

ART. VII.—*Brougham Castle.* By the Rev. James Simpson, Vicar of Kirkby Stephen.

Read at Penrith, July 11th, 1867.

IN the fifth year of his reign King John granted to Robert de Veteripont Appleby and Burgh with all the appurtenances thereof, and with the bailiffship and rent of the County of Westmorland, together with the services of all the tenants thereof, who held not of him by knight's service, "to have and to hold of us and our heirs, to him and his heirs which shall issue of him and his espoused wife, by the service of four knights for all service, saving to us and our heirs all pleas which belong to the Crown Royal, and saving the royal dignity, and saving that the said Robert or those belonging to him may make neither waste nor diminution in the woods of Whinfield, nor hunt in the same without the personal presence of the said Robert, so long as we shall live." In this grant there is no special mention made either of Brougham Castle or Brougham Manor, though they were undoubtedly included, and became part of the possessions of Robert de Veteripont as they had been of Simon de Morville and afterwards of Hugh, for whose treason they were forfeited. But it was not until a later period that Brougham attained its importance as a family residence and became so intimately connected with the history of the county. When Robert de Veteripont, grandson of that Robert to whom the estate was granted, fell, fighting against the King (Henry III.), at the battle of Lewis, 1264, he left two daughters, Isabella and Idonea, or as she is on one occasion—if not more—called Ivetta, and when, at York in 1268, their father's estate was divided between them, the Castle of Brougham and all the lands and tenements of the Manor of Brougham fell to the share of Isabella, who married Roger de Clifford son of that Roger de Clifford in whose wardship the king had placed her on the death of her father.

It was this Roger, the first of the Cliffords in Westmorland, who is thought to have added so largely to Brougham Castle though not perhaps to the extent sometimes supposed.

In his "*Domestic Architecture of England*," Mr. Parker says:—The keep, which is of the usual Norman form, square with slightly projecting turrets (if they may be so called) at the

the angles, has some of its original windows, &c., remaining, which are of plain character. The exterior does not exhibit much alteration except at the upper part and at the south-east angle, where a space has been corbelled out to allow the formation of a small oratory, but in the interior there is scarcely any part of the original design visible. The lower story has been groined, the ribs springing from corbels in the form of heads, and the vault has been supported by a small central pillar, the base of which still remains.

The entrance to the upper rooms was by a staircase in the north-east angle, which communicated with passages in the wall, and in the upper part this passage, which is well built and very curious, communicates with the small oratory in the south-east angle before mentioned. This is a very small room, but is beautifully groined, has a window to the east, and contains a piscina, &c, and has had an opening from the principal apartment. The style of this little chapel, as well as of the whole interior, is that of the time of Edward I.

On the north side of the keep is a very curious arrangement, namely, two distinct gateway towers, which are connected by an intervening building. The inner tower abuts on the north-west angle of the keep, and the outer one on the north-east. At the outward angles of this latter are diagonal turrets, and on the top of the building and over the gateway are three corbels, which seem to have been intended for machicolations, and the same occur in the additions to the keep.

Over the archway is a stone which formerly belonged to the building, and which has been built into the wall at the time of the late repairs. On this stone are the words "Thys made Roger." This is supposed to refer to Roger de Clifford who died in the reign of Edward I, and who made great alterations and additions to the Castle; indeed to him may be attributed the principal part of the buildings now remaining, the keep being the only Norman work now existing.

The court yard is enclosed with a wall, at the south-west angle of which is a tower, from which a covered passage in the thickness of the wall leads to the offices in the south side of the court yard. On this side also is the chapel, which is in ruins; it has lost its roof and floor but its piscina and sedilia still remain; the former is quartrefoiled under a pointed arch, the latter have three pointed arches trefoiled with the spandrels filled with shallow sunk trefoils. The east window, except the jambs and part of the sill, is destroyed, but one of the side windows remains perfect. It is trefoil-headed and widely splayed

splayed inside. There was a room under the chapel, and the corbels of the floor still remain; the rest of the south side appears to have been occupied with offices, and the hall seems to have been on the east side, but the outer walls alone are left, so that it is difficult to make out the plan of this part." Such is the description of the remains of Brougham Castle as it now stands, and this description agrees in the main with what we know of the history of the building. The square tower or keep is without doubt the oldest part of the castle, and is of the same character as Cæsar's tower at Appleby—the Roman tower at Brough and Pendragon Castle, and was most probably built at the same period and under the direction of the same architect, and though it is impossible to adopt the opinion of Grose, that the style of architecture of this Castle, and particularly that of the keep, undoubtedly pronounces it Roman, there is no doubt that many of the stones used in the building are of Roman workmanship—and had done duty in the walls of the Roman fort upon or near which the ruins of this ancient Castle stand. Whittaker's description is somewhat different. Writing of the four Castles of Appleby, Brough, Pendragon, and Brougham, he says: "Of this last (Brougham) the remains are very magnificent. It stands without any advantage of situation except what is derived from the ramparts of the Roman Brovonacum, (probably very strong at its first erection) within which it was placed. The dungeon, unquestionably of the era of Ranulph de Meschines, is a vast square Norman tower, four stories high, of which the lowest was vaulted with rib work, and the next appears to have been the great Hall. The different apartments, many of which have round headed lights, were approached by staircases and galleries in the thickness of the walls. A small chamber at the top of the south-east angle has been richly groined. The gateway, and apartments adjoining, which bore the inscription "Thys made Roger," apparently in imitation of "This made Wykham" may with greater probability be ascribed to Roger Clifford, in the reign of Richard II, than to his ancestor of the same name. The chapel and the adjoining suite of apartments in the south appear to be of the same age, and are probably the work of the same hand. The inner gateway can scarcely be older than Henry VIII."

The Roman camp or fort, of which traces may be clearly seen on the south-side of the Castle, stood upon the road leading from York to Carlisle, and is supposed to be the station mentioned in the fifth Iter of Antoninus as Brocavum. Several incised stones

stones were found in a field not far from the Countess' pillar, but at the opposite side of the turnpike road, where the Roman burial place seems to have been. In 1692 these inscribed stones were set up in the wall on the right-hand side of the lane as you go to the Castle, and there was also a large stone writ from end to end, unluckily broke by a careless waller, who, to further his work, beat it all into pieces. At the present time they are, I think, in the court yard at Brougham Hall. There are two other inscribed stones mentioned in Mr. Hill's valuable manuscripts, as found near the Countess' pillar, one is a memorial stone erected by a father named Vidaris in memory of his son Crescentinus, aged eighteen years; the other is an altar of somewhat peculiar shape, dedicated to the God Belatucadrus, and which Mr. Hill says was found in 1828 in a field belonging to the Brougham Castle estate, the property of the Earl of Thanet, on the west side of the turnpike road, nearly opposite the Countess' pillar. The farm servants, while levelling a space behind the hedge in which to winter store potatoes, struck a spade on a stone, which sounded hollow, and on taking it up, the above peculiar flange-shaped altar presented itself, the lettered side downwards, and placed over the mouth of a square-shaped well 2ft. 4in. by 2ft. 7in., neatly walled in on all sides with thin stones. The altar is made of red sandstone and measures 1ft. 9in. long by 11in. wide in the centre. The well was measured and the inscription copied by myself."

At what period of the Roman occupation the Station at Brougham was built we have no record, but from its position it would necessarily be of considerable importance, and after its abandonment by the Romans its situation at the confluence of two rivers would point it out as a strong position, and the walls of the Roman camp would furnish materials wherewith to construct a stronghold capable of being defended. In the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, under the year 926, we read that King Athelstane obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians. And he ruled all the kings who were in this island—first, Howell, king of the west Welsh; and Constantine, king of the Scots; and Owen, king of the Monmouth people; and Aldred, son of Ealdulf of Banborough; and they confirmed the peace by pledge and by oaths at the place which is called Æmot, on the 4th before the Ides of July; and they renounced all idolatry and afterwards submitted to him in peace. Whether the Æmot here mentioned is the meeting of the waters of Lowther and Eamont at Brougham Castle, may be a matter of doubt, but there seems no doubt that there was in the times preceding

preceding the conquest a fort or stronghold on the present site of the Castle which gave a name to the neighbouring village of Burgham or Brougham—or as it sometimes occurs in the Pipe Rolls, spelled Bruham or Brouham. The claim to derive Brougham from the name of the Roman Station seems to me entirely without foundation, and the assertion of Hutchinson that there is not another instance of the name of Burgham or Brougham in the whole island is quite a mistake. Several instances might be adduced both from Domesday, the Pipe Rolls, and inquisitions *post mortem*, in which manors are mentioned of the same name and written in the same form.

The village to which the fort gave its name, originally stood on the road leading past Brougham Chapel towards Appleby, and the best part of it seems to have been in the direction of the road leading to Clifton cross, near the site of the old vicarage house. The Rev. Mr. Machell, writing in 1685, states that “as the town of Brouham was then demolished, he had taken occasion to draw an imaginary plan of it partly by memory, and partly by the best information that could be had from one that lived in the place. These tenements were purchased off about fourteen or fifteen years since, in two or three years time by J. Bird, the houses demolished one after another and turned into walls by which he has made a great improvement, but is become like a pelican or an owl in the desert.” In a pamphlet published in 1843, there is some mention made of Brouham being formerly a market town, and having a shrine of the virgin, to which there was a great pilgrimage. But there must be some confusion between Brough-under-Stainmore, and Brougham. In the fourth of John a market was granted to Brough under-Stainmore, where was also a well dedicated to our Lady and to which there was at one time a great pilgrimage. The confusion has no doubt arisen from the careless way in which Leland’s Itinerary was edited by Hearne, and the consequent inaccuracies arising from the confused arrangement of his description of places in the neighbourhood. Leland’s remarks upon Brougham Castle are as follows (and other descriptions that have been thought to apply to this place, refer either to Borough-bridge in Lunesdale; or, Brough-under-Stainmore.) —“At Brougham is an old castle that the common people there sayth doth sink. About this Burgham ploughmen find in the fields many square stones, tokens of old buildings.

The castle is set in a strong place by reasons of rivers enclosing the country thereabout.”

The

The square stones here mentioned were without doubt Roman and had been originally used in building the camp, and as a matter of course the material so near at hand and so suitable for the purpose would be used by those who built the castle, and there is at least one inscribed stone over a doorway in the keep and no doubt others would be used without much scruple, if found adapted for the purpose.

In the memoirs of the Countess of Pembroke it is stated as certain that Roger de Clifford the younger, after he was married to Isabella de Veteripont and was possessed in her right of Brougham Castle, did build and repair much of the said castle, as he caused a stone to be set in the wall thereof, over the door of the inward gate, whereon is engraven these words following, as they thus stand :—

“THYS MADE
ROGER.”

Of course these remarks can have no reference to the square tower or keep which is of more ancient origin, and was undoubtedly built at a much earlier period.

Whittaker in his “History of Craven” (to whose description of the Castle reference has already been made,) gives it as his opinion, that the castles of Brough, Appleby, Pendragon, and Brougham were all the work of Randolph Meschines in the reign of the Conqueror. Brough to fortify the pass of Stainmore, Pendragon that of Mallerstang, Appleby for its central as well as strong and beautiful situation in the barony, and Brougham to guard its northern boundary.

I think there are several good and sufficient reasons to help us to the conclusion that some of these four castles were existing in the time of the Conqueror, and we may have some grounds for supposing that his successor on his return from Carlisle might give directions to have these important positions strengthened and suitable places of defence built. It seems more probable that the keep of Brougham Castle was completed in the reign of Henry III, was constructed in imitation of Gurdulph’s plan, and comes under the head of “irregular castles built between the conquest and the end of that king’s reign.” The supposition that this fortress was built in the reign of Henry III is strengthened by the fact that in a bundle of records of Henry III, without date, the house at Bruham is mentioned in an inquisition of the waste suffered during the minority of John de Veteripont. In his

valuable manuscript notes to which I have previously referred, Mr. Hill says :—" This fortress, built most likely by the king's orders, in the reign of Henry III, under the superintendence of Robert de Veteripont, before he forfeited the estate by siding with the barons under the Earl of Leicester, when he is said to have fallen at the battle of Evesham."— (? Lewis.) Daniel, whom I consider one of the best authorities, says, speaking of this period of our history,— " For many of the nobles who had taken part with the king, either not satisfied with their expectations, or knowing not how to maintain themselves and theirs but by rapine, fell to mutiny, surprising of castles, and making spoils in the country, as the Earl of Albemarle, Robert de Veteripont, &c. ; and the differences then existing between Henry III and Alexander of Scotland, was a sufficient reason why the English monarch should insist that fortresses in the northern part of his kingdom should be repaired or built."

As regards the rest of the castle, the greater part of which the Countess thinks was built by Roger de Clifford, Mr. Hill says :—" It is probable that Lady Pembroke in this instance made a mistake between the Roger de Clifford of Henry III and Edward I, and the other Roger who possessed the estates from the twenty-fifth of Edward III, to the thirteenth of Richard II, full thirty-nine years, a longer period than Providence has generally allotted to individuals of the Clifford race." There is every reason to believe that the latter erected the southern portal, and that part of the castle which faces the river Eamont towards the east. The entrance tower has to all appearance been little more than half the height of the original fortress or keep, and was machicolated above the vaulted gateway, which was defended by a portcullis, the grooves for which still remain.

The pointed early English windows in the two stories above the gateway are of a domestic character, as if intended to hold glazed casements, each containing two trefoil lights, divided by a mullion or transom with quatrefoil opening above. At twenty paces from the outer gateway is an inner one of a similar nature, with portcullis, which leads into an open courtyard formed by this eastern side of the castle and the square keep, from whence two more vaulted gateways open into the outer buildings. Above the vaulted gateway there appears to have been spacious rooms, unconnected with the tower or keep, for the convenience of the retinue of the castle when more refined times and the altered state of society demanded better accommodation.

accommodation. Below these are some suspicious looking staircases leading down to the groundworks, facing the river Eamont, which, though filled up with rubbish, there is little doubt led to the dismal dungeons or prisons of the castle. The dungeons as in some other places were not in the keep, but in a detached building.

Machell, without giving his authority, says that the last Roger, Lord Clifford, built the greatest part of Brougham Castle, next to the east, whereon his own arms and his wife's, cut in stone, are joined together; his wife also was Maud Beacham, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Warwick. In time of her widowhood she built and repaired much about this castle, for it was her jointure. She lived much here and made Maud Pool, which retains her name to this very day. This coat of armour of Roger, Lord Clifford, impaling that of his wife Maud, was in existence at the time Hutchinson wrote his "Tour to the Lakes, viz., in 1766, and was placed over the said southern gateway. He says, speaking of the castle,—“On the outward gate, the remains of the arms of the Vallibus or Vaux family are to be observed, being chequy, or and gules; from whence I am led to conjecture they were builders, or great contributors to the work.” It scarcely need be observed that Hutchinson has mistaken between the arms of Vaux, barons of Gilsland, chequy, or and gules, and those of Clifford, chequy, or and azure, a fesse gules. There are not the slightest grounds for supposing that either Vaux of Gilsland or any other Vaux had any connection with the castle and manor of Brougham or with any other land in the parish, and there is no reason whatever why their arms should appear about the castle. When Hutchinson saw the stone time had probably effaced the fesse on the Clifford shield, and he had thus mistaken it for that of Vaux. I believe the stone with the inscription “Thys made Roger,” now occupies the place of the coat of arms. It was placed there under the direction of the Rev. C. Barham, when he repaired the castle. The inscription itself simply denotes that Roger planned and erected that part of the castle in which the stone was placed; it has nothing to do with the castle making Roger, as suggested in Nicholson and Burn and some other writers. Such inscriptions are not uncommon; *e.g.* the pillar erected in St. Mary's Church Beverley and inscribed “This pillar made the Mynstrells;” and I believe some such inscription may be seen at the hall opposite.

To

To tell the story of those who dwelt in this castle of Brougham from the time of Simon de Morville down to the Countess of Pembroke would be not only to write the history of the county of Westmorland, but in some sort, of the country ; for these Cliffords were a brave and noble race, and were almost always engaged on one side or the other in the wars that disturbed the kingdom, as well as those against the Scots. Placed on the borders of the realm this castle would naturally receive the first attacks of our warlike neighbours in their journeyings southward, and its possessors could not avoid taking an active part in the ever recurring skirmishes in their marches.

In the Scotch Rolls there is an entry in the time of Edward III, ordering the constable of the Castle of Brougham to receive men of the marches and their goods, and when the beacon fires warned the gallant knights and yeomen of Westmorland that the wife of some border chieftain had served her lord with a pair of clean spurs for his supper, and he and his henchmen were on horseback to replenish the larder, Brougham would offer a ready retreat and safe protection against these lawless marauders.

During the long period from the time of Henry III until, at all events, the time of James I, this castle was one of the principal residences of the Clifford family. It seems on several occasions to have fallen into decay, from the neglect of those to whom it was entrusted during some minority, and especially through the carelessness and rapacity of the Prior of Carlisle, to whom it was given as guardian of Sir Robert de Veteripont ; and if we are to trust the accounts given in various inquisitions, post mortem, it appears to have sometimes been of little value, owing to the devastations and destruction caused by the Scots.

I might mention some of those who at various times seem to have enjoyed the hospitality of Brougham Castle, viz.,—Baliol, of whose visit Holingshed gives an account, but it will suffice if I allude to the visit of King James, in 1617, on his return from Scotland.—“ Our king,” says quaint Arthur Wilson, in his ‘ History of King James,’ “ dedicated his summer to the northern climate. It is now fourteen years’ revolution since the beams of majesty appeared in Scotland. He began his journey with the spring, warming the country as he went with the glories of the court, taking such recreations by the way as might best beguile the daies and cut them shorter, but lengthen the nights, contrary to the seasons. For what with hawking,

hawking, hunting, and horse racing, the days quickly ran away; and the nights with feasting, maskery, and dancing were the more extended; and the king had fit instruments for these sports about his person, as Sir Geo. Goring, Sir Edw. Zouch, Sir John Finnes, and others that could fit and obtemperate the king's humour. For he loved such representations and disguises in their maskeraoes, as were witty and sudden, the more ridiculous the more pleasant." Whether the king hunted in the forest of Whinfell is not very certain, nor is it very clear how long he stayed at Brougham Castle. Nicholls, in his *Progresses*, makes him to have stayed only one night. Machel says he lodged here two nights together, in the same chamber where Margaret, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, on the 24th of May preceding put off this life; and where her husband, George Earl of Cumberland was born; and if Bishop Nicholson is to be trusted, it would appear from his visitation book, that his majesty did not enjoy the pleasures of the chase in Whinfell.—"I saw not the registries of Brougham and Clifton, (he writes, in 1703,) but the Rector at whose house they are kept, assures me that they are each above one hundred years old, and that the former contains a particular account of King James the first, entertainment, hunting, etc., at this castle, as he returned this way from Scotland." That he enjoyed a maskeraoe there is no doubt. Henry, Lord Clifford, (who, according to the account of the Countess of Pembroke, absolutely governed his father and the estate for twenty years,) knowing the king's partiality for masks and interludes, had one especially composed for his entertainment at Brougham Castle, of such a musical and poetic character as found favour at this time. The title to this mask is.—"The ayres that were sung and played at Brougham Castle, Westmorland, for the king's entertainment, given by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Cumberland, and his right noble son, Lord Clifford, composed by Mr. Geo Mason, and Mr. John Eason, London; printed by Thos. Snodham, cum privilegio, 1618."

1.—This mask commences with a dialogue sung the first night, the king being at supper.

2.—Another dialogue, to be sung at the same time, with a chorus. Treble, counter-tenor, and base.

3.—The king's good night, as follows:—

Welcome! welcome! king of guests,
With thy princely train;
With joyful triumph, and with feast,
Be welcomed home again.

Frolick

Frolick and mirth, the soul of earth,
 Shall watch for thy delight ;
 Knees shall bend from friend to friend,
 While full cups do thee right.
 And so good king, good night.
 Welcome! welcome! as the sun
 When the night is passed,
 With us the day is now begun,
 May it for ever last.

Such a morn
 Did ne'er adorn
 The rises of the east,
 As the north
 Hath now brought forth.
 The northern man is best.
 And so, best king, good night.

After the king's visit, the castle seems to have gone very much into decay, if we are to judge from the Countess of Pembroke, who describes how she repaired it. "After I had been there myself to direct the building of it, did I cause my old decayed castle of Brougham to be repaired, and also the tower called the Roman tower, in the said old castle, and the court house, for keeping my courts in, with some dozen or fourteen rooms to be built in it, upon the old foundation." And, as was her custom, she caused the fact of these repairs to be inscribed upon stone and set up in the castle. Her grandson Lord Thos. Tufton before whom, Machell says, nothing was able to stand, pulled down a great portion of the castle in 1691, and in 1714, the timber and lead was sold, and purchased by Mr. Markham and Mr. Anderton of Penrith; much of the old wainscotting fell into the hands of the neighbouring villagers and, it is said, several curious pieces of carved wood work may yet be found in some of the houses in the district. The ruins of this ancient castle did indeed find a protector in Mr. Barham, who, at considerable expense restored some of the decayed places, and adopted judicious means for preventing its further ruin. But if that Roger who built the larger portion of the castle and left his mark upon it,—“Thys made Roger”—could now revisit the place he might well look on the ruined castle, and the chase at Whinfell and exclaim with Bolingbroke, they have

“Disparked my parks and felled my forest woods,
 From my own windows tore my household coat,
 Razed out my impress.”