARN.** The Tithe Barn stands just off the West Wall near St. Cuthbert's Church. It was built by Prior Gondibour between 1484 and 1507 for storage of the tithes in kind collected by the Church. It consists of one long chamber about 120 ft. long and 24 ft. wide, with walls 3 ft. 7 ins. thick. At the foot of the city wall opposite, down what is still called Sallyport, there used to be a small doorway with steps leading up to the wall close to the barn. This may have

been used by the scouts and sortie parties when the city was besieged, or it may equally well have been for the convenience of getting the produce into the barn without it passing through one of the gates and being subject to taxes.

From the Carlisle City Guide (octocentenary edition), by Kenneth Smith.

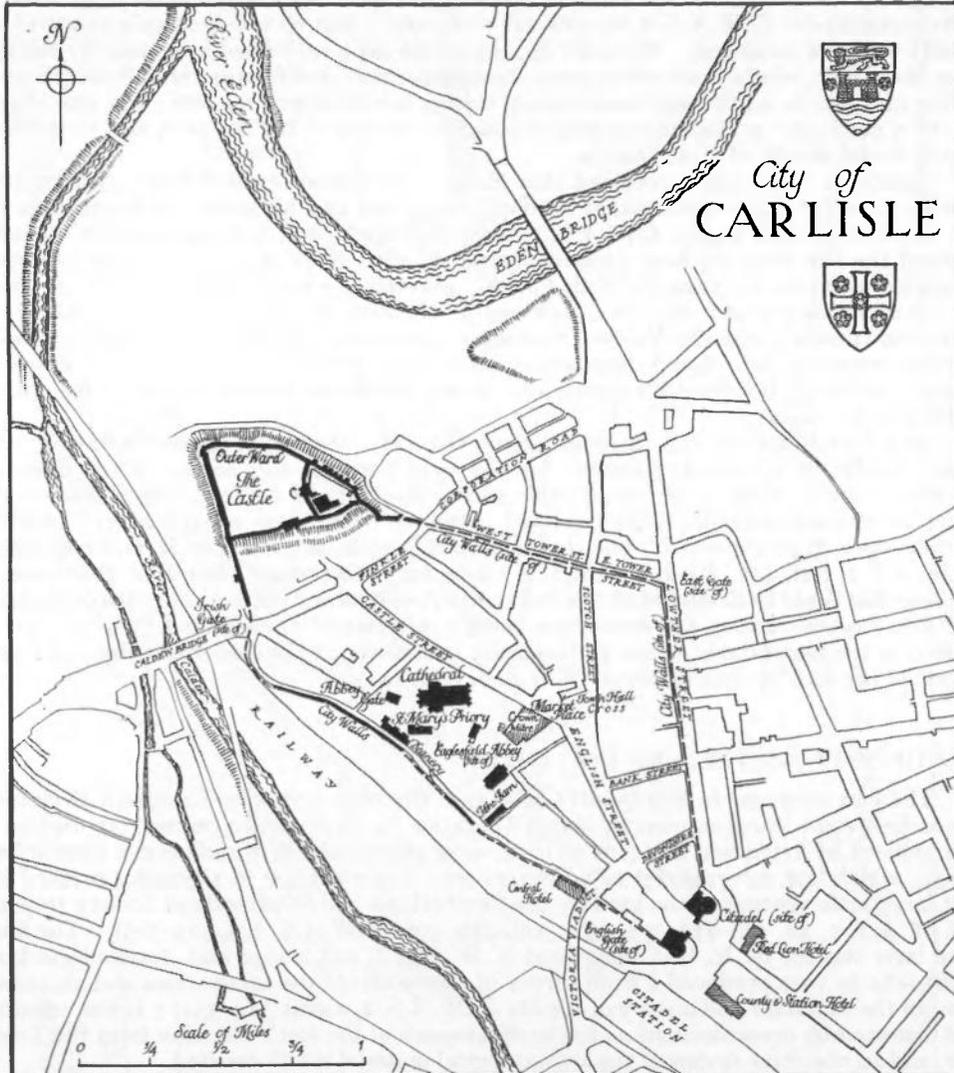


Fig. 9. Plan of Carlisle

FRIDAY, 18TH JULY

## RAVENGLASS ROMAN FORT AND BATH-HOUSE. BY ERIC BIRLEY

The fullest account of the fort itself and of its external bath-house, now known as Walls Castle, is R. G. Collingwood's paper on 'Roman Ravenglass' (*C.W.A.S.* 2, xxviii, 353-366). Erosion on the seaward side, stone-robbing and more recently ploughing and planting, have combined to destroy or obscure such of the fort's platform as was not cut through by the builders of the Furness Railway in 1850; there was a little excavation in 1881 and 1885-86 (*C.W.A.S.* 1, vi, 216-224; ix, 296 f.), but no satisfactory account of the results was ever produced. We must depend in the main on evidence secured by the late Miss Mary Fair, who was for many years the Cumberland and Westmorland Society's most active observer in south-west Cumberland, for our knowledge of the site; she was able to rescue a good deal of Roman material exposed by erosion of the sea-face, and to place on record useful details of stratification.

Camden's 1600 edition reported that Roman inscriptions existed there, and his 1607 edition added a local tradition that a king Eveling had had his palace at Ravenglass (cf. W. G. Collingwood's paper, *C.W.A.S.* 2, xxiv, 256-259); but later antiquaries virtually ignored the site until William Jackson's paper of 1876 (*C.W.A.S.* 1, iii, 17-26) directed attention to it—in the main to Walls Castle. Haverfield's paper of 1915 (*Arch. J.* lxxii, 77-84) established that it was the *Glanoventa* (as the name should probably be spelt) of the Antonine Itinerary and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, garrisoned—presumably from the time of Severus onwards—by *cohors I Morinorum*, an infantry battalion 500 strong; its long axis lies east and west, but its exact dimensions cannot now be recovered because of the erosion of its seaward front.

Miss Fair's observations included, inside the fort, 'signs of a big conflagration, with heavy baulks of construction timber burned right through and blocks of red freestone charred to dirty yellow'. A considerable area to the north of the fort yielded pottery and other occupation-material, including what seems to come from a hypocausted building best interpreted as a *mansio*. The recorded finds include, according to R. G. Collingwood (*C.W.A.S.* 2, xxi, 42) 'the fragment of a 1st-century mortarium', but Miss Fair knew of nothing that could be dated before the 2nd century. Coins and pottery carry the occupation well into the 4th century, the latest item being a gold coin of Theodosius I (379-395) found c. 1800 in the foundations of the 14th-century pele-tower at Muncaster near-by. (cf. new paper on the fort by Eric Birley, *C.W.A.S.* 2, lviii, 14-30).

## HARDKNOTT CASTLE. BY ERIC BIRLEY

The first reference to Hardknott Castle is in the 1607 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, the earliest eye-witness account by Ralph Thoresby; a survey and a not bad description of it, produced by Irton and Serjeant in 1792, were reproduced in Hutchinson's *Cumberland* (1794), which first recognised it as a Roman fort; its excavation in 1890-1894 marked the first large-scale venture of the kind by the Cumberland and Westmorland Society (reports in *C.W.A.S.* 1, xii, 228-233, 375-438; xiii, 449-452; *C.W.A.S.* 2, i, 303-305). The finds were later studied by R. G. Collingwood (*C.W.A.S.* 2, xxi, 29-42 and *Archaeologia* lxxi, 1-16), who in 1927 produced a fresh survey of the results of the excavations and an assessment of the character and history of the site (*C.W.A.S.* 2, xxviii, 314-352): it was coloured and distorted by prepossessions as to the significance of the fort's omission from the Tenth Iter, and an objective review of the archaeological material is still awaited.

The fort is of the standard Trajanic type, almost square and 3 acres in size, with stone-fronted rampart and principal buildings of stone; the barracks remain virtually unexamined, but Miss Fair noted in 1948 that in the *praetentura* at least one barrack-building had been destroyed by fire and its gable-end had fallen outwards, where it still lay (*C.W.A.S.* 2, xlvi, 219-220). An external bath-house, of simple type and with a detached *laconicum*, excavated in 1892, was studied in detail by Miss Fair (*J.R.S.* xvii, 220-224); the only



other external feature of interest is the fine parade-ground, a little way uphill from the fort, with a large *tribunal* on its north side and near it a number of pits, best explained as for taking the altars no longer needed when new ones were dedicated—either on the reigning emperor's birthday or on 3rd January, when the garrison celebrated the occasion in due form.

There is no reason to suppose pre-Trajanic occupation; the fort was presumably reduced to a care-and-maintenance footing under Hadrian or at latest *c.* 139, but there is sufficient pottery evidence to demonstrate that it was reoccupied (like so many of the Pennine forts) in the early years of Marcus Aurelius. Only further excavations can show whether the two or three coins of the 3rd and 4th centuries represent more than the casual losses of passers-by along the road to Ravenglass (for the course and character of which, cf. Professor Richmond's careful description, based on field-work in 1946, *C.W.A.S.*2, xlix, 15-31). The site is now in the custody of the Ministry of Works, which is consolidating the exposed masonry, and Mr. George Jobey has been doing some small-scale excavation on its behalf.

#### GOSFORTH : PRE-CONQUEST SCULPTURE. BY C. A. RALEGH RADFORD

At Gosforth the pre-Conquest sculpture includes a tall slender cross with a wheel head, a separate wheel head and two hog-backs. The series runs from the late 10th to the mid-11th century, when West Cumberland was under strong Norse influence. The sculptures represent Anglian work, adapted to the taste of the Norse landholders.

The sculpture on the complete cross includes, near the base of the shaft, a number of figure subjects. These have been interpreted as scenes from Scandinavian mythology. The literary source which most closely records the story represented on the cross is the *Voluspá*. The oldest surviving text of this story was written down nearly a hundred years after the erection of the cross. Similar mythological scenes are found on crosses in the Isle of Man.

W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman Age*, 142, 155-6 and 172-3.

*C.W.A.S.*, ns. xvii, 99-III.

#### ROSE CASTLE. BY C. G. BULMAN

Rose Castle, the ancient residence of the Bishops of Carlisle, is situated a few miles to the west of Carlisle, on the banks of the river Caldew.

The first mention of Rose is in 1230 when Walter Mauclerk, Bishop of Carlisle, obtained from Henry III the Barony of Dalston, which includes the manor of Rose, or 'La Rose' as it was then called. The origin of the name is obscure but has been in use from the very beginning; the most likely reason is that the first bishop may have adorned some chamber in it with carved or painted roses, the symbol of the Virgin Mary. The first evidence that a bishop was in residence is a licence issued for a private individual to build a chapel, the licence being dated at Rose, 23rd February 1255.

The oldest part of the present structure is probably the tower known as the Strickland tower which stands at the north-east corner of the castle. This was built by Bishop Halton as a pele tower at the end of the 13th century and was later altered and restored by Bishop Strickland *c.* 1400. Extensions and additions were made by succeeding bishops until the castle attained the form of a parallelogram surrounded by a thick curtain wall, with projecting towers at the angles and some intermediate towers. The domestic buildings were ranged in the usual way inside the curtain wall, with a large open courtyard in the centre.

Sufficient buildings were already on the site in 1300 to house Edward I, who took up his residence there for a few days after the siege of Caerlaverock Castle on the other side of the Solway. From Rose Edward summoned his parliament to meet him at Lincoln, the writs being dated *Apud La Rose*. In 1322 the castle was burnt by Robert Bruce and laid in ruins.

In 1336, the warlike prelate John de Kirkby obtained a licence to crenellate his mansion at Rose. This warrior prelate was happily employed in raiding across the Border, and in 1337 he led a contingent to raid into Teviotdale and Nithsdale. A little later the Scots paid a special visit to Rose 'because they held my lord Bishop of Carlisle in the utmost hatred through his having marched against them in war'. They again destroyed the castle. Another licence to crenellate was obtained by Bishop Welton in 1355, and after this history records little of Rose until the Civil War in the 17th century.

A new chapel was built in the castle by Bishop Bell, in 1487-1489 to replace an older edifice. A tower still standing bears the initials of this Bishop. One of the latest additions was made by Bishop Kytte (1521-37) who built the tower which bears his arms and monogram. Kytte was a friend of Cardinal Wolsey, to whom he owed his bishopric. He was called 'the flattering bishope of Carel' by the Earl of Northumberland because of the obsequious letters he sent to the Cardinal, but he also had the virtue of loyalty to his fallen patron in adversity, for he sent the Cardinal necessities of household furniture after his disgrace.

In 1648 the castle was garrisoned by a party of Royalists and was captured by storm and burnt by a detachment of General Leslie's troops. A contemporary writer says that 'Rose Castle, the bishop's best seat, hath lately the rose therein withered and the prickles in the ruins thereof onely remain'. The castle was then sold for the sum of £1,000 to a Colonel Heveningham who is said to have fitted up part of it for his own residence. This Colonel Heveningham was a member of the high court of justice which had tried and condemned Charles I. He was sentenced to death at the Restoration but was reprieved and imprisoned until his death in 1678.

Richard Sterne was nominated to the restored See and found the buildings in great ruin. A few years later he was translated to York and although he had made some restorations, the work was done so badly that his successor had to do much of it over again. Bishop Rainbow brought a suit at law against Archbishop Sterne and was awarded £400. He and the next bishop, Thomas Smith, set about restoring the castle, but only part of the original buildings were retained. Two sides of the castle were removed entirely, including unfortunately the medieval great hall, which is stated to have been one of the finest in the north.

Later bishops restored and repaired portions of the castle, but it is to Bishop Hugh Percy, consecrated in 1827, that we owe most of its present appearance. He called in as his architect Thomas Rickman, one of the pioneers of the Gothic Revival. Sir Joseph Paxton, of Crystal Palace fame, was called in to lay out the gardens and terraces. One of the most attractive features which Bishop Percy has left to posterity is the famous Chinese paper in the great drawing room; the colours are as bright today as when they were painted.

Within the last few years the castle has had another restoration after the building had been vacant for nearly ten years. A great kitchen wing, built by Bishop Percy, has been removed with all its accompanying out-buildings, and the venerable building refitted and made more convenient. It is once again structurally sound and again the Bishops of Carlisle occupy their ancient home.

#### HUTTON-IN-THE-FOREST. By MARY BALDWIN

Like so many houses in this area, Hutton Hall had its origin in a 14th century pele tower, which stands at the north end of the present facade.

The visitor approaching Hutton by the main entrance on the east is confronted by four distinct architectural designs of different dates, side by side, and each a fine example of its period<sup>1</sup>. The main range has for centre a classical design of the second half of the 17th century, built adjacent to the pele tower. South of this frontispiece rises a more massive tower, the work of a first-class specialist in 19th century gothic. And running eastwards from the pele tower is a delightful feature purely Jacobean in style, though actually erected

<sup>1</sup> For photographs of the house see *Country Life*, Jan. 5th, 1907.

just before the Civil War ; a range with arcades, formerly open, on the ground floor and a long gallery above.

The estate was given to the Huttons in the reign of Edward I. They were probably Crown Foresters of the forest of Inglewood ; their arms bore a hunting horn, and their privilege was to hold the king's stirrup when he mounted at Carlisle Castle. The pele tower survives from their tenure, and the house must have been more strongly fortified than now appears, for in 1671 Daniel Fleming of Rydal (brother-in-law to Sir George Fletcher) recalls not only a high tower, but a moat and drawbridge, strongly defensible against the Scots. The great hall south of the pele tower probably also dates from the Huttons' time, and that there was a solar range at the south end of this hall may be deduced from the ancient cellars that underlie the 19th century tower.

In 1606 the estate was bought by Richard Fletcher, a wealthy merchant from Cocker-mouth. It was in this century that the house attained its present form, by the doubling of the hall block and the addition of a range running west from the south end. The building history however is complicated, and appears to have involved three stages within the century.

The present entrance with its added porch is pierced through the outer wall of the pele tower, an older entrance, now within the building, can be seen in the wall between pele tower and Hall. This was blocked in the late 17th century when the richly decorated stair leading from Hall to Long Gallery was inserted ; the bolt-holes of the outer door, and a rebate for an inner door flush with the interior wall of the pele tower remain. Within the thickness of the wall between the doors is the blocked entrance to a circular stair now cut away at ground level to allow communication between Hall and first floor, but emerging in the North Tower Room in the third storey.

The thick west wall of the Hall is of medieval date, and rises as high as the tie-beams of the later main roof, within which can be seen the top of the projecting chimney-stack, with a fair face of ashlar on its west side. This must have originally been exposed. On the ground floor however there is evidence that an addition was made earlier than the thickening of the rest of the Hall range. The outer west wall of the block now containing the gun room and heating chamber is thicker and of entirely different character to the flanking outer walls, and though without datable features the character of its heavy ashlar leads one to suspect that it dates from the tenure of the Huttons. It may only have been a single storey addition, as the 17th century walling that flanks it is also built across it at first floor level. The south range, too, shows signs of two building dates, for there is a straight joint with quoins in its south wall between the Breakfast Room and Sitting Room, and this lines up with the outer wall of the main block further north. The rooms west of this straight joint are also at a lower level. Close dating of these alterations is not possible without further documentary evidence, but Richard Fletcher, the wealthy newcomer, seems a likely builder. It was his son Sir Henry, the first Baronet, who according to his son-in-law Fleming built the 'spacious gallery' that must therefore date between 1641 and 1645 when Henry was killed in a skirmish at Rowton Heath, near Chester. This gallery, with its great bay window and Tuscan columned arcade below, is curious in showing that architectural fashion in the north was subject to a time lag of some thirty years<sup>1</sup>.

The handsome design that now forms the east wall of the Hall (Pl. XXVI) is the work of Henry's son and successor George, who died in 1700. The panels of the contemporary staircase leading from the Hall, already mentioned above, are reminiscent of those of Eltham Lodge, Kent, which was nearing completion in the 1660s. Both these and the facade might be said to be a true reflection of the builder's character according to Sandford : 'Adjoining heerunto the Territories of that princklike pallace of Sir Geog ffletcher P'lament man for this contry : And is called hutton ith forrest A very braue monsir : great houskep<sup>r</sup> hunter, and horsecowser, never w<sup>th</sup>out the best runing hors or Two the best he can gett: his grandfather Si<sup>r</sup> Rich ffletcher Eq<sup>m</sup> arrt<sup>t</sup>': purchased this Hutton hall : of Sq Lanclott Hutton . . .'<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> As this range is closely dated it is worth noting that it bears a fine series of mason's marks.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Sandford, *A Cursory Relation of all the Antiquities and Families in Cumbreland*, M.S. c. 1675, printed in *C.W.A.S., Tract Series, No. 4*.

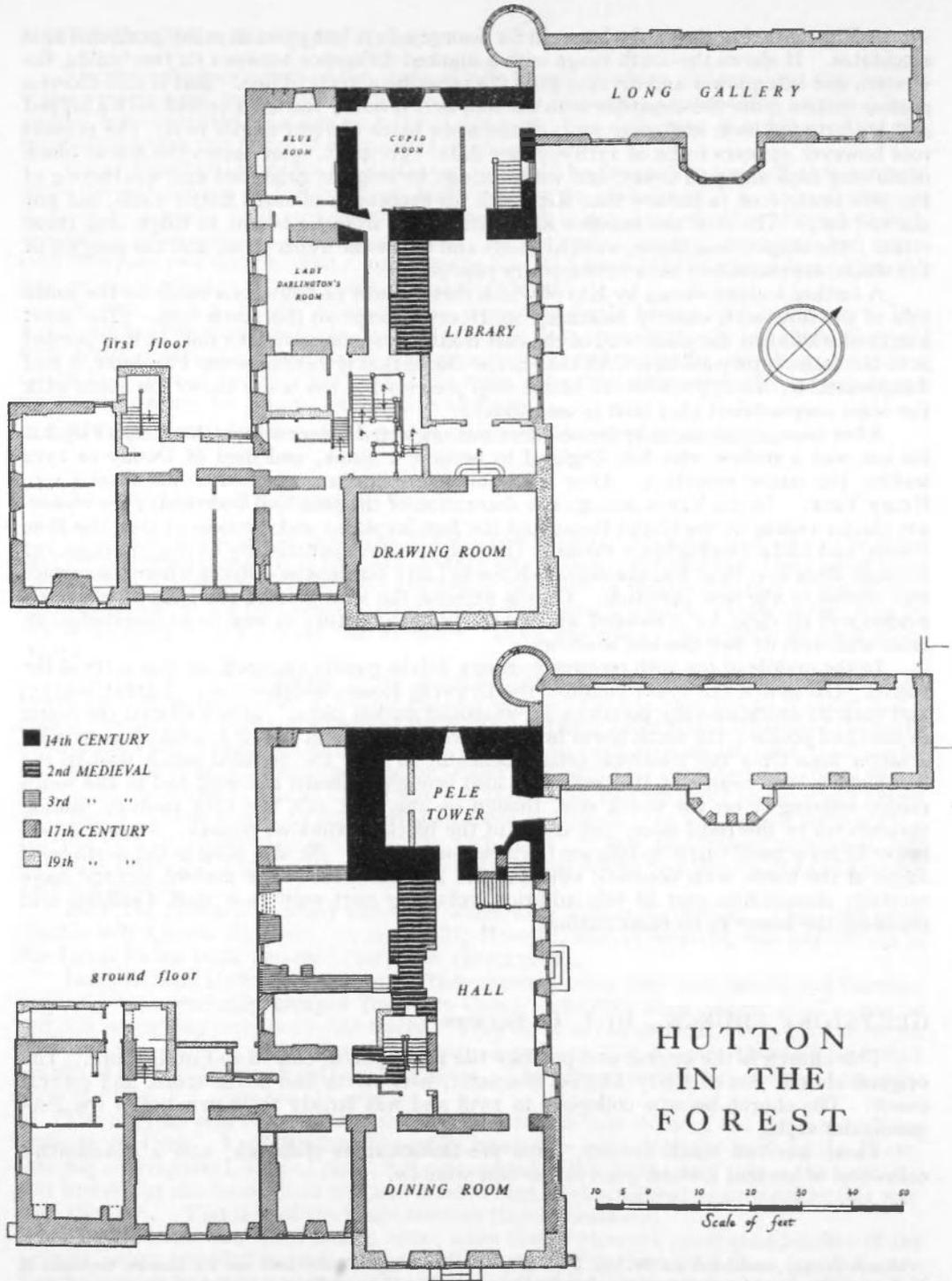


Fig. II. Plan of Hutton-in-the-Forest

A Kip engraving shows the house in Sir George's day, but poses as many problems as it elucidates. It shows the south range with a marked difference between its two builds, the western end being lower and divided from the other by a vertical line. But it also shows a roofing system quite incompatible with the roof as it is now; the hall covered with a hipped and balustraded roof, and other roofs of the main block at right-angles to it. The present roof however appears to be of 17th century date. Its 40 ft. span covers the whole block containing Hall and pele tower, and within it can be seen the gable-end and weathering of the pele tower roof (a feature that Kip, with his succession of small flatter roofs, has not allowed for). The roof has massive king-posts rising from tie-beams to ridge, and three struts; the shaped king-posts, waisted above and below the upper strut, and the pegging of the whole, are consistent with 17th century practise.

A further feature shown by Kip of which there is now no trace, is a range on the south side of the forecourt, exactly matching Sir Henry's range on the north side. (The short length of walling at the south end of the east front is unconnected with this, as it is bonded in to the 19th century ashlar). All that can be said is that if this range was ever built, it had disappeared by the 1730s when an estate map preserved in the house shows the house with the same assymetrical plan that is seen today.

After George's death in 1700 the house was neglected for some time, for Henry Fletcher his son was a recluse who left England to become a monk, and died at Douay in 1712 leaving the estate unsettled. After a lawsuit the inheritance passed to his sister's son, Henry Vane. To the Vanes belongs the decoration of the principal bedrooms; the elaborate plaster ceiling of the Cupid Room and the fine fireplaces and cornices of this, the Blue Room, and Lady Darlington's Room. The two last both suffered by having passages cut through them in c. 1800, but the damage is less in Lady Darlington's Room where the cornice was moved to the new partition. On the exterior the west wall of the Blue Room bears evidence of its date, for a blocked window of the 18th century is seen to be inserted in an older wall with its own blocked windows.

In the middle of the 19th century Anthony Salvin greatly changed the character of the house. His new south tower contains the Drawing Room, another room of great beauty, and with its contemporary portraits, an unspoiled period piece. Salvin altered the house in plan and profile; the south tower breaks forward on both faces, the ground plan covering a larger area than the medieval cellars beneath, so that the doubled south wall in the basement is now nearly 15 ft. thick. He also brought forward the west end of the south range, refacing it on the south side, though on the west side the 17th century walling survives up to the third floor, and traces of the blocked windows remain. Over the pele tower he set a small turret to balance the new south tower. He also filled in the north-west angle of the house with domestic offices round a small court. The present owners<sup>1</sup> have tactfully demolished part of this addition, retaining part only as a staff dwelling, and restoring the house to its older outline.

#### GREYSTOKE CHURCH. BY C. G. BULMAN

This church is the largest and possibly the finest parish church in Cumberland. The original church was of Early English character, with north and south aisles, and central tower. The church became collegiate in 1358 and was largely reconstructed in the Perpendicular style.

There are two small brasses, some pre-Reformation stallwork, and a noteworthy collection of ancient stained glass in the east window.

<sup>1</sup> I am deeply indebted to W. M. F. Vane, M.P., and Mrs. Vane for their generous hospitality and co-operation. The plan (fig. 11) is based on

drawings kindly lent me by Messrs. Graham & Roy, the architects in charge of the restoration.

## DACRE CASTLE. BY MAJOR HASEL

Dacre Castle forms part of the chain of pele towers of which Hutton John (see below) is the westernmost, and which extends to Penrith in the east. It stands on a spur of high ground but otherwise possesses no natural defences; this deficiency is made good by the moat with which the tower is surrounded on three sides.

On architectural evidence the castle can probably be assigned to the mid-14th century (note the water-drain on the first floor, and the upper floor windows). In 1485 a reference is made to a newly built curtain tower, although it is not clear whether this refers to a rebuilding, or an addition of an angle tower. By the end of the 17th century it had fallen into disrepair, and was restored c. 1700 by the Earl of Sussex, whose arms appear over the new entrance which was then made at first floor level.

In plan, it is a simple rectangle with projecting angle towers and buttresses. The basement has two vaulted rooms, but the principal floor above has only one room, the hall, from which access can be had to the bedrooms, pantry, and garderobe, which are contained in the angle towers and the thickness of the walls. A newel staircase in the western turret gives access from the original entrance to all floors.

J. F. Curwen : Castles and Towers of Cumberland and Westmorland.

## CORBY CASTLE. BY MAJOR H. LEVIN

Corby Castle lies on the east bank of the River Eden 90 ft. above the river. The older part of the present house is of the 14th century but it seems probable that there must have been buildings here much earlier, because among the deeds of Wetheral Priory (immediately opposite) is one of the 12th century whereby the Prior sent a priest to Corby on Sundays to say Mass whenever the owner was at home. If he was away, his household must go to Wetheral.

The 14th century building which is incorporated in the house started life as a pele tower, erected by the family of Salkeld in order to guard the ford over the river about half a mile to the north. This family owned the manors of Great and Little Corby until the early days of the 17th century when they sold the property to Lord William Howard, third son of the Duke of Norfolk, who was executed by Queen Elizabeth I for supposed complicity in the plots of Mary Queen of Scots. The Duke had three sons, and his great friend, Lord Dacre of Gilsland (whose widow he married), had three daughters. It was agreed between the parents that the children should all marry each other; in fact this was accomplished, but one little Dacre girl died almost at once leaving her two sisters co-heiresses of Lord Dacre's vast possessions.

Both the Howard brothers and their wives were Roman Catholics. They had great trouble with Queen Elizabeth; in fact Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, was imprisoned in the Tower for his faith, and died there after eleven years.

Lord William Howard and his wife (they married when they were fifteen and fourteen respectively) eventually escaped from the Queen's clutches after payment of a fine of £10,000, when they were both over thirty. They came to Cumberland and settled down on their estates. They bought Corby for their second son, Sir Francis Howard, and that branch of the family have lived here ever since. The present owner, Mrs. Levin, is the only child of Philip J. C. Howard of Corby.

The original pele tower is the section of the east facade north of the portico, and has walls 10 ft. thick. Lord William Howard's house was built onto the back of the tower, forming an irregular L-shaped plan; it is represented today by the west side of the building. The house was one room thick and two storeys high, and projected some considerable way onto the lawn. This side of the house remains largely unaltered.

The old house remained until c. 1809, when Henry Howard, great-grand-father of the present owner, decided to modernise it. With the aid of Peter Nicholson, a well-known North Country architect and the author of several books, he pulled down about 40 ft. of the house and erected a new south front, and an east front joining up with the tower. The

whole building was cased in red sandstone taken from a quarry in the grounds, the operation taking about eight years.

At the same time the chapel was moved from a site inconveniently near the front door to a new position within the house. The chapel is public and maintains the long Catholic tradition of the property.

The grounds were laid out by Thomas Howard at the beginning of the 18th century ; he was a grandson of Lord William Howard, and lived here until 1730. The park extends along the River Eden for about a mile and has fine trees and garden features. The cascade, which lies just below the lawns and takes the water from the fields down a series of steps to the river, is being restored with the aid of a grant from the Historic Buildings Council. It is hoped that at some future date it will be possible to make the basin at the foot of the cascade watertight. The statue of Lord Nelson was placed in the basin shortly after the Battle of Trafalgar.

The great stone figure of Polyphemus on the path leading from the cascade to the river is known locally as ' Belted Will ', the nickname given to Lord William Howard.

#### SATURDAY, 19TH JULY

#### HUTTON JOHN. BY NIGEL HUDLESTON

This is a good example of a 14th century pele tower, and is one of the few that is still the residence of the descendants of the original builders.

Erected about 1350 probably to replace the old homestead destroyed by David Bruce in 1345 when the whole of the district was devastated, it comprises a stone built tower 38 ft. by 30 ft. and 41 ft. high, surrounded by a high walled courtyard some 90 ft. square. It is at the western end of a chain of similar towers between here and Penrith.

The inner and outer walls of the tower are of rough dressed ashlar, while the core consists of boulders and cobbles bedded in and grouted up with lime mortar. The walls are 6 ft. thick, except at the north-west corner which widens out to 9 ft. to accommodate the entrance door and spiral stairs. On the east wall is a small projecting buttress tower, apparently for fireplaces for each floor ; it is carried up to the top of the main tower, where it is adapted for use as a look-out and fire beacon turret. From it warning could be sent to a watchman at Dacre Castle, the only other tower in sight.

In the 15th century Thomas Hutton built a hall inside the east curtain wall, of which nothing now remains except two carved heraldic door and window lintels. In the 16th century Cuthbert Hutton erected a wing inside the south curtain wall, which is still much as it was built. In 1660 Andrew Hudleston (great-nephew of the last of the Huttons) built the present east wing on Thomas Hutton's hall, and removed the north curtain wall.

In the 18th century the whole house was ' modernised ', somewhat spoiling the outward appearance, but greatly improving comfort and convenience. In the 19th the present entrance hall was built to connect the east and south wings, and another floor was added to Cuthbert Hutton's wing.

The present owner, Nigel Hudleston, has divided the place up into three residences without appreciably spoiling the outward appearance.

The house contains a series of family portraits ranging from the 16th to the 20th century. Among various curios and documents are (a) a holy water stoup of unknown date, found built into the tower wall during alterations in 1866 ; (b) a grant dated 20 August, 1461, of a pension to Thomas Hutton, bearing the signature of Warwick the Kingmaker ; (c) a similar grant dated 22 December, 1473, by Richard Duke of Gloucester ; (d) a Muster Roll dated 14 February, 1597, of the tenants of the Manor, giving their names and the accoutrements ; (e) an agreement dated 23 November, 1642, between the gentry of Cumberland to raise a Troop to fight Oliver Cromwell, bearing the signatures of sixteen of the local Royalists.

# Hutton John

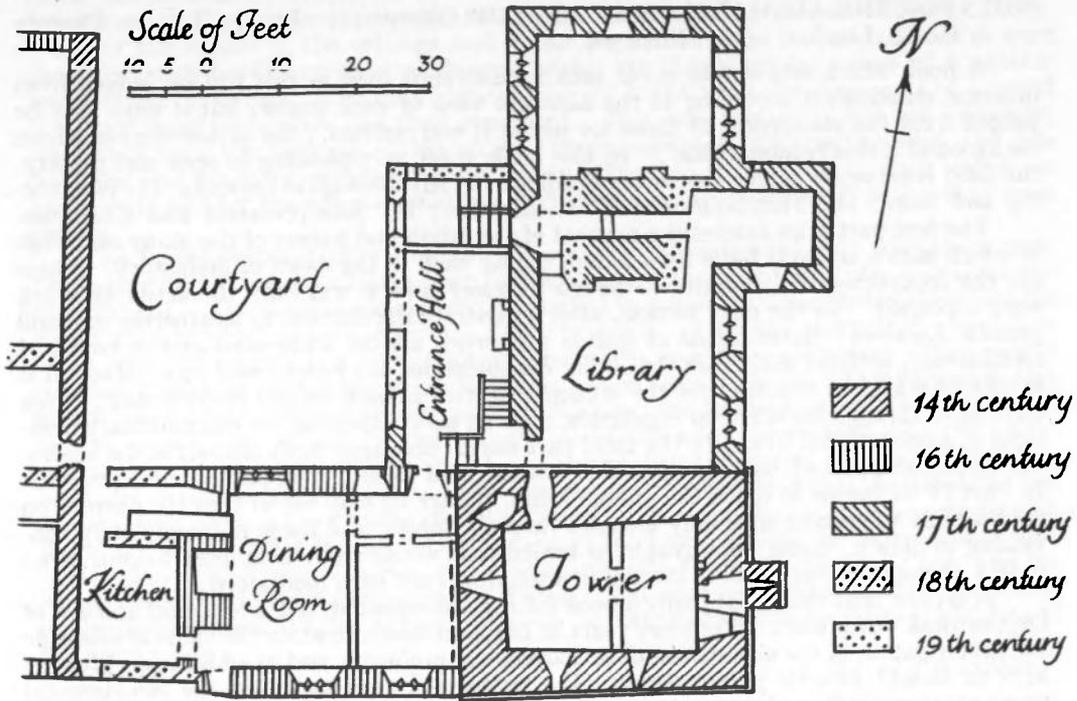


Fig. 12. Plan of Hutton John