

ART. I.—*The present state of Antiquarian Research in Westmorland and Cumberland.* By the Rev. James Simpson, Vicar of Kirkby-Stephen.

Read at the Inauguration Meeting of the Society, at Penrith, Sept. 11th, 1866.

A BOUNDING as they do in objects of antiquarian interest, and fruitful as they are in subjects well fitted to incite the curiosity and occupy the attention of archæologists, these counties have not until now had any society such as that which we have established to-day; and though not a little has been done in the way of exploring the remains and explaining the many curious relics of antiquity that have been from time to time discovered, and are still existing in the district; much yet remains to do. The members of this society may work diligently, labour patiently, and meet often, before they need to lack subjects to engage their interest and secure their attention.

In his description of Cumberland, Speed says:—"Many memorable antiquities remain, and have been found in the county, for it being the confines of the Roman possessions, was constantly secured by their garrisons; and in many places their ruins remain with altars and inscriptions of their capitaines and colonies whereof many have been found." And not only has its position on the confines of the Roman kingdom in Britain made it fruitful in altars, and inscribed stones and sculptured monuments, the work of that ancient people, and witnesses of their rule and their presence, but at a later period of our history "standing as it did in the fronts of assaults, so was it strengthened with twenty-five castles, and preserved by the prayers (as was then thought) of the votaries in religious houses at Carlisle, Lanercost, Wetherall, Holme, Dacre, and St. Bees." Westmorland cannot claim to have so many Roman remains, feudal castles, or religious foundations, for the want of the last of which Fuller quaintly accounts. "I behold," says he, "the barrenness of this county as the cause why
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there are so few friaries and convents therein, Master Speed, (so curious in his catalogue in this kind,) mentioning but one religious house therein. Such lazy folk did hate labour as a house of correction, and knew there was nothing to be had here but what art with industry wrested from nature. The reader perchance will smile at my curiosity in observing that this small county having but four market towns, three of them are :—Kirkby Stephen, Kirkby Lonsdale, and Kirkby Kendal, so that so much of Kirk or Church argueth not a little devotion of the ancestors in these parts, judiciously expressing itself, not in building convents for the use of monks, but churches for the worship of God.”* The religious foundation here alluded to was the Abbey at Shap, which, if not the only one, was the only one of any importance in the County ; and though it may be somewhat curious that in each of the vales of Westmorland, watered by its principal rivers the Eden, the Lune, and the Kent, there should be a town which must at some period anterior to the Norman Conquest have received its name from the fact that there was a church there, it is well known that places owing their names to a similar cause abound in Cumberland and elsewhere. The prefix Kirk is not so unusual as to lead to the inference that the people in Westmorland were in olden times more devout, though less superstitious than in Cumberland, or in other counties.

REMAINS OF THE CELTIC PERIOD.

But it may perhaps be more convenient, if, in reviewing the present position of antiquarian research in the two counties, we deal with the subject in the order of time. And first, as regards those Celtic-remains, or rather, I should say, those remains usually assigned to the Celtic period, of which the counties contain not a few. It may be that there are slighter traces of this people, and their occupation of the district, than of those who followed them, drove them from their homes or destroyed them ; and the conclusions arrived at by one of our members will in a great measure command our assent. The author of *The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland* says, “ We find no vestiges of a Celtic origin in the characteristics, physical and moral, of the present inhabitants of the district, nor does their dialect present any but the faintest traces of the language of the Ancient Britons. And though a more considerable number of Celtic names of places exists than in most other parts of England, yet taking the district

* Fuller's Worthies, Nicol's ed., vol. II., p. 426.

of the mountains, where ancient names usually linger much longer than elsewhere, the number of such names is, in point of fact, less than in some other mountain districts of England !” Other writers, who have devoted great attention to the subject, and brought to its consideration no small amount of learning, and ability, and careful research, have held that the Celtic tongue has exercised a somewhat larger influence upon the nomenclature of the district and the dialect of the people, and that the Celtic type of skull is very prevalent in parts of the two counties. The author of *Cumberland and Westmorland, Ancient and Modern*, has traced many names and words to Celtic sources, and though it is probable that some of his derivations may admit of another explanation, or another root, still Mr. Sullivan’s works and his opinions will command both attention and respect.

Whether those remarkable circles of upright stones, several of which are still existing in these counties, belong to a period previous to the landing of Cæsar, or were erected at a much later date is still a puzzle for antiquaries. The common name of Druid circles implies the popular belief as to their origin and use, and various strange opinions have been propounded concerning them, but though we may have made some slight progress in proving what they are not, and do not theorize quite so wildly as did those who have gone before us, we have done little towards solving the mystery that surrounds them. The builders and their object are alike unknown, and the mode in which they moved stones of such enormous weight, as well as the means and appliances by which they raised them to an upright position, can be but doubtfully guessed at. That some of them have been places of sepulture is beyond a doubt. Those best, most useful, and safest counsellors of the antiquary—the pick and the spade—have revealed the fact that bodies, chiefly burnt, have been deposited within them ; but whether the circle of stones existed before, or was erected after the burial, is a question yet to be solved. In some cases, as at Long Meg, there are no traces of a mound remaining ; in others, as at Gunnerkeld and at Maughanby the barrow not only filled the enclosure but partially covered the stones. The curious circular markings recently discovered upon Long Meg, at Maughanby, at Shap, and at other places, have added new interest to these ancient monuments, and may enable us eventually to learn their history. At present, however, we can only say of them as Camden said of the font at Bridekirk, “ what they mean or to what nation they belong, let the learned

learned determine.”* That the mystery will be cleared up, I fully believe, though it may happen that those who first essay an explanation of these strange characters or curious symbols, or seek to assign to them a date or a meaning will, like Bishop Nicholson in his attempt to explain the inscription at Bewcastle, err from the truth. And in solving this and other difficult problems connected with the early history of the district, we may reasonably hope that the graves of its ancient people will yield us some information. We know how much is being done, and has been done in this direction in other localities, and as there must still be many ancient burials in these counties as yet undisturbed, it is to be hoped that the members of this society will, for the future, use their influence to prevent any barrow being opened and its contents tampered with, except under competent and careful supervision. It is not an easy thing to learn from an opened tumulus all that it is calculated to teach. There are only few who can spell out the story that it tells, and tells clearly and unmistakeably to one who can read the characters and join together the syllables as they are one by one revealed. It must be remembered that many of these characters and syllables are seen but once, and if not read and understood at the time, they pass away and can never be recalled, and another link is lost, another gleam of light from the far distant past is ignorantly and ruthlessly quenched to shine no more for ever.

It is not without deep regret that one hears of barrows opened by unskilful hands, their contents disturbed and dispersed, and no satisfactory or sufficient description left on record either of the barrow itself, the mode of burial, the type of the skull, or, if burnt, the character of the urn in which the ashes were contained, or the ornaments, or the weapons that had been deposited with their owner in the grave. Not that we are without descriptions of barrows that have been opened in these counties both in the last and the present century, and of what they were found to contain; nor are these without their value or their use, and if any member of this society would take the trouble to collect such descriptions out of the various publications in which they have appeared, he would confer no small benefit upon his fellow members, materially aid those engaged in that particular branch of research, and earn a deep debt of gratitude from everybody in these counties interested in antiquarian pursuits. In the 10th Vol. of the *Archæologia*, p. 112,

* Camden's *Britannia*—Gough's Translation, vol. III., p. 422.

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there is the description of a barrow opened in the neighbourhood of Aspatria, the enumeration of whose contents makes one long to have been there. Having removed a mound of earth six feet above the natural surface of the ground, they found, three feet below, a vault or *kistvaen* formed with two large cobble stones on each side and one at each end. In it was the skeleton of a man which measured seven feet from the head to the ankle bones; the feet were decayed and rotted off. On the left side near the shoulder was a broad sword near five feet in length, the guard was elegantly ornamented with inlaid silver flowers. On the right side lay a dirk or dagger, one foot six inches and a quarter in length; the handle appeared to have been studded with silver. Near the dagger was found part of a gold fibula, or buckle, and an ornament for the end of a belt, a piece of which adhered to it when first taken up (this was proved by Mr. Rigg to be gold), several pieces of a shield were picked up; there were also part of a battle axe, length six inches, width four inches; a bit shaped like a modern snaffle, length of the side, four inches and a half, and part of a spear, length four inches. The two large cobble stones which inclosed the west side of the *kistvaen*, the one two feet eight inches in length, the other three feet in length, and one foot eight inches high, had upon them various emblematical figures in rude sculpture, though some of the circles are exactly formed, and the rims and crosses within them are cut in relief. On one of the stones are marks which resemble an M and a D, but whether they were intended for those letters is very doubtful. The stones as well as the other articles found in the barrow are figured in the *Archæologia* as well as in Hutchinson's *Cumberland*; and I allude to the opening of this barrow, not merely to inquire where are now its contents or to prove how many are the opportunities of learning we have lost, but also because of the curiously marked stones which formed one side of the *kistvaen* in which the body was found. Were the markings made on these stones at the time of the interment, for had they, when taken for one side of the *kistvaen*, formed a part of a circle, within which or upon the side of which the *kistvaen* had been constructed and the barrow raised. These are questions which careful observation and examination at the time the barrow was opened might have enabled us to answer, and if the weapons found were such as are described, they are sufficient to mark the date of the burial, and by their aid we might have made some slight progress towards discovering the date of the circular markings. It is scarcely worth

worth while alluding to the opinion in Hutchinson that "these markings were the work of very ignorant sorcerers and wicked wretches, who placed them in ancient sepulchres under the impression that they would thereby secure the services of the evil spirits that were supposed especially to rejoice in such abiding places, supporting his supposition by some brass plates with numerals and magic devices found in the tumulus near Gilling, in Richmondshire."* So far as may be judged from the engravings, these inscribed stones seem to have been not unlike one now existing near Tebay, called the Brandreth Stone, and the marks upon them appear to have been somewhat similar to some of those found upon stones in Northumberland, upon Long Meg and Maughanby in this county, and elsewhere, an account of which we may shortly expect to see published.

Had the historian of Cumberland known of the circular marks upon Long Meg, or on the Goggleby Stone at Shap, he would probably have told us that some magician had placed his mystic symbols on these stones in order that he might have power over the witches that Long Meg and her daughters are popularly supposed to represent, or control that spirit of evil with which Goggleby is thought to be haunted. Not that I would venture to discard Hutchinson's theory as utterly ridiculous and absurd. In these days, experience teaches us that it is not safe to assert or to deny anything in matters antiquarian, except what we see, and never to be over confident of the correctness of the conclusions at which we arrive. We know not whither future researches may lead us, nor what new discoveries may teach us, but though it is possible that the marks on Long Meg or on Goggleby may be the work of some magician in the time of James I, it is most exceedingly improbable that the stones at Maughanby, so recently uncovered, or the cobbles that formed one side of the *kistvaen* at Aspatria could have been incised at any period subsequent to the interments with which they were found connected.

Whatever may be the meaning of these curious marks, and whatever they may symbolize; whether they will help us to fix the date of these remarkable monuments, Long Meg, Caer Mot, and the Greyyauds in Cumberland, and Gunnerkeld, Gamelans, and Carl Lofts, in Westmorland, certain it is that the subject is worthy of the attention of antiquaries, and we shall do well—each in his own locality—to keep our eyes open, and examine these upright stones—whether in a circle or standing alone—to see if we can find any such marks upon them.

I need not tell you that in addition to circles of upright

* Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, vol. 2, p. 228, note.

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stones five or six feet high, there are to be found other circles, single or concentric, of much smaller stones, two and even three of which circles I have known one within the other, and in two instances within my knowledge, the remains of two sets of these circles are closely adjoining each other. Upon these stones marks may exist, and should be looked for, and one cursory examination should not sufficiently satisfy us that they are not there. And there are other stones of immense size standing alone, but evidently placed in their present site by the hands of man. Upon some of them marks may be found to exist, each one of which in its degree may aid in the discovery of their meaning and their use. Unfortunately, very many of these huge monoliths, well remembered by people now living, have been destroyed. At Kirkbythore, within the last few years, a noted one fell a victim to agricultural improvement. It was blasted and broken, and when the shattered fragments were removed, an urn, or rather its fragments,* which had contained ashes and burnt bones, were found beneath it. The destruction of such a stone is the more to be regretted because it might have had upon it the markings to which I have alluded; and they, coupled with the character of the urn and the nature of the deposit beneath it, might have helped us to spell out a word or a date in the story.

ROMAN REMAINS.

Of the Roman remains, and especially of that portion of the Wall that crosses Cumberland, we are in possession of a vast amount of information. The survey, ably and carefully carried out at the expense of the late Earl of Northumberland, and the description given by Mr. Mc. Lauchlan; as well as the learned and valuable work of Dr. Bruce, the historian of the Wall, have made the antiquarian student very familiar with this remarkable work. And the numerous altars, and sculptured stones, that have been discovered and preserved at Netherhall, at Lanercost, and at other places, as well as the inscriptions that have been deciphered, fully bear out the assertion of the old historian previously quoted, "that many memorable antiquities remain and have been found in this county."† But we have much yet to learn of the history of the Romans in Cumberland, and we can only hope to learn it by careful inquiry, diligent search, and accurate observation. In his paper communicated to the historical Section of the Archæological Institute when it met at Carlisle, Mr. Hodgson Hinde says:—"Under the Romans the most important military stations in

* The fragments of this urn are at Lowther Castle.

† Speed.

Cumberland

Cumberland were those on the line of the great mural barrier at Burdoswald, Walton, Stanwix, Burgh-upon-Sands, Drumburgh, and Bowness, but of these the ancient name of the first only, Amboglanna, has been ascertained with certainty; the testimony of inscribed stones which has enabled our antiquaries to identify all the mural stations in Northumberland entirely failing us after our first step on Cumbrian ground.”* It may be that we can never recover those missing inscriptions, the existence of which, knowing what we do of the habits of the people, we can hardly doubt. But it is something to aim at; knowledge to be desired, and more careful explorations may give us more accurate information.

ROMAN ROADS.

Meanwhile, the Roman roads that traverse the counties, and the Roman camps at a distance from the line of the Wall, may profitably occupy our attention. There are several instances in which the route of the road and the name of the station are exceedingly doubtful, and though the careful student might reduce these instances to few, the general reader of the histories of our counties must occasionally find himself completely perplexed. For example, there is a Roman road leading from the neighbourhood of Kendal, by way of Borough-bridge through Crosby Ravensworth in the direction of Kirkbythore. More than one attempt has been made to describe that road, trace its course and give it a name, but the writers can but conjecture, they have no satisfactory evidence to offer in proof, that this was the *tenth Iter of Antoninus*, and that *Alone* was at Borough-bridge. And yet the station itself probably contains inscribed stones that might help us to find out by whom it was garrisoned, and thereby learn its name; but as yet there has been no search, and though a few Roman antiquities have been found, I do not know that the well-defined station at that place has yielded a single altar, a sculptured or inscribed stone, which has been preserved, or figured, or described. Kirkbythore, in the direction of which this road runs, has not been equally unproductive, and I am glad to say that the fragment of an altar inscribed IOVI SERAPI, &c., sometimes erroneously mentioned as found at Appleby, but really found at Kirkbythore, has been rescued from the perilous position in which it was seen by Hodgson, and with other sculptured stones from the same station found a safe resting place in the gallery at Lowther. Of many of the Roman altars and inscribed stones, found in these counties, we have trustworthy

* Archæological Journal, No. 63.

accounts. They have, with few exceptions, either been figured or described in Camden or Horsey, or the local histories, but many objects of interest have been from time to time brought to light of which we have no record, and which it will be the business of this society to seek out and describe. I may mention, amongst many other things found at Brough, a curious ring now or lately in the possession of Mr. Addison, of the Friary, bearing the Christian monogram usually attributed to the time of Constantine, the very counterpart of which may be seen on a memorial marble, brought from a columbarium at Rome, and now in the gallery at Lowther.

THE NORTHMEN—RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS.

Of the history of these counties immediately after the departure of the Romans we may not be able to obtain much additional information; but at a somewhat later period, when the Celtic tribes, or rather the mixed race, which they must have been, had given place to the hardier and more powerful northmen, and withdrawn to the shelter of the western fells, where they seem to have held their ground much longer, the inhabitants of the district have left behind them traces of their occupation.

At Beckermeth and at Bewcastle are crosses that date from the middle of the seventh century, the sculpture upon which proves that art was at that time not in so debased a condition as was wont to be supposed. It is odd enough that these crosses, distant as they are from each other, commemorate two men who in life were closely connected. That at Beckermeth is to the memory of Tuda, bishop of York, mentioned by Bede as dying of the plague in the year 664, and being honourably buried in the monastery of Pœgnaeth. The inscription at Bewcastle commemorates Alcfrid, the son of that king of Northumbria who decided in favour of the Roman mode of observing Easter. Is it possible that these men alike fled away from that fearful plague to which they both seem to have fallen victims, and that one in vain sought for safety in the distant monastery of Pœgnaeth, the other in the secluded vale of Bewcastle. In York we might suppose that Tuda would have found his place of duty, and, if we may judge from the active part he ever seems to have taken in the affairs of State, Alcfrid could be ill spared at such a time from his father's counsels and his father's court; or were they, after death, brought to these places to be buried? Be this as it may, these remarkable

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monuments, which commemorate them, were long a puzzle to antiquaries, but the inscriptions have now been read, and, though there may be some slight difference of opinion as to the exact reading, the meaning is sufficiently clear to fix the date and the object, and to prove that at a very early period this district must have been of importance, and the art of sculpture must have attained a high degree of excellence. That at Beckermeth is in the old Northumberland dialect, but in Roman characters, probably owing to the influence of the monks of Pægnaleth, the site of which monastery, long unknown, this cross proves may have been here. The other inscription at Bewcastle is in Runic characters, and has been read as follows :—‘ This beacon of honour set Hwætred in the year of the great pestilence. After the ruler, after King Alcfred. Pray for their souls.’ But it is no part of my present purpose to describe these interesting monuments, nor do more than mention the font at Bridekirk, which, though of a much later date, is not less curious and interesting. Mr. Haigh, Mr. Maughan, and others, well qualified for the task, have entered fully into the subject, and, though differing in some slight particulars, they are all agreed as to the meaning of the inscriptions, and the date of the work. It is gratifying to find that this subject of Runic inscriptions has and is engaging the attention of the learned, not only in our own but in other countries. Professor Stephenson, of Copenhagen, has recently issued the first volume of a most valuable and interesting work upon the old Northern Runic monuments of Scandinavia and England, in which he says within the last few years more than thirty Runic stones have been turned up in Great Britain alone; and when he tells us that out of eighteen Swedish runic inscriptions, running from about the fourth to the thirteenth century, figured in the work, one half have either been discovered or identified since the composition of the book began, we may well take encouragement from his experience, and hope that there is in this district other monuments to be discovered, other inscriptions to be deciphered that will help to illustrate that period of our history. As the learned Professor says, “At present we want workers, diggers, silent students, not book-makers. Let us first get the honest and solid nuggets and we can soon melt them into the hardy and popular sovereigns.” I draw attention to this particular subject on the present occasion, because I think it probable that we may find monuments in these counties, belonging to that period, sculptured, and it may be inscribed with runic characters that
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have never been studied or figured, or even noticed.

The crosses in the churchyard of this town (Penrith), as well as the one at Addingham, may indeed never yield the information they once might have done, because exposure to the weather may have obliterated all traces of characters or letters upon them, did such ever exist; but there may be others with which time has dealt more leniently, or which have been concealed in the ground and thereby protected, that may well repay a careful examination. At this present time there are in the gallery at Lowther the fragments of shafts of not less than three separate crosses sculptured with pattern work, in some cases flowing, in others interlaced, mingled with leaves and grapes; and in the case of one of them with the figure of an animal, not unlike the one upon the font at Dearham. There is also a circular stone with a Greek cross upon it—sculptured in relief, which seems to have been the head of the shaft, shortest and least ornamented of the three. These fragments of crosses were found in Lowther churchyard, not far from a raised mound called the Quale burial ground; and there are still upon that mound two or three stones, hog-backed, as they are usually called, now almost hidden in the ground; and just below the surface is a grave cover and the fragment of another. These stones are beautifully sculptured with various patterns and designs; and if we may judge from the description, the hog-backed stones cannot be very unlike the one at Heysham, described by Whitaker, who says.—“This stone is indeed one of the most remarkable remains of Christian antiquity in Britain, unquestionably Saxon, without inscription, and of a very singular design, which it is difficult to describe. The idea, however, which seems to have prevailed in the mind of the sculptor was to represent the back of some sea monster emerging above the waves, but in the places of head and tail are the heads of two large lions, rudely but strongly and expressively carved.”

When the stones at Lowther have been carefully examined and accurately described, as they ought to be at some future meeting of this society, it may probably be found that the sculpture terminates at each end in the head of an animal, and eyes accustomed to decipher runic inscriptions may, perchance, detect upon these undoubtedly very ancient grave-stones some faint outlines of runic characters. They may be less than the one at Heysham, but they are of a rounded form, and in their appearance are not unlike the back of an animal rising out of the sea.

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It would be curious to inquire to what extent the shape of the somewhat similar stones in Penrith churchyard had led to the misunderstanding, that has evidently arisen amongst the writers, by whom they have been mentioned. Dr. Todd describes the giant's grave as surrounded with the rude figures of four boars or wild hogs, a description ridiculed by Littleton, who says—"It requires a strong imagination to discover any regular figure in the rude sculptures on them;" and Pennant says the greatest difficulty seems to be about the boars carved on the semi-circular stones below. The whole difficulty seems to have arisen from a misapprehension of what Dr. Todd meant when he described the stones as like wild hogs. He evidently meant they were hog-backed, similar in shape and appearance to the bent back of a wild boar.

INCIDENTS BEFORE THE CONQUESTS.

There are other interesting incidents of the period preceding the Conquest, which seem to belong to this neighbourhood, and which need inquiry and explanation. In the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, under the year 926, we learn that "King Athelstan obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and he ruled all the kings who were in this island; first, Howel, King of the West Welsh; and Constantine, King of the Scots; and Owen, King of the Monmouth people; and Aldred, son of Eadulf, of Bamborough, and they confirmed the peace, by pledge and by oaths, at the place which is called Emot, on the 4th before the ides of July; and they renounced all idolatry, and after that submitted to him in peace." Was Mayborough, near the river Eamont, the place of this meeting, and did it in consequence thereof obtain the name of the Fort of Union, given to it upon a drawing at Lowther Castle made during the last century; and had Arthur's round table near Eamont bridge any connection with this meeting, or the games that would probably take place on the occasion? Did the assembled kings celebrate their union with feats of arms after the old northern manner, and was Arthur's table, so called, the arena of the contest? Be this as it may, the history of the district begins after this date to be full of interest to the archæologist, and though there may be few remains in existence belonging to the period immediately before the conquest to prove or to correct the statements of historians, still we need not despair of not learning something more than is known, or at all events making the knowledge more available and more familiar to our members. Whether Etheldred's expedition into Cumberland,
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in the year 1,000, was directed against the Danes, who had some time previously destroyed Carlisle, or whether against the Cumbrians, because, as Fordun says,* they refused to contribute to the fund called Danegeld, may not be very clear; but it is of importance for us to bear in mind a most important fact about which there seems no doubt, that under the government of Malcolm Caenmore of Scotland, the district of Carlisle, which contained all the Cumbrian territory south of the Solway, was severed from the rest of the kingdom and formed into an earldom dependent upon the crown of England. We have thus an authentic description of the kingdom of Cumberland before this dismemberment, and we can therefore fix the limits of the severed portion. "That district was called Cumbria, which is now included in the bishoprics of Carlisle, Glasgow, and Whitehaven, together with the country between the bishopric of Carlisle and the river Duddon." I draw attention to this statement because it seems to me that local historians have not sufficiently noticed the fact that the north part of Westmorland belonged to Cumberland. Divided, as are the two sides of that county, by a range of hills and the rivers of one portion running north—of the other south, it is difficult to understand why or how the barony and the bottom ever became parts of the same county. They differ from each other in nomenclature, in the characteristics, customs, and dialect of the people, as well as their pronunciation of the vowels and the use of the aspirate, much more than the one part differs from Cumberland, or the other from Lancashire. Of the south part of Westmorland, William the Conqueror seems to have gained possession. It was included in the survey that then took place, and which we are told embraced every single hide and rood of land in the kingdom and did not pass by an ox or a pig without setting it down in the accounts, but there is no mention in Domesday Book of any possessions north of Shap Fells, and, though Sedbergh is included, Ravenstonedale and Kirkby Stephen are not.

Nor should much credit be attached to Buchanan's account of the peace made by William with Malcolm, and the cross set by him on Stainmore, "which should contain the statues and arms of the kings on both sides."† The boundary, and probably the cross, was on Stainmore long before the time of the Conqueror, and the term 're' is much more likely to be a corruption of 'raise,' or 'ray,' introduced by Buchanan, than having any reference to the king.

* Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, lib. iv, c. 38. † Buchanan's *Scotland*, book vii.

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But whatever may have been the condition of the district during the reign of the Conqueror, there appears little reason to doubt the statement that his successor caused Carlisle to be rebuilt, and the castle there, and may, on his return to the south, have planned or suggested the position of Cæsar's tower at Appleby and the Roman tower at Brough. The Saxon chronicle tells us that "he went northward with a large army as far as Carlisle, and repaired the city, and built the castle, and he drove out Dolfin, who had before governed that country, and having placed a garrison in the castle, and having returned to the south, sent a great number of rustic Englishmen thither with their wives and cattle, that they might settle there, and cultivate the land." It is this Dolfin to whom the runic inscription in Carlisle Cathedral is supposed to refer. Whether any, and if so, what part of the present castle at Carlisle is the work of that period, we may at some future time have an opportunity of examining, as doubtless some of our members will take in hand that most interesting subject, and give us an account of the architecture, the history, and the many stirring incidents connected with Carlisle Castle. This and the numerous other castles, as well as fortified houses of a more humble character, will indeed furnish abundant occupation for our Society. Some few of these have been described, but the great majority have never been properly examined, and their history, and very often the history of those by whom they were inhabited, is yet to write, and there are few localities in which they are more abundant. Whitaker says, "Along the Western coast of England appearances of a disturbed and unsecure state of society in the construction of ancient manor houses continue from the Scottish border to the Lune, where with very few exceptions they cease"—throughout those districts every family led a jealous and apprehensive life, ever on the watch for the security of themselves or their cattle, or both, from some formidable attempts. Indeed, so necessary was some protection against sudden inroads that several of the churches are built with a view to defence. Three of them have been well described by one of our members,* but probably others may be found which, though altered now, might once have been as well adapted for defence and protection as Great Salkeld or Newton Arlosh or Burgh. And while on the subject of Churches, I may mention that of Bolton-in-Cumberland with its curiously groined roof, of which I do not think any sufficient description has ever been given. Not that we need depreciate the labours of those who have written

* Mr. Cory, *vid.* *Archæological Journal*, No. 64.

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the history of the Counties. They have gathered together for our use a vast mass of information,—though we may not always take it on trust—and if we are able to correct mistakes, which it will be admitted they have not seldom made, it is because we have better opportunities and greater means of knowledge than were open to them.

OLD DOCUMENTS—CHURCHES—CASTLES.

The genius of modern archæology has taught us to regard with attention many documents which our ancestors allowed to remain undisturbed, and to which they did not give much attention. “Old wills, letters, wardrobe accounts, and household rolls, are in the hands of the antiquary, as the dry bones of a past social being, which by skilful comparison are capable of realising to the mind a true picture of that life of which they afford evidence. Side by side with these we have the remains of the castles and mansions themselves, each illustrating the other; where the record fails the structure often supplies its place, the style of architecture and the internal arrangements showing the same social progress which the records would lead us to expect.” And in fixing the date of these buildings we may in some few instances gain valuable information from the record of licenses to crenellate granted by the crown. It happens, however, that very few of those licenses were granted to Cumberland. Whether owing to the jealousy of the Crown or the fact that the Lord Marchers had themselves power to issue the licenses, and therefore the Crown was not often applied to. The first that appears is in the year of Edward II., when licenses were given for Drumburgh, Dunmalloch, and Scaleby; and in the 12th year of the same reign Hugh de Lowther obtained a license to crenellate his mansion at Wythop. This property he had obtained by marriage with a daughter of Lucy, the Lord of Cockermouth, and it is somewhat remarkable that he should apply for, and obtain, a license for Wythop, when no such license ever appears to have been granted to Lowther. In the 20th of Edward III., the men of Penrith applied for, and obtained a license to fortify their town or village (*homines villæ de Penereth, villan predictum Peneret*), leading to the inference that there was at that time no castle there; at all events it is a fact to be remembered when the remains of the castle are described and its history given. The only license that appears to have been granted to Westmorland was to Sir T. Musgrove to crenellate Harcla Castle, which he had just then purchased from Neville, to whom it had been granted by the Crown, when forfeited by
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Andrew de Harcla, the first Earl of Cumberland, who was hanged at Carlisle for treason in joining the king of Scotland. We cannot indeed, in Westmorland, boast of so many castles and halls as exist in Cumberland, but still we have some whose history is full of interest. Brougham, Appleby, Brough, and Pendragon, are of the Norman period, two of them being built upon Roman Stations, and will well repay examination. Harcla, though now almost utterly ruined, is not without its interest. Wharton Hall, the home of one who at one time exercised no little influence as the Warden of the Marches, and won the battle of Sollum Moss, is a fine specimen of the period to which it belongs. Levens, with its quaintly planned gardens; Burneside and Askham, with their ancient gateways; Hartsop, with its secret hiding place in the thickness of the wall; Brougham, about which much has been written, much disputed, and the true story of which yet remains to be told. Yanwath, with its beautiful tower, its bay window, its magnificent roof, its wainscotted rooms, and its ancient bedstead. All these and many more, when examined with that painful diligence, and described with that loving care that mark the true antiquary, can hardly fail to furnish much useful and interesting information, which, if known at all, is known only to the few.

The churches and religious homes in both counties must yield a valuable harvest. There is at least one in Cumberland, the architecture of which is supposed to be Saxon, and in Westmorland, Norman work may be seen at Lowther, at Crosby Garrett, and at Kirkby-Lonsdale, as well as at other places. And how much we have yet to learn about the religious foundations. The grants by which they were from time to time enriched, the lands they included, the witnesses by whom these grants were signed, the registers of the houses themselves, the chronicles of the monks, and the character of the grave covers all of which will assist us in the work we have undertaken to do, and help us to develop a correct history of our district. And there are in more than one place of deposit, manuscripts that need careful examination, and documents that ought to be made public, so that the knowledge known but to one or two may become the common property of all. There must be many persons in every county who have neither leisure nor ability, nor learning, to pursue these necessary researches, but they are not indifferent to the subject, and will be truly grateful to those who, by industry and careful research unfold the scrolls of history, and give us
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fresh information about the counties to which we belong. And if we know so little about the history of our religious foundations, and less about our churches, how very little do we know about many of those things connected with them? The bells in these towers, what do we know of their date? How many escaped destruction at the Reformation?

“When in the reign of Edward VI. the council enjoined ‘that all ringing with holy bells to drive away devils, and all ringing or knowling of bells, save one before the service should utterly be forborne,’ the bells, consecrated as they were to some saint, were for the most part removed from the steeples, and if one was left it was generally the least, and the name of the saint to which it was dedicated seems in some cases to have been defaced or destroyed. But in the course of a few years peals of bells were again placed in the Churches, and it would be curious to know whether there are many in these Counties that were left at the Reformation, or whether most of them date from the time of Elizabeth, when they again were used, or from some later period of our history. And how full of interest are parish registers though they may not all be so old as the one at Morland which commences about 1538, or contain such quaint entries as the one at Bampton, during the incumbency of Mr. Wearing. And churchwardens’ accounts contain some curious entries, illustrating manners and customs that no longer exist. ‘Ale for rushbearing 2s. 6d., for raven, 1s. 8d., for two foxes and two badgers 4s.’ and as every minister did not then write his own sermons, ‘for two homily books 8s.’ And Manor books and Court Leets, with their sanitary arrangements, from which we might take a lesson, and their social regulations that would even not now be amiss, for example, ‘no person shall wash any unclean thing at the Chappel Well, nor betwixt that well and Chare bridge, upon paine of 3s. 4d. none shall play at cards except at Christmas time upon paine of 6s. 8d.’

“And how few local particulars are known about the Pilgrimage of grace, when a notice was said to have been placed on the great door at Shappe, telling the people if they would rise and go into Lancashire, they would find a captain with money to receive them, and the people in these counties and the adjoining districts were so excited and rendered themselves so formidable that the King himself thought it worth while to reason with them; or about the protestation of 1641-2, returns of the various parishes thereto, and the number and names of those who were loyal enough to resist, or concerning
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the deprivation of the clergy and their alleged offences, of which some interesting records exist, or of those gatherings which have given to some thorn near the place, the name of Gospel Thorn, or some gill or hollow in which they were surprised, and suffered for conscience sake, the name of Martyrgill.

OLD CUSTOMS.

And there are the old customs at births and christenings, weddings and burials, which are fast passing away and being forgotten; and the gift to a child on its first visit to a neighbour's house of salt and silver and an egg. There are the boondays, the clippings and the furth neets, their rules and their customs. There are the nominys, the superstitions, the legends; the belief in what were called *par excellence* wise-men, and the use of charms. There are the heck, the hallan, the sconce and the renel boak; and above all there is the dialect with its proverbial distichs; its expressive words; its wise saws; its apt similes to which justice never has and probably never now can be done. All these subjects, and more than these, await examination, explanation, illustration and though the members of this society may not bring to the work before them great ability or great learning, they have that which is oftentimes far more useful than either—local knowledge. If only we labour diligently and examine carefully, gather up facts as they present themselves, and place on record our experience as it grows; if only we speak that we know, and testify to that we have seen, bearing with each other and helping each other, we shall gradually unfold the pages from which may be read the history of our counties, throw light upon the dark places thereof, and make plain that which is doubtful or obscure, and it will not be for naught that we have this day established the Antiquarian Society of Cumberland and Westmorland, which may God prosper.
