probably here that Camden saw the Roman inscription which is now in the south wall of Drawdykes Castle, having been placed there by John Aglionby, who may have transferred this grave-stone and some other stones at the same time, considering them all as objects of curiosity and worthy to be preserved. John Aglionby was a clever man and a good scholar. In and near the Nunnery we find many inscribed stones which he placed there. He also built one of the monuments on Burgh Marsh to mark the spot where Edward I died We may therefore pardonably assume that he may have attached a special value to this stone, conceiving it to be a record of the Mayor of Carlisle, or at least one of the Penningtons, with whom he may have been connected.

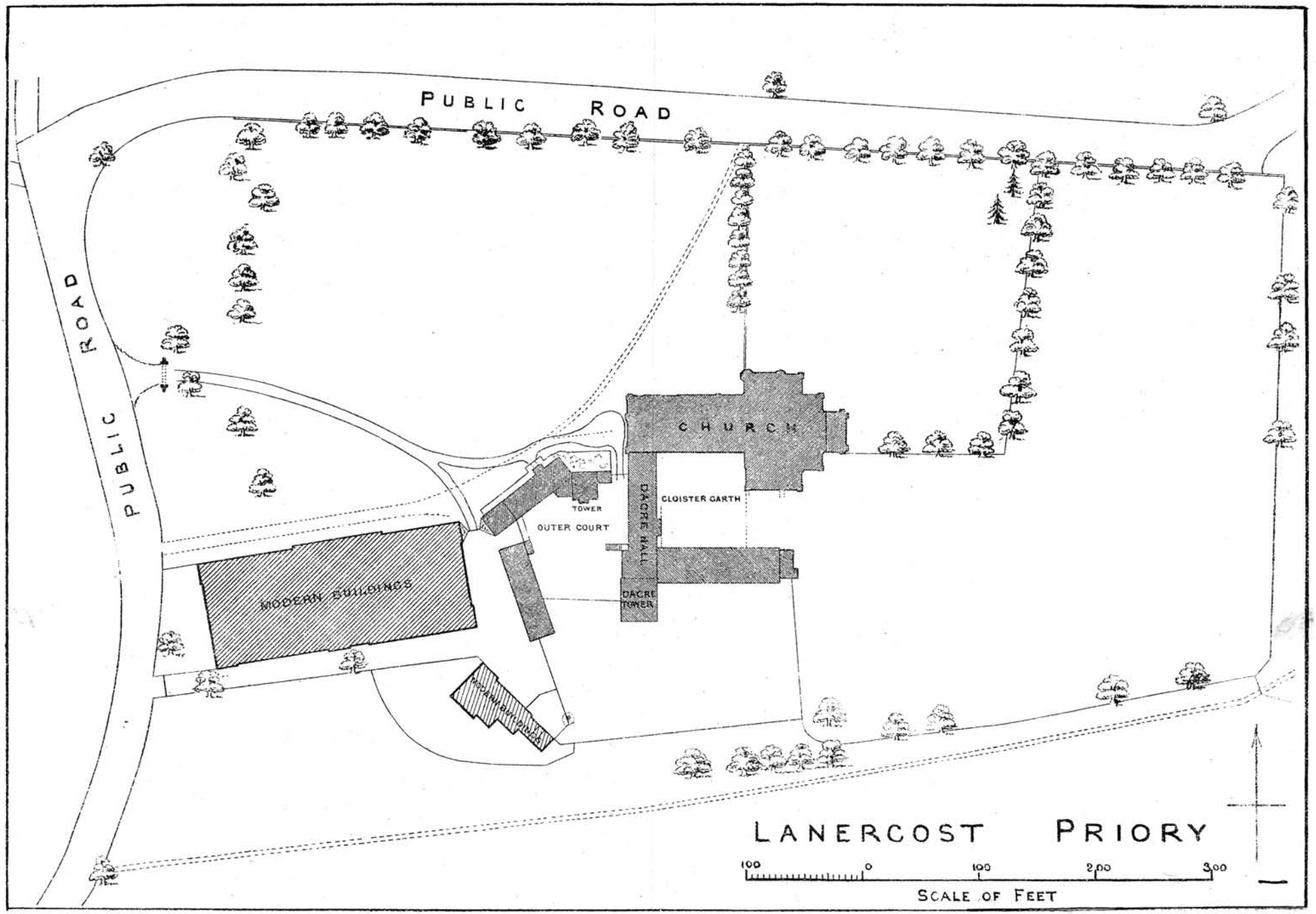
ART. XIII.—*Lanercost Priory.* By Richard S. Ferguson and Charles J. Ferguson.

Read at Lanercost.

THE generally received local histories tell us that William the Conqueror, when he parcelled out England among his followers, bestowed the whole county of Cumberland upon Ranulph de Meschines, or Di Micenis, the husband of his niece, and appointed him Earl of Carlisle or Cumberland. They then go on to say that the Earl, thus enriched and appointed, in accordance with the system of feudal tenures then customary, divided out his Earldom into eleven baronies, one of which—namely the Barony of Gilsland—he gave unto a relotive of his, Hubert de Valibus, or Vaux. The local histories further say that the previous possessor of the Barony of Gilsland, or at all events of large estates in the territory thus made into the Barony of Gilsland, was one Beuth, either an Anglo-Saxon, or as his name may seem to indicate, one of the many Norwegians who had settled in the northern counties of England. The stronghold of this Beuth was at a place called Castle Steads, which had formerly been, under the name of Petriana, a fortified station on the Roman Wall, overlooking the then wild valley of the Irthing, and within a short distance of the place where the great Roman Road, known as "The Maiden Way," crossed the wall. This Beuth had also estates in

in Bewcastle, a place that took its name (as it is said) from him, and the castle built by him there. Beuth was by no means inclined to give up his lands to the Norman invader, but he was by force dispossessed and banished from Cumberland. He fled into Scotland with his infant son, Giles Beuth, called in the register of Lanercost, Gil-fil-Beuth.

Gilles Beuth (as the story goes) grew up a disinherited man and a malcontent, and revenged himself upon his oppressors by laying waste the county of Cumberland to the utmost of his power. At last, in King Stephen's time, when the Scots were in the language of the chroniclers of the day, let into Cumberland, Gilles Beuth contrived, aided by the Scots and by the Gilsland tenantry, who considered him as the rightful owner of the property, to dispossess Hubert de Vallibus, the whole county of Cumberland being in fact overrun by the Scots. When Cumberland was retaken from the Scots by Henry II., that monarch, by deed, regranted and confirmed the Barony of Gilsland to Hubert de Vallibus, then an extremely old man. Hubert de Vallibus was shortly afterwards succeeded in the barony by his eldest son, Robert de Vallibus, as Denton says, "a valorous gentleman, and well learned in the law of this land." Gilles Beuth continued to disturb Robert de Vallibus, in his barony, as he had formerly disturbed Hubert de Vallibus. Negotiations were at last entered into between them, and a meeting was arranged at Castle Steads, then the stronghold of de Vallibus. At this meeting De Vallibus "treacherously "slew the said Gilles Beuth which shameful offence made "him leave arms and betake to his studies at the Inns of "Court, where he became so great a proficient that he was "made Justice Itinerant into Cumberland, and came there in "1176." His colleague on the circuit was Ranulph de Glanville, Chief Justiciary of England. Before this date Robert de Vallibus had been Custos of Carlisle, and in 1174 he had defended that city against the long seige of William the Lion of Scotland, the story of which is told by Jordan Fantosme. In fact, as Denton says, "He became of so much "account with king Henry II., that he did little in Cumberland "without Robert's advice and council; yet could not his con-"science be at quiet, until he made atonement for the murder "of Gilles Bueth, by endowing Holy Church with part of that "patrimony which occasioned the murder, and therefore he "founded the priory of Lanercost, in Gilsland." Castle Steads, the scene of the murder, was included in the lands bestowed on the new foundation, and the legend is that the tower in which



which the murder was committed was pulled down, and the site sown with salt, according to ecclesiastical usage.

Such is the account given in Denton's Manuscript History of Cumberland of the reasons for the foundation of Lanercost Priory, and adopted by most of the county historians.

Camden observes that no trace of this story can be found in the charter by which Robert de Vallibus founded the Priory, wherein he does not even enjoin the monks to pray for the soul of Gilles Beuth. Possibly, de Vallibus was too good a lawyer to put into writing any acknowledgement of his misdeeds; but the story has from beginning to end little or no evidence to support it, and a critical examination will go far to upset it *in toto*.

The late Mr. Hodgson Hinde long ago proved the statement that William the Conqueror granted Cumberland to De Meschines to be a blunder, a blunder that Mr. Luard, of Cambridge has recently traced to its source in a marginal note on a M.S. of Matthew de Paris. So far from William the Conqueror having a footing in Cumberland, the Scots held that county, and, with the exception of a garrison at Carlisle, kept out the Normans until the time of Henry II. In 1157, the third of his reign, Henry II. wrested Cumberland from their grasp, and shortly afterwards granted to Hubert de Vallibus, the possessions with which, according to Denton, he had been presented by Ranulph de Meschines. The words of description in the deed are—"Totam terram quam Gilbertus filius Boet tenuit die quo fuit vivus et mortuus." Thus we see that Gilles Beuth died during the Scottish occupation of Cumberland, and therefore at a period when he, and not De Vallibus, would be Lord of Castle Steads, thus making it impossible for De Vallibus to play the host there to Gilles Beuth. We may anticipate a little and mention that Robert, another son of Beuth, was benefactor to the Priory, which he hardly would have been, had De Vallibus been the murderer of his brother. That Castle Steads was the scene of some dark deed of blood is extremely probable, from the legend before alluded to of its destruction and of the sowing of its foundation with salt; but there is no evidence, except legendary, to connect Robert De Vallibus, judge, warrior, and statesman, with that deed, and the probabilities would appear to lead to a different conclusion. Motives plenty can be suggested which might have induced Robert de Vallibus to found a monastery of Austin Canons at Lanercost; perhaps he really believed the foundation would benefit the souls of his father and mother, as

the original grant recites; perhaps he wished to introduce Christianity and uprear the sacred cross in a Pagan locality, where the Eastern deities of Baal and of Mithras, the Roman deities of Mars and Jupiter, of Belutucadnor and Cocidius, with many more of German, Spanish, and Gaulish origin, had all found votaries; perhaps he wished to conciliate the mother Church and the great and powerful Chapter of the Austin Canons; perhaps he was only carrying out a great scheme for consolidating the Norman rule, by planting religious as well as military garrisons throughout the land; perhaps he wished his soul to be prayed for, or, like many a childless man, thought that thus his name and generosity would be handed down to posterity for ever; in fact he merely did what almost every great baron of his day did. Nor was Lanercost the only religious house in Cumberland that benefited by his liberality.

Passing from the consideration of the motives by which Robert de Vallibus was or might have been actuated, let us consider at what date he actually founded the Abbey of Lanercost. A tablet in the Church, inserted in the wall at the west end of the north aisle, bears the following inscription —

Robertus de Vallibus filius Huberti Dns de Gilsland fundator Priorati de Lanercost Ao dm 1116 Ædargan uxor ejus sine Prole

Reverendus G. Story hujus Ec:
Pastor Grato animo hunc lapidem posuit 1761

Several of the county historians have followed Mr. Story in assigning 1116 as the date of the foundation, though all agree that it was not consecrated until 1169. Mr. Story's gratitude probably exceeded his historical knowledge, for the date he gives is clearly wrong. Were 1116 the correct date, then, as the founder lived until the year 1199 or 1200, he must either have been over a hundred years of age when he died, or else have founded an abbey before he was twenty-one. Apart from this reason, the whole of Cumberland, as we have before said, was, in the year 1116, in the hands of the Scots, and was not recovered from them until 1157. Again, the original grant or charter by Robert de Vallibus, which has no date, is witnessed by Walter, Prior of Carlisle. Now Walter was not Prior of Carlisle until the year 1133, a fact which puts 1116 out of the question. Internal evidence drawn from the grant itself settles the point: its language shows that Hubert de Vallibus was dead when the grant was made; the wording of the grant is "Pro domino Henrico Rege Secundo et „

"et pro animabus antecessorum et successorum illius et pro "anima patris mei Huberti et matris meæ Græciæ et antecess- "orum meorum." Note the distinction in speaking of the living monarch and of the deceased father and mother. Had Hubert de Vallibus been alive, the grant would have run "pro patre meo." This distinction proves that the grant by De Vallibus must have been made after his father's death. which took place in 1164; therefore the grant could only have been made, at the most, three or four years before the consecration in 1169. We may safely reject as untrue the story that the Priory was founded in 1116, and assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the consecration and endowment was simultaneous, and that the great dignitaries who witnessed the charter of endowment were also present at the religious ceremonies attendant on the consecration, a point to which we shall recur. We may also add that the charter of endowment is witnessed by many persons of high clerical rank, who would be more likely to assemble at a consecration than at a mere perambulation of lands and execution of a deed. One argument on the other side may be noticed. The words of the grant are in the present tense—"To the Prior of "Lanercost and the Canons regular there serving God;" and it may be by some argued that an establishment of some sort existed there prior to the benefactions of De Vallibus. But prior to the year 1157 the Scots were in power, and they would not have allowed the establishment of an order of English canons, subject—as we know Lanercost was— to the great Chapter of Austin Canons which met in the south of England. Between 1157 and 1164 no land at Lanercost could have come into possession of the Austin Canons, except by gift from Hubert de Vallibus; such gift would have certainly been mentioned in the deed of gift made by his son, Robert de Vallibus. The use of the present tense in that deed in the words referring to the prior and canons would be merely the common form employed by the conveyancers of the day, and no trustworthy argument can be drawn therefrom as to the prior existence of a religious house at Lanercost. That there was no religious foundation existing prior to the foundation of De Vallibus is proved conclusively by the fact that he had, as we shall show hereafter, the patronage and appointment of the prior. Doubtless the building consecrated in 1169 had been in construction for some time previously and, probably, the prior and canons had some temporary lodgings near, possibly under some tree, as we know the monks of Fountains

Fountains Abbey lived, pending the erection of their abbey buildings.

There are, however, two passages in historians which may seem to throw doubt on the time of the foundation of Lanercost, or even on its foundation at all. (1) Bartholomew de Cotton, in his chronicle, gives a list of the bishops of Candida Casa (or Witerna, Whithern, or Whithorn, in Wigtonshire), and includes in it no bishop of the name of Christian. He says that this see ceased in 1131, when that of Carlisle was founded. But a Bishop Christian of Candida Casa was, as will be shown, a witness to the grant of Robert de Vallibus. He did exist, in spite of Bartholomew de Cotton, and was an extensive benefactor to Holm Cultram, where he was buried—an abbey which was not founded until 1150, the Papal bull is on record confirming by name his donations to that abbey. Thus a Christian was in fact Bishop of Candida Casa at a time subsequent to the year 1150, a fact which confirms the view we take as to the date of the foundation of Lanercost Priory. (2) Benedict, of Peterborough, in his chronicle, says that the see of Carlisle had, in 1186, been vacant for 30 years. Mr. Stubbs, his editor, adds a note, in which he says this disposes of the story that Bernard, Bishop of Carlisle, consecrated the Priory of Lanercost in the 12th year of his episcopacy, 1169. Now, as Bernard, Bishop of Carlisle, is not one of the witnesses to the deed of gift by De Vallibus, we think he did not consecrate the Priory of Lanercost at all, but that Christian, Bishop of Candida Casa did, for his name is appended to the deed of gift. The existence of this Bishop Bernard is very doubtful at all. The county historians appear to have argued thus—there was a consecration in the diocese of Carlisle in 1169, and therefore there must have been a Bishop to consecrate, and that Bishop must have been a Bishop of Carlisle. They dub him Bernard, because one Bernard, a foreign Bishop, had then a grant of the temporalities of the diocese in commendam. The only evidence to be found for the existence of a Bernard, Bishop of Carlisle, is the bold statement by Hutchinson and other local historians, that he officiated at the consecration of Lanercost. We have shown this to be improbable. They overlook the fact that great part of the territory formed into the see of Carlisle was, prior to the establishment of that see, under the Bishop of Candida Casa, and that such Bishop probably reclaimed his ancient jurisdiction during the long voidance of the see after the death of the first Bishop of Carlisle. We actually find a Bishop

Bishop of Candida Casa consecrating buildings at Hexham at a later date than this. They overlook also the fact that, about the time of the consecration of Lanercost, Bishop Christian of Candida Casa was, as the annals of the Abbey of Holme Cultram show, constantly in Cumberland. He, we feel confident, officiated at the consecration of Lanercost, for he is a witness to the original charter.

Thus, then, we have arrived at the conclusion that, in the year 1169, Robert de Vallibus founded, for some reason or other, an Abbey of Austin or Black Canons at Lanercost, and Bishop Christian of Candida Casa performed the ceremony of consecration.

Let us now see with what De Vallibus endowed the Priory; and for that purpose we can turn to the grant or deed of endowment, which is printed in Dugdale's Monasticon, with one or two singular misprints. It is addressed (we translate from the Latin) "To all sons of Holy Mother Church, Robert de Vallibus, son of Hubert de Vallibus, greeting." By it the founder gave to God, the blessed Mary Magdalene, and the Prior of Lanercost and the canons regular there serving God, "landam de Lanercost," between the Picts' wall and the river Irthing, and between Burgh and the Poltross Burn, which divides Cumberland from Northumberland. Now, all the county historians translate "landa" (which Dugdale throughout prints "lauda") as land, but its real meaning in old Law Latin is a lawn, or open field without wood, (see Jacob's Law Dictionary); and the "lawn of Lanercost" (landa ad costeram vallis) was probably a very circumscribed area at the time when Cumberland was mainly covered by the primeval forest. This singular inaccuracy of translation has led many writers to vastly exaggerate the territory given to the Priory, and in fact some writers boldly say that the grant was of all the land between the boundaries mentioned above, a most unwarrantable assertion. At its dissolution the Priory only owned about twenty acres at Lanercost, and this was probably the extent of their founder's gift. De Vallibus also gave the Priory the village of Walton, setting out the boundaries most carefully by reference to the Roman Wall, to the junction of Cambeck with Irthing, to a rivulet descending from a black oak on the road to Cumgnencath, and to the river King; he also gave the church of Walton and the chapel of Triermane, the churches of Irthing, Brampton, Carlatten, and Farlam, the lawns (landas) of Warthcolemon, Roswrageth, and Apeltrethwayt, and land (terram) on Brenkiber Moor, formerly held by

by Gilles Beuth, and right of common with his free tenants over all his, the founder's, waste lands. To these gifts he also added pasture for two years for thirty cows and twenty sows in the forest of Walton, and also for the oxen which plough the lands (landas); and pannage (which is such produce of woods and hedge-rows as cattle feed on) for their pigs, both for pigs bred by the prior and canons, and for pigs they should buy. The founder further gave the Priory the bark of timber on their lands which formerly belonged to Gilles Beuth, and the dry and fallen wood in his forests, and also right of roads over his lands to go to and fro from their churches and lands, sites for their barns and mills, and fishing on the rivers Irthing, King, and Herthingbun, or Hestingburn. The charter, by its wording, shows that the boundaries of some of these gifts had just been perambulated by the donor and the witnesses to the charter. The deed is witnessed by Christian, Bishop of Candida Casa, or Withern or Whithorn, in Wigtonshire; by William, Prior of Carlisle; by Archdeacon Robert; by Robert, Parson (persona) of Brampton; John the Camerarius, or chamberlain; Thomas the Pincerna, or cup-bearer; and a long list of names. It is impossible, without very minute local research to indentify all the places named in the deed, some of the names having become obsolete, while others are so obviously misspelt, particulary by Dugdale. From a charter of confirmation granted to the Priory by King Richard I., it appears that the founder's bounty stayed not here, but that he afterwards gave the Priory the two Askertons, the tithes of all venison and deer and fox skins in his lands in Cumberland, of his lakes and fishings, and of all foals, calves, lambs, pigs, wool, cheese, and butter. This second charter also confirms the following benefactions:—Ada Engayn gave thirty acres of land in Burgh Marsh, two saltpans, and pasture for 200 sheep, a free net in Eden, three marks of silver in the church of Burgh, with a carucate of land at Blenecreye, and pasture there, for daily remembrance at the altar of St. Catherine for the soul of her husband, Simon de Morville; David, son of Terric, and Robert, son of Askell, gave Lesings Hermitage, and common of pasture in Denton; Alexander de Winser give tithe of the mulcture of Corby Mill, and William, son of Udard, a toft near the same mill; Peter de Tilliol, Simon of Tilliol, lords of Scalesby Castle, and Henry Norris, gave lands in Scales; Robert, son of Beuth, and Robert, son of Asketil, a carucate of land in Denton, and pasture for one milking of sheep

sheep, twenty cows, and one bull. This grant proves incidentally that the monks milked their sheep as the Swiss do their goats.

Lanercost had, besides De Vallibus, many generous friends. Sir Hugh de Morville, Lord of the Manors of Lazonby and Kirkoswald, who flourished about the year 1200, gave the Priory the churches of Grynsdale and Lazonby. We find also mentioned gifts of lands, of rights of common, of pasture, of wells, of churches, of tithes, of mulcture of various mills, of houses in Carlisle and elsewhere, of saltpans on Burgh Marsh, of free nets in the Eden, and even of slaves, a fact that may astonish many who are not acquainted with "villains and "villainage." But Walter, son of William de Ireby, gave the Priory the villian Walter, son of Simon de Gamelesby, with all his issue and cattle; Angeline de Newby, gave Henry, son of Ledmere, and all that belonged to him; Robert de Castle Cayrock gave Gamel de Walton and his issue; and Robert de Vallibus gave a villian called Jeffrey Pitch, his wife and posterity for ever. Full lists of these benefactions are in most histories of Cumberland.

The deposition of Prior William of Lanercost, to which we shall come presently, puts Multon on the same level as De Vallibus as a founder of the Priory. So far as we know the benefactions of the Multons were small compared to those of De Vallibus, but as the Multons succeeded to the barony of Gilsland, their protection would doubtless be most valuable to the little Priory. The founder, before he died, granted to the prior and canons the right of patronage of the Priory, that is, of appointing their own prior. Robert de Vallibus, or Vaux, the founder, died childless in 1199 or 1200, but was succeeded in his barony by his brother, Ranulph de Vallibus, who held the honours but a few months. On the death of Ranulph's grandson Hubert de Vallibus, son of a second Robert de Vallibus called the crusader, the family of De Vallibus or Vaux, ended in an heiress, Matilda or Maud, who married, prior to the year 1250, Thomas Multon, lord of Burgh-on-the-Sands, who died in 1270, and by her the lands of the Vaux passed to the family of Multon. Now the family of Multon had already been enriched by the possessions of one heiress, for the grandfather of Thomas Multon had married Ada Morville, who was heiress of Hugh Morville, lord of Burgh, and generally confused with one of the murderers of Saint Thomas á Becket, who was of the same name. Matilda Vaux or Multon outlived both her husband and eldest son. She

She attended the assizes at Penrith in the time of Edward I., and is returned as lady of Gilsland and of the manor of Cumwhinton, in that barony. This Matilda Multon was in her widowhood a great benefactress to Lanercost Priory, as also were her husband and son. Matilda's granddaughter, Margaret Multon, became heiress of the estates, and at the age of seventeen she eloped from Warwick Castle with Ranulph Dacre, in the year 1317. By their marriage the Gilsland estates came to the Dacres, who thus became entitled to quarter with the escalop shells of Dacre, the gold and red cheques of Vaux, the red bars of Multon, and the blue shield of Morville, with its golden fretwork and lilies. For eleven descents or so the lands of the Vaux continued in the Dacres, and then in the year 1569, the family of Dacre of the north ended in three coheiresses, by one of whom, "Bessie of the braid apron," the lands of the Vaux passed to Belted Will Howard," the famous Lord Warden of the Marches.

We know little of the history of the priory whose foundation we have discussed. The so called Chronicle of Lanercost in the British Museum, is now agreed to have been the work of a friar-minor of Carlisle, and it contains but little mention of Lanercost.

In the year 1280, according to that Chronicle, a court held at Irthington, probably a Court Baron, for Irthington was the chief manor of the barony, decided that an attachment made on the lands of the Priory was null and void. This important decision shows how high and above the law were the privileges and rights of the Priory. In the same year, according to the Chronicle, King Edward I., and Eleanor his queen came to Lanercost, and the prior and convent met them at the gate. On this occasion the king presented a silk cloth to the priory; the king also, "as was said," (the chronicler is a cautious man) took in his hunting two hundred stags and hinds in Inglewood Forest. The chronicler's doubt was uncalled for, the Close Rolls of the preceding reign show that Inglewood Forest must have been crowded with large game, and the royal huntsman, with horses and dogs, was constantly sent there with orders to take large number of deer. On one occasion two hundred deer were ordered to be taken, to be well salted, and sent to the King at Scarborough.

The next mention of Lanercost in the Chronicle is the account of the visitation of Bishop Ralph Irton, on Sunday, 22nd March, 1281. The members of the convent met him at the gate with the same state that they did the king, and the

the bishop gave them his blessing, and then admitted all the friars to the kiss of peace; on entering he called a meeting of the chapter, and after it was held he went on with his visitation, "in which" as the chronicle says, "we were compelled to receive new constitutions." Mr. Stevenson, who edited the chronicle for the Banatyne Club, has clearly proved from internal evidence that the writer of the chronicle was a friar-minor of Carlisle, but Nicholson and Burn, in their history of Cumberland, writing earlier, and believing the chronicle to be the work of a canon of Lanercost, took the words "coacti sumus," to refer only to the Priory of Lanercost, and fell into the error of supposing that new constitutions were imposed on the Priory alone. In reality the words mean that, as a conclusion to the bishop's visitation of his diocese, he issued new rules for the whole of the diocese.

We now come to a sad portion of the history of the Priory. On Easter Monday, the 26th of April, 1296, according to the chronicle of Walter de Hemyngford, and the Chronicle of Lanercost, the Scottish army of 500 horse and 40,000 men, under the Earl of Buchan, marched through Nichol-Forest on Carlisle, and made an unsuccessful attempt on that city. They however laid the country waste with a barbarity than which history records none more savage; in their fury they spared neither age, sex, nor condition, and as they were unable to lay hands upon the warriors and grown-up men, they blooded their arms, up to then, as the historian states, unstained, upon the decrepid, upon old women, upon women in child-bed, and even upon children of two or three years old; nay more, they transfixed the children with their spears, and thus suspended them in the air to die; they burnt the churches; they outraged nuns, married women, and maidens indiscriminately, and these atrocites they committed in places the most sacred. The little nunnery at Lambley perished almost *in toto*. At Hexham they assembled a large number of scholars in the schools, closed the doors upon them, and set fire to the buildings. Even the dead were dug up, that their bodies might be stripped of the valuables which were supposed to be buried with them, and the jewelled shrines of Hexham abbey were appropiated by these marauders, regardless of the fact that the patron saint of the abbey was Saint Andrew, the patron saint of their own Scotland; so little indeed cared they for this, that they derisively knocked the head off his image, and said they would take it to plough Scotland with. Lanercost suffered almost as severely. "Such universal

"devastation," says our chronicler, in dog Latin, "cannot be "imputed to the bravery of warriors, but rather to the "cowardice of robbers who have invaded a sparsely populated "country in which they have met with no resistance."

Walter de Hemyngford tells us that the Scots arrived at Lanercost on Thursday evening, after having burnt Lambley on their road, and stayed all night. They had intended to proceed further, but as Walter says, "Noluit ipse Deus, et ideo impediti sunt." A messenger came from their friends, to say the king of England was close at hand with a large army; so the Scots, early on Friday, set off back through Nichol Forest, laden with large booty, after having burnt some of the conventual buildings at Lanercost, but not the church.

Peter Langtoffe. a poetical canon of Hexham, celebrates the invasion in verse; he says—

"Corbridge is a town, they brent it when thei came,
Two hous of religion, Leynercoste and Hexham.
Thei chased the canons out, thei gods bare away,
And robbed all about; the bestis took to pray."

The year following this terrible invasion, William Wallace, called by the historian, "Quendam virum sanguineum, qui prius fuerat in Scotia princeps latronum," ravaged the place again.

The author of the chronicle of Lanercost concludes one of his books with the following mournful hexameters:—

DE IMPIETATE SCOTORUM.

Per te fœdata loca sancta Deoque dicata
Templaque sacrata sunt, proh dolor, igne cremata
Esse nequiverent destructio damnaque multa
Ecclesiæ celebris Haugustaldensis inulta,
Desolata domus de Lanercost mala plura
Passa fuit, fiet de talibus ultio pura
Ferrum, flamma, fames, venient tibi Scotia, digne,
In qua fama, fides, fœdus, periere maligne:
Sub duce degenero gens Scotica degeneravit
Quæ famam temere, fœdus, quæ fidem violavit.

Some ten years later, in 1306, King Edward I. was too ill to head in person his own army against the Bruce, but he travelled by slow stages to the Scottish marshes, in a litter carried by horses, and arrived at Lanercost Priory on Michaelmas Day, where he stayed until Easter in the following year. Many important documents and writs, during this interval, are dated from Lanercost, among others a grant of certain churches to the priory of Hexham. From Lanercost the king sent his judges to Berwick, where, according to Stow, "they tried "hundreds and thousands of breakers of the peace and con- "spirators, many of whom were hanged, and the Countess of "Bowen

"Bowen was enclosed in a cage whose breadth, length, height, "and depth was eight feet, and was hanged over the walls of "Berwicke." From Lanercost, too, was issued the writ which banished Piers Gaveston from the kingdom, as a corrupter of the Prince of Wales.

During this visit one Dungall Machduel, a noble of Galway, captured alive two brothers of Robert Bruce, viz.: Thomas Bruce, and Alexander Bruce, dean of Glasgow, and also Reginald de Crawford; these he sent prisoners to the king at Lanercost, and with them the heads of a small Irish king, a gentleman of Cantyre, and two unnamed nobles, all adherents of the Bruce. Thomas Bruce was sent forthwith to Carlisle, dragged by horses round that city, then hung and beheaded, and his head put on a spike on the castle of Carlisle. The others were merely hung and beheaded, and their heads, and those of the small Irish king and company, divided among the three gates of Carlisle, being two heads for each gate. On leaving Lanercost, at the end of his visit, the king, as a present, presented the churches of Mitford in Durham and Carlattan, to the Priory. The grant is dated Carlisle, 17th March, 1307. A copy of the grant is in Prynne and Rymer, and also copies of letters, addressed by the king to the pope, and to the cardinal vice-chancellor of the Romish Church, praying to have the gift confirmed by the pope. From this we learn that the king's reason for his liberality were his special devotion to Mary Magdalene, and the restoration of the status of the Priory of Lanercost, which was much impoverished, both through the burning of its houses and the plundering of its goods by the Scotch, and also by reason of his own long stay while he was detained by bad health, an honour which doubtless fell heavy on the impoverished treasury of the Priory. The church of Carlattan was included in the original grant of Robert de Vallibus, and therefore the king's gift would seem of little value at first sight. The explanation is that De Vallibus only granted to the Priory the patronage of the church, while the grant of the king, and the pope's confirmation thereof, enabled the Priory to appropriate the revenues wholly, appointing a vicar or curate to do the duty. The king's bounty dragged the Priory into a lawsuit with the priory of Durham, the point at issue being whether the church of Multon in Durham was a chapel to Mitford church or not, and so included in the royal grant. This suit was compromised in the year 1310 by deeds of release, which exist at the present day, and are in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham. The Priory received other benefactions about this time. In the

the Rotuli Originales there is a licence from Edward I. to Robert de Whayte of Carlisle to give the priory a house.

In the month of August, 1311, Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland, came with a great army to Lanercost, where he stayed three days, and imprisoned most of the canons. These Scottish visits caused the Priory immense harm and loss of income. According to the Valor Nicholai, made in 1288, when Pope Nicholas I. granted the tenths to Edward I. for six years, the temporalities of the Priory were £74 12s. 6½d. per annum. On account of the destruction worked by the Scots, a new valuation was, in 1318, made of portions of the Border counties. The Priory is returned in the Nova Taxatio at nothing, as were also many churches on the borders of Cumberland. It is curious that in the great Inspeximus of 1297, when every other corporation, lay or clerical, in Cumberland, appeared to a writ of quo warranto, and showed the title to their possessions, the Priory of Lanercost did not. The year 1297 was however the year after that in which the Priory was plundered by the Scots, under the Earl of Buchan, and the year in which it was plundered by Wallace.

The luckless Priory was not yet done with Scots and Scottish invasions. In 1346, David king of Scotland with his army, came to Lanercost, where, as the chronicle, says, the canons received him "viri venerabiles et domino devoti." The Scots entered with haughtiness into the holy places, threw out the vessels of the temple, stole the treasures, smashed the doors, played practical jokes, and reduced "in nihilum," into nothingness, everything they attacked. From the annals of Hexham, we learn that this invasion was as savage and barbarous as the first one, in 1296. Neither Hexham nor Lanercost ever again lifted up their heads. Lanercost relapsed into obscurity; henceforth the register of the bishops of Carlisle, which had up to this time made some scant mention of the names of the priors, is silent as to either prior or priory.

One document, most illustrative of the subsequent state of the priory, has recently been found at York. It is a letter in Latin from Archbishop Bowet, of York, to his suffragan bishops, and is dated York, 18th April, 1409. In this letter Archbishop Bowet says that he has turned his attention to the poor canons, prior, and convent of Lanercost, whose monastery and most of its buildings "as the prior with a lamentable voice tells us," are threatened with ruin; their buildings and possessions, in consequence of frequent attacks from the Scots, are in ruins and burnt; their lands, for the same reason, lie uncultivated

uncultivated; in short, that the prior and convent are reduced to such poverty that they cannot now a days live without the help of other Christians, nor serve God according to the rules of their order or duty. The archbishop, who was a black canon himself, requests his bishops, when deputations from the Priory arrive to collect money, to receive them well, to explain their errand thoroughly by means of the parish priest in each church, and to let them have the money collected without any deduction, and further grants subscribers to the restoration fund an indulgence of forty days. A copy of the letter is in one of the Surtees series. This letter is curious; it proves the antiquity of circular letters from a bishop, directing collections to be made in the churches of his diocese for some object approved of by him, and it also hints that tolls were sometimes taken off the collections. A similar letter is still in existence at York, directing collections to be made, to erect an image of the Virgin Mary in Carlisle cathedral. How far this appeal was successful we know not; we may presume it to some extent enabled the Priory to restore its ruined buildings and fallen fortunes. Nothing is known at present of the history of the priory between 1409 and 1536, the date of its dissolution. It probably lingered on in poverty, its canons but little superior to the rude peasants by whom they were surrounded.

On the obituary roll of priors Ebchester and Burnley of Durham, (the latter died 1468), a roll which was taken round to, and signed by an official, probably the precentor, of all the religious houses almost in England, as an engagement to pray for the souls of those two priors, we find Lanercost signed thus:—"Titulus Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ de Lanercoste Ordinis Sancti Agustini." The penmanship is of the very poorest character, a proof to some extent that Lanercost was by no means opulent at that time, and that the scholarship of its inmates was but at a low ebb.

The name of Lanercost also appears on the obituary roll of Bishop Thomas Hatfield of Durham, and that of Bishop Skirlaw of Durham, 1416, and of Prior John Hemyngburgh, prior of Durham, 1416. Its style in the last two is varied from Ecclesia to Monasterium, and in the last it is spelt Layndyurcost.

Some curious particulars as to the Priory of Lanercost are to be found in the famous Scrope and Grosvenor roll. In the years 1386-1390, a trial took place in the Court of Chivalry of the High Constable of England and the Earl Marshall, to decide whether Richard Lord Scrope, of Bolton, or Sir Robert Grosvenor

Grosvenor had a right to bear the shield "azure a bend or." The trial began at Newcastle, was adjourned to various places, and lasted for five years, when judgment was given in favour of Lord Scrope by the king, who was appealed to as the ultimate judge. The prior of Lanercost was one of the witnesses, and we transcribe a copy of his deposition, His name does not appear, beyond that it was William. He goes somewhat to fill up the gap which occurs after the name of Prior Richard Rydal, who deserted his duty in 1360. The translation of the prior's deposition is as follows :—

"William, prior of the house of Lanercost, of the age of 34, said that in the west end of his church are the arms Scrope within a bordure or, in a glass window, and the same arms are placed in the refectory between those of Vaux and Multon their founders; and that in their refectory and the west window of their church are the old arms of the King of England, the arms of France, the arms of Scotland, and the arms of Scrope, azure, a bend or, the which arms have been in the said window since the building of their church in the time of King Henry II, and by common report throughout the country, they were the arms of Scrope. That there remained banners which were used at the funerals of great lords, embroidered with their arms, amongst which were those of Scrope entire. He said the arms were also entire in an old chapel at Kirkoswald, and that they had in their church the same arms embroidered on a morsus (a sort of clasp) on a cope, with a white label for difference, and that the same had been in the Priory from beyond the time of memory. Being asked how he knew that the said arms belonged to Sir Richard, he said that such had always been the tradition in their house, and that he had heard the prior, his predecessor, who was an old man, say that he had heard from ancient lords, knights, and esquires, that the Scropes were come of a noble race and high blood from the time of the Conqueror, as appeared by evidences, and the prior who preceded him said that they were cousins to one Gant, who came over with the Conqueror, and that their arms were descended in right line to Sir Richard Scrope, as was known by common report in all parts of the north. As to Sir Robert Grosvenor, he said upon his oath that he had never heard of him or his ancestors until the day of his examination."

Lord William Dacre also deposed to the same effect. This evidence suggests some curious points. Apparently it corroborates what has been before conjectured as to the poverty and ignorance of the canons of Lanercost. The prior refers to no documentary evidence in possession of his Priory, but merely cites such traditions as the rude peasants around him might have told almost equally well. Nearly all the other members of religious houses who gave evidence, produced from their archives charters, seals, and books of emblazonry, which illustrated the knotty point in dispute. The position also of the coat of arms mentioned aids us, as will be hereafter shown, in interpreting the architectual puzzles presented by the conventual buildings.

The heraldic visitation of Thomas Tonge, Norroy King of Arms, 1530, affords another proof that the priory of Lanercost had sunk into such obscurity as to be overlooked by him, or such poverty as not to tempt him to visit it. He gives accounts

accounts of the religious houses of Cartmel, Saint Bees, Furness Abbey, Calder Abbey, Home Cultram, and Carlisle, but does not mention Lanercost.

But the end was then drawing nigh. In 1536 came the act for doing away with small monasteries, whose quaint preamble we cite:—

Forasmuch as manifest synne, vicious, carnal, abominable, living is dayley used and committed commonly in such little and small Abbeys, Priories and other Religious Houses of Monks, Canons, and Nuns, where the congregation of such Religious Persons is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the Governors of such Religious Houses and their Convent spoyle, destroye, consume, and utterly waste as well their Churches, Monasteries, Priories, Principal Houses, Farms, Granges, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as the ornaments of their Churches and their Goods and Chattels to the high displeasure of Almighty God, Slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the King's Highness, and the Realm if redress should not be had thereof."

It was not without cause that small monasteries were so hardly dealt with. Against Lanercost we have no evidence, but Hexham and Holme Cultram were in a bad state. The abbot of Holme Cultram was formally warned by his ecclesiastical superiors not to have ladies to dine and sup with him; and the prior of Hexham was cautioned to keep the fair sex out of his Priory, and to build up certain doors by which they found too easy an access. Probably Lanercost was neither better nor worse than its neighbours. In the summer of 1536 the Royal Commissioners began their visitation of the northern monasteries at Hexham, whose income was just above £200 per annum, the limit below which confiscation was to take place. They met here with armed resistance, which kindled a rebellion all through the north of England, fanned by the monks, who were thus threatened with the loss of their possessions; a rebellion which was not easily trod out, Carlisle castle having been actually attacked by the rebels. Trod out it was, and we have a letter from King Henry VII. to the Duke of Norfolk which closes with the history of the Priory of Lanercost

"Finally, forasmuch as all these troubles have ensued by the solicitation and traiterous conspiracyes of the monkes and chanons of these parties, we desire and pray you, that you repaire to Salleye Hexam Newminister Leoner-decoste (Lanercost) Saint Agathe, and all such other places as have made any manner of resistance or in anywise conspired to keep their houses with any force you shall without pitie or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed cause all the monks and channons that be in anywise faultie, to be tyed uppe without further delay or ceremoney to the terrible example of others; wherein we thinke you shall doo unto us high service."

The prior of Hexham is said to have been "tied up" over his own gate. He of Lanercost, John Robyson by name, had better luck, and appears from the Valor Ecclesiasticus to have become

become rector of Aikton—a piece of preferment over which the Priory had some rights. As for the canons, they probably got small pensions and went adrift.

The Priory, thus rudely disestablished and disendowed, was of the order of Austin Canons, or Black Canons, belonging to the same order as St. Mary's Priory at Carlisle, with which it kept up some connection. The members of the order held a somewhat intermediate position between the regular and secular clergy, being not so much monks as a community of parish priests living under rule. Their garb consisted of a long black cassock, with rochet above it, and a black cloak and hood over all. Though the order had a previous existence, yet its rules were first imposed by Pope Innocent II., in 1139. Carlisle and Hexham were also priories of this order, and Lanercost received priors from both these places. No list of the priors of Lanercost exists, but one or two names appear in the chronicle of Lanercost, and in the register of the bishop of Carlisle. In the chronicle or Lanercost, under date 1283, we read that John, Prior of Lanercost, resigned, and that a sufficient provision was made for him, and confirmed by the seal of Bishop Randulph. On the 16th of August in that year, being the day after the Assumption of the blessed Mary, Simon Driffeld was elected prior. The ex-prior, John, or John de Galwythea, died six years after his resignation. Of Simon Driffeld's death nothing is known; but his successor was Henry de Burgh, who died in 1315, and was succeeded by Robert Meaburn. Burn and Nicolson, on the authority of the chronicle of Lanercost, state prior Burgh to have been a great poet. We have not succeeeed in finding the passage in the chronicle. William de Southayke* succeeded Meaburn, and died in 1337. Then came John de Bowethby, and then John de Bothecastro, who resigned on a pension, and was, in 1354, followed by the jovial prior Thomas de Hextoldesham, a canon of Hexham, who was admonished by the bishop of Carlisle on his installation "not to frequent public huntings, or keep so large a pack of hounds." To him succeeded Richard de Rydal, a canon of Carlisle. Richard Rydal, in 1360, absented himself from his duty, and Martin de Brampton was appointed by the bishop to fill his place in his absence. About Richard Rydal

* The Cumberland family of Southaik, of Hardrigg Hall, lasted until the middle of the 17th century, when it ended in John Southaik, Esq. They bore for arms, Arg. a fesse dancettee gu., in chief a human heart, proper, between two nails sab. meeting in point in the summit of the fesse; in base a cross crosslet fitchee of the last.

Crest, out of clouds azure a cubit arm erect, vested gu., the cuff arg., the hand holding a human heart erect, proper.

there

there is some confusion: a canon of that name was prior of Carlisle, and was, in 1374, superseded for neglecting his duty, by Martin de Brampton; it is impossible that this could have happened at both places. The chartulary of Lanercost, which must not be confounded with the chronicle, gives the names of Simon, John, Thomas, and Walter as the predecessors of Prior John de Galwythea. By Bishop Halton's register, it appears that in 1306 a dispensation for bastardy was granted for William de Southayke, one of the canons, the Romish Church being very strict in requiring her officials to be born in holy wedlock. It is to be observed that the bishop of Carlisle confirmed the election of a prior, that he personally received their resignations, and if he did not personally install a new prior, he sent a commission to some one to do it—in one instance to the vicar of Brampton. The oath taken by a new prior was one of obedience to the Bishop of Carlisle. On one occasion the canons had a dispute about the election of a prior, the Bishop of Carlisle was appealed to, and heard arguments *pro* and *con*, and decided between the two rival claimants, in favour of Richard Rydal. After Prior Rydal we know the names of none of his successors except Prior William, until we come to Prior John Robyson, the last prior of Lanercost.

The releases mentioned before, as in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, have appended to them the seal of the Priory. The seal itself is engraved in Surtees's History of Durham, Vol. I., Plate 12, and also in Hodgson's Northumberland. The seal is in shape a vesica, about two inches and a quarter long. Upon it is a figure of Mary Magdalene, holding a palm branch in her right hand, and something in her left, which cannot, owing to its damaged condition, be made out. Two branches, bearing what may be either blossoms or fruit, grow on either side of the figure; in the upper part of the seal, right and left, are placed respectively a crescent (the horns pointing upwards) and a star or star-fish of five points. The legend on the seal is

CAPITLI SANCTÆ
MARIÆ MADALENÆ DE LANERCOST.

Religious houses generally used on their seals the figure of their patron saint, as we have just seen in the case of this Priory, and not unfrequently also their coats of arms. This

Priory does not do so. Tanner, in his Notitia, gives us, on the authority of a manuscript in the Ashmolean at Oxford, the arms of this Priory as "or, two flanches gules." Why they used this coat does not appear. The arms adopted by a religious house were generally those of its founder, or an adaptation thereof.

After the dissolution of the Priory, King Henry VIII., by letters patent, dated 22nd November, in the 34th year of his reign, granted to Thomas Dacre of Lanercost, commonly called Dacre the Bastard, in consideration of his true and faithful services, all that the house and site of the late monastery or Priory of Lanercost, also a water-mill near to the site of the said Priory, and two houses, one at Tanhouse and the other at Stonehouse, and also certain closes of land, all in Lanercost or Lanercost parish, "and saving and excepting out "of the said grant the parish church of Lanercost and the "churchyard thereof, and the mansion-house called Uttergate, "with the stable, granary, and garden thereto belonging, for "the dwelling of a curate or vicar, to have to the said Thomas "Dacre and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, or "to be begotten, for ever, and to hold of the King *in capite* "by the service of the twentieth part of a knight's fee, render-"ing for the same to the king 9s. yearly." This was in fact a grant of the demesne lands of the priory.

King Edward VI., in more comprehensive letters patent, of the 28th June, in the sixth year of his reign, granted to the same Thomas Dacre the Bastard, all the rectories and churches of Lanercost, Grenesdale, Farelam, Lasingby, Brampton, and Irthington, and the chapel of Walton, their advowsons and patronage, and all the tithes of corn, grain, sheaves, and other things on those places belonging to the Priory, and all the houses, lands, and tithes belonging to these rectories and the chapel of Walton; also a water mill in Walton, and all the property of the Priory in Walton, Thorney Moor, Whitehill, Wall, Dosecite, Burtholme Banks, St. Mary's Holme, Waltholme, Irthing, Ring, Brampton, Haverhen, Denton, and Carlisle, and also the rent of 9s., reserved by the letters patent of Henry VIII.; and also all fairs, markets, courts leet, views of frankpledge, waifs, estrays, goods of felons and fugitives, and of felons themselves and persons put in exigent, deodands, and other jurisdictions in all the places before-mentioned, to have and to hold to the said Thomas Dacre, knight, his heirs, and assigns for ever, to be holden of the king *in capite* by the service

service of the fortieth part of a knight's fee, rendering for the same £55: 17s. 7d. to the king, his heirs and successors, for all rents, services, and demands. This Thomas Dacre, in the year 1559, converted some of the Priory buildings into a dwelling-house. He caused the following verses to be placed in one of the windows: —

> Mille et quingentos ad quinquaginta novemque
> Adjice, et hoc anno, condidit istud opus
> Thomas Daker eques, sedem qui primus, in istam,
> Venerat, extincta religione loci.
> Hæc Edwardus ei dederat, devoverat ante
> Henricus longæ premia militiæ.

Many of the county historians seem to think these lines are a mistake, in that there were two distinct grants to the Dacres, one by Henry VIII., and the other by Edward VI. It is probable that Dacre knew more about the matter than we do. In all probability Henry VIII. promised Dacre the whole of the possessions of the Monastery, and actually granted to him only the demesne lands, the complete grant being made afterwards by Edward VI. In the Record Office there has recently been found a memorandum of a suit or petition by Thomas Dacre to Edward VI., in the year 1552, about Lanercost, and this memorandum, when looked into, will doubtless explain the difficulty. This Thomas Dacre carried the bar sinister over his coat of arms, and founded the line of Dacres of Lanercost. Roman Catholic writers have laboured to shew that the possession of church property has been a curse, and that the families to whom it has been given speedily became extinct. Whether or not, they in this case mistake the "post hoc" for the "propter hoc" it is not now for us to determine. Dacres of Lanercost form no exception to the rule. The last Dacre of Lanercost died without male issue; the site of the Priory and demesne lands reverted to the Crown, and were until lately under lease to the Earls of Carlisle, who have recently purchased them. The estates comprised in the second letters patent, being granted to the heirs general of Thomas Dacre the Bastard, went to his descendants in the female line, the Applebys of Kirklington, who very hesitatingly took the name of Dacre. The site of the parish church and the uttergate or parsonage remained vested in the Crown; and the Woods and Forests, some years ago, aided in their restoration; but before restoration the buildings were allowed to fall into extreme squalor; the very vaults were open to heaven, and, according to some writers, the

the corpses were exposed to view—one in particular, that of a venerable man with a long white beard, is mentioned as being visible. The following advertisement, taken from the Newcastle papers, speaks to the neglect with which the place was treated: —

"Whereas some evil-disposed person did sometime this spring enter into the ruinous part of Lanercost Church or Priory, and did feloniously take away from out of a vault in the said Church a lead coffin, which contained the remains of Lord William Dacre, Knight of the Garter. A reward of ten guineas on the conviction of the offenders."

"Naworth Castle, 9th May, 1775."

At a later period the local volunteers were wont to practice with ball at the ruins.

Our readers may be interested in a brief account of the property of the Priory as it was valued in the days of Henry VIII., in the Valor Ecclesiasticus: — the Priory was by no means a rich one; its total annual gross income was then about £79: 19s., which was, however, a larger income in value than such a sum would be at this day. This was reduced by certain outgoings to £77: 11s. 1d. The income was derived from two sources—the spiritualities of the Priory and the temporalities. The spiritualities arose in this way—De Vallibus and other benefactors had given the Priory certain churches—that is, the patronage of these churches, by virtue of which the Priory appointed the rectors. Gradually the Priory, by consent of the bishop, the pope, and of itself as patron, appointed itself the rector, that is, appropriated the great tithes, and appointed a vicar to do the duty, who received only the small tithes. This was a common practice, and its evils were so manifest, that Acts of Parliament were passed compelling the "appropriators" to sufficiently endow the vicars. In some cases, however, no vicar was endowed, but a mere incumbent was appointed, while the appropriator took all the tithes, as at Lanercost, where the parish church was, however the priory chapel. On the destruction of the religious houses, the income thus diverted from parish purposes to the support of the monastic appropriators was not allowed to revert to its original destination, but lay persons, by favour of or purchase from the king, stepping into the shoes of the religious houses, became "lay impropriators."

The items which composed the spiritualities of the Priory of Lanercost were thus made up: —

The

The Rectory of Lanercost, worth yearly, in wool, lambs, food, and milk, and Easter Offering ...	£11	11	6
Corn tithes of Walton	3	3	4
„ King and Irding	5	0	0
„ Brampton	5	0	0
„ Irthington	4	0	0
„ Lasingby	6	13	4
„ Grynsdale	4	0	0
„ Farlam	2	0	0
„ Mitford	10	0	0
Total of the spiritualities per annnm	£51	8	2

These spiritualities were mostly included in the second grant to Thomas Dacre, who sold some of them to the Howards, but others to this day remain in the Appleby Dacres, as lay impropriators.

It may be interesting to consider narrowly some of these items forming the spiritualities of the Priory, as we can then judge of the mischief and destruction done by the Scotch. Walton Church was, of course, originally a rectory, but was appropriated to the Priory of Lanercost, and the vicar endowed with all the altarage. The Priory however, soon appropriated the vicarage and its profits, and had the duty performed by one of their own canons. The living of Walton was, therefore, (until a recent act, which made all perpetual curates Parliamentary vicars), merely a perpetual curacy, as was that of Lanercost, where the duty was similarly provided for. In the valuation of Pope Nicholas, Walton is estimated as worth £50 a year; but the Scottish inroads so damaged it, that its value was reduced in the days of Henry VIII. to the sum set down above. Grynsdale was also wholly appropriated to the Priory, and served by one of their canons. Of Irthington, Brampton, and Farlam the Priory received the emoluments and appointed the vicars, whom they were bound by deeds made between them and the Bishop of Carlisle to endow with certain portions of the profits. At the time of Pope Nicholas's valuation, the Priory received annually from Irthington £10, and from Brampton £18, which the Scottish troubles reduced to nothing, and to £1. Of Lazonby the Priory was also appropriator, by gift from Sir Hugh de Morville, who also gave them Grynsdale. King and Irding appear to have had no places of worship, and the wooden chapel at Triermain, mentioned in the grant of De Vallibus, had long ceased to exist. The Priory was also the appropriator of Over Denton, and at one time derived an income therefrom, which the Scots annihilated. The church of Nether Denton was claimed by both

both this Priory and the Priory of Wetherall, and a dispute arose, which continued until the Pope's legate intervened, gave the nomination of the vicar to the Bishop of Carlisle, and divided the emoluments between the claimants, assigning two marks and a half to each annually. This source of income, it would seem, the Scots also destroyed. We can thus judge how much the spiritualities of the Priory had dwindled in the days of Henry VIII., though they were then by no means at their lowest ebb. Similar reasons had, doubtless, operated upon the temporalities, which were in the year 1536 thus made up: —

Land and Rents in the Village of Walton	£6	2	0
Do. and a Tenement at Thornemoor	1	3	0
Do. do. Whitehylle	1	2	11
Do. Burtholme and Walle	4	10	0
Lands in Banks and St. Mary's Holme	4	10	6
A Tenement called Herkshew	1	10	0
Rents in different Hamlets, and Carlisle, Irding, and King	5	2	4
The Demesne Lands of the Priory (20 Acres of Arable Land)	1	0	0
A Grain Mill within the precints of the Priory ...	0	10	0
A Water Mill near Walton	1	6	8
A Grange in Warthcoleman, with 20 Acres in the hands of the Prior	1	0	0
A Grange at Sewynese, with 14 Acres	0	13	4
Total	£28	10	9
Spiritualities	51	8	2
Total Gross Income ...	£79	18	11

The small acreage of the demesne lands of the Priory corroborates our remarks on the word "landa" and the extent of the donations of De Vallibus.

The annual outgoings were —

To the Bishop of Carlisle for Synodals	£0	8	0
To the Bishop of Carlisle for Triennial Visitations, 21s. 4d., or per annum	0	7	1
To the Vicar of Laysynby for two Skeps of Oatmeal	0	12	0
To Salary of Bailiffs, John Hadryngton and Matthew Stevenson	1	0	0
	£2	7	1

So that the total net income of the Priory, at its dissolution, was but £77: 11s. 10d. per annum. Certain items of property, which early benefactors had bestowed on them, do not appear in this account, which was made in the 26th year of the reign of Henry VIII., and is in the First-Fruit office. The tithes of venison, deer, and fox skins, had probably, with many other rights over the diminished forests of the barony

barony of De Vallibus, become worthless, as cultivation increased, and waste lands came under the plough. The decadence of villainage had long, prior to this, set free the offspring of Jeffery Pitch and his co-villains; but how is it that saltpans at Burgh and the free nets in Eden are not mentioned? Possibly some great baron had annexed them, when the priory was too poor to show fight, or they might possibly be unproductive at the time of valuation. Apparently some landed property had also vanished, as will be seen on a comparison of the list of benefactions given in the county histories with the above valuation, and with a somewhat different one taken from the Augmentation office in the 28th Henry VIII., and in our appendix. In its early and more flourishing days, the Priory did a little encroachment on its own account; for about the year 1220 we find the Bishop of Carlisle compelling it to give up to the abbey of Holm Cultram, some rents at Burgh, which it had acquired by "uncanonical means."

We have shown the destination of the spiritual and temporal possessions of the Priory on its dissolution. The following extract, taken from an account of Naworth castle, will give some clue to what became of the internal fittings of the church and consecrated buildings, so far as the Scots had spared them. The author is speaking of Belted Will's chapel in Naworth castle:—

"The Chapel or Oratory was situated near the library at the top of the tower, and contained several interesting remains. It was fitted up with plain wainscoat, painted red and ornamented with escalop shells and cross crosslets, armorial devices of the Dacres and Howards. There were also the fragments of what is supposed to have been the rich screen of the rood-loft or part of the reredos of the altar of Lanercost priory church, consisting of carved ornaments, of pierced work, richly painted and gilt, nailed up on the walls of the apartment. On the altar were several figures in white marble, about a foot in height, sculptured in alto-relievo, and which were of considerable value. They represented the descent of the Holy Spirit, an abbess holding a sword attending on a crowned personage falling on a sword, St. George and the Dragon, Judas saluting his master with a kiss, St. Cuthbert carrying the head of St. Oswald, &c. It is probable that they were brought from the adjacent monastery of Lanercost at its dissolution. Above the altar was a large painting on wood, twelve feet in width by three feet eight inches, representing the passion of our Lord."

From this we may be right in supposing that the Priory was fitted up with considerable splendour. We know from the deposition of Prior William that the windows in the church and refectory were fitted with glass at a date some two hundred years before it was at all common in the mansions of great nobles, and when it must have been either imported from France, or French workmen imported to make it, as was done at

at Hexham; the French artizans employed to fill the windows of Hexham abbey with glass, in all probability visited Lanercost, after staying at Hexham.

Turn we now to consider the architectural features presented by the buildings and ruins now standing. Taking a general view of the interesting architectural features presented by the buildings now remaining, the conclusion is forced upon our minds, that there is a gradual progression of style in the buildings, as if the monks had improved in their designs as they proceeded. This gradual increase of ornamentation appears to have commenced with the choir and to have proceeded with occasional breaks westward, culminating in the west front. One does not find at Lanercost an aisle added at one date, or a transept at another, but there is a gradual progression of the style, which seems, commencing at a very Early Transitional door on the south side, and moving round the east end of the building, to glide gradually from the Early Transitional style, through the very early English, to the perfect early English style in the west front; rude splays give way, as one moves round, to more ornate mouldings, and these again are replaced by others more richly decorated with dog-tooth ornaments, the difference in the dates of the styles being about 70 or 80 years. The probability is, that the buildings took that time fully to complete; that at the consecration, in the year 1169, only a small or temporary portion of the Priory was built, covering, doubtless, the site of the high east altar, or else a second consecration would have been necessary, of which we find no trace in history. We may conjecture that great part, if not all, of the original erection was at the time of consecration, in 1169, built of wood: we know that the neighbouring chapel of Triermain was wholly built of that material. It would seem that the canons, as they grew wealthier, in part rebuilt and greatly added to their original building, availing themselves of every new development of the style as it arose. Apparently they proceeded in this beautifying progress, first from west to east, and then from east to west; the south wall of the nave appears to be the most ancient part of the building, while the west window is the most modern and finished. This view is corroborated by the evidence of prior William. He speaks of the building of the church in terms which would be applied to one continuous act, such as we have described; says it was built in the time of Henry II. (by which he must mean begun to be built), and that

that the arms of Vaux and Multon, their founders, were on the west window "since the building of the church." These arms would, from the indications we have described, be almost the last things put in the church, and if heraldry can assign a date to them, we can approximate to the date of the completion of the church. Now, no Multon appears as a benefactor to the Priory before Maud or Matilda Vaux, the heiress of the Vaux, who married Thomas de Multon, an event which took place about 80 years after the foundation, in 1169, by De Vallibus. Previous to this marriage there could be no reason for the Priory doing honour to the Multons, by putting up their shield of arms in a place of honour, but after it, when a Multon reigned over Gilsland, and was a benefactor to the Priory, there was every reason. We may, then, conclude that the way in which the church was built and decorated, as shown by the architectural features, was a gradual building and beautifying, extending from the days of De Vaux, to after the time when the Multons became lords of Gilsland. Outside, on the west front, may be noticed the arms of Dacre, and also those of Dacre quartering Vaux, Multon, and Morville. If these shields were inserted when the west front was first completed, its completion could not have taken place until there was male issue of the marriage, in 1317, of Margaret de Multon with Ralph Dacre, entitled to bear the quarterings mentioned. But these shields appear to be subsequent insertions, and in fact the upper portion of the west front appears to have been extensively repaired. William de Dacre, the next successor, after Margaret de Multon, to the barony of Gilsland, did not come of age until 1375, and he was the first person entitled to bear the arms quartered as above. The prior, in his deposition, also mentions, "the old arms of the king of England," in allusion to the fact that in 1340 the kings of England altered their arms by quartering with their golden leopards the blue shield of France, semi-de-lis, in token of their claim to that crown: thus we have proof that the west window—and therefore, for the reasons we have stated, the whole building—was completed at a date anterior to 1340. It now remains to solve the question of why the arms of Scrope were placed in the windows of the church and refectory, in the central and most honourable position. The prior does not mention a Scrope as founder, nor does the name of Scrope appear in the list of benefactors of the Priory. To what then is the position held by the Scrope arms due? The mention, in

connection with the Scrope arms, of Kirkoswald, whose castle and manor had come by successive heiresses through the Estutovilles or Stutovilles to the Morvilles and Multons, inclines one to look for the reason in that direction, for Kirkoswald formed subsequently a quarry, from which Naworth castle, and probably Lanercost, received rich ornamental additions. We can find in the county histories no trace of any Scrope eminent in Cumberland at this period, but we find that in the third year of King John, William Stutoville and Phillip Escrope were sheriffs of Westmorland. This Phillip Escrope appears in the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll as having two daughters, his co-heiresses, one of whom married a Willardley, and the other Walter de Staxton, both dying without issue. They executed, circa 1205, a deed of settlement, to which Ralph de Multon was a witness. The roll shows us no Scrope holding office in the north in the 13th century, but the Scrope arms appear to have been plentifully emblazoned in all the churches and religious houses in the north. Sir Nicholas Middleton deposed that "he had seen "the arms in old glass windows, and painted on walls in many "abbeys, churches, and chapels in the county of York and "Richmond, and at Appleby, Carlisle, and Bolton."

Returning, after this digression, to the consideration of the buildings and ruins. Like most other Augustine abbeys, we find Lanercost placed in a valley; it is beautifully situated on the north side of the valley of the river Irthing, in a commanding position, whence two long reaches of water lead the eye to the Roman Stations of Nether Denton and of Walton, one laying eastwards and the other westwards. So accurately stands Lanercost in the line of the Roman Stations on the wall, that is has been conjectured to be the site of Petriana, one of the missing Roman Stations; however, be that as it may, the site is certainly well chosen, with its fertile lawn lying to the south-west, and with the river close at hand.

If we enter the ancient round-headed gateway, whose ruins still form a picturesque feature in the landscape, and figure so prominently in views of the place, we find before us the noble west front of the Priory, the lawn before it still retaining its character. Before going further, let us examine the plan and general arrangements of the buildings. The Priory consisted of a cruciform church, the transepts with eastern aisles opening into them. The nave, as at Bolton abbey and Brinkburn, had no aisle on the south side. The conventual buildings

buildings were placed on the south side of the church, and the prior's lodge at the south-west angle, an arrangement usually found in the priories of this order, as, for instance, at Carlisle and Hexham. West of the church and of the conventual buildings stands an old border tower, which had possibly an outer court, connecting it with the Priory. To the west again of this, stood the gatehouse with porter's lodge, and on each side of it remains, extending from the gatehouse, indicate the position of stables, barn, and buildings connected with the Priory farm. A wall, portions of which are still standing, surrounded the outer boundaries of the monastery.

The greater portions of the buildings now remaining are of the very best period of the Early English, or first pointed architecture of the 13th century; we can see at once that little of the structure was raised in 1169, the year of the consecration. Examination, however, shows that a comprehensive plan had been made from the first, which was carried out by degrees, as funds came in, and time permitted; for we find the early base course of transitional date, extending along the south wall of the church, round the south transept, as far as the chancel aisle, where it terminates. The lower portion of the transept walls, and those of the south side of the church, are also of transitional character, with flat pilaster-like buttresses springing from the base course. These walls contain three fine doorways, simple in detail, but bold in character—the most western one, a circular arched doorway of one square order, while of the other two, one is a fine early example of the use of the pointed arch: all three have detached shafts with capitals, which are good specimens of simple conventual carving. The conventual buildings on the east of the cloister garth, are also of this date, as proved by the fact that the early base moulding returns in their direction; the ancient transitional doorway, we find inserted at the end of the north aisle, may probably have been the doorway leading to the cemetery, or even to the chapter-house itself. The masonry of this early work differs in its uniformity from that of the rest and later portion of the buildings, and is of grey freestone, each stone dressed and squared, and of unmistakeable Roman character, obtained, most probably, from the adjacent remains of the Roman wall or camp. The transitional walling is carried up, on the south side, as high as the string course of the naves; above that, the character of the work changes. As the history of the Priory gives no account of any attack by the Scots about this

this period, we may conclude that the monks, having first erected over the altar a wooden or other temporary chapel, proceeded with care and at leisure to build their Priory; that when they had completed a portion of the north side of the church and of the conventual buildings, and had probably put in the foundations of the remaining parts, their funds ran short, or some other reason put a temporary stop to their operations. After the year 1250, the abbey was considerably enriched. The last of the Vaux family, an heiress, married into the Multons; and they, already a wealthy and powerful family, gave rich gifts to the Priory. We see from history, and from the building itself, that this must have been one of the most flourishing periods of the Priory's history. Evidently the monks were enabled to push their work with renewed energy; and, warned by their previous inability to complete the whole building at one effort, they built only the choir and eastern portion of the church and completed the cloister, the south and west sides of which are of this date. As the Priory increased in wealth, the nave was completed from the choir westwards, increasing in richness as the work went on, and culminating in a beautiful west front. Naturally, in days of vigorous architectural progress and life, between the first stoppage and the subsequent renewal of work, a change of style had taken place, of which the Freemasons would give the prior and canons the most minute particulars and the most practical aid in carrying out, while the intercourse kept up between one monastery and another would spur them up to rival their neighbours in perfecting the new style; thus we can see the work actually progressing in lateness of style, taking up the new fashion as it proceeds. We can see the change, perhaps most markedly, in the clerestory, where from groups of almost transitional boldness and simplicity, it changes, keeping the same contour and proportion, to the more delicate mouldings and treatment of the Early English style, with here and there a foliated capital introduced, whose rareness adds to its beauty; at one place we find the nail-head, and further on, in the same arcading of the clerestory, the perfected dog-tooth ornament. One can almost fancy the monks at work: possibly the prior has been on a visit to Carlisle or Hexham, and returns to his priory eager with the news of what is going on at the neighbouring priories—may be to tell them how the exquisite aisles at Carlisle are being erected, how wondrously fair and delicately wrought they are, what slender

slender shafts, curiously wrought mouldings, and new ornaments they display; possibly some wandering Freemason visits the Priory, and shows to the admiring monks how easily the little square, and simple nail-head ornament is expanded, cut into four delicate leaves, and becomes what we now term the dog-tooth; or, again, some clever carver, passing that way, perhaps in gratitude for shelter received, chisels for them, shall we say, that beautiful corbel in the nave, or other specimen of his craft; nay, it is not impossible that some of the workmen from Carlisle visited Lanercost to assist in the completion of the west front.

The work in Lanercost abounds in mason's marks. It would be curious to know if any similar ones could be found at Carlisle or Hexham. Both, however, have been restored, and the mason's marks have, for the most part, disappeared. As the work at Lanercast gets later in date, we find a good deal of red sandstone mixed with the stone taken from the Roman Wall, and the dressed work of all the later additions is of red sandstone. In the year 1280, Edward I. and his Queen Eleanor paid their first visit, and we may presume that the Priory was in the zenith of its prosperity. Probably about this time the Edwardian tower, now added to and converted into the parsonage, was built.

The great feature of the Priory, a feature which is now blocked up by the inserted window in the nave, is the great dignity and spaciousness about the choir, which, by its double chapels of chancel and transepts, gives almost the sparkling effect of a French chevêt. The imposing height of the tower so high as hardly to be visible from the interior of the nave, must also have added greatly to the effect. The choir is altogether larger and grander than we should have expected to find in monasteries of this order, and extended probably one bay into the nave, as we find one of the piers considerably larger than the others, which justifies us in supposing that it marked the position of the rood loft; it would be most interesting, if feasible, to take off the plaster, and see if a doorway to the rood screen could be traced. Perhaps, at the time of the building being converted into a parish church, the walls might have been so bad as to necessitate their being plastered, else the appearance of the choir would lead one to suppose that they might with better effect have been left alone; at all events, it is much to be regretted that several interesting feature are buried under this plaster; a most curious doorway on

on the north side to the west of the great north door, the rear arches of the two south doors, and a small window opening from the conventual buildings on the south side, are known to be hidden. So we may infer that other features are, for the present only, we may hope, out of sight.

A beauty and vivacity has been introduced in the composition by the great variety of parts and detail, no one feature being exactly balanced by its counterpart. On one side the nave has no aisle; on the opposite side we find a spacious aisle. The transepts vary, but we find the variety most strongly marked in the choir, where on the north side we have a groined aisle which gives us the three stages of triforium and clerestory, and on the south an aisle with open-timbered roof, lofty arches, and no triforium, a difference evidently intended by the original design; for the wall on the south side is most curiously hung over, to gain the extra thickness necessary to carry the clerestory. This same feeling of variety is carried through all the details. The capitals of the shafts to the west door vary on each side. We may notice, too, how sparingly foliage carving has been used, and how very beautiful what has been done is, more especially the corbels in the nave; probably the monks were not rich enough to import carvers themselves and could only occasionally secure the services of one. At all events they were well aware of the value of carving, where judiciously and sparingly applied, and took care to have it beautiful of its kind. The extreme fineness and multiplicity of mouldings, as instanced in the west door, are unusual in the north of England, where stone is of a coarse and gritty nature, and shows more than a local influence. The design of the choir is very fine indeed; the massiveness of the pillars give to it great dignity and stability, and the small groining shafts and multiplicity of parts lend it delicacy and finish. The north end of the north transept is worthy of especial notice, nor should the very beautiful clerestory of the nave be overlooked. The composition of the west front is very fine: the bold projection of the base, the finely recessed doorway of five orders, the arcaded gallery above it, and the seven lancets alternately pierced, make an imposing front. It is curious to notice that the west doorway is not in the centre, and that the mouldings are formed on a square order, and spring from circular capitals. The arcaded gallery is shown in a view by Coney, in Dugdale's Monasticon, with a large cross in the centre, with a label over it. This seems to be a later insertion of

of perpendicular times. The niches in the arcading probably contained figures of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles. The niches in the gable contain figures, stated by Lysons to be Mary Magdalene and a kneeling monk, but the smaller figure seems to be a subsequent insertion; the drapery of the figure is good. It is evident, however, that this portion of the west front has been rebuilt, of which more anon. We must not fail here to call attention to the beauties of the gatehouse, which probably contained a porter's lodge on the north side. The archway has been groined, and over it and the porter's lodge were probably two rooms. The corbels supporting the groining, two only of which remain, are beautiful specimens of what stone carving ought to be, French rather than English in feeling, simple, delicate, with every line of leaf defined.

We shall endeavour now to give an idea of what the arrangements of the Pirory were, in its best days. Commencing with the gatehouse, the buildings, traces of whose foundations remain on the north and south, appear probably to have been a grain mill within the precincts, and the stabling and other accomodation required by a priory of rank sufficient to entertain royalty. Almost facing the gatehouse stood the Priory, with its cross on the north-west side, where possibly public preachings were occasionally delivered, and not improbably buying and selling took place. On entering the church by the west door, we find ourselves in the nave, the only portion of the church free to the public, who were screened from the chancel by the rood screen with its loft over it, whence were read the epistle and gospel of the day. On the south side was a door leading to the cloisters, and on the north a door leading to the lawn; the other two cloisters doors led to the choir; these doors were used for the processions in great ceremonies. On the north, to the west of the great north door, is a smaller door, now hidden: it is a simple early pointed arched doorway of two chamfered orders, the outside to the church, showing that it led to some inner chamber, it may possibly have been to a baptistery, or, as at Durham, to a strong room for merchants' goods; its situation however would be an exposed place for such a room, and no traces of wall are visible on the exterior building, except that the cornice as this part slightly varies from the rest; the base course, however, is intact. Beyond the rood we enter the choir, with its chapels and altars; a well designed original piscina remains in the chapel; in the north chancel aisle, in the east wall of the choir,

choir, is an aumbrey or tabernacle, and a piscina; portions of piscina and sedilia are still visible in the south wall of the choir. Remains of the steps of the choir still exist, also of the steps of the sanctuary and to the various chapels. From the church, we enter the cloister garth by the door in the west wall of the south transept; and on the north side of this doorway may be noticed the stoup. Beyond the doorway, we find ourselves in the ambulatory, of which no traces now remain, except the corbels in the north wall of the church and the west wall of the cloister, for supporting the timbers of the roof; on the east side of the cloister, and adjoining the south transept, was no doubt a slype or passage, leading to the canon's cemetery, situated at the east end of the church. This slype was probably afterwards used as a sacristy, and the later doorway made into it; beyond would be the vestibule to the chapter-house, and to the east of that, the chapter-house itself; beyond the vestibule, would probably be staircases leading to the dormitories, which apparently were not cellared under, but which still would be raised above the level of the ground. On the south side of the cloisters is to be found early cellarage, with two doorways to it from the cloisters, and one from it to an outer yard. The west side of the cloister was also filled up with cellarage of an early date. One portion, now used as dairy, is a most charming specimen of a very simple groined apartment, with plain chamfered ribs, springing from moulded corbels, each corbel differing slightly. South was the prior's lodge, and over this cellarage was probably the parlour and library, and hall for entertaining their guests. This portion was afterwards converted by the Dacres into a dwelling-house. Westward, we have already mentioned, was a tower with possibly an outer court. This tower would be used as a means of defence and refuge, and as a lodging for guests of distinction; it might probably have been built by the order of Edward I. as it is recorded that at Ford, near Norham, he ordered three solemn rooms of refuge to be built. This tower is shown, in an old engraving by Sparrow, in 1775, to have been connected with the west front of the Priory, by a structure which seems to have been a modern addition, of about that date. On the west side of the tower we see remains of early work in the present barn, so that in all probability there was an outer court, fitted with various necessary offices: on the east side of the prior's lodge we may trace remains of a wall enclosing a small yard. A few years later than the date we have

have fixed as the zenith of the Priory's prosperity, misfortunes commenced; in 1291 the Scotch came and burnt the conventual buildings, but not the church; and again, in 1296-7, they mutilated and plundered the place. We may conclude that the western portion of the cellarage, adjoining the prior's lodge, was destroyed in the burning, and rebuilt in the later style, about the time of Edward I. second visit in 1307; we find that the groining, shafts, and ribs appear to be new, Very probably the prior's lodge was also burnt, and not rebuilt. From this time the priory went from bad to worse, and was, as we are expressly told, reduced by King David into nothingness. Archbishop Bowet's letter in 1409, asking for aid for the unfortunate place, gives a sad account of the state of the Priory—their building in ruins and burnt, and their lands uncultivated. History has little more to tell us; but on examining the building we find traces of King David's visit, and the subsequent repairs. It seems probable that at his visit most of the buildings with wooden roofs were destroyed by fire; that thus the nave, its roof, the wooden roof over the south chancel aisle, and the roof of the choir itself perished; that the central tower was mutilated; that the conventual building on the west of the cloister, which bears signs of two or three re-buildings, was reduced to ruins; and that perhaps the detached tower or guest-house alone withstood the attacks. We find that after this date many repairs took place, and that under the influence of the Dacres, who, it will be remembered, came into possession of the estates by marriage in 1317, the sun of prosperity once more shone for a brief time on the Priory. It is evident that, under the protection and the help of the Dacres, the upper portion of the west front was rebuilt, and the arms of Dacre, and also of Dacre quartering Vaux, Multon, and Morville, were inserted; showing that as the first Dacre who was entitled to these Arms, William de Dacre, the first successor to the Barony after Margaret de Multon, did not come of age until 1375, the rebuilding of the west front could not have been before that date, and from the internal evidence of the building itself, probably much later. At this time also the upper portion of the tower was rebuilt in the then prevailing style, the Third Pointed or Perpendicular, and finished in the interior with flat wooden roof, the interior walls of dressed stone work being cambered, or built with an inclination upwards to receive it. The exterior of the tower was finished with battlements; on the north and south sides of it are remains of the weathering of a high-pitched roof; on

the east and west are none, leading us to infer that sufficient of the ancient high-pitched roof of the transepts remained for restoration, but that those of the choir and nave, being in ruins, were rebuilt in the low-pitched carved wood roof of the then prevailing style, and finished with embattlements. The Priory must after this have increased in prosperity, for we find that, apparently to suit the more ornate ritual of the day, or perhaps from the introduction of stained glass, more light was required on the high altar, and the monks tried, first economically, to widen one of the windows on the south side, and finding that improvement insufficient, inserted a larger Perpendicular window on the north side, probably by the help of the Dacres, whose badge, the escalop shell, appears over it. It is curious that a similar alteration, the insertion of a larger Perpendicular window near the high altar, a fashion, we believe, derived from France, was made at Carlisle Cathedral; and we cannot but regret that, in the restoration of the Cathedral, this was not retained, as by its destruction a page of the Cathedral history has been lost. Doubtless the windows of the chapel at the east of the north transept were inserted by the Humphrey or Hugh Lord Dacre, Lord Warden of the Marshes in the reign of Richard II., probably under the influence of his wife, the Mabel Parr, who sleeps beside him under the altar-tomb of that chapel. The chapel on the south side of the chancel was restored and re-roofed by the Dacres, judging from the fact that their badge appears on the corbels carrying the roof-timbers; and the window might have been inserted by the puissant Thomas Lord Baron Dacre of Gilsland, the representative of the great families of Multon and Vaux, and in the right of his wife Elizabeth of Greystoke, Baron of Greystoke, Greymethorpe, and Wemme. He commanded at Flodden Field, and died in 1526, the 17th year of King Henry VIII.; his is the magnificent altar-tomb which stands in the archway between the south chapel and the choir, exquisite in design and cunning in workmanship, carved over with the arms of all his various baronies, and still a study for lovers of heraldry. It seems probable that as long as there was life in the Priory a constant series of improvements were being made, up almost to the date of the dissolution in 1536, for the windows in the chapel on the south side are little earlier than that date. The buildings at the west of the cloisters were also at some time or other restored, perhaps divided into a library, and work rooms of various kinds, as we find the remains of several

several fireplaces, too numerous for one room. The buildings on the west side have a still further history attached to them, having, when they came into the possession of the Dacres, in 1539, been converted into a dwelling-house, as we ascertain by the inscription before quoted, now in the east end window of the church, but stated by Dr. Todd, in his MSS., to have been originally in the banqueting hall. The alterations were commenced by Sir Thomas Dacre the bastard, and carried on by his successor, Sir Christopher Dacre, as we learn by the inserted fireplace in the hall, bearing his initials C. D., and the date 1586. The alteration seems to have been effected in this wise—the various rooms comprising the west front of the cloister were thrown into a large hall, and new windows inserted; the fire-places seem originally to have been on the west side of the hall, and to have been done away with, and a grand open fire-place inserted in the centre of the east wall. This apartment would be used as a reception hall and a banqueting hall on great occasions; from it were entered all the other rooms of the house. The north end seems to have been the dais end, and a small chamber beyond it still retains portions of its oak panelling, and a plaster freize to the cornice, which is enriched with the arms of the Dacres placed at regular intervals; a small staircase in the south-west corner of this room, carried in the thickness of the wall, gives access to a solar or sleeping apartment above this room. Curiously, both this room and that below it have small windows looking into the church; probably these windows are of the date of the monk's rule. At the other (the south) end we find remains of what probably was the minstrels' gallery, and under it are the screens. These remains consist of massive oak framing, grooved out in parts for the panelling, and underneath the centre of it a doorway seems to have acted as a means of service from the kitchen. This room has also been substantially floored with massive oak beams, which, although the floor itself is almost worn through in parts, are still sound, and would put to shame the flimsy timbers of a modern house. In the time of Christopher Dacre this room must have been a fine hall, being about 100 feet in length; although only eighteen feet wide in its narrowest part, at the north end it widened out considerably. A portion of the decorations remains, and can be distinguished under the whitewash at the north end; it shows the remains of a bold freize of cinque-cento works, consisting of ornaments in circular panels, with a bold leaf

leaf ornament, all in distemper, on what, now at all events, shows as a very delicate neutral tint on a white ground. Towards the window the remains of a figure in armour can be traced below the freize, indicating and showing that the decoration was similar to what in earlier times would have been wrought in tapestry work, and representing the scenes of some minstrel's lay. Traces of the ornament can also be distinguished on the under side of the oak beams of the windows, and in various other parts of the hall. The lower portion of the hall would probably be panelled in oak, similar to the room at the north end. The south portion of the hall and the prior's lodge, present many curious features; there seems to be the remains of a wall to the south of, and near the grand fire-place; but the hall could hardly have been so divided in the Dacres' time, or else their inserted fire-place would have been almost in the corner of the room, and the minstrels' gallery cut off: some division for temporary purposes may have existed; possibly this may have screened off a portion of the hall as a more retired dining room. We know that as early as 1526, the desire of privacy, or the increase of luxuries not to be shared with the retainers, had introduced private dining rooms; allusion to it is made in the ordinances of Eltram, where it is stated that "sundrie noblemen and "gentlemen and others doe much delight and use to dine in "corner and secret places, not repairing to the king's chamber "or hall." The south end of the hall seems to have had rooms in the roof over it, and we find the circular staircase, common to it and the tower, giving access to rooms above it; it may be that this wall was lintelled or arched over to support a wall above. The first floor of the prior's lodge was evidently made into a kitchen and scullery, with fire-places and brick ovens, which still remain: there is a buttery-hatch to the great hall; in addition to this, the adjoining room (underneath a portion of the great hall) seems also to have been a living room for servants, and to have been rebuilt, and had later and larger windows with stone benches in them, inserted at the west end; this portion was divided by a wall from the rest of the earlier cellars, and was about twelve inches below their level. At the north-west angle of it is a most curious little closet, which looks like a cell; but from the steps in it, gradually rising from the cellar, and the continuance of the cornice in a westerly direction, it seems likely to have been a porch, which afforded access to the outer court-yard: the portion of the cellars connected

connected with it may have been the malt-house or brew-house, or a second kitchen or guard-room for the retainers who loafed about the outer court-yard. At one time it seemed as if this little closet led to a circular staircase, giving access to the hall above, as a doorway above has a most curious jamb; but on cutting into the wall it was found this was not the case; one would imagine that the present outer staircase followed the course of the west wall, and that this closet led to a porch under it. At the lower end of the hall, in the prior's lodge we find a chamber of great importance, the full size of the tower, situate over the kitchen and behind the music gallery, a not unusual feature even in a new house, as we find instanced at Great Chatfield, Wiltshire, where we find a similar room called the oriel, and used probably as a parlour or state guest chamber; the rooms above it would probably be detached bed chambers, which had also now come into use. It is probable that during these alterations the doorway was made from the great hall into what was formerly the refectory, and that it was used as a large dormitory for servants. This house, on the whole, seems marvellously well constructed, when we consider that it was made out of a building originally used for a diffierent purpose. We learn from the deed of gift to Sir Thomas Dacre, that the parish church of Lanercost, and the churchyard thereof, together with the mansion house called Uttergate, with the stable thereunto belonging, were reserved, the latter for a dwelling for the curate or the vicar. It is probable that this would refer to the tower, now a portion of the present parsonage, which would form the Uttergate, or gate to the outer bailiff or court to the monastery, in contra-distinction to the inner court or cloister proper. Some take this to refer to the gatehouse, but that would be too small, even in those days, to provide rooms for the curate or vicar. We may take it, at all events, that this outer court was completed, by the various offices, stables, malt-house, brew-house, and such offices as were the usual accessories to a house of this era; a door from the cellar under the tower leads to the outer yard, probably fitted also with servant's offices. The plate we give shows the ground plan of the Priory as it is now, with the remains of the cellarage and offices round the cloister garth, and of the prior's lodge at the south-west angle. The Edwardian tower stands about seven or eight yards to the west of the conventual buildings, and is shown, in engravings of the last century, to have been connected with them by a modern

modern erection, now destroyed. Beyond, and connected with the tower, is the present parsonage, a modern building; to the south of that stands a barn, showing traces of antiquity, forming part probably, of the outer court, suggested before as being west of the conventual buildings. The remains of the western gate are about one hundred and thirty yards from the west front of the Priory, and the cross about twenty yards to the north of the Priory, nearly in the prolongation of the line of the west front. The Priory green and grounds are bounded on the west and north by the high road; on the south they probably extended to the river Irthing, while eastwards they are open to the valley of that river. The Priory is about twelve miles from Carlisle.

We have now gone through the historical and architectural points of interest presented by the Priory of Lanercost. Before concluding, a word of explanation is necessary. We have mentioned the chronicle and the chartulary of Lanercost. The so-called chronicle of Lanercost is a monkish history of the times, entering into both foreign and domestic politics; it is among the Cottonian MSS., and has been ably edited for the Bannatyne Club by Mr. William Stephenson, who proves that it is not the work of a canon of Lanercost at all, which place it rarely mentions, but of a friar minor of Carlisle; it derived its name from having somehow got into the library of the Priory of Lanercost. The chartulary or register of Lanercost cannot now be found: it was at Naworth Castle, and was in parts annotated by Lord William Howard — "Belted Will": a marginal note by him was, we believe, the authority on which Mr. Story relied in 1761, when he placed in the Priory the inscription we have criticised in the earlier portion of this paper. At that date the chartulary was at Naworth, and in 1777 a copy of it was made by Mr. Nicholson, one of the editors of the History of Cumberland, and deposited in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. The original has since then been lost, but we are disposed to think that a search in the muniment room at Greystoke Castle might bring it to light again; the account of Naworth Castle, from which we have before quoted, gives 1116 as the date of the foundation of the Priory, and mentions, as its authority for that statement, an old manuscript at Greystock Castle, with a marginal note to that effect, in the handwriting of Lord William Howard. May not this manuscript be the missing chartulary?

The

The copy of the chartulary existing in the Dean and Chapter's library at Carlisle, has been edited by Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, and will be found in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature [Vol. viii, new series]; it has also been printed in a separate form. As its name implies, it is a list or register of the muniment deeds of the Priory, and presents, at first sight, a somewhat forbidding aspect to the would-be reader. Close examination, however, brings to notice many curious pieces of information about the Priory. Thus we learn that besides the high altar, which was of course dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, others were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to St. Catharine, and to St. Cuthbert, whose altar stood in the Prior's chapel. Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, states, that the chapel at the east of the north transept was our lady's chapel, and that on the east of the south transept, the chapel of St. Catharine, but we do not know what authority he has for saying so.

Among the deeds mentioned in the chartulary, we find confirmations of charters by Pope Alexander III., Honorius III., Lucius III., Innocent III., and Gregory XI. The earliest of these confirmations, is one by Alexander III., dated 1181. By it, the pope takes the Priory under his protection, and confirms all the gifts that have been made to it. He grants to the Priory the right of sanctuary for clerics or laics flying from the law, and prohibits any of the canons "after profession" from leaving without the prior's license. He directs that the Priory shall choose, and present to the bishop the priests of all the churches held by it, who are in spiritual things to be subject to the bishop, but in temporal matters, to the Prior. In times of a general interdict, the Priory might celebrate in its own church, in a low voice, with closed doors, and without ringing of bells: the priory might also give burial within their church, to all who desired it, except persons excommunicate, or under an interdict, so however, as not to interfere with the right (burial fees) of the parish churches, from which the bodies were brought. After providing for the quiet election of new priors, the pope concludes his confirmation with a curse on all who molest the Priory. The confirmation of Honorius III. is similar to that of Alexander:— He further directs that the Priory is to receive holy orders, and the holy oil of consecration of altars and chapels, from the bishop of the diocese, "si quidem catholicus fuerit et "communionem SS Romanæ sedis habuerit." The other papal

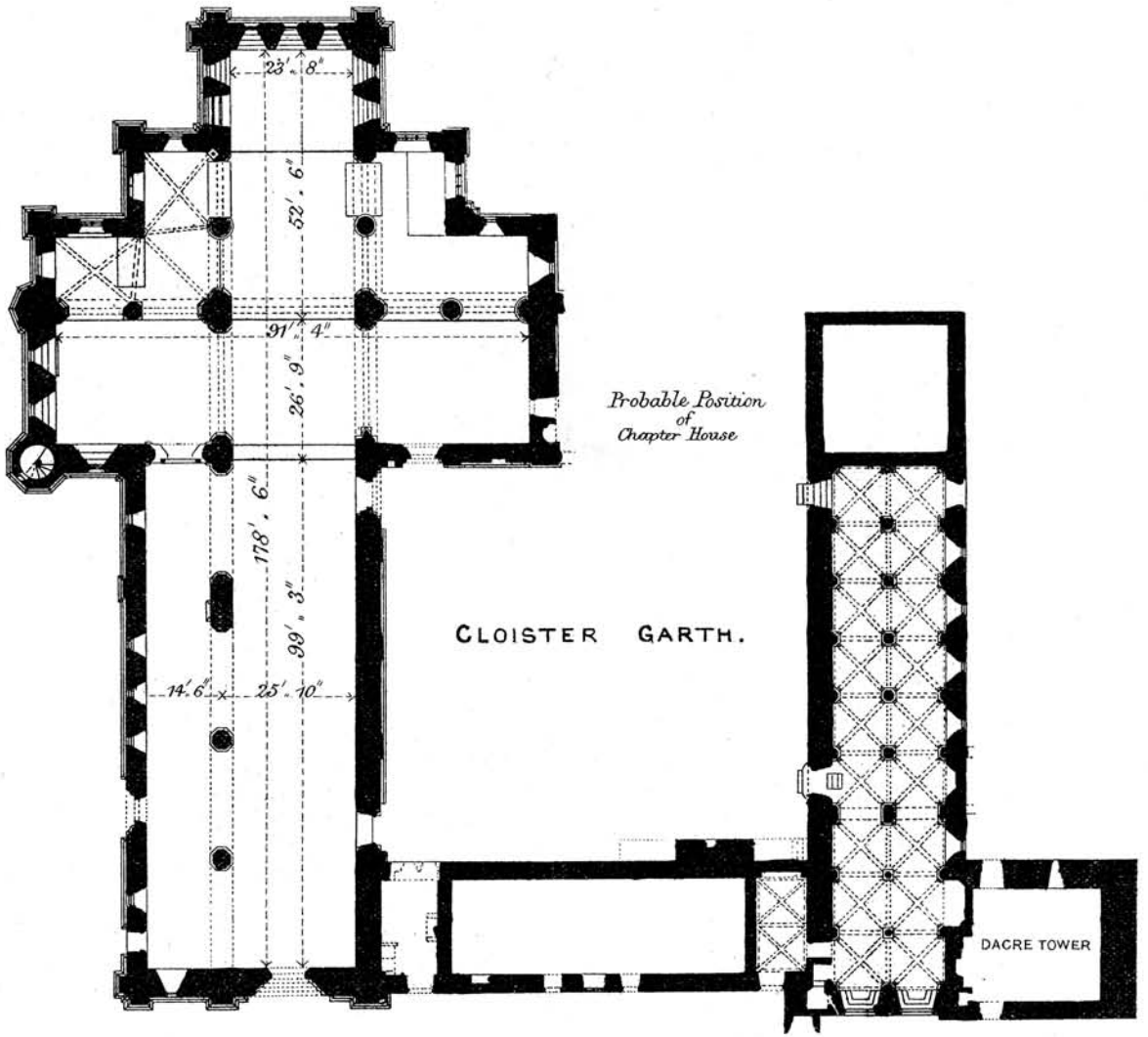
papal confirmations contain little of note. Several regal and episcopal confirmations of charters are recited in the chartulary, and among others one by Bernard, bishop of Carlisle, comprising lands and churches that had been given to the Priory. This corroborates our argument in the beginning of this account about this bishop Bernard. This confirmation would be by the foreign bishop Bernard, who held the temporalities of the diocese in commendam, for his confirmation is confirmed in another deed by the Chapter of Carlisle, who could not have done so had he been regularly the bishop, owning both the spiritualities and the temporalities of the see; but as he enjoyed only the temporalities, his confirmation needed additional confirmation by the Chapter of Carlisle, who wielded the spiritualities during the voidance of the see. Confirmations by subsequent Bishops of Carlisle are not backed up by confirmations from the Chapter of Carlisle. We find also, under the same date, "letters testimonials of "Lord Christian, bishop of Witherne, for the gift of Robert de "Vaux." This makes the matter plain. In 1169, a foreigner, one Bernard, had the temporalities of the see, the Chapter of Carlisle managed the Spiritualities, and Christian, bishop of Withern, exercised the episcopal functions for them.

The greater part of the charters, mentioned in the chartulary, consist of deeds of gift to the Priory; most of the benefactions thus made, but not all, are mentioned in the usual list, given by Hutchinson, and other county historians. The parcels are set out by reference to the then existing landmarks, the Roman Wall, the Pollard Oak, St. Mary's Oak, the oak called Whiskerhutton, the Peter Gate, the Red Gate, the Maiden Cross on the Maiden Way, certain cairns of stones, and the Great Grey Stones; various roads, such as the Magna Strata, the Via Regia, the Green Mountain Path, the Road of the Wains (quadrigarum). The legal antiquarian will find in the chartulary illustrations of all sorts of quaint and now forgotten rights and tenures, such as putura, mulcture, drengage, husbote, haybote, housegabel, neotgeld, and burgage tenure, while nominal rents of 1d., 2d., or of a pound of pepper, of cumin, or of wax, payable on a fair day, frequently as reserved for property. We also find regulations as to stinting the pastures, both as to the number of cattle that might be put on, and the dates when, and also remedies prescribed for over-stinting: a scale of fines to be paid for cattle trespassing is also laid down.

As

S. MARY'S PRIORY LANERCOST
CUMBERLAND
PLAN OF EXISTING REMAINS

SCALE OF FEET.



C. J. FERGUSON, ARCHT. DE

As might be expected from the importance attached by our ancestors to the forest laws, we find in the chartulary several charters relating to them. The woodwards of the Priory, before they could exercise their office, had to be sworn at the baronial court of the Multons, at Irthington, to observe the laws of venery, in assistance of the Multons: the prior's foresters might walk the barony with bows and arrows, and the Priory might keep a pack of hounds, of four harriers and four brackets, (dogs that run by scent) to hunt hares, foxes, and all animals coming under the designation of "clobest." If the quarry ran into the lands of the Lord of the Manor, he was to have it, but the hounds were to be given back to the Priory. The foresters were not to interfere with the game in the forest of Gilsland: on park lands enclosed by the prior, egress and ingress were to be left for wild beasts; the number of covers, too, that the prior might make for game was restricted most carefully.

Several of the charters relate to arrangements between the Priory and the churches appropriated, to it, under which certain portions of the tithes and altarage are set apart for the vicars, or the expenses of the church are provided for; at Leysingby, for instance, the vicar, in 1272, received two eskeps of oatmeal in lieu of the tithes of garb, which went to the Priory, being levied in the fields: he held the house and glebe land, the altarage and all offerings, tithes of flax, and small tithes, paying synodals and finding lights, vestments, and other ornaments, and maintaining hospitality: the parishioners found the missal, while the Priory repaired the chancel and divided with the vicar any extraordinary expenses. When any of the appropriated churches fell vacant, the canons held the keys. We find also in the chartulary, agreements between the Priory and other religious houses about the rights of property. Examples, too, of lawsuits are to be found in which the Priory enforces its rights to tithes: in a case about the tithes in Gelt, witnesses of all ranks were called and examined, from the great Sir Rowland De Vaux himself, down to humble Richard, the Priory cook.

APPENDIX No. 1.

Valuation of the Annual Property of Lanercost Priory, made 28th Henry VIII., from the Augmentation Office.

	£	s.	d.
Lanercost, the demeaney	4	9	4
Walton, fourteen tenements	6	5	4
Thorneymore, seven tenements	1	1	4
Whitehill, six tenements	1	8	0
Wall, Dufecote, and Burtholm, twenty-two tenements	5	16	4
Bankes, eight tenements	2	14	4
St. Mary's Holme, seven tenements	1	16	10
Walholme, four tenements	1	6	8
Irthing and King, three tenements	2	11	4
Brampton, three tenements	0	0	0
Hareskeayke, four tenements	3	0	0
Denton, five tenements	0	16	4
Newcastle, one tenement	0	2	0
Carlesley, one tenement	0	3	4
Walton, a corn water-mill	1	6	8
Lanercoste, the parsonage	19	17	1
Brampton, the parsonage	5	0	0
Irthington, the tithe corn	4	0	0
Lascrily, pension from the vicar	6	13	4
Grynsdale, the parsonage	4	0	0
Farlam, tithes	3	0	0
Mitford, the parsonage	10	0	0
	£85	8	3

APPENDIX No. 2.

An Indulgence from Archbishop Bowet in behalf of the Priory of Lanercost. [*Reg. Bowet, published by Surtees Society.*]

Henricus, etc.; dilectis in Christo filiis, universis in Christo fratribus cœpiscopis nostris suffraganeis, etc., salutem in sinceris amplexibus Salvatoris. Inter alias sollicitudines, quibus ex suscepti regiminis onere astringimur, ipsam cernimus fore piam, qua religiosæ contemplationi deditis in hiis prospicimus, quæ subventionem

subventionem necessariam exigunt; ut Deo, secundum sui ordinis exigentiam, placitum exhibeant famuratum. Convertentes igitur intuitum ad dilectos in Christo filios pauperes canonicos, Priorem et Conventum de Lanercost, ordinis Sancti Augustini, Karliolensis diocesios, quorum monasterium cum majoribus ædificiis ejusdem, prout voce lamentabili Prioris dicti loci jam nostris auribus insonuit, gravem minatur ruinam; eorumque ædificia et possessiones, quibus olim laudabiliter dotabantur, per crebos Scotorum inimicorum regni Angliæ notorie capitalium incursus, quibus resistere sua non dubium facultas minime suppetebat, dilapidantur; et per incendia consummantur; ac eorum terræ, eo prætextu, præsertim cum in dictorum Scotorum confinio sitæ consistant, jacent incultæ, et sic eis efficiunter inutiles; cum aliis sarcinis et gravibus dispendiis, quibus subjiciuntur temporibus modernis, adeo quod iidem Prior et Conventus, prætextu tantæ perditionis et tanti, ad depressionem et ultimam quasi inopiam sunt redacti; et absque aliorum suffragio Christicolarum vivere non possunt hiis diebus; neque Domino in ordine quem sunt professi votive nec debite famulari: eisdem in miserabilii depressione, ad tædiorum relevationem, utinam accomodam! prædictorum, prout placere credimus Altissimo, in compassionis vesceribus sensuimus subvenire. Devotioni itaque vestræ injungimus, et rogando mandamus quatinus cum veri procuratores sive nuntii dictorum Prioris et Conventus ad vos accesserint, pro fidelium elimosinis in ipsorum subsidium colligendis, ipsos in mansuetudinis spiritu, benignine admittatis; ipsorumque negotium per parochiales presbiteros vobis subditos, in singulis vestris ecclesiis facientes diligenter exponi collectam pecuniam eisdem fideliter et integre liber(ar)i absque dimutione aliqua pacifice permittatis. Nos autem, de Dei Omnipotentis immensa misericordia, et beatissimæ V.M., matris ejusdem, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, necnon beatissimorum Confessorum Willelmi, Johnnis et Wilfridi, patronorum nostrorum, necnon, beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, in cujus honore dictum monasterium est constructum, Omniumque simul Sanctorum meritis et precibus confidentes, cunctis parochianis nostris per nostras civitatem, diocesin, et provinciam ubilibet constitutis, et aliis, quorum diocesani hanc nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint pariter et acceptam, de peccatis suis vere contritis, pœnitentibus, et confessis, qui ad reparationem et refectionem monasterii et ædificiorum prœdictorum, vel ad sustentationem pauperum canonicorum, ejusdem, de bonis sibi

a Deo collatis contulerint subsidia caritatis, xl dies indulgentiæ —totiens quotiens—; Deo propitio, concedimus per præsentes, per quadriennium a data eorumdem continue numerandum tantummodo duraturæ. In cujus, etc. Data in palatio nostro Ebor., xviij die mensis Aprilis, anno Domino m° cccc^mo nono.

ART. XIV. *Dacre Castle.* By Michael W. Taylor, M.D., Penrith.

Given at Dacre, Penrith, September 23rd, 1868.

THERE are in the north of England still remaining, a number of tower-built houses, to which the title of castle has been attached, which are intermediate in extent and importance, between the ordinary pele tower of the border counties, and castles properly so-called,—that is, fortresses, constructed exclusively as places of strength, for security, or for the defence of important positions.

At our meeting last year, we examined, on the other side of the river Eamont, about two miles from where we now stand, the old manor house of Yanwath Hall, of which the tower is one of the best examples still existing of the ordinary border pele. In it, we noticed, in their original form, the usual primitive domestic arrangements of a pele tower; viz., a quadrangular, battlemented tower of three stories,—consisting, 1st, of the strong barrel, vaulted, and loopholed substructure on the ground floor; 2nd, the "Solar, or King's chamber," with its closets; 3rd, the "Ladies chamber, or Bowere;" and 4th, the roof, constructed for defence, with its watch towers, loopholes, and crenellated parapet. In the gable wings, built at subsequent periods, we found the hall, and the kitchen, and offices.

But the class of buildings to which I now refer, are on a more dignified and imposing scale than the ordinary border pele. They consist uniformly of a massive square tower, of larger dimensions than the pele; often with a projecting square turret at each angle, and contain a greater number and variety of apartments. But whilst domestic requirements and accomodation have been studied in these mansions, the character of the place as a fortress has still been maintained.

To this class of houses, what now remains of the castle of Dacre belongs.

Of