

Fig. 1.—Brough Castle : ground plan (by courtesy of H.M. Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments).

ART. X.—*Brough-under-Stainmore: The Castle and the Church.* By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON, M.A., D.Litt.

BROUGH-UNDER-STAINMORE is one of those grand localities where the majestic continuity of British history dominates our imagination. From remote pre-historic times, it would seem that the Stainmore Road has been of importance as a trading artery between Ireland, home of the so-precious copper, and the brilliant late Stone Age civilisations of northern Europe. It is thus no accident that what seems to be the earliest relic of human activity found at Brough should be an ornate flanged bronze axe of typical Irish design.¹ Whether this is an Irish import, as seems most likely, or a local product imitated from an Irish model, this beautiful weapon is at all events a proof of Irish influence along the old trade route.

At a much earlier period, we have an interesting gleam of evidence for the use of the Stainmore Road by folk heading in the opposite direction. The oldest known monument in Westmorland is a long cairn of the Neolithic age that crowns a moorland brow at Raiset Pike in Crosby Garret parish, about eight miles south-west of Brough. Excavation has shown that this barrow belongs to a type peculiar to the Yorkshire Wolds, and it is plainly, as Professor Collingwood pointed out, "an outlier of that group, strayed across Stainmore."²

The Romans almost inevitably realised the importance of the area. They early established here the station of *Verterae*, which had a long and important history that

¹ See these *Transactions*, N.S. xl, 121 and Plate II.

² *Ibid.*, xxxiii, 171-2; *Hist. Mon. Com., Westmorland*, pp. xxviii-xxx.

falls outside the scope of this paper. There is evidence of the continued importance of the Stainmore road in early medieval times, notably in the remarkable group of sculptured stones at Kirkby Stephen Church, most of which are ascribed to the century and a half which preceded the Conquest. By this time Kirkby Stephen was evidently the civil centre of the district, but the military necessities of the Normans gave anew to Brough the importance which it had enjoyed under Roman rule. It is significant that the church of Brough was originally a mere chapelry of Kirkby Stephen³ and probably began as the religious centre of the community that gathered for shelter under the ramparts of the Norman castle.

HISTORY OF BROUGH CASTLE.

In not a few respects the Norman was heir to the Roman. So it is far from inappropriate that in the fulness of time a strong Norman castle should have been reared within the bank and ditch of long derelict *Verterae*. There is a statement by Camden that "in the beginning of the Norman government the English formed a conspiracy here against the Conqueror,"⁴ But in the Conqueror's time Westmorland north of Shap and Stainmore did not belong to the English realm; and whether or no there is any truth in Camden's statement, there cannot be any likelihood of a Norman castle having existed at Brough at so early a period. Not until after William Rufus, in 1092, added northern Westmorland and Cumberland, including Carlisle, to his dominions, will a castle have been reared within the old ramparts of *Verterae*. What may be described as the official view with

³ J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. I, pp. 564, 566.

⁴ "*Nec aliud de illo legi, quam quod inchoato Normannorum imperio coniurationem in Gulielmum Normannum hic Angli habuerint*"—Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1600, p. 687.

regard to the origin of Brough Castle is best set forth in the words of Chancellor Ferguson:—⁵

“ The first care of the English king was to make his dominions safe against invasion from Scotland, and to secure the great road from York to the north over the pass of Stainmore. This he did in the most approved fashion of the day; the military engineers who served his father had introduced from Normandy the fashion of building castles in stone, with, where the ground was firm enough to carry the weight, great square keeps within their *enceinte* For the erection of such keeps the waste chesters or camps of the Romans afforded facilities of a high order; their strategic positions, selected by men who thoroughly understood the art of war; the rich quarries their abundant ruins presented of hewn and wrought stone all ready to hand; and the firmness of the ground, consolidated by long lapse of time, on which they stood For the defence of the great road from York over Stainmore, William Rufus reared square Norman keeps on the Roman camps of Bowes in Yorkshire, of Brough-under-Stainmore and of Brougham in Westmorland, and of Carlisle.”

The suggestion therefore is that these four castles, all built within Roman forts on the Stainmore Road, together with Appleby which is not on a Roman site, were founded on a single occasion as a deliberate act of far-seeing strategy. There are those who will feel that such foresight and method were scarcely in keeping with the character of the Red King; and it is well to remember that in fact there is no documentary evidence that he founded any castle in his new domains, other than Carlisle. We have to fall back on the information yielded by the structures themselves, and this suggests that the process

⁵ *Hist. Westmorland*, pp. 67-8.

of foundation may have been more piecemeal than Chancellor Ferguson implies. At Bowes the stone tower can be dated from the Pipe Rolls to the years 1171-4,⁶ but it stands within earthworks which may well be as old as the eleventh century. There is no masonry at Brougham earlier than Henry II's reign, and nothing in its earthworks that has any claim to have preceded the stone castle. Decidedly, therefore, it must fall out of the Red King's alleged scheme. But at Appleby and Brough we may fairly claim to recognise his handiwork. The stone keep at Appleby belongs to the late twelfth century, and may confidently be dated to a reconstruction of the castle after it was captured by the Scots in 1174. It is true we are not told that the castle, which was surrendered without resistance, took any harm on that occasion; but the mighty banks and ditches with which the stone tower is surrounded show that the castle of 1174 was, like most Norman castles of that time, an affair of timbered earthwork of the mount-and-bailey type, and no doubt the experience of its easy capture would suggest to King Henry the advisability of strengthening it with a great stone tower on the mount, such as he was building elsewhere on the Stainmore Road. The earthworks, then, may not unreasonably be carried back to the time of Rufus. At Brough we have again a stone tower of Henry II's devising, but here the older castle was from the outset of stone, as appears from eleventh-century walling still preserved in its *enceinte*, and from the foundations of a tower of similar masonry which underlie the present keep.

Our inquiry therefore leads us to the conclusion that only Appleby and Brough can be claimed as the Red King's foundations. Is there any significance in the fact that Brough was from the beginning built in stone? There may be no more in this than that stone was ready to

⁶ The references are summarised in *V.C.H. Yorks. N. Riding*, i, 44-5.

hand in the ruins of *Verterae*. But there is no sign, so far as I can see, of Roman materials having been reused in the earliest masonry of the castle, or indeed in its walling of any period. It looks as if the plundering of the Roman works had been completed long before the castle was founded. In that case the likelihood emerges that Brough Castle may have been conceived as a more important post than Appleby. For this there are sound reasons. Appleby is a position of tactical consequence only. No doubt this is why the Romans ignored it. On the other hand Brough, as Dr. Ian Richmond has pointed out, is the strategic gateway of the Pennine crossing, and moreover "is in touch not only with the north west but with southern Westmorland and north Lancashire."⁷ It was for this reason that the Romans chose it as the centre of their customs control; and for this reason also, we may guess, William Rufus pitched upon it as the site of a castle built of stone, at a time when even Carlisle had defences only of wood. But Appleby had one advantage which Brough did not enjoy, and in the long run this told in its favour. For Appleby was ideally situated for the growth of a borough in dependence upon the castle. It is a second Durham, with the castle defending the town on the only side not protected by the loop of the river.⁸ Now if there is one lesson that medieval history teaches us, it is that, in cases where castles are founded by a conquering power on land newly acquired, the castle that has a borough in dependence on it is assured of importance. Thus in the country beyond the Vistula, which the Teutonic Order conquered and colonised in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the places of historic consequence were those castles like Marienburg, Marienwerder,

⁷ These *Transactions*, n.s. xxxvi, 113. It appears probable, also, that our Brough was connected by a road with Brough-by-Bainbridge and Ilkley.

⁸ The lay-out of Appleby, castle, town and church, is exactly that of Warkworth. See *Archaeol. Aeliana*, 4th ser., vol. XV, pp. 119-20. Both Appleby and Warkworth were pre-Norman settlements, refounded by the conquerors. In both, the parish church is dedicated to St. Laurence.

Heilsberg and Königsberg, where a town was founded in dependence on the *Ordensschloss*, and not such castles as Balga, Lochstädt or Barten, which never had an *Ordensstadt*. The same argument could be developed in respect of the Edwardian castles and boroughs in Wales. It is therefore not difficult to understand why Appleby Castle should have gained at the expense of Brough. And after both had passed from the Crown together into the hands of the same subject, the neglect of Brough was bound to be accelerated, except only during those periods when it formed a separate demesne or residence—*i.e.*, when the barony of Appleby was, for the time being, divided. We shall see that this fact supplies the key to much of the architectural history of Brough Castle.

Church and castle side by side are the hall-mark of the Norman penetration. Hard by the royal castle, in the hollow to the south-east, there was built the parish church of St. Michael, which, still retaining a fine late Norman doorway and other twelfth century work, was rebuilt at least twice over in the later Middle Ages, and now forms one of the most interesting churches in Westmorland. Adjoining castle and church is the hamlet of Church Brough, so called in contrast to Market Brough across the Swindale Beck. The latter obtained a charter of its market from Edward III in 1330;⁹ but the market was in existence at an earlier date, as appears from a bond, registered on 1st August, 1281, at Boston in Lincolnshire, by Sir Robert de Clifford, lord of Westmorland, to Albyn the merchant, burgess of Appleby, for £17, in respect of wools sold to the knight by the said Albyn, and delivered at Boston. It is agreed that the sum shall be paid at the next market of Burgh under Steynesmor, on St. Matthew's day forthcoming.¹⁰ St. Matthew's day is

⁹ *Cal. Charter Rolls*, vol. IV, p. 186.

¹⁰ *Cal. Ancient Deeds*, vol. IV, p. 26, No. A6332. Albyn the merchant was doubtless a Scot.

21st September, and this corresponds, old style, to the 1st October, which was the final day and climax of the famous Brough fair, held on Brough Hill, two miles west of the town. This was primarily a cattle fair, but there was also a great business in linens and woollens and in hardware:—

“ In the days before railways, vast stores of provisions, notably gigantic game pies with standing walls of crust of preternatural toughness and thickness, used to be provided at the inns on the roads *en route* to and from the fair for consumption by the farmers, drovers and dealers who resorted there upon business.”¹¹

Students of medieval town planning are aware that there are three types of market town. Where the town has been laid out upon a virgin site, the market usually takes the form of a central square, into the four corners of which enter the principal streets of the town. The church stands somewhat aside, within its graveyard, representing the centre of what we should nowadays call the social services of the community, as the market place forms the nucleus of its burghal and commercial life. The castle, commanding the town from one end or side, answers for its military and political organisation and its integration into the general pattern of the national government. This is the normal lay-out of the towns planted by the Teutonic Order,¹² of the Plantagenet *bastides* or *villes neuves* in Aquitaine,¹³ and of the Edwardian towns in Snowdonia. A variety of this scheme occurs where the market place takes the form of a wide open street heading for the castle. Marienburg, the capital of the Teutonic Order, affords one of the most

¹¹ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

¹² An excellent example, which I have analysed elsewhere, is Heilsberg. See *Journal Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, n.s. vol. XLI, pp. 8-23; and, on the subject generally, J. Leighly, *The Towns of Mediaeval Livonia* (Univ. California Publications in Geography, vol. VI, pp. 235-314).

¹³ See C. Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, vol. I, pp. 260-5.

striking examples in Europe. Both types owe their origin to the juristic conception of the "peace of the market," imposed by the representative of temporal authority quartered in the castle. Both are well illustrated in the district covered by our Society. At Appleby we have the long street market, polarised upon the castle; at Carlisle, the central market square.

But where the town has grown up on the line of an old trade route, we have a third type, the open street market, which is simply a swelling out or expansion of the main street or trade route as it passes through, so as to provide room for the traders' booths and stockpens on either side. Here, of course, there is no castle, and consequently no polarity of axis in the market street, both ends of which are equivalent. This less formal, more inorganic lay-out is typical of many medieval towns or villages throughout western Europe. In every case, it marks a community that has simply grown up at a convenient place on a trade route, without any deliberate foundation—and, of course, with no attempt at planning. An admirable example in Westmorland is Askham. The crossing of the Lowther River furnished the convenient trading place, the long market green is just an expansion of the road, and the Hall and the parish church are sited quite inorganically to the village lay-out.

Now it is a remarkable fact that both these schemes are exemplified in the two portions of Brough respectively. Market Brough gives us a perfect instance of the street market, a simple expansion of the Stainmore Road as it passes through the town. On the other hand, the plan of Church Brough shows an unmistakable, if incomplete attempt to lay out a town, in dependence upon the castle, in the normal manner of a *ville-neuve*, with the central market place (where the base of the market cross is still *in situ*), streets entering at its four corners, and church placed apart at one side. The history to be deduced from

these interesting phenomena is surely a suggestive one. It is clear that Church Brough must be the older of the two, and that it represents a deliberate though imperfect effect at town planning. And that a borough, duly incorporated, was actually in existence at Brough we learn from a payment of 18s. in tallage made to the Exchequer by the burgesses in 1197.¹⁴ It is of course an entire mistake to imagine that town planning in the Middle Ages is no older than the Edwardian *bastides*, although certainly the thirteenth century was the classic age of medieval town-planning. But the planning of towns was by no means unknown in Norman times. The twelfth-century lay-out of Ludlow, so brilliantly analysed by Sir William St. John Hope, is the best-known example.¹⁵ That the town-plan of Brough never developed beyond an outline sketch is surely due to the way in which the place came to be over-shadowed by Appleby. But across the Swindale Beck, on the new line apparently taken by the medieval successor of the Roman road,¹⁶ a market town developed, so early as the year 1197,¹⁷ for which, as a trading rather than a political centre, a brisker future was reserved. Here, on the south side of Upper Market Street, stands the octagonal base of the old market cross, upon which an eighteenth century shaft has been erected with the date 1331, for 1330, the year of the grant of market rights by Edward III. In

¹⁴ *Pipe Rolls for the Counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Durham*, p. 178.

¹⁵ *Archaeologia*, vol. LXI, pp. 383-8.

¹⁶ Between the 14th milestone from Barnard Castle, on the east side of Brough, and the 7th milestone from Penrith, on its west, the modern road does not appear to follow the exact course of its Roman predecessor. The 6 inch O.S. map (Westmorland, sheet XVI, S.E.) shows a stretch of road, called "Maiden Way" and marked as Roman, on the south of the Augill Beck, above Augill Bridge. If this is really part of the Roman Stainmore Road, then it seems that the latter headed straight for *Verterae*, via Augill Castle and Parkhouse, and rejoined the line of the modern road near Ballistone Bridge.

¹⁷ This is proved by the appearance of the term Upper Brough in the Pipe Roll of that year; Upper and Lesser Brough under the year 1199; and Upper and Lower Brough in 1200. *Pipe Rolls, ut supra*, pp. 178, 182, 186.

Market Street, a clock tower now occupies the site of a second cross, just as in the Borough-gate at Appleby, where the two market crosses remain. Doubtless the date 1330 may be accepted as denoting the time when the market town on the north side of the river had finally outstripped the older settlement under the shadow of the castle. Both the village centres retain some pleasing houses of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and in Market Brough one tenement shows, beneath a stone dated 1675, an early fourteenth-century doorway with shouldered lintel, the shoulders being daintily cusped.¹⁸ Church Brough and Market Brough were also known respectively as Brough and Further Brough, Over Brough and Under Brough, or Great and Little Brough. In Market Brough a hospital for travellers over the Stainmore Pass was founded by John Brunskill, who lived upon Stainmore, in 1506; at the Dissolution it was converted into a free grammar school.

While architectural evidence makes it quite certain that there was a stone castle at Brough by the year 1100, there does not seem to be any documentary record of its existence before the year 1174, when it was besieged, set on fire, captured and finally dismantled by William King of Scots. In Jordan Fantosme's rhymed chronicle of that destructive campaign we are fortunate in having a full and vivid description of the siege, which deserves to be reproduced in full:—¹⁹

¹⁸ This attractive mannerism is found in the Edwardian windows inserted in the north-east tower of Kildrummy Castle, Aberdeenshire. The heraldic stone behind Rumney House (No. 9 in the Hist. Mon. inventory) is dated 1558. To the items there listed may be added a panelled door, with initials C.R. and M.R. and date 1685, in the George Hotel.

¹⁹ *Chronique de la Guerre entre les Anglois et les Ecossois en 1173 et 1174*. This has been twice published (text and translation)—first in vol. X of the Surtees Soc., with translation by F. Michel (for siege of Brough, see pp. 68-71); and again in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, vol. III (siege at pp. 326-31). There is also a translation by Rev. Joseph Stevenson in *Church Historians of England*, vol. IV, pt. i. I have used Howlett's version.

"To Brough they wish to go; the resolution was soon
 taken,
 If it is not surrendered to them, no one shall go out of it
 alive;
 But the castle was not altogether so unprovided
 That there were not in it more than six knights.
 The castle was very soon besieged on all sides;
 Both the Flemings and the Borderers make a vigorous
 assault upon them,
 And have on the first day taken from them the bailey,
 And they soon have abandoned it, and placed them-
 selves in the tower,²⁰
 Now they are in this tower, few hours will they hold out:
 For they set fire to it: they will burn those inside it.
 They neither know of any resource nor what they can
 do:
 Already the fire has caught; now there they will be
 burnt.
 'By my faith, noble sire, if you please, they will not do
 so;
 Rather will they act like knights: they will offer to
 capitulate to the King.
 For they see very well that they will have no succour.'
 They cannot endure longer: to the King they have
 surrendered.
 That is a right act which they now do.
 To the King they have surrendered; great sorrow have
 they in their hearts.
 But a new knight came to them that day,

20

" *Si lur funt dur assaut e Flamens et Marchis,
 E unt le premier jor sur els le baile pris
 E eus tost l'unt guerpi e en la tur se sunt mis.*"

Michel mistranslates *le baile* as "the portcullis." Howlett renders it "stockade." But no indication is given as to the nature of the defences, and the presence of eleventh century masonry in the existing curtain shows that the bailey was already at least partly walled in stone. At Warkworth Castle, captured in the same war, the defences were partly of stone and partly of earthwork, doubtless palisaded—*le mur et le terrier, ibid.*, p. 252.

Now hear of his deeds, and of his great strength.
 When his companions had all surrendered,
 He returned to the tower, and seized two shields,
 He hung them on the battlements,²¹ stayed there a long
 time,

And hurled on the Scots three sharp javelins:
 With each of the javelins he struck a man dead.
 When these failed him, he takes sharp stakes
 And hurled them at the Scots: so he confounded some
 of them;

And ever he goes on shouting: ' Soon shall you all be
 vanquished.'

Never by a single vassal was a conflict better
 maintained.

When the fire deprived him of the defence of his shields²²
 He is not to blame if he then surrendered.

Now is Brough demolished, and the best of the tower."²³

From this sprightly account we learn that the castle then consisted, as it does to-day, of a bailey or fortified enclosure and a great tower or keep, into which the scanty garrison retired when the bailey was won. There is nothing in Jordan's words that would preclude the idea of these having been timber works. Fortunately the matter is settled by the survival in the curtain walls to-day of considerable fragments of herringbone work, of late eleventh century character, and of the foundations of an earlier tower, likewise in herringbone work, underneath the present keep. After the tower had been taken, the castle was demolished, including " the best part of the tower." This is strong language, by which an extensive destruction of masonry is implied. Had the tower been a wooden one, the fire would have done the job, and no subsequent demolition would have been necessary.

²¹ *kerneaus*. These were probably timber hoardings on the wall-heads, and will have provided the gallant knight with his sharp stakes (*peus aguz*).

²² Doubtless by consuming the hoarding on which they were hung.

²³ " *Ore est Burc abatuz e le mielz de la tur.*"

Between 1199 and 1202 restoration was in hand, under the direction of the Sheriff of Westmorland;²⁴ but by 1245 the castle had fallen again into a state of disrepair. "The tower of Brough," we are now told, "is decayed, the joists are rotten and many of the lodgings are brought to naught."²⁵ But before pursuing the fortunes of the castle further, it is necessary to look for a moment into the devolution of the manor of which it formed the *caput*.

Until the beginning of the thirteenth century Brough remained a royal castle; but in the year 1204 King John made a grant of the sheriffdom of Westmorland, with the castles of Appleby and Brough, to Robert de Vipont, who in terms of this gift was thereafter summoned to Parliament as a baron. The most satisfactory text of King John's charter is that which long afterwards, in 1398, was subjected to an *inspeximus* and confirmation, and accordingly was duly engrossed in the Calendar of Patent Rolls. As the text differs slightly from that given by Nicolson and Burn, it seems desirable to reproduce it in full:—²⁶

"Johannes Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie Dux Normannie Aquitannie et Comes Andegavie archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, prepositis, ministris et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilecto et fideli nostro Roberto de Veteri Ponte Appelby et Burc cum omnibus appendiciis suis et cum balliva et redditu comitatus Westmeryland et cum serviciis omnium inde tenencium de

²⁴ The payments recorded are:—in 1199, 1 mark; £4. In 1200, 10 marks, and again £22. 15s. and 10 marks, for Appleby and Brough together. In 1201, £19. 16s. 5d. for both castles. In 1202, 15s. (Brough alone). See *The Pipe Rolls for the Counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Durham during the Reigns of Henry II Richard I and John*, pp. 181, 183, 185, 187, 189.

²⁵ *Item de manerio de Burgo dicunt quod turris ibidem deterioratur et gista pudrida sunt et plures domus admichilantur pro defectu custodie prioris.*—*Cal. Inquisitions, Miscellaneous*, vol. I, p. 144.

²⁶ *Cal. Patent Rolls, Rich. II, 1396-9, p. 344.*

nobis qui non tenent per servicium militare, habend' et tenend' de nobis et heredibus nostris sibi et heredibus suis qui de ipso et uxore sibi desponsata exierint per servicium quatuor militum pro omni servicio, salvis nobis et heredibus nostris placitis omnibus que ad coronam regiam pertinent et salva dignitate regali et eo salvo quod dictus Robertus vel sui vastum neque exilium facere poterunt in brullis de Wynefeld vel in ipsis venari, quamdiu vixerimus, sine corpore ipsius Roberti. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod ipse Robertus et heredes sui post ipsum habeant et teneant omnia predicta de nobis et heredibus nostris ut dictum est in bosco et plano, in viis et semitis, in pratis et pascuis, in moris et mariscis, in stagnis et vivariis, in aquis et molendinis et in omnibus locis et libertatibus suis et libris consuetudinibus, sicut predictum est. Testibus: Baldewino, comite Albemarle, Willelmo de Breosa, R. de Torneham, Petro de Stoke, Alano Basset, Hugonis de Well' apud Troarc.²⁷ xxviii die Octobris anno Eudone de Bello Campo, Colino clerico. Data per manum regni nostri quinto."

It will be noticed that the charter contains no specific mention either of Appleby or of Brough Castles, though both existed in 1204 and undoubtedly passed with the grant. As was pointed out by Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of England in the reign of Charles II, the two castles are included in the phrase "*Appleby et Burc cum omnibus appendiciis suis*," since these words "carry the several parts of their castles and manors, which are particularly specified in the inquisitions after the death of the several possessors."²⁸ Our charter thus provides a useful warning to those who have sometimes been inclined to imagine that, when a castle is not mentioned in a grant of its barony, it was therefore non-existent at that time.

Robert de Vipont died before 1st February, 1228, on

²⁷ Troarn in Calvados.

²⁸ Nicolson and Burn, vol I, p. 268.

which date the castles of Appleby, Brougham and Brough were assigned to Hubert de Burgh, as guardian of his son John.²⁹ It is pleasant to think that the great Justiciar was once the master of our castle, even though his connexion with it was doubtless only formal. John de Vipont died, still a young man, in 1241, leaving a son again a minor, so that once more the estate and castle were placed under ward. On 4th August, 1241, Henry de Souleby was appointed custodian of the castle,³⁰ and later on we find the Bishop of Carlisle acting as curator of the Vipont heritage. It is not surprising that under such conditions the castle fell into the state of disrepair revealed in the inquest of 1245. Nor would matters be mended by a third and still more distressing minority, caused by the death in 1264, from wounds received at the battle of Lewes, of Robert, third of his line, a staunch supporter of Simon de Montfort in the Barons' War. He left two infant daughters. The elder, Isabella, married Roger de Clifford, and brought to him Appleby and Brougham as her share of the family estates. The younger, Idonea, was married to Roger de Leyborne, and to him went Brough. Roger de Leyborne died in 1283,³¹ and Idonea thereafter married John de Cromwell. Latterly she seems to have spent most of her time upon her second husband's Northumbrian estates; which may be the reason why, on 10th July, 1308, she granted Brough Castle in fee to her nephew, Robert, first Lord Clifford, son of Roger, who had died of wounds received in the Welsh war of 1282.³² In 1314 Robert de Clifford accordingly appears as tenant-in-chief of Brough.³³ Upon Idonea's death, in 1333, the two

²⁹ *Cal Pat. Rolls, Henry III*, 1225-32, pp. 176-7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1232-47, p. 255.

³¹ Inquisition held at Burg' under Steynmor, Monday the morrow of St. Gergory the Pope, 12 Edw. I:—"The Castle with a moiety of the manor, held of the king in chief, of the inheritance of Idonea his wife, daughter and one of the heirs of Robert de Veteri Ponte"—*Cal. Inquisitions*, vol. II, p. 316.

³² *Ibid.*, 1307-13, p. 134.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1313-17, p. 186.

moieties of the Vipont heritage were once more formally united.

During the partition Appleby appears to have been neglected, and the Cliffords made their residence at Brougham Castle, where important rebuilding and addition took place.³⁴ It is to be presumed similarly that Brough Castle, as the Lady Idonea's seat, will have been rescued from the dilapidation revealed in 1245, and that the latter part of the thirteenth century, at Brough as at Brougham, was a period which left its mark on the architecture of the castle. It may be taken that the Cliffords were in effective control of Brough Castle from 1308, and perhaps earlier.³⁵ All this history is certainly not without its bearing on the architectural problems with which we shall have to grapple.

It could not otherwise happen than that Brough Castle should be gravely involved in the Plantagenet wars against Scotland. On Wednesday, 22nd June, 1300, Edward I was at the castle, on his way to the Caerlaverock campaign;³⁶ and on Thursday, 17th November following, the Prince of Wales stopped there, his household expenses amounting to £35. 2. 5½.³⁷ On 6th September, 1307, King Edward II, returning from Carlisle with his father's corpse, was at Brough Castle, whence he crossed the Stainmore Pass, being at Knaresborough on the 12th.³⁸

In August, 1314, fresh from their triumph at Bannockburn, the vengeful Scots under Sir Edward Bruce and Sir James Douglas conducted a full-scale invasion of northern England. What they did there is best told in the words of the Lanercost chronicler:—³⁹

³⁴ See these *Transactions*, n.s. xlii, 170-9.

³⁵ See Nicolson and Burn, vol. I, p. 277.

³⁶ H. Gough, *Itinerary of Edward I*, vol. II, p. 190.

³⁷ J. Bain, *Cal. Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. II, No. 1175.

³⁸ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1307-13, pp. 2, 35, 37.

³⁹ *Lanercost Chronicle*, tr. Sir Herbert Maxwell, pp. 210-1.

“ The Scots even went as far as the water of Tees on that occasion, and some of them beyond the town of Richmond, but they did not enter that town. Afterwards, re-uniting their forces, they all returned by Swaledale and other valleys and by Stainmoor, whence they carried off an immense booty of cattle. Also they burnt the towns of Brough and Appleby and Kirkoswald, and other towns here and there on their route, trampling down the crops by themselves and their beasts as much as they could; and so, passing near the Priory of Lanercost, they entered Scotland, having many prisoners from whom they might extort ransom at will.”

The Scottish writers make it clear that this was just a raid of plunder and destruction, and nothing more. Says Barbour:—⁴⁰

“ The King, that wes of gret bounte
 And besynes, quhen this wes done,
 Ane hoost gert summond eftir sone
 And went syne soyne in-till Ingland,
 And our-raid all Northumbirland,
 And brynt hous, and tak the pray,
 And syne went hame agane thar way.
 I let it shortly pass for-by;
 For thair wes done na chevelry
 Provit, that is till spek of heir.
 The King went oft on this maneir
 In Ingland, for till riche his men,
 That in riches aboundanit then.”

In a raid of this kind, no time would be wasted in any attempt to storm such a strong fortress as Brough Castle. Hence the absence, in Barbour's view, of any deeds of “chevelry provit” like the siege of 1174, which gave Jordan de Fantosme the opportunity for such glowing

⁴⁰ *The Bruce*, bk. xiii, 732-44.

verse. No doubt the town was reduced to a heap of ashes, and perhaps this catastrophe marked the end of the uncompleted effort (as I conceive it) to establish a *ville neuve* in dependence on the castle. We get a peep at the destruction in the report of an inquisition, following on Robert de Clifford's death, from which it appears that in Church Brough the water mill and in Lower Brough twenty-four tofts and a half toft were burnt, besides ten vaccaries or cow-pens upon Stainmore. The bakehouse in Church Brough, and five vaccaries on Stainmore, had escaped the fire.⁴¹

When Brough revived, we may conjecture it was as a market town along the Stainmore Road, to which a charter was granted in 1330. But the destruction of 1314 was only the first of a series of such visitations. In September, 1319, after the "Chapter of Mytton," the victorious Scots returned by Stainmore; and in November Randolph and Douglas were back again at Brough—where, we are told by the English chronicler, they "laid all waste."⁴² Once again this report is confirmed from the Scottish side:—

" Thairfor thai took westward the way,
And by Carlele hame went ar thai
With prayis and with presoneris
And othir gudis on seir maneris."⁴³

Meantime the manor of Brough was once more in the hands of a minor's guardian. Robert, Lord Clifford, had fallen at Bannockburn (24th July, 1314):—

*" Trux Cliffordensis mucrone retunderis ensis
Ictibus immensis suis hostibus undique densis."*⁴⁴

⁴¹ Nicolson and Burn, vol. I, pp. 578-9.

⁴² *Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 228.

⁴³ *The Bruce*, bk. xvii, 889-92.

⁴⁴ From the poem of the Carmelite Friar Robert Baston, whom Edward II had brought north to celebrate his victory, but who instead was forced to write an ode in praise of his Scottish captors. See Fordun *Scotichronicon*, bk. XII, chap. XXII (ed. W. Goodal, vol. II, p. 253).

On 27th September following, the castle and manor of Brough-under-Staynmore were assigned as dower to his widow, and the constable, Ralph Fitzwilliam, was ordered to hand the castle over.⁴⁵ Carlisle Castle was now in imminent danger, and on 15th July, 1315 the Constable Fitzwilliam is ordered to send six bucks from the park of Brough for the provisioning of the great border fortress.⁴⁶ During the minority of Roger, Lord Clifford, Brough Castle was handed over to the guardianship of Bartholomew de Badlesmere,⁴⁷ one of the leaders of the baronial opposition to Edward II, and at this time a staunch supporter of the great Earl Thomas of Lancaster—

“The mighty Prince of Lancaster

That hath more earldoms than an ass can bear.”

Amid the prevailing lawlessness of a war-torn border region, and in the absence of a resident proprietor, much dilapidation took place at Brough. The free chase was broken and deer were hunted there.⁴⁸ Yet the castle itself must have been kept up for reasons of national defence, and on 3rd August, 1316 we have a royal order for its provisioning.⁴⁹ In March, 1325 the Close Rolls contain a record about a certain Richard le Nappere, of Aulton in Northants, who, some time before, had

“committed a felony for which he was hanged, to wit, he stole three oxen, price 30s., at Burgh in Staynesmore, and was convicted thereof before the steward and marshal of the King’s household, and was therefore hanged at Burgh.”⁵⁰

This entry shows us that Edward II was at Brough when the trial took place. We may therefore infer that the King visited the castle some time during the final

⁴⁵ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1313-18, p. 117.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁴⁸ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 595.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1315-18, p. 356.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1323-7, p. 272.

campaign against Lancaster in 1322, and the abortive invasion of Scotland that followed.

In 1327 died Maud, widow of Robert de Clifford; and the *inquisitio post mortem* found that she had held in dower at Burgh-under-Staynesmore the castle within the walls, lands, rents, etc., including a garden, herbage of the castle fosse, and profits of a fair and of the moor of Staynesmore.⁵¹

In 1345 the castle and manor were once more in royal hands by reason of the death of Maud's son, Robert, Lord Clifford. They were then worth £30. 15s. yearly, besides a market toll worth 10s. per annum.⁵² Robert's widow was granted the lands in dower; and on her death in 1362 his son Roger obtained seisin of the castle and manor.⁵³ With him there began another long period during which Brough Castle was in the hands of a resident lord; and here again we shall find cause to believe that the change for the better was marked by a thorough-going restoration of the fabric. It appears, however, that the Leybornes still asserted some interest in the lands, as may be gathered from a minute of date 27th January, 1352, which reveals the perils that beset the royal taxgatherer in this wild borderland during the fourteenth century. John de Colleby had been appointed to collect "the last tenth and fifteenth" in the county of Westmorland: but, as

"he went from town to town to collect the same, Roger de Layburn *chivaler*, . . . and others assaulted him, the servant of the king, on his way to the town of Hellebek to make distraint for money of such tenth and fifteenth not paid, at Burgh-under-Staynesmore, felled him to the ground, imprisoned him until he made fine by 60s. for his deliverance, and stole from him £10

⁵¹ *Cal. Inquisitions*, vol. VII, p. 30.

⁵² *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1343-6, pp. 633, 668-9; *cf. Cal. Inquisitions*, vol. viii, pp. 383, 385; *Cal. Fine Rolls*, Vol. V, pp. 409-10.

⁵³ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360-4, p. 353.

in money by tale collected of the tenth and fifteenth and 2 marks of like money of his own money.⁵⁴

In 1368 it is reported that there was poaching in the free fisheries at Brough; deer were being stolen from the chase, and hares, conies, pheasants and partridges from the warren. Similar complaints recur in 1376.⁵⁵

In 1381 Thomas de Blencansop of Helbeck was appointed by Lord Clifford Constable of Brough Castle, for himself and his heirs for a period of 600 years! This grant was dated at the Castle of Brough on Sunday before the feast of St. James the Apostle.⁵⁶

In 1383 a general overhaul of the northern castles was taking place, and on 3rd December a commission was issued to the Sheriffs of Cumberland and Westmorland, directing each of them

“ to take stone cutters, masons and other labourers for the repair of certain castles and fortlets of Roger de Clifford, knight, in the said county near the march of Scotland, which are useful as a refuge for the King’s subjects, at the wages of the said Roger.”⁵⁷

The castles and fortlets are not further specified, but we can hardly doubt that Brough, Appleby and Brougham will all have been involved. These precautions came just in time, for in 1388, the year of Chevy Chase, Westmorland had once again to endure a cruel Scottish invasion, and Appleby was given to the flames. How grievous was the destruction we learn from a lamentable wail of the burgesses, so late as 1515, when a large part of the town had still not been restored:—

“ the aforesaid town has been set on fire and burnt by the Scots in the year of our Lord 1388, and never from

⁵⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1350-4, p. 273.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1367-70, p. 198, and 1374-7, p. 414.

⁵⁶ Nicolson and Burn, vol. I, p. 582-3.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1381-5, p. 344.

the same time until now rebuilt, but the greatest part of the same town yet lies in ruins.⁵⁸

We may be fairly certain that the town of Brough will have shared the like fate; but once more there is no hint that either castle suffered.⁵⁹

Roger de Clifford died on 13th July, 1389. On 1st February following, his son Thomas, Lord of Westmorland, issued letters patent, dated from Burgh-under-Staynesmore, granting the office of constable of the castle to John de Crakanthorpe, for life, as it had been held by Adam Corrye, with power to appoint a deputy.⁶⁰ So the Blenkinsop constabulary had fallen far short of the stipulated six centuries. The castle and manor continued to be occupied by Maud Beauchamp, a daughter of the Earl of Warwick, as Roger's widow. Her son, Sir Thomas Clifford, was slain in the service of the Teutonic Order in 1391, and thereafter the wardship of his estates was given by King Richard II to his Queen, Anne of Bohemia, for whom the Constable of Brough Castle, John Crakanthorpe, acted locally as her attorney.⁶¹ After Maud Beauchamp's death in 1403, the life-rent of the castle and manor passed to her son's widow, Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Ross.⁶² She survived until 1424. Her son John, Lord Clifford, predeceased her in 1422.⁶³

The next Lord Clifford, Thomas, was slain on the Lancastrian side at the battle of St. Alban's in 1455. His son John, Lord Clifford, surnamed the Blackfaced, was likewise a staunch adherent of the Red Rose. It was he whose merciless severity to the House of York earned him the nickname of the Butcher, and whose sombre fame

⁵⁸ Ferguson *Hist. of Westm.* p. 151.

⁵⁹ The account in Nicolson and Burn, vol. I, p. 339 refers to the events of 1319, not 1388.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1389-92, p. 254.

⁶¹ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1392-6, pp. 97-8.

⁶² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1413-6, p. 320.

⁶³ See *Feudal Aids*, vol. V, pp. 197-8.

endures for ever in the "Bloody Clifford" of the Third Part of Shakespeare's *King Henry VI*:—

"The sight of any of the House of York
Is as a fury to torment my soul;
And till I root out their accursed line,
And leave not one alive, I live in hell."

"The Butcher" was slain by a random shaft in the skirmish at Ferrybridge that preceded the battle of Towton (28th March, 1461). On 1st February following, the victorious Yorkist King, Edward IV, appointed Richard Musgrave, Esq., constable of the Castle of Brough and chief forester of the forests of Brough and Kirkeby Stephen.⁶⁴ In due course, the vast estates of the slain Lord Clifford became the booty of Warwick, the King-maker, in whose favour a grant of the castles, manors and lordships of Brough, Appleby and Brougham, together with the lordship of Kirkby Stephen, was issued by Edward IV on 11th April, 1465.⁶⁵ John's son, Henry, surnamed the "Shepherd Lord" because he was brought up secretly, during the Yorkist supremacy, as a shepherd lad on the family estates, was restored to his rank and patrimony by Henry VII, and lived much at Brough, occupying himself with astrological and other humane studies. It was in his time, after a great Christmas feast in the castle in 1521, that the fire broke out which reduced it to a bare skeleton of scorched stonework. His descendant, the Countess Anne, tells us how

"his ancient and great castle at Burgh-under-Stainmore in Westmorland was sett 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 grand-child Henry, the 2nd Earl,

⁶⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1461-7, p. 143.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

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."⁶⁶

A ruin it remained, so she tells us, until she began its restoration in 1659. This explicit statement appears to dispose of G. T. Clark's suggestion that the keep "has been split with gunpowder, probably by order of the Parliament, producing fissures in its north and south walls."⁶⁷ The Countess Anne has told us the story of her restoration of the castle, which she completed in 1662.⁶⁸ She specifies her repairing of the "Roman Tower" or keep, and of "that half-round tower called Clifford's Tower," as well as of the curtain walls, within which she erected a court-house, a kitchen, a stable, a bakehouse and brewhouse—"the kitchen, bakehouse and brewhouse being on the north side and the stable on the south side" of the court. She tells us that she built "some twelve or fourteen rooms" within the castle "upon the old foundation." Over the main entrance she put up a great inscribed stone, which may be seen in Buck's engraving, and the legend of which has fortunately been preserved by Captain Grose:—⁶⁹

"This Castle of Brough-under-Stainmore, and the great tower of it, was repaired by the Lady Ann Clifford, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset and Montgomery, Baron Clifford, Westmorland and Visey,

⁶⁶ These *Transactions*, n.s. ix, p. 189. But Nicolson and Burn state (vol. I, p. 289) that this third Earl was "born in Brough Castle in the last year of Queen Mary."

⁶⁷ *Mediaeval Military Architecture*, vol. I, p. 292.

⁶⁸ See these *Transactions*, n.s. ix, p. 189-90; G. C. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, pp. 428-9.

⁶⁹ *Antiq. England and Wales*, Vol. VI, p. 21. Grose reads "Pembroke-Dorse," instead of 'Pembroke, Dorset.' The emendation, obvious in itself, is confirmed by the companion stone still remaining at Brougham.

High Sheriff by inheritance of the County of Westmorland, and Lady of the Honour of Skipton in Craven, in the year of our Lord God, 1659; so as she came to lie in it herself for a little while in September 1661, after it had lain ruinous without timber or any covering, ever since the year 1521, when it was burnt by a casual fire. Isa. chap. lviii, ver. 12, God's Name be praised."

The Scriptural quotation is one used by the Lady Anne on other stones which she put up to record the restoration of her castles:—

"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."

On 2nd January, 1666, the Countess's diary informs us, there was a fire, "in the highest chamber but one in the great round tower here in this Brough Castle." Fortunately the only damage done was to the furniture. In spite of this escape, the restored castle was not destined to see "many generations." By 1695 the great tower had been gutted and the castle masonry was being robbed for repairs to Appleby. In 1714 the fittings were stripped out and sold. And by the year 1785 Grose has a piteous tale to unfold:—⁷⁰

"The present proprietor of these ruins is the Earl of Thanet. Of late years they 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 a great part of the N.E. [read S.E.] round tower was pulled down to repair Brough Mill, at which time the mason therein employed for the sake of the lead and iron with which it was fixed, displaced the stone which the Countess of Pembroke

⁷⁰ *Antiq. England and Wales*, vol. VI, p. 22.

caused to be set over the gateway, on which was the inscription before cited."

With a fine eye for the fitness of things, this stone, so Grose reports, was then "laid under the water-wheel of Brough Mill." In 1792, the south-east corner of the keep fell out.

In his account of the castle, published in 1884, Clark reports that the then proprietor "appears to be very attentive to what remains of the two castles [Brough and Brougham]. Both are repaired in a very substantial manner."⁷¹ Despite this comforting assurance, the condition of the ruins went from bad to worse. Mr. Curwen's warning in 1909 about the dangerous state of the west wall of the keep fell on deaf ears; and early on the morning of 28th May, 1920, the south-west corner collapsed, making a breach of from 15 to 18 feet in width. Perhaps it is some consolation that what fell was not virgin Norman masonry, for this corner of the keep had been rebuilt by the Countess Anne. The result of this catastrophe was that in 1923 the ruins were handed over by Lord Hothfield to the custody of the Ancient Monuments Department of His Majesty's Office (now Ministry) of Works, by which they were thoroughly repaired and the courtyard was dug out. Much new information was thereby gained about the structural history of the castle. In 1936 an admirable short description, with a ground plan, was published by the Historical Monuments Commissioners.⁷² We are thus in possession now of the necessary evidence to compile a much more detailed and accurate chronicle of the development of the buildings than was possible when Mr. Curwen drew up his careful paper read before our Society at the castle on 11th September, 1908. Such are the conditions that have

⁷¹ Clark, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 294.

⁷² *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland*, pp. 50-3.

prompted this fresh study of one of the most interesting castles in northern England.

Along with the castle, but more briefly, I propose to consider the parish church, whose architectural history, in its earlier phases, exhibits a parallelism with that of the castle which does not seem hitherto to have been recognised.

THE CASTLE DESCRIBED.

Brough Castle (Fig. 1) is nobly planted on the brow of a steep and bold escarpment overlooking, at a distance of some 50 yards, the south bank of the Swindale Beck, above which the summit of the escarpment rises about 70 feet. Where the material of this escarpment is exposed, it is seen to be a fine red fluvio-glacial gravel or sand. On the castle site itself the bed-rock is nowhere visible, but it can be studied in the channel of the Augill Beck as it passes through Church Brough, and will be found to consist of a coarse red Permian breccia, locally known as "brockram". This is not a good building material, and the deep red freestone which has been used in the facework of the castle appears to have been obtained from the St. Bees sandstone, a finely-textured and well-bedded rock of Triassic date, much used for building, and available for quarrying at various localities not far from Brough—for example at Kirkby Stephen and at Hilton. Below the castle the river flows, clear and swift and shallow, in its boulder-strewn bed, margined with lush grass and clumps of gorse, hawthorn and wild rose; while beyond it in the distance stretches a splendid sweep of the bare scarped Carboniferous limestone *massif* of the Pennines, reaching a height, directly opposite the castle, of 2591 feet in Mickle Fell, which is in Yorkshire. At Brough Castle, the O.S. benchmark on the north-east angle of the keep marks a height of 630.4 feet. On the earthworks, Roman and

Norman, some fine old ash, lime and thorn trees invest the site with graciousness.

The Roman fort of *Verterae*, forming a rectangular area of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, 130 yards in length and 80 yards in breadth, within a single bank and ditch, having the invariable rounded angles, lies with its short northern end resting on the scarp. No Roman masonry is anywhere visible on the site. By the Norman engineer the northern third of the fort was utilised for his bailey, a ditch about 50-60 feet wide having been carried slantwise across it, so as to produce the usual shovel-shaped enclosure, of which the broad end is towards the east. The U-shaped profile of the medieval ditch contrasts markedly with the bold V of its Roman predecessor. To the south of the Roman fort, the ground descends fairly steeply into a marshy bottom. East and west it is level, or nearly so, and indented by various ditches and sinkings. Two straight lines of V-shaped fosse and bank on the west and one on the east are doubtless Roman; the outermost on the west and the eastern ditch together rather give the impression of a working-party camp thrown up before the fort was built, while the inner western ditch and mound, bold and steep, convey a hint that the fort itself may have been larger at first, and afterwards reduced in size, as happened at Castell Collen and elsewhere. But the nature and date of these external earthworks are quite uncertain.⁷³

The Norman castle, then, consists of a keep at the western end, and a walled bailey extending about 235 feet in greatest length, by about 120 feet in breadth across the butt or broad eastern end. At the south-east corner is a large round tower, and on the north curtain are three buttresses, of which the westmost is big enough to

⁷³ The picturesque and vivid style which the English Historical Monuments Commission has adopted for the delineation of earth-works sometimes results in giving these an importance they scarcely deserve. Thus the rectangular sinking east of the castle, which looks so intriguingly conspicuous on their plan, seems to be little more than a mere stirring of the turf, as if for sods.

form a small garderobe tower. The gatehouse is in the middle of the south curtain. To its right are the hall and attendant buildings, to its left a long stable, and in the north-east corner of the court-yard is the kitchen. These existing buildings however, have replaced earlier structures laid out on quite other lines.

The architectural history of the castle would appear to have been somewhat as follows.

There was a stone tower in the fortalice besieged by William the Lion in 1174; and most of it—"the best of the tower"—was overthrown on that occasion, together with long stretches of the stone curtain walls by which, already at this early date, the bailey was, at least in part, enclosed. Evidently this was the tower whose foundations underly the existing keep, which will have been built when the castle began to be restored about the end of the twelfth century.

At the opposite end of the courtyard, in the original castle, there was a long and wide *aula*, extending north and south, the foundations of which still remain. This *aula* likewise seems to have been destroyed in 1174.

Reconstruction began, for security reasons, with the new keep, curtain walls and gatehouse, the latter dating probably from early in the thirteenth century. Work did not reach the hall buildings at the opposite end until near the end of that century. A new and narrower hall was then built at the south-east corner of the courtyard, with solar apartments in a large round angle tower.

So far, the disposition of the buildings had followed the haphazard lay-out, devoid of compact articulation, which marks the early tradition. It is possible, though (as we saw) unlikely, that these buildings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may have suffered in the Scotch raids of 1314 and 1319. In any case, the unfortunate history of the barony of Brough during the first half of the fourteenth century is sufficient reason in itself to account for neglect

and dilapidation such as may have led to the drastic reorganisation of the castle that undoubtedly followed during the long and vigorous rule of Roger, ninth Lord Clifford and fifth Baron of Westmorland (1352-89). In that reorganisation the alignment of the hall was changed. It was brought forward and linked up with the gatehouse, also reconstructed, so as to form the consolidated frontal mass of building, having the entrance under immediate control from the lord's dwelling, which is characteristic of the fourteenth century. The new hall, on an east-to-west axis, was raised upon cellars. Part of the west wall of the thirteenth-century hall was left standing, and its interior was subdivided into two by a partition wall in continuation of the north or courtyard wall of the new hall building. Thus a suite of private rooms was provided for the lord, consisting of his *camera* on the north and his solar or private rooms in the round tower, with an ante-chamber between them, behind the dais end of the hall.

Somewhat later, the castle underwent still further alterations. The north end wall of the *camera* was rebuilt, and prolonged westward and then southward to link up with the north-east angle of the gatehouse. Thus a forecourt was provided, screening off the dwelling house from the castle garth, and ensuring its greater privacy.

Accidentally burned in 1521, these buildings were restored by the Lady Anne Clifford in 1659-62. She rebuilt the frontal bow of the round tower, made various alterations in the interior arrangements, and threw the forecourt into extra cellarage, perhaps with living rooms overhead, so as to form a double tenement. She also built a new main stair, entering the hall at its dais end.

To the Lady Anne, as we know from her own memoirs, are likewise due the large kitchen in the north-east corner of the castle garth, and the stables range west of the gatehouse.

Having thus clarified our minds as to the main sequences

in the structural development of the castle, let us now look in more detail at some of its principal features.

The Early Norman Keep. The foundations of this were exposed during the operations of H.M. Office of Works, and were themselves revealed to overlie a Roman barrack. Neither the Roman nor the early Norman work is now exposed, with the exception of a fragment of the eleventh-century tower which underlies the north wall of the present keep. The eleventh-century tower is described and illustrated in our *Transactions* for 1927.⁷⁴ It lay slightly out of line with its successor, and its walls were massively built of herringbone work. At its base, these walls appeared to be at least 15 feet in thickness, but the dimensions of the tower could not be recovered. It was found that, in places at all events, a bander of oaken beams had been laid upon the earlier foundations at the time when the existing keep was erected.

The Norman Curtain Walls. These seem to have followed the same lines as their successors, as indeed they were bound to do within the confines of the Roman north and east ditches and the early Norman cross-cut. Eleventh-century walling, of large and rude herringbone work, is found in the core of a stretch of some 40 feet of the north curtain at its east end. In the north-west shoulder of the curtain are the remains of a mural stair, ascending southwards from an internal door. It would have been blocked by the north-west angle of the present keep, than which it is plainly older. We cannot of course be sure that the herringbone work is all of the primary wall that survived the destruction of 1174, or conversely that stretches of walling where no herringbone corework is at present exposed may not be older than that date. For the most part, the curtains have been skinned of their face-work, exposing the hearting, which consists of large pebbles and boulders grouted in a copious bath of hard

⁷⁴ N.S., xxvii, p. 224-6.

white mortar, mixed with coarse gravel. Where the facework survives, it is coursed rubble, the stones closely set, with few pinnings. A small portion of the parapet, rising flush from the wall-face, remains to the east of the garderobe turret. The latter contains a large chamber at ground level, closed at the gorge and entered by a side passage. The chamber is lintelled over, and had two vents discharging slantwise at the base. Eastward from the garderobes, a narrow stair, open to the court, led up to the wall-walk. Outside, between the two buttresses further east, the curtain shows part of a heavy splayed base-course of thirteenth-century type, indicating that this part of the wall was rebuilt at that time.

The Norman Hall. No more than the mere track of its foundation was picked up by the excavators, and is not now apparent. But it seems that the stair built by the Countess Anne was inserted in its south-west angle, in which case its length will have been about 85 feet. The breadth is 30 feet, and probably the building included all the domestic apartments, hall, kitchen and *camera*, under one roof span, in the primitive fashion. At the foundation level, the wall has been five feet thick.

The dimensions of our earliest hall at Brough may be compared with those of the eleventh-century halls at Chepstow Castle, measuring 89 feet by 30 feet, and at Richmond Castle (Scolland's Hall), which measures 75 feet by 26 feet. In all three cases, the great size of the hall must be accounted a mark of early date and primitive arrangements, in which the hall was used for all purposes. The conception is a Nordic one, and can be traced back to the primitive Germanic *Einraumhaus*, in contrast to the Mediterranean type, in which many different rooms each served a special purpose. In the Nordic type of house, the great hall included under its single lofty span of roof almost the whole indoors life of the household.⁷⁵ This

⁷⁵ On the whole subject of these early hall-houses, see K. M. Swoboda,

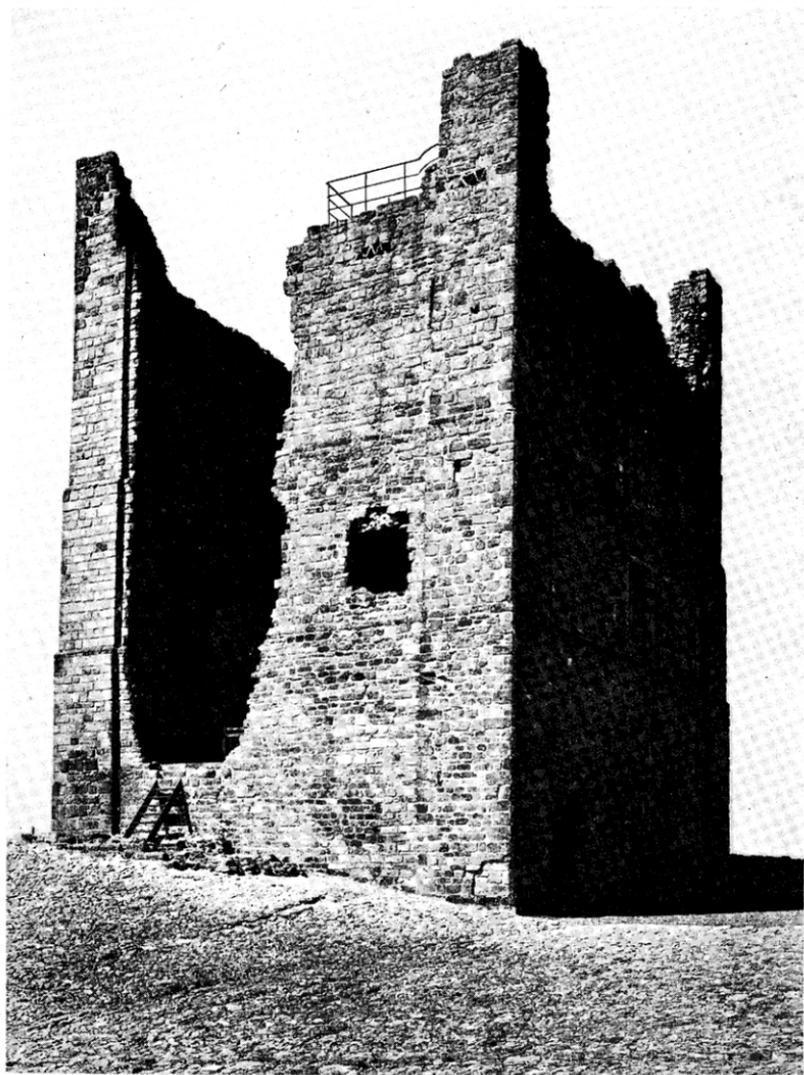


FIG. 2. BROUGH CASTLE : Keep from N.E.
(by courtesy of Hist. Mon. Com. and H.M. Stationery Office)

To face p. 255

early conception persisted as the nucleus of the domestic buildings in the castles of the Middle Ages; but it came to be modified in two ways, and at both ends. At the upper or "dais" end, private apartments were added for the lord and his family. At the lower or "screens" end a separate kitchen and pantry accommodation superseded the primitive practice of cooking in the open court, or at a central hearth in the hall. At Richmond, such later additions are admirably illustrated at either end of Scolland's Hall; but at Brough it would seem that destruction overtook the early hall before the need for these sophistications had been felt.

The Later Keep. Except for the stair connecting the basement and first floor, which was discovered during the repair work, there is little to add to Clark's full and careful account. The tower (Fig. 2) is in every respect a normal structure of its kind. It is of medium size, measuring 50 feet by 40 feet,⁷⁶ over walls 10 feet thick at ground level. Where the parapet survives, the height is about 60 feet. At the corners are clasping buttresses, continued aloft as angle-turrets which were at least 10 feet higher than the main wall heads. The tower has a plinth and two scarcements at second and third floor levels; from the upper scarcement rises an intermediate pilaster on the north and south fronts. The north-east turret contains a newel stair, rising from the second to the third floor, thence to the roof. It is covered by a raked spiral vault, heavily plastered. The second floor was reached by a straight stair in the east wall, ascending from the main entrance, which admitted directly to the first floor, below which was a basement, perhaps at first entered only through a hatch, though subsequently a door was forced out on the north side. A

Römische und Römanische Paläste; also K. H. Clasen, *Der Hochmeisterpalast der Marienburg*, chap. III.

⁷⁶ The Historical Monuments Commissioners give the dimensions as 97½ feet by 81 feet!

service stair, later blocked, led up from this door to the first floor ; but it is doubtful if this arrangement was original; for the round arched door is too big for Norman work and its large deep voussoirs and tall jambstones make me suspect that this whole ground floor entrance and stair were an innovation of the Countess Anne.

The basement of the tower formed a store. On the first floor was the hall; above this the solar, with a large garderobe in the north-west turret; and the topmost room, very plainly fitted up, was probably apportioned for sleeping quarters. The main entrance, about 12 feet above ground, was reached by an external stone stair, the under-building of which partly remains, and shows a plinth like that of the keep. The jambs of the entrance door remain at the south end of the east side of this fore-building. The divided loophole in the north wall at basement level, which has been most inaptly compared with the great doublet and triplet *archères* of Caernarvon Castle, is plainly, as the Historical Monuments Commissioners suggest, the result of a comparatively late alteration. As often happened in Norman towers, the top storey is an addition, formed within the height of the original structure by substituting a flat leaded platform, or fighting-deck, for the older high-pitched garret roof, the ridge of which did not rise above the parapet. The raggles of this primary roof survive in the east and west walls. Large plain corbels were built into the north and south walls to carry the intermediate floor which thus required to be inserted. The three lower floors have large joist-holes, and the upper of them a deep scarcement as well.

The masonry of the tower is good though somewhat rough. Its outer wall-faces consist of coursed and partly squared rubble, while the buttresses tend to be carried out in more finished work, approximating to the usual Norman square-faced ashlar. On the north side, where the tower overlies the earlier foundations, the base of the

wall is stepped back over these remnants, interrupting the plinth; and above this stepping are three courses of very regular squared ashlar work. It much resembles the best Norman work in Brough Church. As commonly in Norman masonry, the joints throughout the tower are wide. Considerable fragments of old plaster, white and very hard, still adhere to the inner walls, where the masonry is rougher and less regular. This plaster will no doubt date from the restoration by the Countess Anne. Such original detail as survives belongs to a late period in the Norman style. The only complete and unaltered primary window now to be seen is on the third stage of the south side. It has two lintelled lights divided by a pier with coupled Norman shafts, pronounced annuli and cushion capitals, from which spring plain round archlets with a solid tympanum above each light. This is an extremely pretty window. The purpose of the curious nests formed of cogging bricks, near the top of the outside walls, is quite obscure. They seem unsuited for pigeon holes. At all events they are comparatively recent—probably the work of the Countess Anne, whose amending hand is clearly apparent on every floor. The Historical Monuments Commissioners think that the upper part of the keep is “of slightly later date” than the ground storey. Of this I can see no real proof. Such differences as may be discerned between the lowest stage and those above are fully understandable on the assumption that the former was built from “top rock,” while the stones of the upper part are better material obtained from the deeper levels of the quarry.

As the upper part of the south wall, near the breach at the south-east angle, overhung in a highly dangerous, though most spectacular manner, the fallen angle has been skilfully rebuilt, out of the old stones, by H.M. Office of Works.

It seems worth while to compare our tower at Brough

with the other members of the Stainmore group. Comparison may begin with Appleby, with which Brough was so closely associated throughout its history, and where the erection of the tower, as at Brough, most probably followed upon the capture of the castle by William the Lion in 1174. The Appleby tower is slightly smaller, but better built than ours. It measures 44 feet 6 inches square, exclusive of the angle turrets; and its masonry is cubical ashlar of good late Norman type, with fairly close joints. At Appleby there is no question but that the topmost stage is a later addition, though probably at no long interval. The battlements, of an Edwardian aspect, are later still; below them, sealed up like fossils in a stratum, the outlines of the original battlements may be traced. The paired windows, lintelled and enclosed by a single round arch with solid tympanum, are similar in general idea to those at Brough, but much less refined. As to plan, both keeps are entered by a door on the first floor, reached by a forestair. Appleby tower possesses two spiral stairs, each in an angle-turret. One serves all floors from basement to roof, the other commences on the first floor. Of the remaining two turrets, one appears to be solid at all levels, but the other, as at Brough, is set aside for sanitation. It contains a garderobe on each of the two upper floors, whereas there is only one garderobe, on the second floor, at Brough. At Appleby the original roof comprised a valley between two pents. It was therefore just the opposite of the scheme adopted at Brough. The resemblances between the two towers are not particularly close, and there is no evidence that the same masons were employed on both.

Only the three lower stages of the tower at Brougham are Norman work. It is equal in size to the Appleby keep, and like it, has angle-turrets, or clasping buttresses. Here also, the main door is on the first floor, but, unlike Brough and Appleby, it is covered by a regular fore-building.

There is a single newel stair, in one turret: it served all floors, and enters the solar, or second floor room, by a mural passage, obviously designed for security. Another turret contains a garderobe on every floor, including the basement. The remaining two turrets seemingly are solid. One window of the hall has a mural locker in either cheek, a feature not paralleled at the other two towers. Brougham is the only one of the three which retains original fireplaces. The masonry is coursed rubble of small stones. It is not at all like typical Norman work. So the tower at Brougham shows no resemblance either to Appleby or Brough, and clearly came from different hands. All three, in my judgment, are the work of north-country masons.

The great towers at Bowes and Carlisle, 81 feet by 60 feet and 67 feet by 60 feet respectively, are very different structures, and must be the work of a royal *maistre mason de franche peer*, sent up from the south. Bowes is datable, by its building accounts, to the years 1171-4, and Carlisle keep is obviously of about the same time. Both have features in common with Newcastle; and I suspect that Maurice *ingeniator*, the engineer of Newcastle keep, to whom also we owe the great tower at Dover, had a hand both in Bowes and in Carlisle—though the engineer in local charge at Bowes bore the name of Richard. Bowes and Newcastle keeps are both built of un-Norman ashlar, long and low in the course, of the fashion that became common in the next century.

The Early Thirteenth-Century Gatehouse. The lower part of the existing gatehouse (Fig. 3), excluding the two frontal piers, which have been built on to it, is earlier than the upper portions. Its masonry much resembles that of the Norman curtains; and on the west side of the transe there is a conspicuous area of wide-joined, squared Norman stones, divided off by racebands from the rubble on either hand. The three massive rib-springers of the vaulted

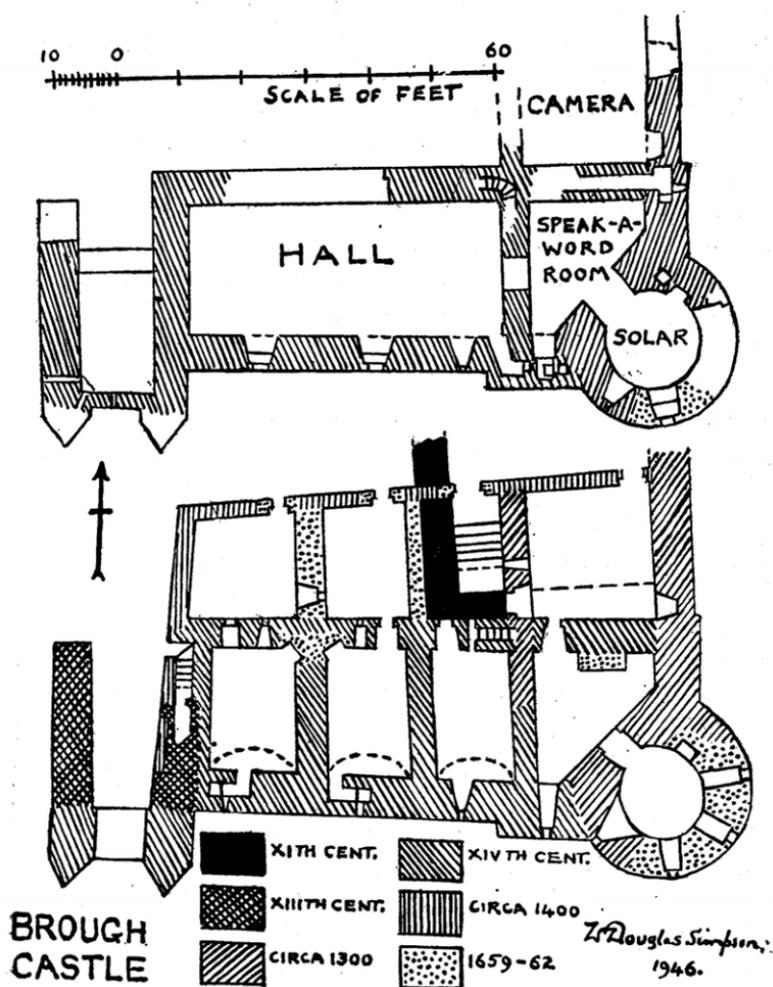


Fig. 3.—Brough Castle: dated plans of hall block and gatehouse.

trance, and the small portion of the rear-arch that remains, indicating a pointed profile, suggest that these features were inserted early in the thirteenth century. The rear-arch, the soffit of which is no less than three feet seven inches broad, is built of large ashlar, one of which is throughgoing. By contract, the voussoirs extend up no more than eight inches into the wallface, in which their upper ends form a very even ring. Over the rear-arch, there have been three windows, one above another, looking down upon the court. As originally built, the gatehouse projected some 12 feet beyond the line of the south curtain. To its flat face were attached a couple of massive piers (see Fig. 1), forming a recess into which the drawbridge folded back, so as to provide an extra barrier for the portal. The drawbridge chamber was reached by a straight mural stair in the thickness of the east wall. This was entered from the courtyard by a pointed-arched door, the east jamb of which still remains behind later work, and shows a five inch chamfer. The lowest stone of the west jamb also survives *in situ*. On this side, the base of the pier which carried the broad rear-arch is seen, between some later infilling about 10 feet long on the south and on the north the abutment of the rebuilt walling that contains a later stair, as will be seen. At the south end of the infilling, 4 feet 6 inches from the outer gate check, a jamb is visible in the wall as if there had been a door to a guardroom here. In the original state of the building, the total length of the trance, from fore-face to rear-arch, will have been about 40 feet. Its width behind the portal was 10 feet 6 inches, increasing gradually to some 12 feet at the inner end.

The Thirteenth-Century Domestic Range. It was not until later in this century that the restorers took in hand the domestic range at the east end of the courtyard. Clearly the reconstruction of the castle was a prolonged, and no doubt also an intermittent operation. Not that

there was aught unusual in this. Damage done in 1216 to Carlisle Castle, a much more important and exposed post than Brough, was still unrepaired in 1233, even in 1255.⁷⁷ The thirteenth-century hall, or hall-range, at Brough (Fig 3) occupied the same position and alignment as its Norman predecessor, but was narrower, its width being only 20 feet. Its length is unknown; but its upper end certainly came further south than the Norman hall, as a length of some 35 feet of its west or courtyard wall, showing a doubly-splayed ashlar base-course formed in large stones, still remains, and is partly embodied in the eastmost partition of the cellarage under the fourteenth-century hall. But any cross wall running eastward from the south end of this fragment would have blocked the door into Clifford's Tower; and it therefore appears that the gable of the thirteenth-century hall must have lain further north—probably on the line of the north wall of its fourteenth-century successor. A triangular ante-room would thus be left between the dais and the solar apartments in Clifford's Tower, very much as at present. In the remnant of the hall wall may be seen the remains of a ground floor window, afterwards blocked by Countess Anne's stair.

The eastern or outer wall of the thirteenth-century hall, like that of its Norman predecessor, was formed by the curtain. This was entirely rebuilt, while at the south-east corner was set a massive drum-tower (Fig. 4), called Clifford's Tower by the Countess Anne. It is 30 feet in diameter, one quarter engaged, and its walls are 7 feet thick. The east curtain and this tower form a structural unit, and (except where patched) are carried out in good red freestone ashlar facework, the stones being high in the course and generally short, and the jointing closer than in the Norman work. By the Historical Monuments Commissioners this tower is ascribed to the early thirteenth

⁷⁷ See Curwen, *Castles and Towers*, pp. 96, 97.

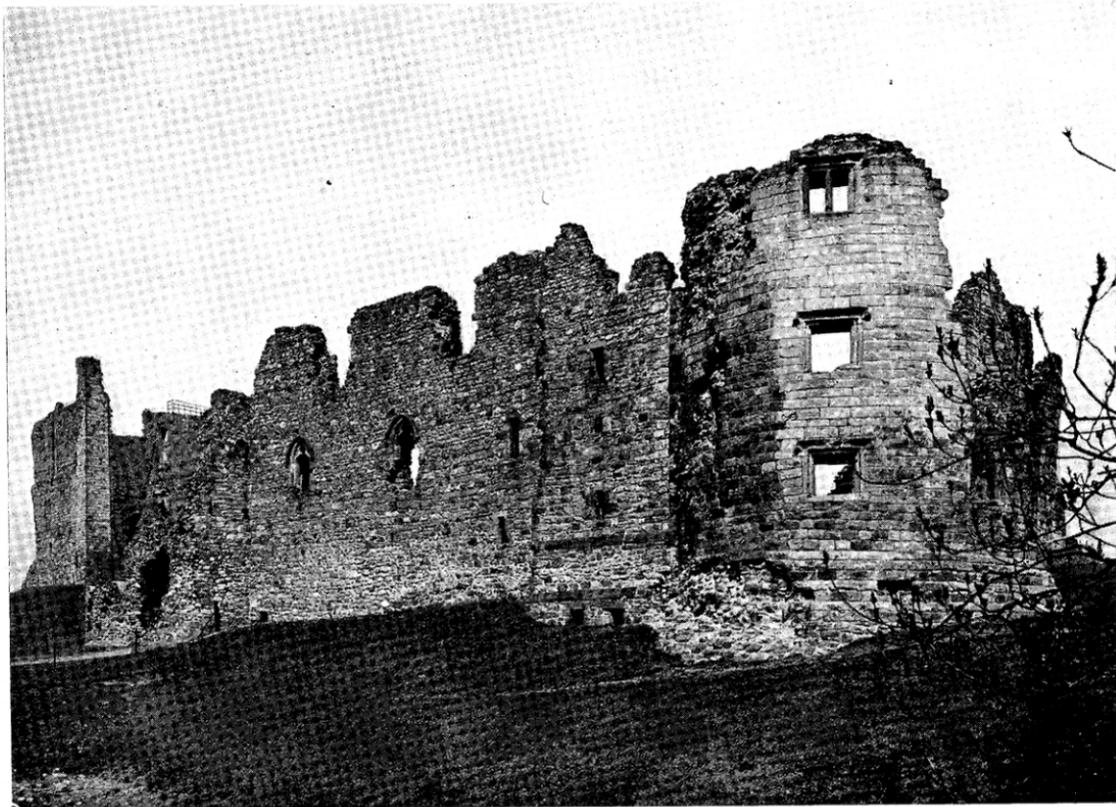


FIG. 4. BROUGH CASTLE : Hall Block and Clifford's Tower from S.E.
(by courtesy of Hist. Mon. Com. and H.M. Stationery Office)

century. But ashlar work of that time in northern England is typically long and low in the course; and surely this masonry at Brough must belong to the reign of Edward I or II, when the tendency to shorten and heighten the courses set in which reached its climax in the square-faced ashlar of the fourteenth century. Though smaller in scale, the masonry is in fact very like that in the great gatehouse of Dunstanburgh Castle, for which the contract is dated 1313; and the triply-splayed broad-spreading bases in both buildings are almost identical. Countess Anne knew the south-east tower as Clifford's Tower, and we need not doubt that the name is authentic, and commemorates its builder. This would place the tower after *circa* 1308, when the Cliffords entered into possession. Even before that time there is evidence that Robert de Clifford was in effective control of Idonea de Vipont's moiety of the barony. Lord Warden of the Marches, Captain-general in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, Marshal and Lord High Admiral of England, Justiciar of the royal forests beyond Trent, and guardian of the Prince of Wales, Robert de Clifford was one of the foremost military and political figures of his time. Of him, Sir Harris Nicolas has remarked that

“ among the barons of Edward the First's court there was one who, whilst equal in birth and possessions to any of his compeers, stood almost unrivalled in the splendour and extent of his services. In every military event he is recorded to have occupied a distinguished station; nor for a long series of years did a circumstance of the least importance occur without that individual having shared in a pre-eminent degree in its dangers and responsibility.”⁷⁸

So powerful and martial a baron, first of his line to hold Brough, can scarcely have failed to leave his mark upon

⁷⁸ *Siege of Caerlaverock*, pp. 185-6.

its then long neglected walls. I have no doubt that in him we should salute the builder of the noble tower that bears his name.

Besides flanking the east and south fronts of the castle, and providing a strong post at the opposite end from the keep and towards the borough, Clifford's Tower contained the solar apartments opening off the dais end of the hall. It comprised three storeys, but nearly the whole of it was rebuilt by the Countess Anne, so that it is not now possible to say much about the original interior dispositions. Towards the hall, the tower is closed by a diagonal gorge wall, in which were the doors. This wall has a plain splayed base-course. One original loophole, with wide inward splays, remains on the ground floor in the south-west re-entrant. Unfortunately, all its external dressings have been robbed. At 12 feet from the tower the east curtain (here very irregularly set out, and much patched at more than one period) is set back, and the shallow projection thus formed contained the garderobes, which would have been reached conveniently both from the hall and from the tower chambers. The lower part of the east curtain is built of small stones and is doubtless a survival from its Norman predecessor. It is stepped back in three courses, of which the topmost dates with the later work.

A single window of the hall remains in the curtain wall. It is greatly ruined, so that only part of its south jamb remains. This is carefully wrought in large well-bonded stones, and shows a plain heavy chamfer, returned on the sole. It was not of great width, and probably helped to light the dais, like the similar window in the later hall. To the south of it, the hall fireplace remains, though divested of all its dressed stones: but this fireplace has been intruded upon by the garderobes adjoining, which seem to have been rearranged when the fourteenth-century hall block was built.

The Fourteenth-Century Reorganisation. In the second

half of this century a complete reconstruction of the domestic buildings, upon entirely new lines, was taken in hand. The guiding principle of this was typical of the age. It involved a frontal massing of the hall and living rooms, and the absorption by them of the gatehouse. In my study of Brougham Castle, published in our *Transactions*,⁷⁹ and in other writings, I have discussed the motives which underlay this radical change in the military architecture of the later Middle Ages. A new hall (Fig. 3) was built on an east-to-west axis, between Clifford's Tower and the gatehouse, and the latter was reorganised to suit the new scheme, in which gatehouse, hall, and private apartments in Clifford's Tower, and in the portion of the thirteenth-century hall which was retained and adapted for the new suite, form an articulated entity. It is a scheme to which other more or less contemporary parallels might be quoted—for example, Morton Castle in Nithsdale,⁸⁰ where the self-contained gatehouse, hall and residential tower, all frontally massed, reproduce essentially the same arrangements as in the somewhat earlier reorganisation at Brough.

The new hall measured 47 feet in length and 20 feet in breadth. Below it are three vaulted cellars, with the eastern of which it communicated by a straight mural stair in the north wall. The stair door is gible-checked for a door closing against the stair, and standing then flush with the wall. The doorway to this eastmost cellar has had a shouldered lintel, with a $3\frac{1}{2}$ inch chamfer. This door is three feet seven inches wide, no doubt to admit stores. It, and the door next to it, still retain their bar-holes. The two western cellars have original garde-robes in the front wall. This unusual provision suggests

⁷⁹ N.S., XLII, pp. 170-9. See also *Antiquaries' Journal*, vol. XXVI, pp. 145-71, and papers cited therein.

⁸⁰ *Trans. Dumfriesshire and Galloway Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.*, 3rd. Ser. vol. XXII, pp. 26-35.

that they could serve on occasion as prisons—an accommodation doubtless specially required in this wild Border district. The cellar vaults are of elliptic form, and later than the front wall of the hall. In the central cellar the haunch of the vault partly obscures the garderobe door, which has been widened. I think these vaults were renewed by the Countess Anne. The hard white plaster that still adheres to them will certainly be of her time.

In the south front of the hall (Fig. 4) are two large windows, with pointed arches under heavy dripstones. The tracery, which is distinctly flamboyant in character, has consisted of two trefoiled ogee arches and a mullion, with a quatrefoil in the window head. Internally, these windows open into bays about six feet wide. Further east is a square-headed window that helped to light the dais. Doubtless the latter would have a more important window on the courtyard side. All three windows have been strongly barred. At the south-east corner of the hall is a garderobe, in excellent preservation. In the north wall part of the east jamb of a large window, with a portion of its rear-arch, is still visible. The bar-holes show that this was a window not a door, as Mr. Curwen thought. Doubtless the hall door lay further to the west. It must have been reached by a forestair.

The lord's *camera* was formed within the northern portion of the remnant of the thirteenth-century hall. Below it was a cellar, or basement. Of the *camera*, all that can be said is that it was lit by the thirteenth-century former dais window in the east curtain, and that the old hall fireplace, reduced in width by the reconstructed garderobes, served to heat it. Over the *camera* was an upper room, of which part of a window survives. Grose's engraving shows this window with a round arch, and also depicts the north gable of the *camera* as a blind wall devoid of windows, but showing an offset near the top.

Between the *camera* and the lord's private rooms in

Clifford's Tower an ante-chamber is formed, triangular in shape, with a corresponding cellar below. This ante-chamber would form a "speak-a-word" room behind the dais, and also secludes both the *camera* and the lord's rooms in Clifford's Tower. It was reached by a door in the east gable wall of the hall. A mural passage in the north wall conducts to the garderobe in the north re-entrant of Clifford's Tower. Thus the whole heel of the fourteenth-century building, with the round tower attached, forms a self-contained and jealously guarded *corps-de-logis* for the lord and his family. The garderobe annexe in the south re-entrant of Clifford's Tower has two heavily splayed offsets, and the garderobes have a basal vent divided by a post so as to hinder ingress, like the garderobe shafts at Kildrummy Castle, Aberdeenshire.⁸¹

The storey over the hall had two windows in the curtain, not placed above those of the hall. They are now mere ruined gaps, but Buck (Fig. 5) depicts them as rectangular, with mullion and transom—so perhaps they were made, or made anew, by the Countess Anne. How this storey was reached is not now apparent. At this level also there has been a garderobe in the annexe beside Clifford's Tower. Of the corresponding room over the *camera* all that can be said is that it had a window to the east, with a wider internal splay than that below.

The L-shaped arrangement of hall and private accommodation, with the large round tower at its heel and the gatehouse at the lower end of the hall, has a considerable resemblance to the building erected at Balvenie Castle, Banffshire, by the fourth Earl of Atholl about the year 1545.⁸²

This fourteenth-century hall-block at Brough is built throughout of rubble masonry of a very distinctive type. It is coursed in well defined layers of smallish stones, with

⁸¹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. LXII, pp. 66-8.

⁸² *Trans. Banffshire Field Club*, 16th July, 1938.

runs of pinnings laid horizontally, so as to produce a peculiar striated appearance when seen from a little distance. This kind of striated rubble work is widespread in the fourteenth century, both in England and in Scotland. The upper part is in smaller and lighter-tinted stones; and, with the windows as suggested above, may be the work of the Countess Anne.

About the same time when this hall block was built, and as a necessary part of its thesis, the old thirteenth-century gatehouse was reconstructed and drawn into the new scheme. Its square projecting front, with the two massive rectangular piers, was taken down, and two keel-shaped piers, built on to a new front flush with the hall, were substituted. Why the gatehouse underwent this reduction is not at all clear. Perhaps it may have been injured in the Scotch wars, or possibly a failure may have occurred owing to Roman forced soil below. The new piers, resembling the cutwaters of a bridge, rise from a splayed plinth, and were weathered back into the rebuilt front at the first floor (see Fig. 5). As thus reconstructed, and probably heightened, the gatehouse had two full stages above the portal, divided by offsets. In each, Buck shows a square-headed window of three lights, doubtless an improvement of the Countess Anne, who also inserted over the archway her memorial stone, which can be seen in his engraving. The upper storeys were reached by a straight stair in the east wall, laid above, and therefore sealing up, its thirteenth-century predecessor. The door to this new stair has a $3\frac{1}{2}$ inch chamfer rising from a neat broach stop. In the uppermost storey, the west wall contains a fireplace of the Countess Anne. This has been inserted above an original fireplace, so as to use its flue. To the south of the fireplace there has been a large window. The rebuilt masonry of the gatehouse corresponds with that of the hall.

Later Additions. To gain still further privacy for the

new domestic buildings, a small forecourt close was subsequently formed in front of them. Its wall commences at the north-east corner of the gatehouse, prolonging the eastern cheek of its transe, and then runs eastward in front of the hall to join the *camera*, the north end wall of which seems to have been rebuilt at this time. The forecourt so formed measured about 50 feet in length and 20 feet in greatest breadth, and was entered by a door at the east end. A heavy splayed base-course runs along the front of the forecourt wall, at a height of about two feet six inches above the present cobbling, and is stepped down westwards in successive stages to suit the level of the ground. It returns along the west wall and is continued on the entrance passage—at a height increasing from one foot two inches to three feet, owing to the outward slope of the transe—up to the pier of the gate-house rear-arch. On either side of the door to the later gatehouse stair it is stepped down. A similar device has been adopted at the three doors which now pierce the northern for court wall. Of these doors, the eastern has evidently been altered to serve the Countess Anne's scale stair, while the other two doors seem wholly of her time.

It is curious that at Morton Castle, which so closely resembles our fourteenth-century reorganisation at Brough, there is likewise a small forecourt in front of the main building, so as to screen it off from the castle courtyard; and, as at Brough, so also at Morton this forecourt was subsequently in part absorbed into extra lodgings.

Thus by about the year 1400 there had been created at Brough Castle a self-contained lodging for the lord and his *familia*, frontally massed, and separated from the rest of the castle by its own courtyard enclosure. In this compact and fencible lodging the lord had the main entrance to the castle under his immediate surveillance; and in it the privacy, and if need be the safety, of himself

and his personal household were secured against the jackmen or feed retainers who, under the new system known to modern scholars as "bastard feudalism," were now quartered as standing garrisons in every important castle, and particularly in those behind the Scottish frontier. The whole character of this building, and specially of the hall windows, bespeaks the latter half of the fourteenth century. It will certainly have been the work of Roger, ninth Lord Clifford (1352-89), one of the most powerful barons and foremost military figures of his time. Like all his leading contemporaries, he was himself both retainer and retained in the new system of indentured private armies that formed a prime cause of the growing anarchy of the age. Thus we have a document dated at Brougham Castle on 10th July, 1369, whereby Lord Clifford engages the services of a professional mercenary soldier, Richard le Fleming, and his company of *lanzknechts*, for a period of one year; and he himself, with a company of eighty, similarly sold his services to the Earl of March.⁸³ In earlier days, a castle under normal peace-time conditions would contain very few men-at-arms within its walls: if war approached, it was defended by the lord's vassals who dwelt around. But now, under the progressive militarisation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the castles had to provide quarters for standing garrisons of professional soldiery, like Richard le Fleming and his men. It was to secure themselves against these awkward neighbours that the lords or castellans took to segregating themselves in a separate and defensible *corps de logis*, with the main entrance into the castle courtyard under their control. At Brougham Castle, though at a somewhat earlier date, a similar transformation was carried out, to meet the same requirements.

What quarters were assigned to the standing garrison

⁸³ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, vol. XI, p. 74.

in the reconstituted castle of Brough? It seems most probable that the keep was set aside for this purpose, and that, from once having been the lord's residence, it now declined into a barrack. A similar development can be traced in other castles. For example, let us consider the special measures taken for the safety of the royal castle of Portchester under the threat of a French invasion in 1325. At that time Thomas de Saunford was constable of the castle; but on 8th December the King issued letters patent appointing a professional soldier, Sir Robert de Haustede or Halstead, "to the custody of the tower in the King's castle of Porcestre, so that, if need be, he shall apply all the force that he can to the custody of the outer bailey of the said castle"—that is, the walls of the Roman fort within a corner of which the Norman castle is built. At the same time, a mandate was sent down to the Constable to deliver the tower to de Haustede, together with "its armour, cross-bows, springolds, engines and other munition thereof." Next day a further order was issued to both men, instructing them "to cause the castle to be munitioned and fortified by men at arms, horsemen and footmen, if the admirals of any of the fleets of alien ships threaten to land towards the said castle or the neighbouring parts."⁸⁴ From all this it is clear that the keep then served as the quarters for the garrison and their arsenal, and that a professional captain was placed in command of it, with the special responsibility of providing for the defence of the whole castle. The Constable must have had his residence elsewhere, no doubt in the buildings that surrounded the castle court.⁸⁵

A somewhat similar disposition may be inferred at Dunstanburgh Castle after its reorganisation by John of Gaunt.⁸⁶ The Edwardian gatehouse then had its entrance

⁸⁴ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1324-7, p. 197.

⁸⁵ Not the existing structures, which belong chiefly to the reign of Richard II but their predecessors, of which some fragments remain.

⁸⁶ See *Archaeol. Aeliana*, 4th s., vol. XVI, pp. 31-42.

passage walled up, and was converted, functionally speaking, into a sort of revival of the old Norman keeps. It was now shut off from the great castle enclosure by a small internal courtyard of buildings, very much like that at Portchester. The Constable's quarters were not here at all, but a separate lodging was provided for him against another part of the main *enceinte*, in contact with one of its towers, which thereafter became known as the Constable's Tower. It is hardly possible to doubt that the remodelled gatehouse now became the barrack of the garrison.

The Restoration by the Countess Anne. Her principal work was the repairing of Clifford's Tower, the front part of which had fallen out. This she replaced (see Fig. 4) in fine regular ashlar of a light-coloured stone, with square-headed windows of two lights under a heavy cavetto-moulded dripstone. In the two westmost cellars under the hall she inserted fireplaces; and she it was, doubtless, who divided up the forecourt so as to form three apartments, perhaps with living rooms above. The westmost of these apartments has a fireplace in its east wall. In the eastern apartment, and using (as it seems) the south-western angle of the foundation of the early Norman hall, she inserted a handsome straight stair, six feet six inches wide, of which the pavement and five steps remain. In the gatehouse, where the trance had probably fallen, the Countess substituted a timber decking. The keep also came under her restoring hand. She rebuilt its south-western angle—now, alas! fallen again—and likewise the south-eastern angle—since fallen again, and once again repaired. The fireplaces, windows and other insertions of her time are readily distinguishable. Midway in the north front of the castle she restored a long stretch of the curtain wall, not always strictly following the track of its predecessor, but incorporating the old garderobe tower. Finally, as she herself tells us, she built a new

THE SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF BROUGH-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF WESTMORLAND.



To the Right Hon^{ble}

Sackville Tufton Earl of Thanet.

Esq. High Lord Westmorland & High Lord of the Treas. in Chancery
Hereditary Sheriff of the County of Westmorland.

This Prospect is humbly Inscribed by his Lordships most Obedient Servants

SAM^l NATH^l BUCK



BURGH or BROUGH Castle, under Ruine more, was casually consumed by Fire
A. D. 1521, and was rebuilt A. D. 1601 by the Lady, Anne Clifford, Countess
Dowager of Pembroke, &c. sole Daughter & Heir of George Clifford, third
Earl of Cumberland, after having lain one hundred & forty Years desolate.
The present Proprietor is y^e Right Hon^{ble} the Earl of Thanet.

Sam^l & Nath^l Buck delin. et. sculp. Published according to Act of Parliament March 25. 1725.

Fig. 5.: BUCK'S VIEW OF BROUGH CASTLE, 1739.

kitchen, bakehouse and brewhouse in the north-east corner of the courtyard, and a range of stabling on the south side, west of the gatehouse. These new buildings survive in little more than their foundations. The kitchen has a capacious fireplace at either end. Above the stables were sleeping quarters for the grooms, as appears from the stone underbuilding of two timber forestairs. To the Countess Anne, also, we should ascribe most, if not all, of the very neat cobbling with which the entire courtyard is covered. It is laid in sections, marked off by kerbs. There is no trace, either in the courtyard or anywhere else, of a well.

The Countess Anne's work is altogether remarkable. She was a thorough going medievalist, glorying in the feudal past of her Vipont and Clifford ancestors. Her work at Brough was therefore in the strictest sense an archaeological restoration. Her intention was to rebuild the castle as nearly as possible in the state in which it was before it was burnt, and to live in it after the fashion of her forebears.⁸⁷ Therefore there was no attempt to replace the ancient structures by up-to-date buildings in the neo-classical style, as was done with such distinction, a generation later, at Appleby. And in her rebuilding the Countess showed a concern, unique for the period, to reproduce the architectural styles, and even the types of masonry, of the structures of different epochs which she was repairing. Thus in the keep she imitated, with much success, the Norman round arched doors and coupled windows; and here her masonry is squared rubble of a quasi-Romanesque aspect. But the fireplaces, for which she doubtless had no Norman model, were of her own

⁸⁷ The studied medievalism of her mode of life comes out clearly in the following note preserved by her amanuensis, George Sedgwick:—"In what castle so ever she then lived, every Monday morning she caused ten shillings to be distributed among 20 poor householders of that place; besides the daily alms which she gave at her gate to all that came" (quoted by Nicolson and Burn, vol. I, p. 302).

standard type—a kind of revived Tudor fireplace, with a depressed pointed arch cut in one stone, and a plain chamfer on arch and jambs.⁸⁸ When she came to Clifford's Tower, she copied its regular ashlar, and here again the windows which she built are essays in Tudor Gothic. And when she rebuilt the upper part of the south front of the hall, and the corresponding level of the gate-house, her masonry was an approximation to the rubble work of *petit appareil* of her fourteenth-century predecessors. In all this work, her own individuality comes out most strongly. Gothic or quasi-Gothic building, it is true, is not uncommon in northern England during the latter part of the seventeenth century, particularly in churches. Sir Reginald Blomfield has described such edifices as

“inferior work, the detail mechanical, the execution ignorant and slovenly; it was the expression, not of men working freely in the full enjoyment of their traditional craft, but of workmen behind the time, of men brought up in a past tradition, who clung tenaciously to a half-forgotten art.⁸⁹”

The work of Lady Anne Clifford at Brough does not underlie any such strictures. It is vital, vigorous and, within its limits, scholarly. So far from being the decayed blossom of an Indian summer of medieval art, it burgeons with all the freshness of a romantic revival. Clearly the personality of this remarkable woman has been its main inspiration. But she must have had a sympathetic and competent architect, or at all events master of works. One would give much to know something of her steward, Gabriel Vincent, who lies in Brough

⁸⁸ This type is found in the Countess's work throughout the ruins. None now survives in the keep, but one is shown in Dr. Abercrombie's photograph of the south-west corner before this fell in 1920—see Mr. Curwen's paper, plate opposite p. 182. One of the Countess's fireplaces is now re-used as a window in the adjoining farm-steading.

⁸⁹ *Short History of Renaissance Architecture in England*, p. 108.



FIG. 6.—BROUGH CHURCH view from S.E.

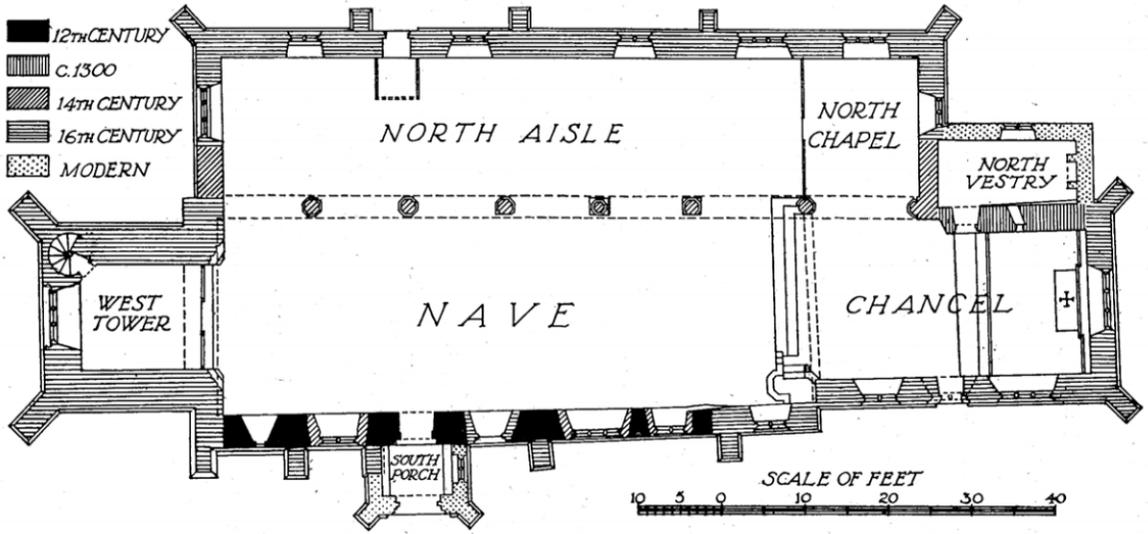
Church, beneath a stone that commemorates him as "chief director of all her building in the north."⁹⁰

BROUGH CHURCH.

The parish church of St. Michael (Fig. 6) appears to have been of contemporary foundation with the castle, as is indicated by the Norman masonry still visible in the south wall of its nave. For the most part, this masonry consists of ashlar work in dark grey sandstone, the stones being in general of large size and high in the course, with wide open joints. This masonry has been much disturbed by the slapping out of Decorated and Perpendicular windows, and is further obscured by the building up against the wall of buttresses, apparently when the church was remodelled early in the sixteenth century. The plan (Fig. 7) of the Historical Monuments Commission shows the Norman walling as terminating on the west side of the eastmost buttress. Certainly there is a vertical joint about three feet out from this buttress, and the stone work from here to the buttress gives the impression of a careful patch in large ashlars of a light red stone, as if there had been an earlier buttress here, somewhat to the left of the existing one. It is significant that these red ashlars do not course through with the masonry on the other side of the buttress. Here the dark Norman ashlar reappears, though much disturbed by two rood windows, one above the other, and continues right to the south-east corner of the nave, and round the corner up to the chancel, from which it is sundered by a well-marked joint. All this work seems to me to be undoubtedly virgin Norman masonry, and I do not think there can be any question of the Norman ashlars having been re-used. It thus appears

⁹⁰ "Here lyes Mr. Gabriell Vincent, Steward to the R.H. Anne Clifford Countess Dowager of Pembroke Dorsett and Montgomery, and chief director of all her building in the north, who dyed in the Roman Tower of Brough Castle like a good Christian the 12 of february, 1665-1666, looking for the second comminge of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

BROUGH *The PARISH CHURCH of ST MICHAEL*



BROUGH-UNDER-STAINMORE:

Fig. 7.—Plan of Brough Church (by courtesy of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and H.M. Stationery office.)

that the whole south wall of the nave is in substance Norman work. In other words, the Norman nave was the same length as the present one, that is, internally some 67 feet.

But this Norman work is of two periods. In the westmost bay is a plain Norman window with a widely-splayed internal bay and steeply plunged sole, and a slightly stilted round arch, cut out of a single stone. The external moulding is a plain chamfer. The whole character of this window betokens extreme antiquity, and it is impossible to believe it coeval with the elaborate Norman door in the next bay but one, which has nook-shafts and two enriched orders in the archivolt, the inner displaying an edge-roll and beak-heads and the outer multiple chevrons beneath a hood mould; the caps are of developed cushion pattern and the abaci are decorated with lozenges in low relief. Such a door cannot be earlier than the latter half of the twelfth century, and doubtless it corresponds in date to the Norman ashlar in the nave wall. By contrast, the masonry round the window is roughly coursed rubble of smallish blocks not always breaking bond. It is very similar to the earliest facework in the castle and its broad splayed base is unlike that elsewhere on the building. This window and the walling round it may well date back to the end of the eleventh century.

Thus the church, like the castle, has a twofold history within the Norman period. At the castle, historical record permits the inference that the earlier structure was destroyed in 1174, and that the existing keep was erected subsequently. It looks as if the church also had been damaged in William the Lion's raid, and had subsequently been rebuilt, towards the end of the Norman period. St. Laurence's Church at Appleby, it is worth remembering, is stated to have been burnt by the Scots on the same occasion, and to have been restored in 1178. Perhaps it

is significant to find in the Pipe Rolls that in 1199 a sum of nine marks, being the proceeds of Brough Church during a vacancy, was expended on the church.⁹¹

The axis of the Norman church trended slightly more to the northward than its predecessor, the orientation of which is N.16° E. At St. Laurence's, Appleby, the orientation of the Norman church was similarly corrected when it was restored after the destruction—in this case at the cost of an odd distortion of the nave-arcade. Brough Church lies with its east end upon higher ground, so that the nave slopes gradually up to the chancel steps.

Early in the fourteenth century the chancel was rebuilt, and probably extended, as was so often done at this time. A vestry was added on its northern side. Of this work there remains a portion of the north wall of the chancel, with the door leading into the vestry, and a squint loop through which the high altar might be seen from the vestry. The door has a round arch, moulded with a half-engaged and quirked roll between two cavettos, all very delicately profiled.

Later in the same century the church underwent a drastic process of enlargement. The whole north wall of the nave, and the western part of the chancel were taken down, and replaced by an arcade of seven bays leading into a north aisle with an eastern chapel—the “Blenkinsop Quire.” The arches are pointed, in two orders broadly chamfered; the piers are octagonal, and the bases and caps have good simple Decorated mouldings. The third pier from the east end is smaller than its fellows, and the third arch, of which this pier forms the western support, is lower and blunter than the others—facts which point to some alteration or rebuilding in this bay. How wide the fourteenth century north aisle was we cannot say: but

⁹¹ *Pipe Rolls, ut supra.*, pp. 181, 184. It is right to add that the phraseology (*de paccatis eiusdem ecclesie*) does not necessarily imply that the money was spent upon the fabric.

in the west end wall of the existing (and later) aisle, older masonry is embedded which permits us to infer that the original aisle was at least ten feet in width. This older masonry is in squared blocks of smallish size—in other words, good fourteenth-century facework. About the same time when the aisle was built, windows were slapped out in the Norman south wall. Some of these appear to have given place to still later openings. The surviving fourteenth-century windows are of two, or in one case three lights, with ogival or trifoliated heads, all under a square hood mould. One has a shouldered head and another a corbelled lintel. The former window seems to have been heightened when the existing tracery was inserted, so that the lintel now stands one foot seven inches above the shoulders.

Finally, in the early sixteenth century—the date 1513 is mentioned in this connexion—the church underwent a second and even more radical reconstruction. The chancel was almost entirely rebuilt, the north aisle was widened, and a western tower erected.⁹² About the same time the existing buttresses were added to the Norman south wall.

The chancel, which has diagonal buttresses at the east end, has an east window of three lights with four-centred heads under a square hood-mould. The three south windows—the eastmost having three and the others two lights—are similar in character to the east window, but internally the two western ones have shouldered scoinsion arches, a feature reminiscent of an earlier age. In the chancel is a priest's door, round-arched, with a flattish sunk-roll moulding and naturalistic foliage on the arch-volt, over which is a heavy hood-mould ending in disc stops carved with a six-pointed mullet. The upper

⁹² "The steeple is not so old; having been built about the year 1513, under the direction of Thomas Blenkinsop of Helbeck esquire"—Nicolson and Burn, Vol. I, p. 571; *cf.* p. 584.

adjoining rood-window of the nave is of the same style and period as the church windows. To this time also seems to belong the window next the door, a single four-centred light, of which the hood-mould stops are carved respectively with the sacred monogram I H C and the initial M, doubtless for Maria.

The north aisle, which has buttresses of the usual character, is lit by windows similar to those of the same period elsewhere in the church. They are of two lights, with the exception of the west end window and the two eastmost of the north wall, which have three lights. Internally the westmost one, and that in the east wall, have shoulder-headed bays. There is also a round-arched north doorway, moulded like the chancel door, but without hood-mould or foliage. The north aisle contained a chantry of our Lady, and the chapel in its eastmost bay was known as "the little quire, called the closet, for the erection of which Thomas Blenkinsop esquire by his will in 1522 gave four merks, and also lime and other necessaries."⁹³

The tower rises to a height of three storeys, and has diagonal buttresses, but the fine ashlar wall-faces are unbroken by intake or string course. It is crowned by an open embattled parapet with prickets at the four corners. In each face of the belfry is a pair of windows, a mannerism shared by other churches in the neighbourhood.⁹⁴ They are of two lights, ogee-headed, beneath a square hood-mould. In addition, there is a large window in the west wall, near ground level. It is a high pointed arch with a heavy hood-mould, and consists of three lights, the centre one having an ogee head and the other two being round arched; while above there is strongly Perpendicular tracery of a peculiar pattern, with round, or in the apex, straight-sided pointed heads. This window looks very

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 572.

⁹⁴ *Hist. Mon. Com.*, *ut supra*, p. lix.

late, probably seventeenth century. It is clearly an insertion, the splicing of the wall all round being perfectly distinct. There is a human mask below the left hood-mould stop. Internally, the arch is lopsided. Towards the nave, the tower opens by a wide pointed arch of three orders continuous on arch and jambs, each order carrying a plain broad chamfer. In the N.W. corner a newel stair leads to the upper floors.

The church was restored in 1879-80, when the present vestry and south porch were built. At this time also much of the window tracery was renewed. The external appearance of the church suffers somewhat from the bald horizontal line of the continuous, unembrasured parapet which runs at the same level along both nave and chancel, the low, leaded roofs not appearing above this line. This parapet is continued over the low-pitched chancel gable. The aisle has a similar parapet sloped up to the chancel and stepped up to the tower. On the other hand, the proportions of the tower are good; and the bold and deep buttresses, with their numerous weathered intakes, lend character to the external appearance of the church as seen from any quarter.

Internally, the church makes a most pleasing impression, the wall surfaces being all plastered and coloured a warm yellow. The roof of the nave, which appears to have been extensively renewed, is of very low pitch, and is borne on large timber consoles resting upon plain corbels. These consoles carry the tie beams and the rafters are supported by purlins. Above the slender pier of the north arcade is a large corbel at a lower level, presumably the relic of an earlier roof. The north aisle has a simple shed roof, resting upon corbels. The chancel roof is modern. There is no structural division betwixt nave and chancel, nor has the church now a screen. But the fact that the eastmost bay of the nave has two windows, one above the other, shows that there was once,

or was intended to be, a parclose with a loft. The chancel now exhibits no vestige of sedilia or piscina. The most remarkable internal fitment is the stone pulpit, in form a half-octagon, built in large ashlars. It bears the date 1624, and there is no reason to assume that this is not when it was built. It should therefore be regarded as a proof of the persistence, in this remote corner of England, of sound medieval conceptions in design, well into the seventeenth century.

For the minor furnishings of the church, in so far as these are old, reference may be made to the inventory in the report of the Historical Monuments Commission. It is sufficient here to note the considerable fragments of early sixteenth-century glass, including the *Arma Christi*, a fine figure of St. John the Baptist, a head of the Virgin Mary, and a portrait of a bishop attended. Most of these fragments are now set into a window of the north aisle, but some are in the staircase window of the vicarage.⁹⁵

The architectural history of Brough Church, as we have thus outlined it, appears to be somewhat remarkable. In the Norman period it seems to have shared the vicissitudes of the castle. The early fourteenth-century extension of the chancel may be regarded as a normal development, and the provision of a north aisle one hundred years later may likewise seem to call for no special explanation, being such an enlargement as might be explained through the natural growth of population, and perhaps also in part by the desire to provide additional altars. Yet it should be noted that both these building phases have their counterpart in St. Laurence's Church, Appleby, which is known to have been damaged by the Scots during the invasion of 1388, and can hardly have escaped when the town was burnt by them in 1314. The history of Brough during these and other destructive raids

⁹⁵ For a full inventory of the glass as existing *circa* 1675, see Nicolson and Burn, vol. 1, pp. 572-3.

into Westmorland can scarcely have been different. So the early fourteenth-century reconstruction of the chancel, and the almost complete rebuilding of the church about the end of that century, may well have followed each upon destruction wrought by the Scottish invaders. At St. Michael's Church, Appleby, a corresponding reconstruction—the replacement of a nave wall by an arcade, and the adding of an aisle (here on the south side)—took place early in the fourteenth century, perhaps as a sequel to the hostile attentions of the Scots in 1314. It may well be that the similar reconstruction at Brough was the consequence of violence offered to the fabric in 1388.

Less understandable is the almost total rebuilding of the church in the early sixteenth century. It is not easy to guess why the fabric should have required so wholesale a reconstruction within a century and a half of its last remodelling. We have no documentary evidence to justify the idea that it had been destroyed in a Scottish raid, or in the Wars of the Roses. Perhaps the work of the fourteenth century may have been jerry-built—a happening more common in the Middle Ages than we are sometimes willing to admit.

In conclusion, it only remains for me to record my warm thanks to the Council of our Society for inviting me to contribute this paper, and for a generous grant to cover the expenses. I am also deeply indebted to the Ancient Monuments Department of H.M. Ministry of Works for placing at my disposal the measured drawings, photographs and other records of their conservation measures on the castle. The Rev. John Whitmore, M.A., Vicar of Brough, kindly gave me every facility for studying the church. For much local assistance I am obliged to Mr. Parkin Dent, custodian of the castle, and Miss Dent.

CORRIGENDUM.

Page 238, line 23-4. After "returning from Carlisle" omit "with his father's corpse."