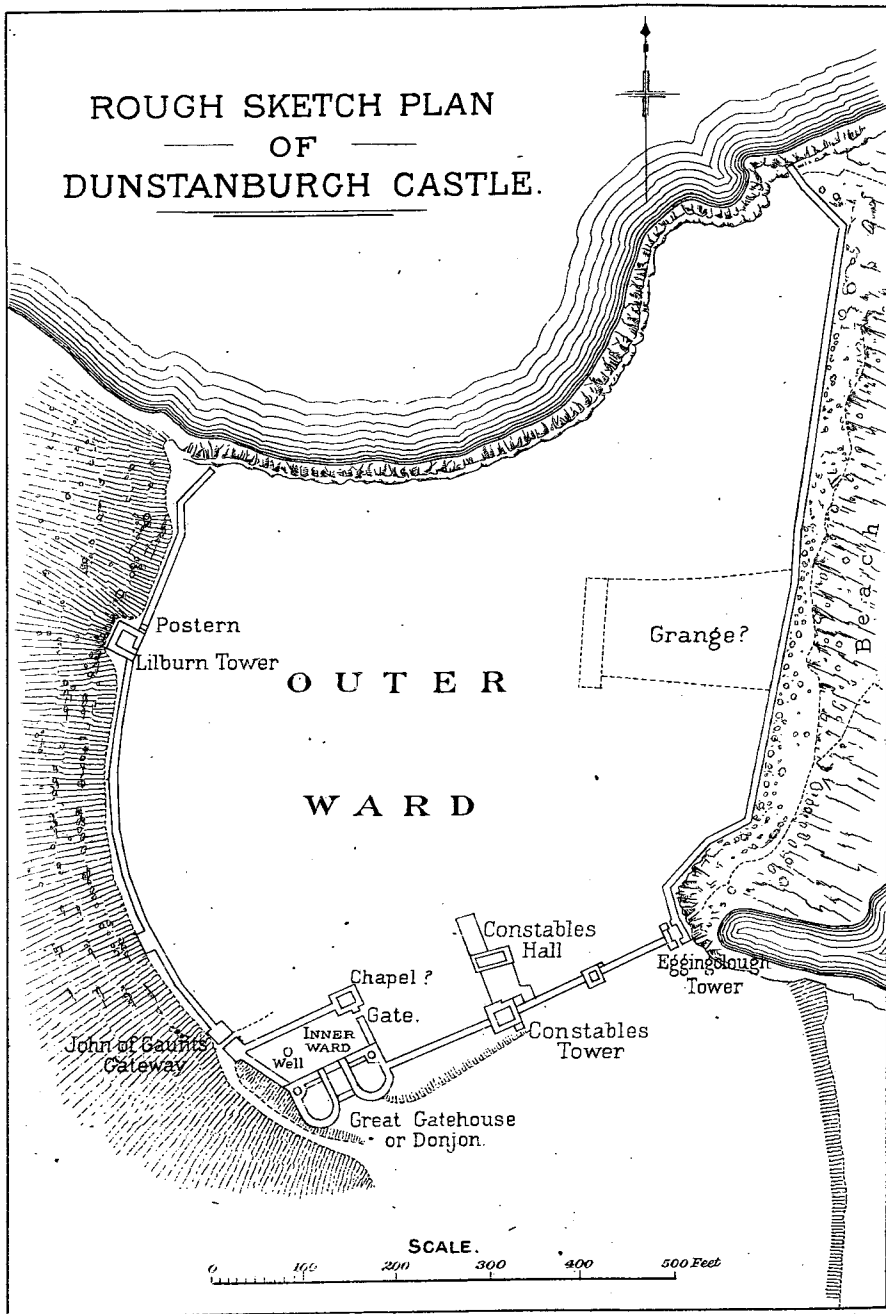


ROUGH SKETCH PLAN OF DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.



DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.

THE rugged headland on which the ruins of Dunstanburgh stand is the grandest feature in the great basalt range that traverses Northumberland from Kyloe to Glenwhelt, and appears most prominently in the castle rock of Bamburgh, the crags of Shafto and Sewingshields, and the Nine Nicks of Thirlwall. The situation of Dunstanburgh recalls in a manner those of the other great east coast fortresses of Scarborough, Tynemouth, and Tantallon, but is more romantic even than the last of these. No carriage road leads to Dunstanburgh, and this forced pilgrimage on foot has in itself an indescribable old-world charm. As you come along the shore from Embleton a crescent of

black cliffs rises a hundred feet straight out of the waves to form the northern rampart of the castle. You almost expect to be challenged by the basalt giants that are drawn up like so many warders round the base of the stately Lilburn Tower, and might reasonably conclude that the shattered turrets of the Great Gatehouse were sustained by power of enchantment, so much do their fantastic outlines, peering mysteriously over the green slope of the western escarpment, seem to set all known

principles of gravitation at defiance. High as these turrets are, in a strong north-east gale the sea dashes up through the Rumble Churn into a fountain above them. In addition to this rare combination of natural and architectural beauty, Dunstanburgh possesses historical associations of no common interest, that in their unique and melan-

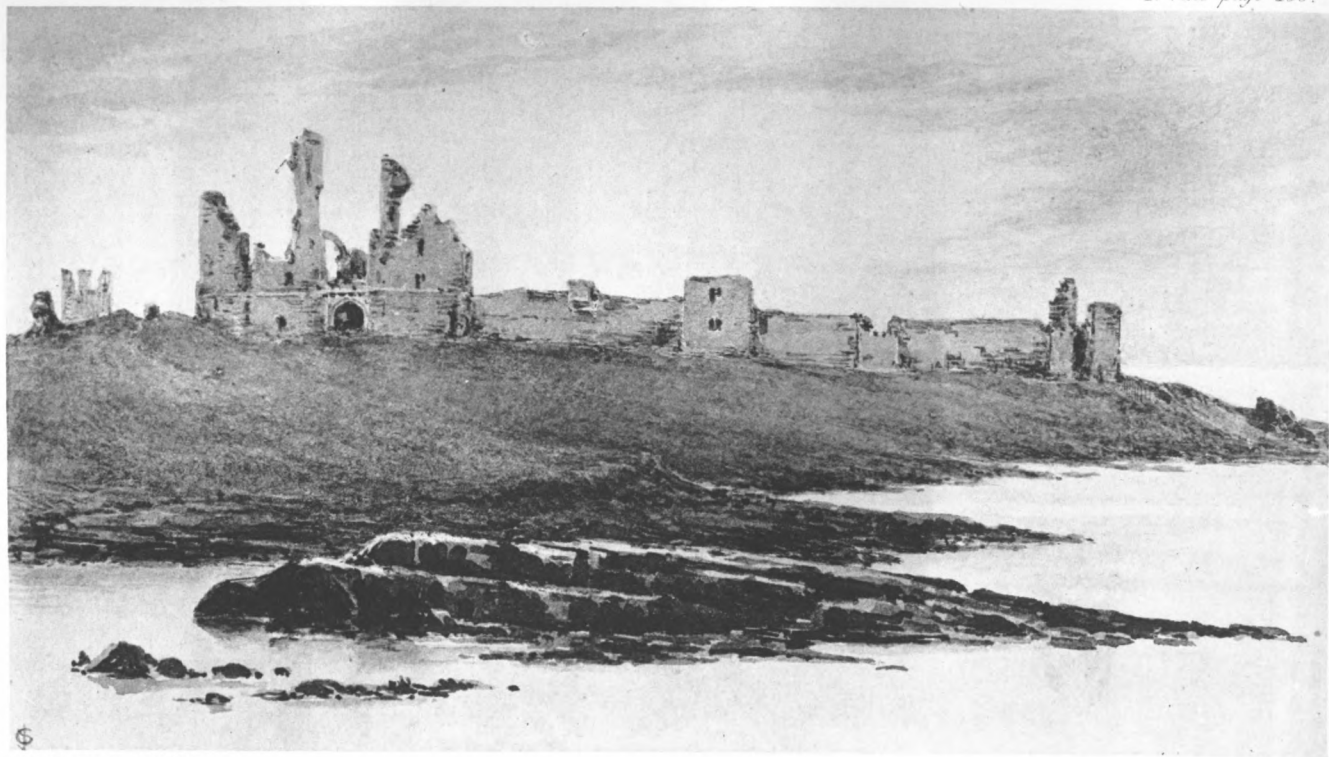


choly character are in complete harmony with the scene. The other castles of Northumberland are principally famous for the parts they and their lords took in Border warfare. Dunstanburgh is connected only with the internal history of England. It was owned by the two great popular leaders of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Simon de Montfort and Thomas of Lancaster, and its fortunes became closely interwoven with those of the Red Rose in the civil wars of the fifteenth.

The mediæval stronghold apparently occupied only the northern portion of the natural fortress. The Great Gatehouse was placed where the western escarpment becomes less precipitous, and from it to the deep inlet of the sea beneath Queen Margaret's Tower the line of defence was formed by the south curtain-wall and its flanking towers. On the ten acres thus enclosed, 240 bushels of wheat, to say nothing of the hay, are recorded to have been grown in a single year. In area Dunstanburgh was by far the largest castle in Northumberland.

Traces of a rough stone rampart to the south of the present castle make it probable that the whole rock was embraced by prehistoric fortifications. The very name 'Donstanesburgh' shows that it was a 'burh' or fortified tribal centre of the Angles, possibly at as early a date as Bamburgh, and established no doubt by some forgotten Dunstan. Nothing is known as to the causes that led to its subsequent abandonment. After the Norman Conquest it was comprised, without being specially mentioned, in the manor of Dunstan, part of the barony usually styled that of Embleton though the *caput baronie* appears to have been originally at Stamford. This barony was granted by Henry I. at the service of three knights, comparatively onerous for its extent, to a family, who in consequence of their founder Hildred having been sheriff (*vicecomes*) of Cumberland, and his son, Odard, Sheriff of Northumberland, continued to bear the surname of Viscount after their connection with the shrievalty had long been severed. John le Viscount, the last of his race, dying in 1244, left his daughter Ramette as sole heiress.¹ Ramette and her second

¹ The Viscounts seem to have been a very unhealthy family. Among the miraculous cures wrought in the island of Farne in the second half of the 12th century, Reginald of Durham records those of the crippled mother of the rich knight who owned Embleton, and of (her son) John le Viscount and his wife who both suffered from terrible internal complications.—*Surtess Society Publications*, I. pp. 122, 263, 264.

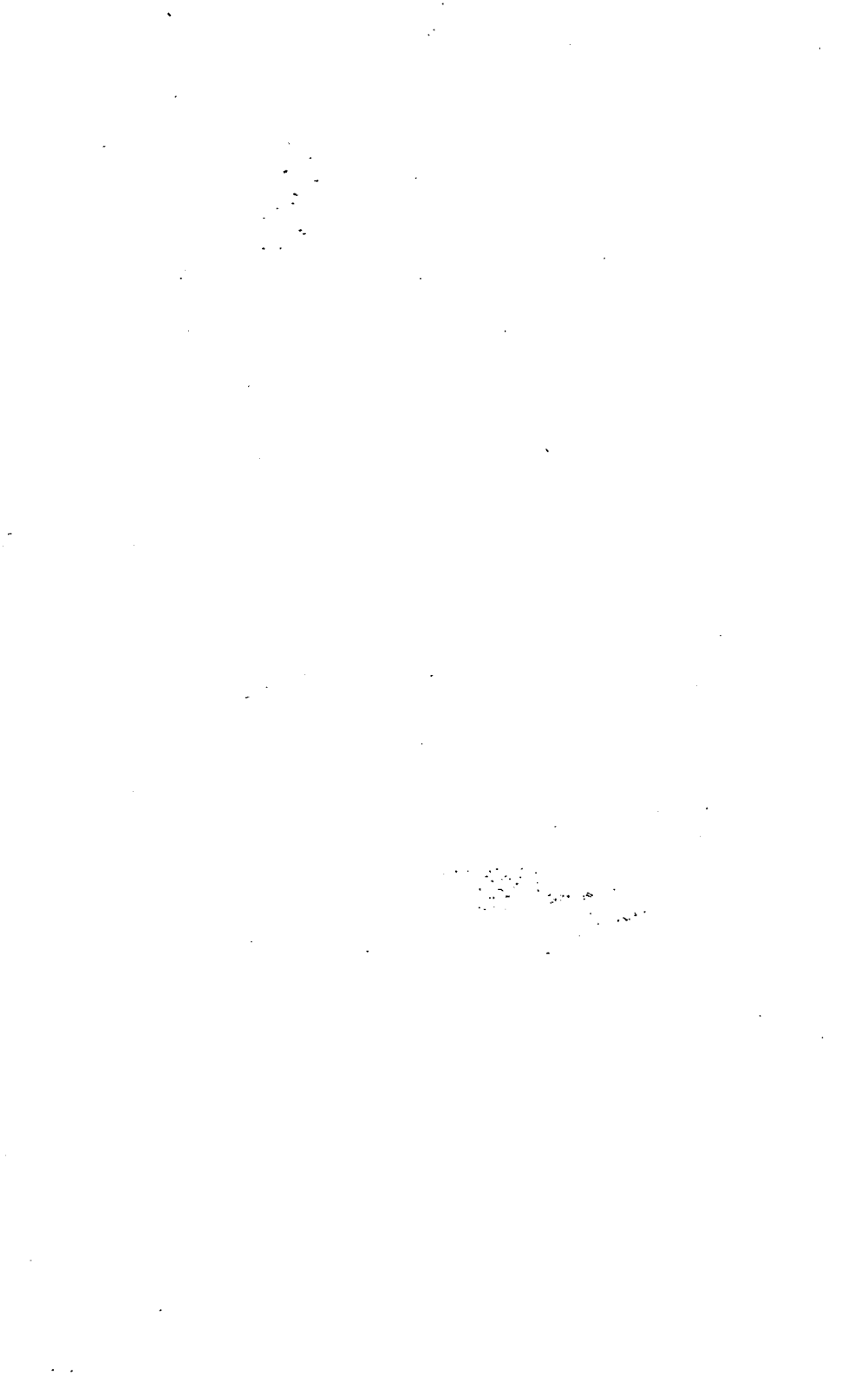


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DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.

from the South



husband, Hereward de Mareys, or Marisco, possibly a relative of the Bishop of Durham of that name, sold the barony to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, in 1256.² Montfort's connection with Northumberland had begun in 1245 when, for the reasonable consideration of 10,000 marks, he had been appointed guardian of the lordship of Redesdale and the barony of Prudhoe during the minority of Gilbert de Umfrerville, an appointment that gave great umbrage to the next bidder, the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall, and had much to do with the further development of political parties. From 1248 to 1253 Montfort was engaged abroad as governor of Gascony, but on his return to England he obtained great influence among the Northumbrian baronage, and it is not too much to suppose that in purchasing the small barony of Embleton he was fully alive to the strategic value of the rock of Dunstanburgh as an eventual *point d'appui* in the great struggle he was about to enter into. Montfort's memory long lingered in Northumberland. His brother-in-arms John de Vesci, lord of Alnwick, in escaping after the fatal battle of Evesham in 1265, contrived to carry home one of the feet of the Earl which had been barbarously hacked off, and this, encased in a silver shoe, was preserved as an object of veneration in Alnwick Abbey down to the very Reformation, a worthy citizen of Newcastle attesting among others its miraculous properties.

On Montfort's death, the barony of Embleton with the rest of the earldom of Leicester was forfeited to the Crown, and then was granted by Henry III. to his younger son Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster. Earl Edmund gave the advowson of the church of Embleton and the chapel of Rock to Merton College, Oxford, in 1274. His elder son Thomas Plantagenet succeeded to the earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, in 1294, and by his orders the sandstone for the erection of Dunstanburgh Castle was begun to be quarried on the 7th of May, 1313.³ The reasons that prompted the lord of Kenilworth

² This interesting conveyance is preserved in the Great Coucher Book of the Duchy of Lancaster. The very valuable MSS. of the Rev. John Hodgson have afforded a general clue to this and to the Abstracts of Registers, etc., as containing additional matter relating to Dunstanburgh beyond that to be found in the Ministers' Accounts. A concise list of the Duchy of Lancaster papers is given in the *30th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 42.

³ *Opera castri et fossati de Donstanesburghe* in the account of the Receiver of Emeldone, Duchy of Lancaster Records, bundle 1, No. 3. P.R.O. See *45th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 5.

and Pontefract to raise a castle on the wild coast of Northumberland are as suspicious as those that led Simon de Montfort to purchase the rock on which it stands. Earl Thomas was in almost open rebellion against his cousin Edward II. whose favourite Gaveston he had treacherously decapitated in the previous June, and was not included in an amnesty till the following October. Dunstanburgh was not intended as a bulwark against Scotland. Earl Thomas was not only one of the malcontents who stood aloof from the expedition which ended in the disaster of Bannockburn in June, 1314, but is even said to have jeered at the discomfited Edward as he passed under the battlements of Pontefract on his return. Indeed he stood accused of having come to a secret understanding with the Scots, and £40,000 was mentioned as the price they paid for his benevolent neutrality. All this time work was steadily going on at Dunstanburgh. By Michaelmas 1314, 16 perches of a moat 80 feet broad and 18 feet deep had been dug on the west side of the castle between it and the field of Embleton. Spanish iron had been purchased for the hinges, and the cramps for binding the stones together; and 'bordes of Estorke' procured for the doors and windows. Four carts and a couple of wains had been kept constantly going for stone, sand, and mortar, over and above those which the bailiff had been able to impress from the peasantry. Sea coal for burning the lime had been brought from Newcastle and elsewhere. A hostelry 80 feet long by 20 feet broad had been erected as a shelter for the workmen at a cost of 36s. 1d., and Master Elias the mason had been proceeding with the contract he had entered into with the Earl for rearing the bows of the Gatehouse to the height of 80 feet, with a tower above either side of the gateway. The whole contract ran to £224, and of this £65 10s. had been paid for work actually done.⁴ The great affection entertained for the Earl by the clergy had been very practically attested by the presents they had sent for the 'garniture' of the castle of Dunstanburgh. The Abbot of St. Mary's at York, the Abbot of Alnwick, the Priors of Nostell and Tynemouth, Master Robert de Pykering, and Master Peter de Dene, had each given him two cart horses; the Abbot of Newminster six oxen. One of the horses had been carried off by the Scots; but the fact that this is the only trace of their ravages in Northumber-

⁴ *Ibid.*

land after Bannockburn to be found in the accounts of the bailiff, tends rather to confirm the tradition that they intentionally spared the Earl's estates.⁵ William Galon, the bailiff, appears to have taken a very active part in furthering the Earl's political schemes. His three days' journey to Durham with a letter from his lord to the prior was merely for the purpose of asking for some building timber for the castle; but he was suspiciously summoned to the Earl's presence at Melbourne, near Derby, and then twice ordered to Berwick. He had to go to York during the time the parliament sat there and was afterwards at Ravensholm. A 'garcon' was sent by him at one time to Kenilworth and at another to Pontefract with letters to the Earl concerning 'rumours from the northern parts,' and he paid 6s. 8d. to William de Boteler for carrying despatches to the Earl at Donnington relating to 'secret news.'⁶

The colossal proportions of the Great Gatehouse serve to conjure up a vision of what the hall, chapel, and lodgings of Dunstanburgh would have been if Thomas of Lancaster, whose foible it was to assume the character of King Arthur in the pageants of the Court, had carried out his evident intention of creating here a veritable Joyous Garde. At the parliament held at Lincoln in January, 1316, the government of the country was virtually made over to him, and it was there that, after a short summer session, the king granted him on the 21st of August a license for strengthening his house of Dunstanburgh with a wall of stone and lime, and crenellating and holding it without interference.⁷ Either this licence merely legalised facts already accomplished, or it marks the date of the completion of the battlements of the Gatehouse and the occupation of it by a regular garrison.

By a sudden burst of energy on the part of Edward II. that none could have expected, Thomas of Lancaster was in 1322 made prisoner at Boroughbridge, tried in his own castle-hall at Pontefract, and being convicted of secret dealings with the Scots was executed forthwith on the 22nd of March. His advisers had in vain urged him to escape to Dunstanburgh before it was too late.⁸ The custody of Dun-

⁵ *Warnestura Castri de Donstanburghe* in Duchy of Lancaster Records, Ministers' Accounts, bundle 1, No. 3. P.R.O.

⁶ Account of the Receiver of Emeldone, 7 & 8 Ed. II.

⁷ Pat. Roll, 9 Ed. II. m. 25.

⁸ After this Thomas Lancastre and the Barons counselid together in Blake Freres in Pontfracte, and the Barons concludid to go to Dunstanburg, a Castel

stanburgh was committed by the King to Roger Horseley his seneschal in Northumberland.⁹ Horseley was afterwards directed to deliver it to Richard Emeldon, a distinguished merchant of Newcastle, who on the 24th of March had been appointed keeper of the castles and lands of the late Earl in both Durham and Northumberland.¹⁰ That same year Emeldon furnished sixty-eight hobilars or light horsemen from the garrison for the invasion of Scotland.¹¹ The constables of the castle were then John de Lilburn and Roger Mauduit, who, in common with other constables of border castles, were severely rebuked by the king on the 26th of September for their negligence in not better preventing the incursions of the Scots.¹²

In 1324 Edward II. restored the earldom of Lancaster, in which Dunstanburgh was included, to Henry Plantagenet, younger brother of the unfortunate founder of the castle, whose tragic end the royal warrant for its delivery, addressed to Roger Heron, the keeper of forfeited lands in Northumberland, quaintly slurs over by stating that he had 'gone the way of all flesh.'¹³ Earl Henry's daughter Mary married the third lord Percy of Alnwick, and the shield of Lancaster with the fleurs-de-lys on its label is carved in stone on the battlements of the gateway of the inner ward there.¹⁴ John de Lilburn was still constable of Dunstanburgh in 1326, when he served on a commission to provide ships from Dunstanburgh and other northern ports¹⁵ to protect the king from his French queen; but it seems impossible now to imagine where the port of Dunstanburgh can have been. About the same time the Bishop of Durham was ordered to fortify and victual Dunstanburgh among other northern castles.¹⁶ Earl Henry continued a dispute with

of Thomas of Lancasters in Northumbreland: but he utterly refusid that Counsel, lest it might have be thought, that he had, or wolde have Intelligence with the Scottes.—Leland, *Collectanea* I. pag. 667, Hearne's ed. i. p. 464, from a French epitome of the Chronicle of William de Pakington, Treasurer of the Black Prince.

⁹ Originalia, 15 Ed. II. ro. 11; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 298.

¹⁰ Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead in 14th Century*, p. 56.

¹¹ Grose, *Antiquities*, ed. 1785, IV. p. 162, quoting Wardrobe Account of Roger de Waltham.

¹² *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, III. p. 146.

¹³ 'Thomas quondam comes Lancastrie . . . viam universe carnis ingressus.'—Originalia, 17 Ed. II. ro. 24; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 299.

¹⁴ Mr. Hartshorne has left out these important fleurs-de-lys in his Plate XIV., 'Armorial Bearings on Octagonal Tower, Alnwick Castle,' facing p. 172 of vol. ii. of *Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852.

¹⁵ Tate, *Dunstanburgh Castle*, in History of Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, vi. p. 89.

¹⁶ On 29th Apr. 1326.—*Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, iii. p. 160.



Merton College as to the advowson of Embleton which his brother Thomas had begun in 1318, and it was not until 1331 that the matter was finally determined in favour of the college. His son and successor, Henry *Tort-Col* or Wry-neck, created Duke of Lancaster in 1351, left only two daughters. Blanche, the younger of these and eventually the sole heiress, married John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III., created Duke of Lancaster in 1362. In 1368 a new drawbridge was made at the gate-tower of Dunstanburgh Castle, and charges appear for the custody of the Water-gate and of the barbican.¹⁷ Four years later we find John of Gaunt titular King of Castille, ordering his esquire, William de Quernèby, the Receiver of Dunstanburgh, to repair the castle and to build in it a new wall in accordance with the advice of William de Nesfeld his steward in those parts.¹⁸ A warrant from him, dated Kenilworth the 17th of April, 1380, directs the constable of Dunstanburgh to buy a certain number of salmon at Berwick and send them to the Savoy.¹⁹ That same year he came north himself with a large army for the purpose of establishing a lasting peace on the Border. He appears to have been dissatisfied with the state he found Dunstanburgh in, and when at Bamburgh on the 25th of October he engaged John Lewyn a mason from Durham to build a 'mantelett' of freestone round the Great Tower in his castle of Dunstanburgh. The wall of this mantlet, estimated to be eleven rods in length, was to be 4 feet broad, and with the battlement 20 feet high from the ground. The work was to be completed by the following Michaelmas at the cost of ten marks a rod, to include everything except wood for burning the lime and cement.²⁰ Subsequently visiting

¹⁷ 'Super empicione unius nove batelle ibidem unius pontis tractabilis facti super turrim super portas Castri de Dunstanburgh xlijs. viij d. ob. Custus domorum infra Castrum xxixs. iij d. Custus molendini xxxiij s. v d. Custus del Watergat infra Castrum quam custus del barbican de novo facti ad portas turris infra Castrum xxj li. xij s. v d.'—Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, bundle 361, No. 5971.

¹⁸ 'Donne etc. a la Sauvoye xiiij jour de May lan xlvi.'—Duchy of Lancaster, Register, Ed. iij. vol. 13, page 149.

¹⁹ Duchy of Lancaster, Reg. Ed. iij. vol. 14, page 286. On the 15th June, 1380, John of Gaunt issued a commission at Berwick appointing Monsieur Thomas Ildreton, Receiver of Dunstanburgh, and Thomas Houchonson to be Purveyors of Salmon for his Household.—*Ibid.* page 119. Again, at Roxburgh, 8th July, 1383, he orders the receiver of Dunstanburgh to pay the expenses of taking 30 score of salmon out of the fishery of the Tweed for the use of his household.—*Ibid.* page 73. The fisheries in the Tweed called Sandstell and Blakwell were part of the possessions of the Duchy.

²⁰ 'Pur faire un mantelett entour le grande tourre deinz le Chastel de Donstaneburgh.'—Reg. of John, Duke of Lancaster, Ric. ij. vol. 14, p. 816. A

Dunstanburgh in person John of Gaunt determined to have a new work of masonry erected adjoining Lewyn's mantlet, and himself pointed out the exact situation it was to occupy to his 'dear and well-beloved' mason Henry de Holme.²¹ The work was to be carried out under the superintendence of his 'very dear and well-beloved Bachelor Monsieur Thomas de Ildreton,' who had been appointed constable of the castle on the 29th of July previous.²² The terms of the contract were the same as those agreed upon with Lewyn; but as Henry de Holme had received nothing on account of it by the autumn of 1382, Thomas Galon the responsible receiver of Dunstanburgh was commanded to pay up the arrears at once and be more accurate in future if he wished to escape the Duke's grievous indignation.²³ In addition to the work he had contracted for, Henry de Holme, we learn, built six houses with their vaults, chimneys, and windows, and made a new entrance to the castle with a vaulted Gatehouse furnished with a portcullis and a 'vice,' for which he was to receive twenty pounds.²⁴ On the 20th of July, 1383, he entered into a further agreement with John of Gaunt at Durham for the erection of a new Gatehouse of freestone at the castle of Dunstanburgh, renewing the voussiors, jambs, and barbicans, and taking the old Gatehouse to aid in the new work. The new Gatehouse was to be vaulted, and to have a barbican, a postern, and the necessary arrangements for a drawbridge.²⁵ It will thus be

mantle seems to have been a term used generally for a defence of wood or stone added to other works. Du Cange mentions a castle made safe in the time of Henry V. 'antemuralibus quibusdam municionibus lapideis, quas guerratores *mantellos* appellant.' See the account of the word in Mr. Longstaffe's 'The New Castle upon Tyne,' *Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. p. 119. Mr. Longstaffe appears, however, to be mistaken as to the position of the Queen's Mantle in the castle of Newcastle, within which the kitchen is said to have been situated. It seems evident that the three openings in the arcade at the north end of the hall there—*ibid.* p. 112—were the three stereotyped doorways leading to the kitchen, pantry, and buttery, and that consequently both the kitchen and the Mantle were between the hall and the Black Gate.

²¹ 'Pur Henry de Holme, mason.' Fulham, 1st Dec., 1381.—Duchy of Lancaster, Register, Ric. ij. vol. 14, page 54b.

²² *Ibid.* page 120.

²³ *Ibid.* page 62.

²⁴ 'Pur la fesure de sys mesons ove sys voutes sys chemenoys et fenestres appartenantz as ditz mesons et pur la fesure dune entree et une Gatehouse ovesque une voutee et un portculys et un vice faits par le dit Henry a ses coustages propres outre son convenant deinz notre Chastel de Dunstaunburgh.'—*Ibid.* page 79. The 'vice' was probably an *escalier à vis* or spiral stair.

²⁵ 'Pur renuier les Vowzers Jambes et barbicans illeques et pur prendre le veille Gatehous illeques pur eyder al oevereyne de nouvelle Gatehouse susdite et meisme le Gatehouse serra voutez et aura un portculys un barbican et un posterne et une ordenance pur un pont affaire en meisme oevereyne.'—*Ibid.* page 81b.

seen that John of Gaunt, to whom Kenilworth is indebted for the most beautiful portions of its castle, took no little personal interest in the fortification of the great Lancastrian stronghold on the coast of Northumberland.

On the accession of Henry IV. his duchy of Lancaster, in which Dunstanburgh was included, became practically vested in the Crown. Robert Harbottle of Preston was made constable of the castle on the 13th of June, 1409,²⁶ and on his death ten or eleven years later his brother John Harbottle was charged to keep it in safety.²⁷ In February, 1421, Henry Lound was appointed constable,²⁸ and in consequence, it would seem, of his representations, the auditor of the possessions of the duchy in Northumberland received orders on the 18th of May of the following year to report on the state of Dunstanburgh and to have it repaired without delay.²⁹ On the death of Lound a reasonable allowance was ordered to be made to his sons John and Peter for their custody of the castle and their repairs to houses in it until the appointment of Stephen Hatfield as his successor on the 20th of February, 1427.³⁰ Hatfield complained to the Council of the Duchy that the castle was in a ruinous condition, and they therefore instructed the receiver of Dunstanburgh, in February, 1430, to supply him with sufficient funds for its speedy repair.³¹ Nevertheless the next year he informed them that the Great Gateway was so old and battered that it was on the point of falling to the ground, 'to the great peril of the safe guard of the castle, if the most hasty remedy was not applied,' and renewed instructions were sent to the receiver on the subject.³²

On the 8th of July, 1436, Ralph Babthorpe was appointed joint constable with Hatfield.³³ An almost unbroken series of Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts for Dunstanburgh has been preserved from about

²⁶ Duchy of Lancaster, Register, vol. 17, Hen. V. third part (Commissions), page 6.

²⁷ *Ibid.* second part (Warrants, 8 Hen. V.), page 90.

²⁸ *Ibid.* first part (Patents, 8 Hen. V.), page 75.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pt. 2, page 107.

³⁰ Duchy of Lancaster, Reg. Hen. VI. vol. 18, pt. 2, page 134b.

³¹ *Ibid.* page 139b.

³² 'Par relation de notre Conestable de Dunstanburghe fait a notre Conseil de notre Duchee de Lancastre nous sumez enformez qe le grand porte de notre Chastel de Dunstanburghe est sy veile et debruse qest en pointe dechaier au terre a grand perille de la saufe garde du dit Chastel si le pluis hasty remedie ne soit purveu pur icele.'—*Ibid.* pt. 1, page 17.

³³ *Ibid.* pt. 1 (Commissions, 15 Hen. VI.), page 49.

this period, and contains various items of expenditure on the fabric of the castle during the years preceding each successive Michaelmas on which they were rendered.³⁴ Thus at Michaelmas, 1439, the charge of 40s. appears for repairing and rebuilding a piece of the castle wall near the sea which had been blown down the year before.³⁵ From the accounts of 1442 we learn that William Shaldford and his fellow-masons received 12s. for making an oven in the castle, and 5s. was spent on the machinery connected with the draw-well. The houses and chambers in the castle had been repaired and painted. An arched gutter had been made under the Great Tower. The foundations of the East Tower of the castle had been repaired and strengthened at the cost of 9s. in masons' wages. Voussoirs for the door of the Auditor's stable had been squared and erected. A labourer had got 6d. for white-washing the castle kitchen with quick lime and water, and the pavement of the road leading to the Outer Gate of the castle had been mended.³⁶ During the following year 72 stones of lead were purchased at Newcastle and brought 30 leagues by sea for covering the broken lead tiles of the hall and great chamber of the tower called the 'Dungeoun.' John Plummer cast this lead into tiles, and a mason was employed in repairing the 'taberdyng' of the hall and chamber and fixing small leaden tiles called fillets on it for carrying off the water. Seven oak boards called 'waynscottes,' thirty-two dished nails, and half-a-hundred 'tynglenails' were bought for the purpose of putting a partition up in the chamber of the Auditor and Receiver and forming a small buttery. Against the arrival of these officials not only two mattresses stuffed with wool, but a bed covering of buckram with three curtains and a canopy and tester of the same material, and

³⁴ *45th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, pp. 56, 57, 58.

³⁵ 'Et in reparacione et nova factura unius pecie muri Castri ibidem juxta mare vento prostrate anno precedente, hoc anno factis ex con[suetudine] factis cum cementario ibidem in grosso—xl s.—Duchy of Lancaster, Receivers' Accounts, bundle 361, No. 5972.

³⁶ 'Et in vj chaudren calcis vive emptis apud Craucestre predictam pro turri orientali Castri reparanda et emendanda—xxv s. Et in stipendio predictorum cementariorum cum calce predicta et petra de stauro emendantium fundum ejusdem Turris ac firmanium et pumantis (*sic*) certas petras ejusdem—ix s. Et in stipendio unius cementarii squarrantis petras volutas pro lez dernes ostii stabuli Auditoris inde fiendis et habendis unacum posicione et erecione earundem petrarum in grosso—iij s. Et in stipendio unius laborarii cum calce vivo mixto cum aqua dealbantis muros coquine infra Castrum predictum in grosso—vj d. Et in pavura vie ad portam exteriorem Castri predicti pro emendacione ejusdem vie in grosso—xij d.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5975.

even two new dining tables with their trestles and two forms, were brought down all the way from London to Newcastle by sea, the cost of the whole of the 'ornaments' of the Auditor's Chamber amounting to 42s. 3d. The ornaments of the King's Chapel in the castle were conveyed from London to Dunstanburgh by land, a distance of 300 leagues, the cost of their carriage being 2s. 8d. These ornaments consisted of a chasuble of 'bordealy saundre'³⁷ of a green colour with a 'podore,' and amice of linen-cloth, a yard of linen-cloth to make a corporax for the chalice, and six yards for two altar-cloths, a super-altar, two tin vials, a 'pax-brede,' a 'sacryng-bell,' and a silver-gilt chalice. The particulars of this last purchase are given in elaborate detail. The chalice weighed 13 ounces, of which $5\frac{1}{2}$ ounces came from an old broken chalice that was in the castle and $7\frac{1}{2}$ ounces were bought new at 2s. 8d. an ounce, while 10s. was charged for the making and gilding, bringing up the total to 30s. A pix to cover it cost 10d.³⁸

A 'minutè' house for an alarm bell was placed on the donjon in 1444, and the constable's hall and the adjoining houses were thoroughly repaired.³⁹ In 1454 a quantity of oak timber was purchased apparently to form the framework of a new grange for the demesne,⁴⁰ which was not completed before the following year.⁴¹ The well was cleaned out at the expense of 6s. 8d. in 1457.⁴² The year after, a new tower was built at the entrance to the castle, and several windows in the Great Hall and chamber in the donjon were glazed.⁴³ In 1459 considerable

³⁷ In 1416 there was a set of robes of 'bordalex,' given by Robert Claxton, in the vestry of the church of the priory of Holy Island.—Raine, *North Durham*, p. 117. On which there is the following note:—'The albs at Holy Island in 1409 were made of burdalisander (qu. cloth dyed in chips of the Saunders tree, and richly embroidered *burd* quasi *brod*, *brod a la Sander*).'—p. 94. Another explanation of the term is that it is 'borde alysaundre,' or Alexandrian embroidery, but it seems more probable that it relates to a sort of silk stuff, *sendau* or *ceudal* (see Du Cange and Roquefort), procured at Bordeaux—*Bordelais*.

³⁸ Duchy of Lancaster, Receivers' Accounts, bundle 361, No. 5976.

³⁹ 'Circa novam construcionem unius minute domus erecte desuper Turrim infra Castrum ibidem, vocatam dongioune, pro quadam campana vocata alarumbell intus pendenda et ponenda.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5978.

⁴⁰ 'Super cariagio meremii quercivi et frammacione et nova factura grangie dominicalis infra Castrum.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5979.

⁴¹ 'Super facture grangie infra Castrum.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5980.

⁴² 'Super mundacione fontis infra Castrum vjs. viiij d.—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5982.

⁴³ 'Super nova-factura unius turris ad introitum Castri de Dunstanburge . . . et in vitriacione diversarum fenestrarum in magna aula et camera infra le Dungeon unacum vadiis cementariorum, etc. xliij li. xviijs. xjd.—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5983.

works were carried out in the outer court of the castle near the sea, and a stone postern was built between the latter and a tower called the Elgyn Tower.⁴⁴ It is not improbable that Margaret of Anjou was here with her son in 1460 after the disastrous battle of Northampton, and that the Elgyn Tower, which overhangs a deep wave-worn chasm at the south-east corner of the castle, called afterwards 'Egyngcloughe,' received in her honour the name of Queen Margaret's Tower. By a curious coincidence the south-east tower of Harlech, a castle occupying on the coast of Merioneth a position as strong, if not stronger than that of Dunstanburgh, long bore the name of Margaret of Anjou, who is known to have been there in 1460.⁴⁵

The various sieges and counter-sieges that the castles of Northumberland endured during the Wars of the Roses are involved in great obscurity owing to the divergent accounts that appear in the meagre chronicles of the period and the little light that is thrown on these from contemporary documents. Sir Ralph Percy, the fourth son of the third Earl of Northumberland who was slain fighting for the Red Rose at St. Alban's in 1455, seems to have been appointed to succeed Ralph Babthorpe, who fell there on the same side,⁴⁶ as joint constable of Dunstanburgh with Stephen Hatfield. After the disaster of Towton on the Evil Palm Sunday of 1461, Dunstanburgh was one of the castles retained by the Lancastrians and by them 'virtualled and stuffed' with Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Scots.⁴⁷ From Michaelmas, 1461, however, we find the demesne lands of Dunstan with the dovecot near the castle, and the grange, ox-stall and other houses of husbandry within the castle, that had lately been in the tenure of William Lilburn and Richard Forster, demised by Edward IV. to Sir Ralph Percy at the yearly rent of £13 6s. 8d.⁴⁸ The dovecot had been turned into a

⁴⁴ 'Et in diversis custubus et expensis per dictum computantem in exteriori curia Castri ibidem juxta mare et unius posterne de petris inter turrin vocatam Elgyn tour et mare unacum vadiis cementariorum lucracione lapidum et caragio eorundem, etc.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5984.

⁴⁵ Geo. T. Clark, *Medieval Military Architecture*, ii. p. 81.

⁴⁶ *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Soc. Publ. 1839, p. ci.

⁴⁷ Warkwerth, *Chronicle*, Camden Soc. Publ. X. p. 2.

⁴⁸ 'Et de xiiij li. vjs. viij d. de firma terre dominicalis de Dunstan cum columbario juxta Castrum Grangia boveria et aliis domibus husbandrie infra Castrum de Dunstanburgh nuper in tenura Williemi Lilborne et Ricardi Forster sic dimissa hoc anno Radulfo Percy militi.'—*Compotus of the bailiff of Dunstan*, from Michaelmas 1 Ed. IV. to Michaelmas 2 Ed. IV. in *Duchy of Lancaster Records, Ministers' Accounts*, bundle 355, No. 5862.

kiln for drying malt on account of this being in ruin.⁴⁹ In the summer of 1462 the horses of 'Henry late King of England' so entirely destroyed the nine-acre field in Embleton called Southwell-mead, that the whole year's rent of 18s. was remitted to the tenant John Swan.⁵⁰ On the 25th of October Queen Margaret landed in Northumberland, and with troops from France and Scotland obtained possession of Bamburgh, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh, by the passive collusion of Sir Ralph Percy, in the course of the following month.⁵¹ Thereupon King Edward marched north with a great host, and under the direction of the Earl of Warwick, who fixed his headquarters at Warkworth, the three castles were invested on the 10th of December. Warwick himself rode round to each of them every day; but the operations at Dunstanburgh were carried out under the more immediate command of the Earl of Worcester and Sir Ralph Gray.⁵² Worcester subsequently proceeded to the siege of Bamburgh, when his place in the camp before Dunstanburgh was occupied by the lords Fitzhugh, Scrope, Greystock, and Powys.⁵³ The garrison defending the castle consisted, we are told, of Sir Richard Tunstall, Dr. Morton, Sir Philip Wentworth, and six or seven hundred men.⁵⁴ By the 22nd of December Greystock and Powys seem to have marched off to the attack on Alnwick, leaving Scrope and Fitzhugh in the company of Wenlock and Hastings, who had probably come up from the south with reinforcements. The beleaguering force at the disposal of these four lords is said to have been no less than 10,000 strong. In addition to Tunstall and Morton, Sir Thomas Fyndern and the bailiff of 'Kam' now figure

⁴⁹ 'Firma Columbarii juxta Castrum non redditur eo quod mutatur in Thoralegium pro brassio siccando causa ruinositatis ejusdem et dimittitur cum terra dominicali ut in computo prepositi de Dunstane liquetur manifeste.'—*Computus of bailiff of Embleton*, from Michaelmas 1 Ed. IV. to Michaelmas 2 Ed. IV. *ibid.*

⁵⁰ 'De decremento redditus . . . unius prati vocati Southwelmede superius onerati ad xviii s. eo quod dictum pratum totaliter devastabatur per equos Henrici nuper Regis Anglie per sacrum computantis.'—*Ibid.*

⁵¹ For the general history of this confused period see the admirable essay *On certain Inaccuracies in the ordinary Accounts of the early years of the Reign of King Edward IV.*, communicated by Charles Spencer Perceval, LL.D., to *Archæologia*, vol. XLVII. p. 265.

⁵² *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. p. 121.

⁵³ Cotton Charter, xvii. 10, printed in *Excerpta Historica*, Bentley, p. 365. This account of the whereabouts of the Yorkist lords, taken probably from a letter written at the seat of war, seems to be intermediate between that of Paston on the 10th December and that in MS. Lambeth, 448, dated the 22nd December. The three accounts can easily be reconciled if their chronological order and the probable movements of the forces are taken into account.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

among the garrison, which, having possibly been reduced by evacuation by sea, is given as only six score men.⁵⁵ On the 27th of December Dunstanburgh honourably capitulated,⁵⁶ the terms being that life and limb should be spared, and that Sir Ralph Percy should, after swearing allegiance to Edward, have the custody of both it and Bamburgh.⁵⁷ Percy swore allegiance, and had both castles entrusted to him, but in the spring delivered them again into the hands of the Lancastrian party.⁵⁸ After the final rout of Hexham on the 8th of May, 1464,⁵⁹ the castle of Dunstanburgh was taken by storm. John Gosse, the captain of the castle, who had been carver in the household of the Duke of Somerset, was dragged to York and there beheaded.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁵ 'The Wednesday by fore Cristmasse, Anno Domini M^o.cccc.lxij'. In castello de Dunstalborw suint dominus Ricardus Dunstal, dominus Thomas Fyndern, doctor Murton, ballivus de Kam, cum vj^{xx} hominibus. Istos obsident dominus de Wenlok, dominus de Hastynges cum ij alii dominis, cum x^{mi}. hominibus.'—MS. Lambeth, 448, Camden Soc. Publ. 1880, pp. 158, 159. The Cotton account placed Fynderne in Alnwick, but the writer of Lambeth MS. 448 declares that the names of the Lancastrian leaders in the castle were unknown even at the time of his writing. Dr. Morton lived to become Archbishop of Canterbury and a Cardinal.

⁵⁶ 'And on S. Johns day Dunstanburgh was yéelded to King Edward.'—Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1614, p. 417.

⁵⁷ 'Bamborowe and Dunsterborowe were yoldyn be Syr Raffe Percy and Syr Harry Beuford, late Duke of Somersett, to the Kyngys wyll, whythe the condyscyons that the sayde Raffe Percy shulde have the keypyng of the ij. castellys. And they com to Derham and there they were sworne byfore owre Kyng.'—William Gregory's *Chronicle* in *Collections of a London Citizen*, ed. Gairdner (Camden Society), 1876, p. 219.

⁵⁸ 'Ralf Percy, Knight, after his lóng abode in rebellion, was by our sovereign lorde taken benygnylye unto his grace . . . yet nevertheless unkyndlye rered warre agaynste the Kyng, and surrendered the castles of Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh to the said Henry, the Kyng's enemye.'—*Rot. Parl.* 4 Ed. IV., quoted in *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. p. 285.

⁵⁹ This is the date given in the earliest document, the Act of Attainder of the Duke of Somerset.—*Rot. Parl.* 4 Ed. IV. The chroniclers generally give the 15th of May. There is a similar discrepancy of a week as to the date of the skirmish on Hedgeley Moor. The Act of Attainder of Sir Ralph Percy gives this as St. Mark's day, the 25th of April, but MS. Arundel 5, College of Arms (Camden Soc. Publ. 1880, p. 178), has the 2nd of May. It is evident that Hexham was fought thirteen days after Hedgeley Moor, and consequently those who date the former Tuesday the 15th of May, should, to be consistent, date the latter Wednesday the 2nd of May; but the fact that Hedgeley Moor fell on the feast of St. Mark would be one more likely to fix itself in popular memory than any mere day of the month, and hence the alternative brace of dates, Wednesday the 25th of April for Hedgeley Moor, and Tuesday the 8th of May for Hexham, is much the more probable. The *Inq.* p. m. 8 Ed. IV. n. 54, has made confusion worse confounded by erroneously giving the date of Somerset's execution (after the battle of Hexham) as the 3rd of April, 1463.

⁶⁰ 'The sayde lordes (the Erle of Warwicke, the Lorde Montacute, the Lordes, Fawconbridge and Scrope) besieged the castell of Dunstanbrough, and by force tooke it, and Iohn Goys, seruant to the Duke of Sommerset capytayne of the

victorious Earl of Warwick kept the feast of St. John Baptist at Dunstanburgh.⁶¹

Under the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, on the 6th of March, 1465, Edward IV. appointed William Douglas porter of the castle of Dunstanburgh for life at the salary of 4d. a day, with liberty, however, to discharge his duties by deputy; and four days later Robert, William, and Henry Haggerston were made in like manner joint constables of the castle.⁶² The castle and great barn were repaired in 1470,⁶³ but after that date notices of expenditure on the maintenance of the fortress are seldom to be met with in the Ministers' Accounts. On the 18th of December, 1471, Sir Henry Percy received from Edward IV. an annual grant of £40, and three years later we find that Henry Earl of Northumberland was the constable.⁶⁴ It is difficult to always clearly distinguish between the Earl and his cousin Sir Henry Percy, the son of Sir Ralph Percy the former constable of the castle. After their deaths, Edmund Craster was, in consideration of good service, appointed constable by Henry VII. on the 8th of July, 1489, with fees and wages of 20 marks per annum, together with the ancient advantages and perquisites of the office.⁶⁵

Towards the end of January, 1514, when the ships of war, which Henry VIII. had ordered to proceed to the Firth of Forth under the

sayde castle, was taken and brought to Yorke; where, wyth a Hatchet he was behedded.'—Grafton's *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, ii. p. 4. 'John Gosse, late Kerver to the Duke of Somerset,' was executed as early as the 18th of May, according to Lambeth MS. 306, edited by Gairdner, in Camden Soc. Publ. cxxxiii. 1880 p. 79, but MS. Arundel 5, in the same volume, p. 179, defers this batch of decapitations to the 25th of May (see preceding note), and gives the name as 'Thomas Gosse.' Lord Montagu was created Earl of Northumberland on the 27th of May.

⁶¹ 'Item, the xxiiijth day of Juynne, my saide Lorde of Warrewike with the puissance, cam before the castelle of Alwike, and ad it delivered by appointement; and also the castell of Dunstanboroughe. where that my said Lord kept the feest of Saint John Baptist.'—MS. College of Arms (L. 9), quoted in the notes to Warkworth's *Chronicle*, Camden Soc. Publ. p. 36.

⁶² Duchy of Lancaster Records, Receivers' Accounts, bundle 361, No. 5985.

⁶³ 'Super reparaciones et emendaciones diversarum domorum et camerarum infra Castrum ibidem. Necnon tenementi Jacobi Carre in le Newelaunde et furni et stabuli infra Castrum ibidem &c.'—*Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5987.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* bundle 361, No. 5989. After the battle of Bosworth, Henry VII. confirmed this annual grant of £40 out of the lands of Dunstanburgh to Sir Henry Percy, on the 8th of May, 1486, till lands of the same value could be given him elsewhere.—*Materials for Hist. of reign of Henry VII.* (Rolls Series) i. p. 427. The grant of the office of constable of the castle of Dunstanburgh to the Earl of Northumberland by Edward IV. was specially exempted from the act of resumption. 10th Nov. 1486.—*Ibid.* ii. p. 54.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* ii. p. 461. 'Craster' is there misspelt 'Cawster.'

command of William Sabyn of the Sabyne, had not been heard of since they victualled at Hull three weeks before, Thomas Beverley, who is described as 'an honest, sad and secret person,' was ordered to look out for the missing vessels on the coast of Northumberland. He succeeded in finding Sabyn at Dunstanburgh, a rather singular harbour of refuge.⁶⁶

Writing to Wolsey on the 24th of May, 1524, Dacre suggested that lead for the repair of the roof of the donjon of Wark might be procured from Dunstanburgh castle.⁶⁷ In his reply, dated the 11th of June, the cardinal stated that the king agreed to the proposal, and wished as much lead to be taken as could be spared.⁶⁸ Both Wark and Dunstanburgh were in the custody of Sir William Ellerker, and when, in November, 1528, Ellerker lay 'at the mercy of God, not likely to recover,' we find the Earl of Northumberland writing to his 'bedfellow' Arundel, asking him to use his influence in obtaining the appointments for him, as they had been filled by several former Wardens of the Marches.⁶⁹

The Royal Commissioners Bellysis, Collingwood, and Horsley presented the following report on Dunstanburgh to Henry VIII. in 1538:—

'THE VIEU OF THE CASTELLE OF DUNSTANBURGHE wiche is a very reuynus howsse and of smaylle strengthe.

'There is no logynges stondynge but the dongeone wiche has two littytle towers jonet a pone athere end of the said dongeone wiche dongeon with boithe the towres the leydes of their royffes must be new castyne and mayd with gutters spowttes and fyllettes for the doynge therof where leyde wantes ther is in the said castelle old leyde that wyll doo it and more and the charges for castynge of the leydes for all royffes aforsaide, vj*l*.

'The lenthe of the dongeone is xxxv yerdes longe the brede of the dongeon is xij yerdes the two towres of the said dongeone athere towre v yerdes and thre quarteres longe and iij yerdes and iij quarteres broyd.

⁶⁶ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.* I. i. pp. 726, 727.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* IV. i. p. 142.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 174.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* IV. ii. p. 2125.

'Item, one of the said two towres must haue a new royff and two flores for the wyche viij tonne of tymbere will serue wych tymbere must be hade in Chopwelle wode and framyd at New Castelle and caryed by wattere, iiijl.

'Item, ther must be two dormontes⁷⁰ for the said dongeon of viij yerdes and a half longe.

'Item, in one othere howse of the dongeon ther must be foure dormonttes of viij yerdes longe.

'Item, for the said dongeon v royd of sarkynge borde.

'Item, for the said dongeon two royd of florynge borde.

'Item, for the thyrde howsse of the dongeon a dormonte of viij yerdes and a half longe alle wych tymbere a fore sayd must be had in Chopwelle wode and caryed by wattere and alle charges therof by estimacion, viijl.

'Item, ther is a towre callyd Lylborne towre wich haith veray good walles and a gud royff of tymbere but it must be new coueryd with leynd and for that leynd that wanttes ther is old leynd in the castelle to serue and the charges of the plumber wylbe xviijs.

'Item, ther must be for the said towre two flores boithe bordes and yestes for the wiche v tonne of tymbere will serue and for dores and windowes which tymbere must be hade in Chopwelle wode a forsaid and caryed by wattere all charges therof by estimacion, iiijl.

'Item, the walles of the dongeon and battylmentes in the innere warde with a pece of walle above the vttere gaytt and in dyuers places of the grett walle that compasses the holl castell must be amendyt and pynd with ston and rowthe cast with lyme for the wyche lx l wold do mych gud.

'Item, ther wolde beane yrone gayt for the innere warde of thre yerdes and a quartere hye and thre yerdes brode wyche wyll cost for yron and maykyngge xiiijl.

'Item, ther is a draw welle in the inner warde wych is very deype.

'Item, ther is no horse mylne in the said castell and yf there be one mayd it wylle cost xl.

'Suma totalis, cvj l. xviijs.'⁷¹

⁷⁰ i.e. main beams.

⁷¹ *Chapter House Books*, B₂₄, P.R.O.; *Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 62.

Leland's account of the castles in Northumberland, written much about this time, has 'Dunstaneborough a 2 miles beyond Howwick hard on the se shore, it stondethe on a hy stone rok the castle is more than halfe amile in compace and there hath bene great building in it.'⁷²

On the 4th of July, 1543, Henry VIII. wrote, under the great seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, to Thomas Burgoyne, esquire, one of the auditors of the duchy, William Denton, gent., receiver at Dunstanburgh, and Robert Horseley, gent., directing them to inquire concerning the repairs done to the castle and the castle walls by Sir William Ellerker, the late receiver, in about the year 1528, and to report on the actual state of the castle with special reference to the old lead, timber, stone, or 'other stuff meete for buyldyng' that there might be within the castle, as well as to the value of the lead. Accordingly, in the autumn a certain Francis Samwell came down to Dunstanburgh as Burgoyne's deputy, and returned the following report to the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy:—

'THE VUE TAKYN OF THE KYNGES CASTELL OF DUNSTANBURGH by Frauncis Samwelle Deputie to Sir Thomas Burgoyne Auditor to our Sovereigne lorde the Kyng there the vj daye of October in the xxxvth yere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne lorde Kyng Henry the Eight.

'As concernyng the Reparacion made by Sir William Ellerker late Receyvor there The said Sir William dyd cause to be made a pece of the wall over the gate the Charges of the same ys to be valued at vij*li*. at the most Insomuche he bought certeyn Bolles of lyme of the Churchewardyns that then was of Emeldon.wiche as yet ys unpayd for.

'Also the seyde Sir William dyd cause to be made a pece of the seyde wall over the west syde wiche as yet ys unbattellyd the Charges wherof ys to be Estemyd at xls.

'The state of the
seyde Castell to be
gyn at the gatehouse westward
& so to goo Rounde about the seyde Castell.

'From the gatehouse to goo upon the west parte of the seyde Castell the wall is suffeyent & of a good Strenght Except hyt be in

⁷² See *ante*, p. 27.

lak of the ymbattellyng of the seyd pece of the Wall the wiche the seyd syr William Eller carr dyd cause to be made. And in the seyd wall ther ys on Tower called Lyleburne wiche hathe a roffe of Tymber & covered withe leade howbeyt the leade ys decayed & gone in many places and by the reason thereof the tymber ys sore decaed withe wether. And in the seyd Tower there ys too greate mayne postes that goyth thorough the one syde to the other of the seyd Tower where there hath byn of lyke in tyme past too flowers howbehyt yt is without remembrance as yet ys seyd.

‘The wall of the seyd Castell to goo Northwarde ys sore decaed by reason of the see Notwithstanding hyt ys not possible for the Castell to be wone one that Syde bycause hyt is a roke of Stone that the Castell wall dothe stande apon wiche dothe assende plomme done a dosyn fadom and the Castell wall on that syde was never in heyth above ij yardes & a half and apon that syde there ys no maner of Tower.

‘The wall of the seyd Castell to goo Estwarde lyeth fully apon the see by the space of vj [hundred] fote at the leaste and there maye lande at that syde any maner of Bote in reasonable wether and to enter into the Castell all the seyd syde at there pleasure in any maner of place.

‘The wall of the seyd Castell to goo Southwarde to the yatehouse The wall ys in good repaire & strong and in the seyd wall ther ys one Tower called Egingcloughe withe a roffe of Tymber and covered with leade howbehyt the leade ys gone & decaed in many places and by reason thereof the seyd roffe is sore decayed with wether. The leade of the seyd Tower conteynyth by Estimacon ij foders dim. and under the seyd roffe there ys as hyt were a faute of ston over a posterne yate. Also apon the seyd wall there ys a nother Tower called the Constable lodgyng with a roffe of Timber and covered with leade conteynyng by estymacon j. foder dim. leade. And there hathe byn too flowers in the seyd Tower of Tymber howbehyt there ys nothyng remaynyng as nowe but ij greate postes & vj jesses of half a fote thyk & lyke Breadythe & in leynght vj fote. Also of the same syde of the wall there ys ij greate Towers withe a house goyng betwene theym both wiche ys called the Dongeon Tower & shall conteyn in lenght lxvj fote & in breadythe xxiiij fotez withe a Substancyall roffe of Tymber & covered with leade howbehyt the leade in many places ys gon & worne

by reason whereof the Tymber is sore decayed in many places withe rayne & wether. And under the seyd roffe there ys too flowers very well Tymberd howbehyt yt ys sore decayed withe wether notwithstanding ther wolbe muche good Tymber and in case hyt be not lokyd upon shortly hyt wolbe litle worth.

‘The yate house of the seyd Castell is fallen downe holly Except v postes that hangyth over the seyd yate wiche are lyke to fall every daye. The seyd postes are covered withe leade conteynnyng by estymacon half a foudrer of leade.

‘Also there ys muche leade lying in a house under the seyd Dongeon Tower the key wherof remaynyth to Thomas Grey deputie Constable of the seyd Castell So that I could not come to the sight of the seyd leade.

‘Also ther ys muche stone about the seyd Castell wiche ys fallen into the seyd Castell and also without the walles yf hyt were leed together yt wold amount to very many loads of ston.’⁷³

In spite of these surveys of Bellysis and Samwell, no thorough repairs can have been executed. Sir Robert Bowes in his *Book of the State of the Marches*, composed in 1550, tells us:—‘The Castle of Dunstanborough is in wonderfull great decaye and the utter wall thereof might be repayred with no great charge also the Gatehouse and a house for a constable And then surely it would be a great refuge to the inhabitants of those partes yff enemies came to annoyne them either arriving by sea or coming by lande out of Scoteland soe that they brought no great ordynaunce or power to remayne any longe tyme theire.’⁷⁴ Queen Elizabeth’s commissioners of 1584 thought the castle or fortress of Dunstanburgh ‘not so needfull to be repaired nor so necessarye as other for the defence of the country or annoiance againstes the enemyes of the opposit border of Scotland because the same is so farr distant from the sayd border of Scotland and yet a howse of verye great force and strength if it be thought gude by her majestye for any other respect touchinge the sea coostes or otherwise to be repaired.’ They describe it as standing on the sea coast about 18 miles south-east of Berwick and as ‘decaied for want of repairinge

⁷³ *Duchy of Lancaster Depositions*, vol. 38, Hen. viij. Ro. 4 b. P.R.O.

⁷⁴ State Papers, Dom. Add. Ed. VI. vol. iv. No. 30, fo. 73b; Hodgson’s *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 206.

by long contynuaunce.' To restore it to its original condition would, they estimated, cost the large sum of £1000; but it might in their opinion be made capable of holding a garrison of not more than a hundred horse or foot for about £400.⁷⁵ So late as 1617 the yearly fee of £20 was allowed for the 'keep of the castle.'⁷⁶ James I. granted Dunstanburgh to Sir William Grey of Wark on the 6th of February, 1625, and it continued the property of his descendants until the Earl of Tankerville sold it to the trustees of the late Mr. Samuel Eyre of Leeds in 1869.

The wonderful strength of the masonry executed in the time of Thomas of Lancaster is strikingly brought out by the brave way in which the original towers and walls of the castle have withstood the assaults of time and tempest, while the subsequent works carried out by John of Gaunt and the Lancastrian dynasty have almost entirely disappeared. The *Great Gatehouse* of Thomas of Lancaster, afterwards converted into the *Donjon*, is a block about 105 feet in breadth, consisting of an archway with two stories over it, flanked by two towers that would each have been only about 40 feet square, did they not project in semicircles some 16 feet in front of the line of the entrance arch. These projecting bows—the *cubenda* said to have been raised to the height of 80 feet in 1316⁷⁷—appear to have been at the top of their battlements about 65 feet above the present ground level near the entrance. They formed a sort of false front of two additional stories, and attached to them on either side of the gateway were small turrets containing wheel-stairs. Shouldered doorways led into these turrets from the rampart-walk above the gate, and at the next floor level the turrets were slightly corbelled out beyond the sweep of the bows in a masterly fashion, so as eventually to make their walls rectangular. Each of these twin gate-towers is, with minor divergencies, so much the counterpart of the other, that the main features of their construction can be fairly ascertained by supplying what is fallen away in the one by what is perfect in the other. The umbrella-like groining, for instance, in which both turret stairs terminated can still be seen through the uppermost doorway of the western

⁷⁵ See *ante*, p. 70.

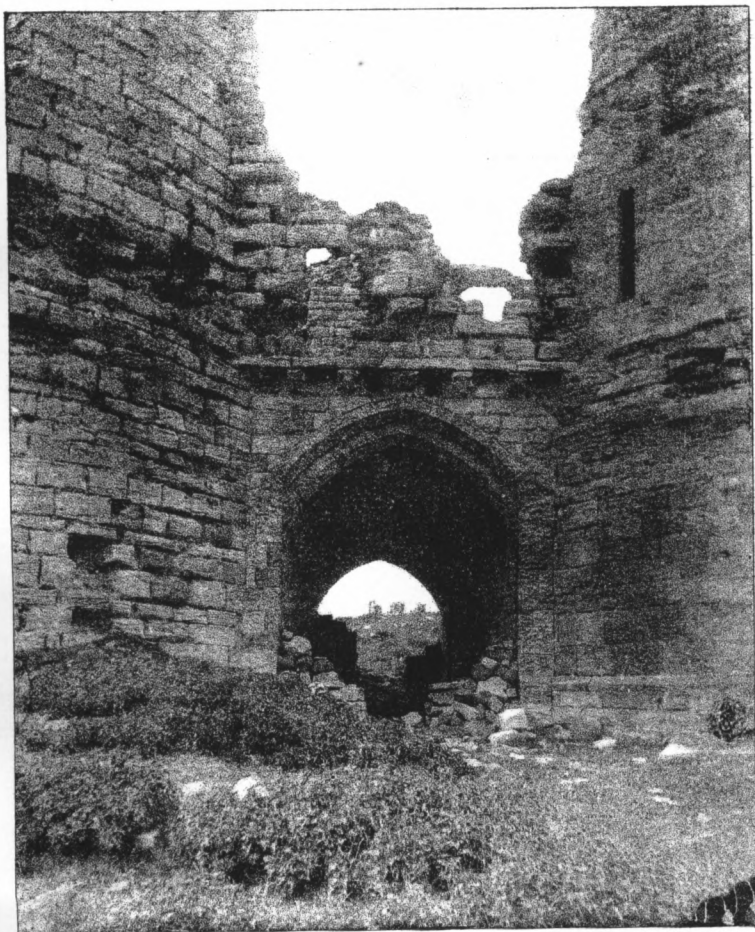
⁷⁶ *Book of Offices* in *Percy Family Letters and Papers*, Alnwick MSS. vol. xi, p. 28.

⁷⁷ 'Et cubenda domus Portæ facienda de altitudine iiii x pedum cum j turri in utraque parte portæ.'—*Opera Castri de Donstanesburghe*, see above, p. 170.

turret which opened on to the battlements of the bow; while three or four put-holes for small beams are still left high up inside the north wall of the eastern bow.

As in the earlier Gatehouse at Warkworth, the wall above the entrance archway is supported on five corbels. A sort of lion seems to have been carved on the central corbel, and a fleur-de-lys and an escallop on those to the right and left; but the whole may be merely the result of the weathering of the stone. There is no sign of a portcullis near the outer arch which looks like a restoration. The entrance passage is 11 feet 2 inches wide. The buried bases of the side walls show that the road was formerly on a lower incline. Mason-marks are plentiful on the four innermost ribs of the vault. At the far end of the passage there is, on either side, the doorway of a guard-chamber. The eastern guard-chamber, about 16 feet long by 6 feet 8 inches wide, with a three-ribbed vault, has two square aumbries and a small window to the north; the western, now entered from the inner ward by what was originally the window, has a small fire-place, and was probably the porter's lodge. Just within the inner arch of the gateway is the groove for the portcullis, 6 inches wide, the portcullis itself being 12 feet. Both ends of the passage were at one time walled up in order to turn the Gatehouse into a Donjon.

The flanking towers were entered from the courtyard by doors near the foot of the wheel-stairs, in the north-east and north-west corners of the Gatehouse. These wheel-stairs, the steps of which were about 3 feet broad, also terminated in umbrella vaults. The drums have cross-shaped loops to the east and west respectively in the basement, and to the north at the first floor. The ashlar of which Dunstanburgh is built are often of Cyclopean dimensions; one stone that forms the lintel of the door to the large room in the basement of the western tower is over 7 feet long. This room, which measures about 24 feet by 12 feet in the rectangular portion and is 12 feet in diameter in the bow, is much filled with *débris*. The head of a door in the west wall leading to a latrine is only just visible. There was a fire-place in the north wall and three cross-loops recessed in the wall of the bow which is about 16 feet thick. The room on the first floor had a fire-place in the west wall near the stair to a latrine. The second floor, unlike the two lower ones, which had intervening passages, was entered directly from the wheel-stair. The very similar interior



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DUNSTANBURGH: GATEWAY FROM THE S.

1884.



of the eastern tower presents at the first floor level one of the most striking scenes in the castle; the arch thrown across the bow on the second floor, in order to carry the north wall of the false two-storied front, is of the noblest proportions.

The central room over the vaulted passage of the Gatehouse is 26 feet long by 22 feet broad. In the south-west corner there is a mural chamber with a cross-loop commanding the entrance; and two slanting shafts in the south wall seem to have served the same purpose. Close to the north wall is the slit in the floor for the portcullis to be raised through, and there are holes for two stays for it to rest on. The fire-place seems to have been in the west wall. This room and that above it were probably the Great Hall and the chamber in the Donjon, the windows of which were glazed in 1458.⁷⁸

About 20 yards along the curtain-wall, which starts from the north-west corner of the original Gatehouse, are the traces of what, when this was converted into the Donjon, became the main entrance to the castle. This may probably have been the outer gateway of the bar-bican ordered to be built by John of Gaunt in 1383.⁷⁹ The portcullis groove, about 7 inches in width, remains on the north side of the passage, which was 12 feet broad. The jamb of a door, opening into a recess 3 feet 7 inches wide, is left at the first floor level on the south side of this ruined Gatehouse. From the original curtain-wall near this door the north wall of the *Inner Ward* ran subsequently east, not quite parallel to the Donjon, for about 100 feet to a mass of ruin at the north-east angle of the ward which represents the site of a tower that possibly contained the chapel. It then turned south for about 40 feet to the door of the east tower of the Donjon, which it blocked up. The Gateway of the Inner Ward is at the north end of this east wall. It had a portcullis 8 feet 9 inches wide, but the archway was at some time built up and a smaller door inserted. The wall of the Inner Ward probably represents the mantlet ordered to be built by John of Gaunt in 1380,⁸⁰ while the gateway may have been that con-

⁷⁸ See above, p. 177.

⁷⁹ See above, p. 174. The road leading up to this gate is very distinct.

⁸⁰ At least the length of the north and east walls of the Inner Ward seems to be about eleven rods like that of the mantlet, see above, p. 173. It must be borne in mind that variations in standard measures, and subsequent alterations to buildings make it often almost impossible to reconcile the documentary references to them with their existing remains, while until the Inner Ward of Dunstanburgh is carefully excavated, its exact arrangements must continue more or less of a mystery.

structed by Henry de Holme in 1383.⁸¹ The *Draw Well* in the Inner Ward has been filled up to within about 6 feet of the surface; the kitchen was probably near it. At Dunstanburgh we have a castle occupying ten acres, with an inner ward not a quarter of an acre in extent.

Following the west curtain-wall, we come, about 30 yards north of the more recent outer gate of the castle, to a tower which although it is indicated as tolerably perfect in the Bucks' somewhat preposterous View of Dunstanburgh in 1728,⁸² has, owing to the friable nature of the red rock beneath it, so fallen to ruin that the only masonry left is a few courses of the lining of its south-east corner. Beyond this tower-base the west curtain is better preserved for 40 yards, to the angle where, tenaciously adapting itself to the escarpment, it suddenly turns in a more easterly direction for another 40 yards to the Lilburn Tower.

The *Lilburn Tower*, built probably by John Lilburn, constable of Dunstanburgh about 1325 (the mason-marks differ from those on the Donjon), occupies the highest position in the castle area. The walls are 6 feet thick; the interior is about 13 feet 6 inches square. The stair went up in a turret at the south-east corner which has all fallen away. In the east wall immediately north of this was an entrance passage 5 feet 3 inches in width. In the south wall of the basement near the present ground level are three aumbries; in the west is the plain-headed recess of a kind of late lancet-window, the stone

⁸¹ See above, p. 174.

⁸² This 'Prospect' was dedicated by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck to the 2nd Earl of Tankerville whose arms impaling the quartered coat of Colville are duly given on the plate, while the public were gravely informed that 'This Castle was the Capital Seat of y^e Barony of Visconty, sometimes call'd the Barony of Emildon. It was built in the Reign of K. Edw^d y^e 1st by Thomas E. of Lancaster, Son of Edmond Crouchback E. of Lancaster Bro^r to y^e s^d King. It is Situate upon an inaccessible Rock over looking y^e Sea & beautifully adorn'd with various Towers. It was anciently a very strong and spacious Fortress, being by the help of a deep Ditch surrounded by the Sea. In the 4th Y^r of Edw^d y^e 4th it endured a long Siege. S^r Piers de Bressy with 500 Frenchmen being retired to this Castle from y^e Battle of Hexam Field; Ralph L^d Ogle assisted by Edm^d & Rich^d Craucestre Baliffs of Bamburgh Castle; by Jn^o Manners & Gilb^t Errington reduc'd it & took all the Garrison Prisoners; (for wch they were well rewarded with forfeited Lands) S^r Piers only Escaped.' Finding that the south curtain wall and its towers were going to extend too far east for their plate the Bucks calmly brought the western part of it right in front of the Donjon. Their view of Dunstanburgh is only valuable in as far as it shows that at that time the battlements of the Lilburn and Eggingclough Towers were fairly perfect, and that the west curtain was still of considerable height.

round which has been cut to fit a square window-frame. At the first-floor level the wall is set back about 10 inches, and the deals rested on this ledge and one large beam laid across from north to south. A mural passage, with a flat roof of large flags supported on shoulders, ran through the east wall, as a continuation of the walk round the ramparts of the curtain-wall. There was a very remarkable double-window piercing both the inner and outer walls of this passage. The remaining north jamb of the inner window bears the marks of three stout bars. In the north wall near the north-east corner was a plain flat-headed fire-place. Two-light windows of the usual Dunstanburgh character with shouldered recesses and plain seats look north and west. In the south-west corner is the entrance to a latrine. The arrangements of the second floor were very similar, but there is only a single light in the plain-headed recess to the north, and above the mural passage in the east wall of the floor below was a shouldered window recess. At each angle of the roof a solid turret rose about 18 feet to the height of 60 feet or so above the tower base. The only fragments left of the battlements between these turrets are two courses of large stones on the east side of the south-west turret; below them is a rough spout. The north-west turret was struck by lightning during a terrific storm in June, 1885, when three sheep were killed by the lightning and three by the falling stones. The turret has since been carefully repaired by the owners of the castle.

Immediately under the north side of the Lilburn Tower, a small postern with a round arch of the Decorated period, opened on the steep escarpment in the direction of Embleton. The original height of the curtain-wall above this postern is given by the shouldered doorway that led on to the rampart-walk from the mural passage in the tower. The curtain continues in a northerly direction for 40 yards further, and then, after making a sharp bend westward in order to adapt itself to the contour of the slope, comes in another 20 yards to the brink of the Gull Crag, the precipice that rises 100 feet out of the sea round the whole north side of the castle. A mass of rubble marks the point where the curtain terminated.

Returning across the Castle Green to the east side of the Donjon—the great height of the southern curtain-wall is shown where it was tied into the Donjon near the commencement of the eastern bow.

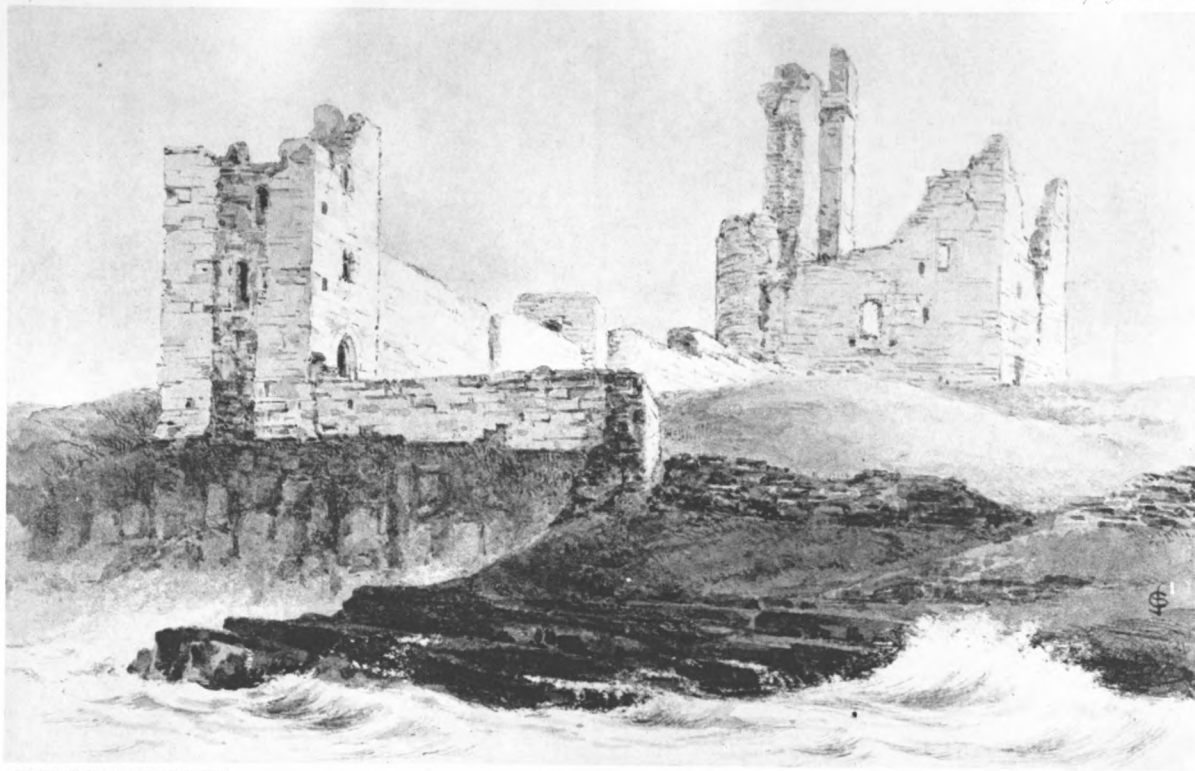
A wooden stair led down on the rampart-walk from a shouldered door on the second floor of the Donjon. The curtain bears away to the east for 35 yards. In one place the solid base of what looks like the platform for a mangonel or some such engine of defence is corbelled boldly out over the moat, here about 25 feet broad; in another the basement would have been pierced by one of the numerous latrines, had it not been thickened on the outside. We then come to the *Constable's Tower* of two stories,⁸³ about 15 feet square inside, and projecting 9 feet to the field. At the north-east corner is the skeleton of a wheel-stair. The basement, a little window of which is preserved in the north-west corner, is much filled up with rubbish. The upper floors had fire-places in the west wall, and good south windows of two lights in recesses provided with stone seats. Passages lead off the stair into latrines in the thickness of the curtain, while at the second floor level a door, now built up, communicated with the rampart-walk. A little to the north of this tower are the ruins of a rough-walled building of late character, measuring inside 22 feet 4 inches in length, east to west, by 14 feet 4 inches in width. The courses of masonry projecting at the east end show that it was intended to join another building on to it, and there are also arches of identical masonry running north. From its close proximity to the Constable's Tower we may fairly consider this to have been the Hall of the Constabulary with its adjacent houses mentioned as being repaired in 1444.⁸⁴ From the Constable's Tower eastwards another 25 yards of the curtain brings us to a small turret, only 10 feet 9 inches by 7 feet 6 inches inside and of 7 feet projection to the moat. The vault of the basement was formed by large flags resting on a single rib. Near this turret is a flight of steps leading to the rampart-walk.

The southern curtain-wall terminates in the Elgyn,⁸⁵ or Queen

⁸³ The name of this tower, which had been forgotten, is now recovered, thanks to Samwell's Survey, see above, page 185.

⁸⁴ See above, p. 177. The original Latin runs:—'Circa sclattationem et fere novam reparacionem aule constabularie et domorum annexarum infra dictum Castrum de Dunstanburgh.'—Duchy of Lancaster, Receivers' Accounts, bundle 361, No. 5,978.

⁸⁵ It seems almost certain that the '*Elgyn*tour' of 1459, and the '*Eggyngclough*' Tower of Samwell's Survey are one and the same. Had this postern-tower at the Eggingclough not been manifestly of the same age as the Donjon, the language of the Receivers' Account of 1459 would have led anyone to believe that the turret to the east of the Constable's Tower was the '*Elgyn*tour,' and that the



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DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.

from the East





Margaret's Tower,⁸⁶ at the total distance of about 110 yards from the Donjon, and on the brink of the great chasm with cliffs of columnar basalt and metamorphised marble that is often erroneously called the Rumble Churn, but at the time of Samwell's Survey was known as the Eggingclough. The basement of this Eggingclough Tower, about 11 feet 9 inches square inside, served as a postern. The round-headed north door appears to have been restored. The south wall has nearly all fallen away, but the two bar-holes of the door may still be seen on the east side.⁸⁷ The basement is built of huge ashlar, some nearly 2 feet square. It was covered with flat stones resting on two massive ribs. The masonry of the superstructure is of a poorer character. A wheel-stair, four steps of which are still entire, led to the upper floors and the battlements of the south curtain, at the juncture of the latter with the tower. The first floor has a recess, provided with seats, for a window of two lights in the north wall, and a passage to a latrine in the north-east corner. There was a fire-place in the east wall. The second floor, with corresponding arrangements, was supported on eight beams, laid north and south, as can be seen from the put-holes. The way in which the east side of

Eggingclough Tower was the postern built in that year between this and the sea. See above, p. 178. As it is, we are driven to suppose that the postern of 1459 was in the east curtain of the castle.

⁸⁶ This popular appellation of the tower is probably, after all, of more recent origin than the time of Grose, who, writing about 1772, does not mention it, as so painstaking an antiquary would most likely have done had it then been current. Mr. Tate, in the sixth volume of the *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, chose to call the tower St. Margaret's Tower, though associating this with Margaret of Anjou. Of course if the tower was ever really called Queen Margaret's and St. Margaret's indiscriminately, it could only have been after St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland. It is difficult to avoid concluding that the whole thing is part and parcel of the modern myth recounting the alleged adventures of Margaret of Anjou after the battle of Hexham, a myth the most telling scenes in which Dr. Perceval has ably traced, in *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii., p. 290, to the brilliant imagination of the Abbé Prevost, the author of *Manon l'Escamot*. The name of Queen Margaret's Cove has been given to the Eggingclough, in consequence of the highly improbable story of Margaret of Anjou's embarkation. The very use of the word 'cove' in this sense is sufficient to show that the so-called tradition is not of Northumbrian origin. The *coup de grace* is given to the entire cycle of these modern legends by the fact that in the self-same Act of Parliament, passed on the 21st of January, 1465, in which the Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and others were attainted for their adherence to Henry VI. in Northumberland, in 1464, Edmund and John Beaufort and others were so for having 'withdrawn them out of this Land, adhering unto Margaret late called Queen of England,' which Edmund, at least had done in 1463. If Margaret had been in England in 1464, the general charge of joining in the northern rising at Hexham and elsewhere would have been sufficient for the attainder of her courtiers.

⁸⁷ This postern is not shown in the Bucks' view of the castle.

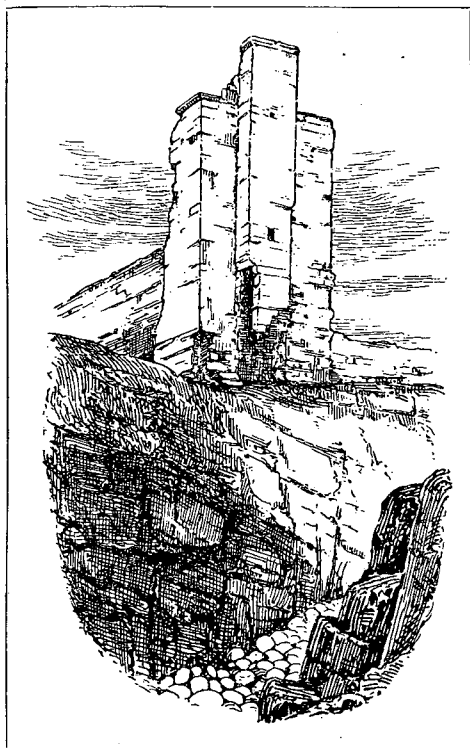
this tower, with all the wild beauty of the Eggingclough at its foot, was given over entirely to latrines is an excellent example of the inability of mediæval minds to appreciate the romantic scenes in which for purely practical reasons their habitations were often fixed.⁸⁸

A high piece of good ashlarwork is still standing round the northern edge of the Eggingclough, but beyond this the east wall of the castle is of mere rubble consisting of a shivery whitish stone sometimes faced with basalt. In one place there is an opening to a narrow passage 5 feet long, in the thickness of the wall; in another, further on, the foundations of two converging walls run back west for 55 yards to what seems to have been a building about 35 yards long by 6 yards broad, possibly the grange in the castle. Near the spot where the east curtain abutted on the precipitous Gull Crag is the genuine Rumble Churn, a cleft in a cavern roof, formed by one of the basalt columns having fallen into the seething abyss below.

⁸⁸ The piece of the tower containing these latrines has fallen into the clough since Mr. Archer's sketch of it in 1862, in the Alnwick Castle portfolio.

ADDENDUM.

P. 187, l. 2, add after '£400':—'On the 27th of February, 1591, Queen Elizabeth issued a commission 'to view and survey the decayed and decayed places of the walles about the Castle of Dunstanburghe,' by virtue of which 'Mr. Delavale, Mr. Ra. Grey, Mr. Clavering and Mr. Luke Ogle' repaired to the castle on the 1st of September following, and 'by the opinion and judgement of divers skilful artizans freemasons and others, by perambulation and survey,' certified that fifty-three yards of the north-east wall of the castle towards the town of Embleton was utterly ruined in front though the lining was 'in reasonable good state,' and that it would take the total sum of £63 6s. 8d. to repair it, 'which small time will make more chargeable to her majestie.'—*Duchy of Lancaster Depositions*, 33 Eliz. 'Concernen' Supervis' Decas. murorum castri de Dunstanburghe.' P.R.O.



THE EGGINGCLOUGH TOWER, DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE.

From a Sketch by Mr. James Shotton in 1880.

