
Read at Brough, September 11th, 1908.

As at Brougham, so also here, we find a late Norman castle built upon a portion of a Roman camp. Known as Verteræ, this station in the time of the Notitia was garrisoned by a company of directories, soldiers supposed to have been used as guides. The great military way from Carlisle to the plains of York crosses Market Brough three furlongs to the north.

We have first then the earthworks of a rectangular camp, which covers about 2½ acres of land, sloping downwards to the south. From this area, at the northern end, there has subsequently been cut off, by a cross ditch and vallum, a lesser platform of nearly one acre, whereon the castle now stands. A strong position rising steeply some sixty feet above the Swindale, which separated the garrison from the northern enemy; extensive additional earthworks to the east and west that may be Norman (see site plan); whilst to the south there is the cross ditch up which came the main approach from the bridge across the Augill, some three hundred yards away on the eastern side.

The defences in masonry seem to have been confined to the castle proper, as there is no trace of such upon the rest of the Roman camp; probably this larger area was strongly girt with a palisade, as a sort of outwork to the castle for the protection of sheep and cattle.

The Keep.

The keep, known as Cæsar’s Tower,* is evidently a late

* The Countess of Pembroke generally called this tower the “Roman Tower,” one would suppose in commemoration of the former Roman occupation, and as Cæsar has been looked upon as the personification of the great Roman Empire, it is not difficult to arrive at the reason for this appellation.
Norman building, and, as at Richmond, we find it placed at the apex of a somewhat triangular site, with its south and west sides exterior to the curtain. It is rectangular, fifty-one feet east and west by forty-one feet north and south, sixty feet in height, with walls ten feet thick at their base. There is no herring-bone work, neither any visible trace of Roman material worked up. George T. Clark* says "it has a plinth only on the two exterior faces where the ground is low," but a closer examination of the north-east angle will reveal a plinth on the two interior faces also, now almost covered over with débris. On the northern face of this angle, just above the plinth, is a Government "bench mark" marking the level of 630.4 feet above the sea. Up above there are two sets-off which indicate the level of the second and third floors; and, as is usual to most Norman keeps, the angles are pilastered with flat projections rising up to form the exterior faces of the turrets above them. From the upper set-off, on each of the two broader elevations, rises an intermediate pilaster, three feet broad.

The basement, used as the provision store, was about sixteen feet high with a flat ceiling of timber. There is no evidence of an original outer door, neither of a staircase down to it; therefore it is likely that it was entered by a trap-door and ladder, as was commonly the method, and as can still be seen at Appleby Castle. However, there is now a plain round-headed doorway in the north-east angle of which the rebate for the inner door remains. By a comparison of its arch stones with those to the original arches above, it is pretty obvious that this doorway is an insertion made about the time of the Countess of Pembroke.

Close beside it, there is a curious double-looped opening which converges into a single exterior loop. There is a similar loop at Caernarvon. This may either mean that

* Medieval Military Architecture, p. 290.
BROUGH CASTLE KEEP AND PORTION OF GATEHOUSE.

TO FACE P. 178.
DROUGH CASTLE

PLANS OF KEEP

PLAN OF
SOLAR
31 x 21

PLAN OF
2nd FLOOR
31 x 23

BASEMENT PLAN
31 x 21

PLAN OF
3rd FLOOR
32 x 25

SCALE OF FEET

Drawn by
15, July 08
the basement was originally divided by a cross wall with one portion of the loop in each apartment, or that—and to my mind this is more probable—the twist in the opening was a clever device to prevent an arrow in its flight from entering direct.

In the west wall there was doubtless a similar loop, which has since been converted into a wider window, when security was no longer the first consideration. Externally the plinth is carried up over its head as a square hood moulding.

The first floor was raised about twelve feet from the ground. It seems to have been lighted originally by plain and narrow round-headed windows. Those on the north and west sides have been enlarged to double-lights of Tudor date. On the south wall we find the original loop deeply recessed into a vaulted opening, with its floor raised a few steps above the main floor level.

In the ruins of the east wall, near the southern end, Mr. Clark says that he could trace the jambs of the main entrance, which opened direct into the "solar" from off a flight of exterior steps. These stones have now gone, but Messrs. Buck's drawing of 1739, illustrated further on, shows the archway clearly. In the thickness of the wall, on the right-hand side, there is a straight mural staircase, rising up to a small lobby, which opens direct into the second-floor apartment.

Second floor.—In the north and south walls there are original round-headed recesses, of which the southern one alone retains its late Norman window. This is seen to be a small square-headed and coupled light. The coupled north window is round headed, and would appear to have been an insertion made by the Countess of Pembroke. The west window was, according to Mr. Clark, square headed and of Tudor date, and so probably was the east window, which has now quite disappeared.

In the south-east angle there was a doorway leading into a mural chamber; in the opposite north-west angle.
is a mural recess, possibly a garderobe; whilst in the north-east angle a square-headed doorway opens into a lobby and newel staircase ascending to the rampart walk on the roof.

This floor was originally very lofty with a high-pitched roof, the flashing mold of which is still seen on the east and west walls, running up to the ridge on a level with the rampart. Subsequently this pitched roof was removed, and, in the days of lead, replaced by a flat and more serviceable roof for defence, the line of which is marked by a row of corbels on each of the north and south walls.

Third Floor.—By this alteration room was made for an upper floor placed at the springing level of the old roof. It was entered by a door from the newel stair. In the east wall we notice a jamb of a Tudor window, another was opened out on the west wall, and close beside it can be seen a small Tudor fireplace. The keep had originally no fireplace, but in the south-west angle can now be seen several flues from fireplaces which appear to have been inserted in the south wall, but since have fallen out.

On the roof the turrets rose twelve feet above the ramparts, that at the south-west angle being the best preserved. Near the top of the walls on the outside are ranges, varying in number, of triangular pigeon holes formed by thin stones set V-shaped on edge:

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\[ \text{Diagram of triangular pigeon holes} \]
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Such then was the tower, strong to protect by the very strength of its walls, and it is almost certain that the Normans, at first, erected all their other buildings within the ward of timber. They fought from the oaken palisade across the earthworks, and if these proved too weak, they fell back exclusively upon the keep. But as time progressed, the timber palisade gave way to the stronger curtain of stone, set up on a wide basis to allow of a
BROUGH CASTLE KEEP.

Photo by Dr. Abercrombie.

TO FACE P. 182.
To the Right Hon

Sackville Sutton Earl of Thanet.

Baron de la Wall Westmorland a Very Lord of Shipton in Carlow a Hereditary Sheriff of the County of Westmorland.

The Prospect is handsomely Enriched by his Lordship’s most Valuable Jewels.

SAM. NASH FERK.

BURGH or BROUGH Castle under Shipton was by Sir Robert de Lacy and was rebuilt in 1683 by the Lady Anne Clifford Council’s Honour of Lundy and is the Daughter to Hero of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland after having been one hundred and forty years desolate.

The present Proprietor is Right Hon. the Earl of Thanet.

SAM. NASH FERK. Delin. et Phot. Published according to Act of Parliament March 6th 1739.

Buck’s Views of Brough Castle, 1739.

To Face P. 183.
rampart walk along the top protected by an embattled breastwork. Here we find such a curtain, but unfortunately all the squared ashlar stones have been removed from both its faces, so that little is left to tell the tale of its former height or thickness.

THE GATE-HOUSE.

Following along the southern curtain to about the centre of the ward we come to the gatehouse. The lower story consisted of a passage, 45 feet in length, with walls 6 feet 6 inches in thickness. The jamb and six arch-stones of the inner doorway remain, a useful piece of masonry that reveals the fact that the door was recessed back within the courtyard end. The vault of the passage, about twenty feet long, rested upon five bold ribs, the springing stones of three of which likewise remain on the western side. Messrs. Buck's view shows this gatehouse to have consisted of three stories, but, what is more interesting, it also shows the Countess of Pembroke's inscribed stone, placed immediately above the entrance, which I will refer to later. The lower room I can measure as being 20 by 13½ feet wide; it had windows looking either way over the inner and outer gates. The upper floor had similar windows and a small window to the west, with a fireplace beside it.

THE HALL.

The hall adjoined on the east side. Beneath there are three vaults placed transversely, with flat pointed arches. The entrance to each has been from the courtyard. The one next the gate may have been a porter's lodgement, as there is a fireplace in one corner and a window beside it. Each had one or more loops, and in the ends of two are mural garderobes recessed into the outer wall. The hall could not have been more than 13 feet high, and, as there was a floor above, it had a flat ceiling. On the courtyard side can be seen the eastern jamb of the
main entrance, which must have been approached by a flight of exterior steps, and near to it was the fireplace. In the south, or outer wall, are two good late decorated windows, each of two lights, and at the lower end of the hall is the entrance to a newel stair which led upward to the bedrooms above.

**WITHDRAWING ROOM.**

Further eastward is a small withdrawing room extending into Clifford's Tower, a fine bold three-quarter drum of thirty feet diameter, which makes such a distinguishing feature at the south-east angle of the ward. This tower has evidently been rebuilt, with new windows, during the Tudor period. The rooms above formed the principal bedrooms of the castle.

In the angle next to the kitchen is a straight mural passage, lighted by a loop in the east wall, but where it led I am unable to say.

The **KITCHENS and CHAPEL,** as also some later buildings, we know rested against the east curtain, but now these have almost completely disappeared, not even the foundations being discernible.

The north curtain, towards the river, seems to have been given over entirely to defensive purposes. Upon it are two small bastions, one circular and the other square, in the latter of which is a garderobe entered by a side door and passage in the wall. Close to the right-hand jamb of this entrance can be seen the broken-off ends of a staircase leading up eastward to the rampart walk.

**HISTORY.**

As showing that an early fortress existed here, Camden states that “in the beginning of the Norman government the English here formed a conspiracy against William the Norman.” But the foundation of the present keep is attributed to one of the de Morville family during the reign of King Stephen, and before their estates had passed
THE HALL, BROUGH CASTLE.

Photo. by Dr. Abercrombie.
by the marriage of Maud into the possession of William de Vipont. History tells us that the fortress was taken and sacked by William of Scotland in 1174, an incident to which is attached a remarkable legend of a gallant defence by a stranger knight.*

Robert de Vipont, son and heir of William and Maud, was a strong supporter of King John, and received in the fourth year of his reign a grant, dated at Rouen, of Appleby, with the Sheriffwick and the castles of Appleby and Burgh, to be held during pleasure.† The next year, by a deed dated October 28th, 1203, the King gave it to him in perpetuity.‡ He filled many posts of military trust, and was custos of many castles. He was a man of great wealth and power, one likely indeed to have taken steps to have enlarged and strengthened his fortress against attack, and to whom probably we owe the erection of the curtain wall. He died in the year 1227, leaving a son and heir, John, still a minor, so that we find writs issued on February 1st, 1228, to the constables of Appleby, Burgh, Mallerstang, and other castles, to deliver them up to Hubert de Burgo, who had the ward of the said John.§ Henry de Souleby was appointed by the King, on August 4, 1241, to the custody of the castle.||

John died about the year 1242, leaving a son Robert also a minor. The estates passed in ward to Walter, bishop of Carlisle, who does not seem to have fulfilled his trust, for we find it set forth in an inquisition thereof, that "the tower of Burgh is much decayed, the joists are rotten and most part of the house is brought to nought by default of the prior."

Robert, the third baron, sided with the barons against

* See Jordan Fantosme’s *Chronicle of the War between the English and the Scots*, 1173-74; it is quoted in Ferguson’s *History of Westmorland*, pp. 87-89.
† *Patent Rolls*, 4 John, m. 2.
‡ Dugdale, *Baronage*, i., 347.
§ *Patent Rolls*, 12 Henry, m. 6.
Henry III., and died of wounds after the battle of Lewes, in 1264, leaving two infant daughters, of whom the elder, Isabella, was after a time married to Roger de Clifford. She had a moiety of the barony as her dower. The other moiety fell to her sister Idonea's share, including the castle of Brough; but she, dying without issue, again united the barony by leaving her share to her nephew Robert, the son and heir of Roger and Isabella de Clifford.*

This fifth baron, lord of the Honours of Skipton, Appleby, Brougham, and Brough, entertained King Edward I. at this castle in 1300. He was Lord Warden of the Marches, Lord High Admiral of England, and Earl Marshall, and yet we find him only 39 years of age when he fell at Bannockburn in 1314! Such a young martial lord with so many high offices could hardly have spent much time in enlarging his strongholds.

Roger, the next lord, died at the age of 28, and was succeeded by his brother Robert, whose second son, Roger, became ninth baron. He married Maud, the daughter of Thomas, earl of Warwick, and is known to have recovered the estates and kept his castles in good repair. Although there is no direct evidence, I am inclined to place to his credit the building of the hall and withdrawing rooms. During the year 1391,† and nearing the age of sixty, he died peaceably in his bed at home, as few of his ancestors or successors did.

Passing over four generations we next notice Henry, "the shepherd lord," who, in 1519, held a great feast here

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* July 10, 1308, licence, at the instance of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, for John de Crumbwelle and Idonea his wife, to grant in fee to Robert de Clifford the castle of Brough (Burgus subtus Staynmore) and the manors of Appleby, Kings Meaburn, Kirkby Stephen, and Mallerstang, &c.—Cal. Patent Rolls, 1307-13, 134.

† This date is given by the Countess Anne, but from the following extract it would appear that his successor was in possession of the Westmorland estates a year earlier. June 8, 1390, confirmation of letters patent of Thomas de Clifford, lord of Westmorland, granting to John de Crakanthorpe for life the office of constable of his castle of "Burgh-under-Staynesmore" as held by Adam Corrye, with power to appoint a deputy.—Cal. Patent Rolls, 1388-92, 254.
at Christmas time. The Countess of Pembroke, in her manuscript "Lives of the Cliffords," writes that

Two years before his death, in the 13th year of King Henry VIII. (1521), his ancient and great castle at Burgh-under-Stainmore in Westmorland was set on fire by a casual mischance . . . . so as all the timber and lead was utterly consumed and nothing left but the bare walls and long remained waste, for his son Henry, 1st Earl of Cumberland, lived so much at Court that he had no time to repair it; and his grandchild Henry, the 2nd Earl, bestowed so much in repairing Brougham Castle as kept him from doing anything at Brough Castle; and his great grandchild George, the 3rd Earl, spent so much in nine or ten voyages that he repaired none of his castles, so that this Brough Castle went to utter ruin more and more.

With Francis de Clifford, the fourth Earl of Cumberland, the male line failed, and the estates and barony passed to the Countess Anne, daughter of Admiral George, the third earl.

This remarkable lady, born in 1589, wealthy in her own estate and the widow of two considerable peers, took a very keen interest in all the particulars of her possessions, and a very thorough determination to maintain her castles in good repair. Her diary mentions a visit she paid to Brough, in the year 1649, in these words—"And the 15th day of this August I went into my decayed castle of Brough." This was a fortunate visit, for in the following summer she set about rebuilding it.

And in April and May this year (1660) did the masons begin to build up again and repair my castle of Brough in Westmorland, after it had lain ruinous without timber or any covering ever since the year 1521 when it was burnt by a casual fire . . . . and this Brough Castle and the Roman Tower in it, was so well repaired by me at my exceeding great cost and charge, that on the 16th of September in the next year (1661) I lay there for three nights together, the first night in that half round tower, called Clifford's Tower, and the other two nights in the second room of the great tower, called Roman Tower, which none of my ancestors had done in 140 years before.

Over the gateway, as at Brougham and Pendragon, she
erected an inscribed stone which, after enumerating all her titles, and they were many, and after duly setting forth the record of this repair, she concludes by a reference to Isaiah, lviii., verse 12—"And they that shall be of thee, shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in." Surely no person ever merited the application of her chosen text more strongly, when we consider that beside Brough, she restored five other of the castles of her ancestors—namely, Brougham, Appleby, Pendragon, Bardon Tower, and Skipton, as well as several churches and almshouses. Hutchinson* says that the stone which contained this inscription fell down and was destroyed; but Francis Grose charges the masons with pulling it down in 1763, "for the sake of the lead and iron with which it was fixed," the stone itself being "laid under the water-wheel of Brough mill."

Writing again the following year (1662), in her diary, the Countess Anne says:—

And this summer did I cause to be built a Kitchen, a Stable, a Bakehouse, a Brewhouse in the court of my castle at Brough within the walls that were lately built there by me; the kitchen, bakehouse and brewhouse being on the north side and the stable on the south side thereof.

It would seem from this that the east wall was still occupied by the ruins of the early kitchen and chapel, and the countess chose those parts that had hitherto been left free from buildings. In the west external wall of the gatehouse can be seen holes for the ridge piece and two purlins on either side for the roof that covered the stable.

The 10th day of November (1665) did I remove out of my castle of Appleby with my family into my castle of Brough where I now began to lie in the highest chamber in the Clifford's Tower and I

did keep my Christmas there. . . . . The next week, being the second day of January (1666) did there a great fire happen in the highest chamber but one, in the great Round tower here in this Brough castle, which burned a bed and the curtains and almost all the furniture belonging to it and a Tapestry hanging that hung behind the bed, and before it got any further it was by God's merciful providence discovered and quenched so as the Tower itself received no harm and I then lay in my own chamber in Clifford's Tower, where I remained until the latter end of March.

Each year she seems to have paid a visit to this castle, but the next record shows with what state she travelled:—

April 1672. I went in my horse litter to my Castle of Brough, my gentlewomen and my maid servants attending me in my coach drawn by six horses and my men servants on horseback; being accompanied in the way by several of the gentry of this county and of my neighbours and a great many of my tenants of Kirkby Stephen and Mallerstang, Brough and Appleby; and so we came to my said castle of Brough when all the strangers that accompanied me took their leaves of me and went away to their several houses.

Margaret, her daughter and heiress, carried the estates to the Tufton family, and from this period the castles so lovingly rebuilt, with the exception of Appleby, were allowed to fall into decay. Only twenty years after her death (1695) stones from this castle were pulled out for repairs to Appleby Castle! In 1714 the fittings of Brougham and Brough were sold, and Grose says—"Of late years its remains have been much demolished for the sake of the materials, which have been used in building stables, garden walls, and other conveniences, and particularly about the year 1763 when a great part of the Round Tower was pulled down, ruthlessly, to repair Brough Mill." Owing no doubt to this destructive method of stripping away all the corner stones and squared facings, with no sense of shame, the south-east angle of the keep fell out in the year 1792. Thus has the castle rapidly fallen to destruction, and now to-day, unless the upper window on the west wall of the tower is at once attended to, the rift will be completed.