

J. P. Gibson, Photo.

WARKWORTH CASTLE,
from the S.

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THE moated mound, on which now stands the donjon of Warkworth Castle, was, in all likelihood, originally occupied by the 'Worth'¹ or palace of the Ocgings, a line of Bernician princes who claimed descent from Ida of Bamburgh, though not from his queen. A considerable tract of country was attached to 'Werceworde'² in those early days, stretching, we are told, from the Line Water nearly to Alnmouth along the coast, and as far inland as the *civitas* of 'Brincewelæ'.³

In the beginning of the eighth century a revolution raised the Ocging Cenred to the Northumbrian throne, on which he was succeeded eventually by his brother Ceolwulf in 729. On the first appearance of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, King Ceolwulf requested that it might be sent to him to read, and to 'Ceolwulf the Most Glorious' Bede subsequently addressed the preface, extolling him

¹ 'WORTH, a hall, palace; the Latin 'Atrium.' Cf. Cambridge Gospels, Matt. xxvi. v. 69—'Peter sat without in the 'worth' (palace);' Mark xiv. v. 54—'the 'worth' (palace) of the high priest.'—Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. The termination 'worth' in names of places, of which we have other instances in Northumberland in Backworth and Killingworth, is not now met with, it seems, north of Warkworth; but Ewart in Glendale was formerly Eworth, and just over the Border was Jedworth, a name now lost in that of Jedburgh.

² The first syllable of Warkworth may, of course, refer to the 'wark' or castle; but the ending 'worth' is usually affixed to a personal name. Werce (in Latin, Verca) was the name of the Abbess who gave St. Cuthbert the fine linen sheet he kept always by him for his shroud.—*Reginald. Dunelm.* cap. xli. (Surt. Soc. Publ. I. p. 86.)

³ 'Et hi sunt termini istius villæ (Werceworthe). Ab aqua quæ vocatur Lina, usque ad Cocwuda, et inde usque ad civitatem quæ vocatur Brincewelæ, et a Cocwuda usque ad Hafodscelfe (Hauxley) versus orientem, et ab Alna usque in dimidium viam inter Cocwud et Alna.'—Sym. Dunelm. *Hist. de S. Cuthberto*, § 8 (Rolls ed. I. p. 201). By *civitas* mediæval writers meant a Roman *chester* or British *caer*; and considering that the boundary must be traced from the head of Line Water, near Gorfenletch, on the south of Long Horsley Moor, to the Coquet, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing with Hodgson Hinde and others that the '*civitas* of Brincewelæ' is the camp on the hill above Brinkburn, the 'Brincaburch' of John of Hexham (*Ibid.* II. p. 329). Ceolwulf at the same time also gave to the church of Lindesfarne Woodchester (probably Woodhorn), Edlingham, and Eglingham, and to round off this tract Warkworth must have extended as far as Brinkburn. Symeon, in recounting this Donation of Ceolwulf, places 'Bregesne' (probably the same as 'Brincewelæ') before Warkworth, as though it were the more important place (see *post.* n. 4). It seems hardly likely that Brainshaugh, on the north bank of the Coquet opposite Acklington, can ever have possessed this pre-eminence. Clarkson's Survey in 1567 tells us that Acklington itself was 'in the old English tongue (what does this mean?) called Brainshawghe' (*Arch. Æl.* N.S. IV. p. 1); and John fitz Robert Lord of Warkworth (1214-1240) had given the meadow of *Braineslawe* to the monks of Durham.—Raine's *North Durham*, App. p. 787.

for his own love of history, and his desire that the knowledge of it should be spread among his subjects. In an appendix written in 731, however, our great historian had to confess that the opening of Ceolwulf's reign was so full of civil disorder that it was impossible to write an account of it, or to predict the turn events might take—apprehensions more than justified, for, in the very next year, the king was seized, shorn, and forced into a monastery, and then almost immediately restored. The remainder of Ceolwulf's reign did much to add, in all outward appearance, to the glories of Northumberland; and Warkworth could have been in little dread of any foreign invasion when Ceolwulf laid the foundations of the Church of St. Lawrence there on the very brink of the Coquet. Bede, however, with the political insight of a true historian, foresaw the dangers likely to arise from the fashion of crowding into monasteries, then prevalent among Northumbrians, to the entire neglect of the profession of arms. 'What will be the result,' he adds almost prophetically, 'the next age will show.' He had been dead only two years when Ceolwulf himself resigned his crown in 737, and not only became a monk at Lindisfarne, but bestowed on St. Cuthbert Warkworth and other large estates.⁴

The exemption of the inhabitants of monastic lands from the duties of military service must have been a great weakness to Northumberland when exposed to the ravages of the Danes in the ninth century. On this account, possibly, King Osbert took Warkworth from the monks; but his doing so was regarded as sacrilege, and held to be metely punished by his death in battle in 867.⁵ Eight years later, the savage Halfdene sailed into the Coquet, and, verifying as it were the prediction of Bede, laid waste 'Wyrceforde.'⁶

⁴ 'Intravit autem (Ceolwulfus) Lindisfarnense monasterium, sancto Cuthberto secum conferens thesauros regios et terras, id est, Bregesne et Wercworde, cum suis appendiciis, simul et ecclesiam quam ibidem aedificaverat.'—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Dunelm. Eccles.* lib. ii. c. i. (Rolls ed. I. p. 47). 'Werchewurd quoque ipsius ecclesiæ possessio erat, donante rege Ceolwifo cum omnibus appenditiis suis.' Hanc enim mansionem ipse rex, abrenuntians mundo, secum ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensi contulit.'—Ibid. *Hist. Regum*, § 89 (Rolls ed. II. p. 102).

⁵ 'Osberhtus rex abstulit sancto Cuthberto duas villas Wercworthe et Tyllemuth. Sed post spatium unius anni eripuit Deus ab eo vitam et regnum.'—Ibid. *Hist. de S. Cuth.* § 10 (Rolls ed. I. p. 201).

⁶ 'Halfdene rex Danorum in Tinam intravit, et usque Wyrceforde navigavit, omnia vastans, et contra sanctum Cuthbertum crudeliter peccans.'—Ibid. § 12 (Rolls ed. I. p. 202). Warkworth was the first place north of the Tyne where Halfdene could 'cruelly sin' against St. Cuthbert. The termination 'ford' seems in a great many cases to be a corruption of 'worth'—e.g., 'Kentisford or Kentisworth, anciently Kentlesworth.'—Hutchins, *Dorset* (1st ed.), II. p. 397.

The moral of Osbert's fate was thrown away on the succeeding kings and earls who retained the possession he had resumed. The great Norman earl, Robert de Mowbray, increased this sin in the eyes of the monks of Durham by giving the very tithes of Warkworth to his rival foundation at Tynemouth; and the church itself, conferred by Henry I. on his chaplain Richard de Aurea Valle, afterwards came into the patronage of the bishops of Carlisle.

A tradition, preserved by Leland, declares that Warkworth Castle once belonged to the Merlays, who were followers of Geoffrey of Coustances and his nephew, Mowbray. They certainly gave Morwick, in the immediate neighbourhood of Warkworth, to Durham at the end of the eleventh century. Warkworth may have been confiscated on account of the share the Merlays took in Mowbray's rebellion, and their gift of Morwick, though subsequently confirmed by them, invalidated on the same grounds.

During the troublous reign of Stephen, a curious number of historical facts have been preserved in charters connected with the salt-works at Warkworth. One of these salt-works was granted to the Cistercian community, which settled at Newminster in 1138, by Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northumberland, the eldest grandson of Waltheof.⁷ His half brother Henry, the son of David King of Scotland, who was made Earl of Northumberland by the Treaty of Durham in 1139, confirmed this charter,⁸ and bestowed another of these salt-works on the priory of Brinkburn.⁹ The Abbey of Alnwick, too, received from its founder Eustace fitz John in 1147 a salt-work at Warkworth;¹⁰

⁷ 'Notum sit tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ego Simon comes Northumbrie monachis Novi Mon. concessi et dedi pro salute an. m. et meorum antecessorum propinquiorem salinam de Werkword,' etc. etc.—*Newminster Chartulary* (Surt. Soc. Publ. 66, p. 212). Had it not been for this charter we should not have known that Simon de St. Liz was ever Earl of Northumberland. He does not appear as such in Dugdale, nor *a fortiori* in Hodgson, etc.

⁸ 'Henricus comes, filius regis Scocie . . . Salinam unam apud Werkworth, propinquiorem scil. villae quam Comes Simon frater meus,' etc.—*Ibid.* William del Velzpont (*sic?* Veteriponte) gave to Newminster his land near the salt-work granted to it by Earl Henry.—*Ibid.* p. 213.

⁹ *Brinkburn Chartulary*, MS. copy in Library of Soc. of Antiq. Newcastle.

¹⁰ 'Vnam salinam in Werkwordia.'—*Proceedings of Archæol. Institute*, 1852, vol. ii. p. 273 n. It does not appear how Eustace fitz John obtained this salt-work, the first possession of his family in Warkworth. The right to it was afterwards in dispute between the 'domus de Werkeword ordinis Præmonstratensis' and the Abbey of Newminster.—*Newm. Chart.* (Surt. Soc. Publ. 66, p. 205.)

while, after the death of Earl Henry in 1152, his young son William, our last hereditary viceroy, confirmed the Brinkburn canons in their briny rights.¹¹

By this time a castle of some sort must have risen at Warkworth, since Henry II., in a charter attested by his brother William of Anjou, gave and confirmed to Roger the son of Richard, for service rendered, the castle and manor of 'Werkewrde,' to be held by him and his heirs as the hereditary fee of one knight, with all that belonged to them as well and as entirely as ever his grandfather Henry I. had held that manor.¹² The Richard in question was Richard fitz Eustace, Constable of Chester,¹³ son, by his first marriage, of Eustace fitz John, lord of Alnwick; the Roger was one of this Richard's younger sons.

Eustace fitz John had fallen, an aged warrior, in the ambuscade laid for Henry II. by Owen of North Wales in the wooded defile of Coleshill, between Flint and Holywell, in 1157. The English army was in danger of annihilation. The Constable Henry of Essex, believing the King had been slain, threw down the royal standard and took to flight. A total rout was only averted by King Henry proving himself alive by raising the vizor of his helmet, and by the Earl of Clare

¹¹ *Brinkburn Chartulary*. The style of Earl William in this charter is very remarkable:—'Willelmus de Gwaren Comes Northumbriæ.' His mother, the Countess Ada, was daughter (but not heiress) of William de Warren 2nd Earl of Surrey. The young Earl William was not the only lord of Warkworth who for want of a paternal surname adopted that of his mother's family (see *post*. p. 89).

¹² 'Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ Dux Normandiæ et Aquitanie et comes Andegaviæ Archiepiscopis Episcopis Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis tocius Angliæ francis et anglis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et confirmasse Rogero filio Ricardi in feodo et hereditate sibi et heredibus suis pro servicio suo castellum de Werkewrda et manerium cum omnibus suis pertinentiis sic Henricus Rex avus meus manerium illud melius et integrius tenuit quare volo et firmiter præcipio quod ipse et heredes sui manerium illud habeant et teneant bene et in pace libere quiete et honorifice cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in viis et semitis in aquis stagnis et molendinis et in omnibus rebus et locis cum tol et team et soca et saka et infangenthef et cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus cum quibus illud tenui in dominio meo. Test. Willielmo fratre Regis, &c.'—*Assize Roll* (M. 4. 36) 10; *Cal. Placit. de Quo Warant*. p. 595; Hodgson's *Northd.* III. i. p. 157. The final '&c.' is most provoking. It will be noticed that in the time of Henry I. the *manor* only is mentioned, so that the *castle* (such as it was) must have been built during the reign of Stephen. If, as is stated by Richard of Hexham, the castles of Newcastle and Bamburgh were at one time excepted from the grant of Northumberland to Earl Henry, it seems possible that he may have built Warkworth in order to have a place of residence south of the Tweed.

¹³ Ormerod's *Cheshire* I. p. 509, where there is an engraving of the large and very characteristic seal of Richard fitz Eustace; the reverse has a classical gem—a nymph and pillar-like altar—surrounded by the enigmatical legend, SECRETUM DOMINI CELOFERO RESERO.

providentially arriving with fresh troops.¹⁴ Henry marched on to Rhuddlan in a rage,¹⁵ and there issued a charter confirming William de Vesey, the eldest son of Eustace fitz John's second marriage, in the barony of Alnwick and other possessions of his father.¹⁶ It is probable that the grant of the castle and manor of Warkworth to Eustace's grandson, Roger fitz Richard, was made at Rhuddlan at the same time, and was the reward of Roger's bravery at Coleshill.

At any rate, Roger became closely connected with the events of that fatal day. Six years later Robert de Montfort, in the King's presence, called Henry of Essex a coward for his conduct, and resort was had to wager of battle on an island of the Thames near Reading. Henry of Essex was struck down and carried for dead into the neighbouring monastery, where, on his reviving, his life was spared on condition of his entering the order. He, himself, regarded his defeat as a judgment, not on his cowardice at Coleshill, but on his disputes with the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, and his having tortured to death Gilbert de Cereville, a knight whom the wife of Essex had falsely accused in endeavouring to hide her own shame.¹⁷ The Honour of Clavering forfeited by Essex, and Adeliza de Vere, his wife of sullied repute, were both bestowed by the king on Roger fitz Richard.¹⁸ With her consent and approbation Roger gave to the monks of St. Mary of Newminster his salt-work at Warkworth, situated near where the

¹⁴ Willielm. Neubrig. lib. II. cap. v. (*Chron. Steph. Hen. II. &c.*, Rolls series I. p. 107.); Giraldi Cambrensis *Itinerarium* lib. II. cap. X. (Rolls ed. VI. pp. 137, 138); Jocelin de Brakelond, Camden Soc. Publ. 13, p. 50.

¹⁵ 'Ac yna kynnullaw aoruc y brenhin y lu ygyt amynet hyt yn Rudlan yn greulawn.'—*Brut y Tywysogion*, Rolls. ed. p. 186. 'Rex Henricus primum exercitum duxit in Walliam et capit Rueland.'—*Chron. de Mailros*, ann. 1157.

¹⁶ Regt. ii. Abb. ii. 53 (Publ. Rec. Off.); *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. cx. The attestation is instructive:—'Test. Willielmo fratre Regis, Rogero Com. de Clara, Gaufrido Com. de Essex, Ricardo de Humet constabulario, H. de Essex constabulario, Willielmo de Braosa, Mauricio Biset dapifero, Warino filio Geroldi camerarii, Ricardo de Luci, Gilberto de Montichet, Ricardo de Campivilla, R. Dunester, Jocelino de Bailliol et Gaufrido de Valoniis apud Ruellentum in exercitu de Wallis.'

¹⁷ Jocelin de Brakelond's *Chronicle* (Camd. Soc. Publ.) p. 51. There is a very amusing translation of this story in Carlyle's *Past and Present*, bk. ii. chap. xiv.

¹⁸ Dugdale's *Baronage* I. p. 106; Morant's *Essex* II. p. 611. It is to be hoped that Adeliza did not, like the wife of Robert de Mowbray, avail herself of the civil death of her husband in order to marry again. Robert, her son by Roger fitz Richard, does not appear to have been born before 1169.—*Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 188. Hartshorne there gives the minute details of the early manorial history of Warkworth from the Pipe Rolls, etc., with comparatively few misprints.

stream from below Gloucester falls into the Coquet, and included within bounds which he and his heir had perambulated in company with the monks and his own men.¹⁹

The manor of Warkworth as granted by Henry II. to Roger fitz Richard was something very small in comparison with the wide domain that had belonged to Warkworth in the days of Ceolwulf. The latter comprised the whole ancient parish of Warkworth and in addition at the very least the chapelries of Widdrington and Brainshaugh; whereas the extent of the manor fell far short of the limits of the parish which included not only Amble, Hauxley, Morwick, and East Chevington, parcels of the great barony of Alnwick, but also the capital seats of the Morwick²⁰ and Heron baronies at West Chevington and Hadston. A lord of Warkworth possessed of nothing more in Northumberland would scarcely have begun to build a castle on a grand scale; and when in 1173 the former heir of Warkworth reappeared in Northumberland no longer in the character of a confirmer of salt-pans to the peaceful canons of Brinkburn, but as the Lion-

¹⁹ 'Pari consilio et voluntate Adelizæ uxoris meæ.'—*Newminster Charters*, p. 211. At 'Gloucestre,' now Gloster Hill, on the south side of the Coquet, between Warkworth and the sea, was found the fragment of a Roman altar dedicated to the Campestal Mothers.—*Lapidarium Septentrionale*, p. 271.

²⁰ There is in Warkworth Church the effigy of a cross-legged knight in scale-armour with a canopy at his head, and on the base the inscription:—'The Effigies of Sr Hvgh | of Morwicke who Gaue | the Common to this | Towne of Warkworth.' The base and inscription are undoubtedly the work of the 17th century, and the effigy itself looks at first sight like a Jacobean reproduction. On the knight's shield are the arms, *On a plain cross, four eagles displayed, in the dexter chief an annulet*, the same (except for the annulet, an early mark of difference not necessarily denoting, as in modern heraldry, a fifth son) as those on the seal of John de Derlyngton, a Canon in the Collegiate Church of Lancaster and Prebendary of the Prebend of Esh, appended to a deed in the Treasury of Durham (Loc. 1.) dated 2. Aug. 1380, with the legend **Sigillum: iobis: de: derlyngtone.**—Surtees, *Durham*, vol. I. Seals, plate XI. No: 29 (described in vol. IV. p. clxx.) The Morwick coat, on the other hand, is said to have been *gu. a saltire vairy arg. and sa.*—Papworth's *Ordinary*, p. 1059. Hugh de Morwick, who was witness to the will of Henry II. at Waltham in 1182 (Girald. Camb. *De Instructione Principum*, cap. xvii.), and Sheriff of Cumberland, 31–33 Hen. II., died 2. Ric. I. His son Hugh died 45 Hen. III.—*Dugdale's Baronage*, I. p. 678. Their lands were afterwards inherited by the Lumleys and Greys. There is not the least ground for supposing that either of them gave the common to Warkworth with the barony of which they had no connection. The good people of Warkworth probably either appropriated or imitated the knightly effigy of some Darlington in order to fictitiously fortify their title to the common. The canopy at the head of the recumbent figure fixes the date of its design at about the end of the 14th century; there is a canopy of this kind on the tomb of Edward III.

King of Scotland, singling Warkworth out for especial destruction,²¹ Jordan Fantosme expressly tells us that the walls and earth-works of the castle were so weak²² that Roger fitz Richard, though a valiant knight, made no attempt to defend it as he successfully did that of Newcastle of which he was constable. In the following year, on Saturday the 13th of July, Duncan Earl of Fife entered Warkworth with his Scots, set fire to the town, and put the inhabitants to the sword, not sparing even those who had sought shelter in the 'minster' of St. Lawrence.²³ Why one of William the Lion's most moderate counsellors²⁴ should have directed this massacre is not explained. Probably it was due to some breach of faith on the part of the burghers. The murderous sacrilege was considered to have been avenged by the capture of the Scottish King on that very day before the walls of Alnwick.²⁵

Roger fitz Richard died, apparently not long after his father the Constable of Chester, in 1178. His heir Robert fitz Roger did not come of age till 1191, and during the reign of Cœur-de-Lion (from whom he received a grant of the manor of Eure in Buckinghamshire) resided chiefly in Norfolk where he possessed large estates through marrying the heiress of William de Chesney, lord of Horsford. In

²¹ 'Alum & Werckewrde, cel voil agraverter,' 'Let us to Warkworth that will I destroy,' are the words which Jordan Fantosme puts into the mouth of William the Lion, *l.* 545; Surt. Soc. Publ. 2. p. 27; *Chron. Stephen, Henry II., &c.*, Rolls ser. III. p. 250. The Lincoln MS. of Fantosme has 'Alum & Wercwrde, cel ruuil agraverter,' 'Let us to Warkworth, that town to destroy.' If the word 'ruuil' has anything to do with 'ruelle,' it is very characteristic of the one long street of Warkworth.

²² 'Vient à Werkewde, n'i deignent arester;

Kar le chastel iert fieble, le mur et le terrier.'

'They come to Warkworth, do not there deign to stay, for the castle was weak, the wall and the earthwork.' Fantosme, *l.* 562-563; Surt. Soc. ed. p. 27; Rolls ed. p. 252. For 'arester' the Lincoln MS. reads 'tarier' without altering the meaning, which seems to be that the Scots took the castle, but on account of its weak condition did not think it worth while to leave a garrison in it, as they did afterwards in that of Appleby. Benedict of Peterborough places the fall of Warkworth in the campaign of 1174 during the siege of Carlisle; but Fantosme's narrative is too circumstantial to be set aside by a general statement that makes William wander about in the most opposite directions.

²³ Benedict. Petroburg. in Surt. Soc. Publ. 2. pp. 168-169; Fantosme, *l.* 1706-1709, *ibid.* p. 79. The latter does not name Warkworth but only 'le mustier Saint-Laurenz.'

²⁴ 'De faire nul ultrage ne querez achaisun,' 'For doing outrage, seek not occasion,' formed part of the advice addressed by Earl Duncan to William in persuading him to endeavour to obtain satisfaction from Henry II. by diplomacy before declaring war.—Fantosme, *l.* 303, Surt. Soc. ed. p. 17.

²⁵ Benedict. Petroburg. in Surt. Soc. Publ. 2. p. 169; Fantosme, *l.* 1902-1909, *ibid.* p. 87.

Norfolk he founded in 1198 the Abbey of St. Mary of Langley, which he filled with Præmonstratensian canons from Alnwick.²⁶ In July, 1199, King John confirmed to him the castle and manor of Warkworth for the consideration of three hundred marks,²⁷ and he seems about this time to have transferred his activity to Northumberland, of which he became sheriff in 1203, a very lucrative post under an administration like that of John. A favourite of the king, he received grants of the manor of Corbridge in 1204 and of the manors of Newburn and Rothbury in 1205. In all probability it was this Robert fitz Roger who rebuilt the castle of Warkworth on the general lines seen at present. The architecture of the Great Gatehouse points clearly to this particular period.

Attached to his grant of a rent-charge from his mill at Warkworth for the purpose of maintaining the light before St. Cuthbert's shrine²⁸ is a large seal of green wax on which Robert fitz Roger appears on horse-back, in characteristic fashion, brandishing a huge sword.²⁹ He is clad in a hauberk of chain-mail, the surcoat worn over it hanging right down to his triangular stirrups. The upper part of his face is just visible beneath the plain round bassinet. His arms *Quarterly [or and gu.] a bendlet [sa.]* can just be discerned on the long shield. The breast-piece of his horse is ornamented with the long pendants then in fashion.

On Saturday the 2nd Feb., 1213, King John himself was at Warkworth on his way from Fenwick (opposite Holy Island) to New-

²⁶ He is called Robert fitz Roger Helke (whatever that means) in the Foundation Charter.—Blomefield's *Norfolk*, IV. p. 1137; Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, VI. prt. ii. pp. 929-930, quoting *Visitat. Ordinis Præmonstratensis per Ricardum episc. Assavens.* in Ashmol. MS. 1519, and *Annales Abbatie de Langley* in Cotton. MS. This charter was confirmed by King John at Caen 7. July 1199. The anniversary of the founder was kept on the 14th of April. In 1340 John de Strumpeshaugh was presented to this abbey by John (de Ottelay) Abbot of Alnwick, styled 'Pater Abbatis Eccl'ie de Langley.'—Blomefield's *Norfolk*, cont. by Parkin, X. pp. 149-150.

²⁷ *Rot. de Oblatis* I. Joh.; *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 189.

²⁸ Raine's *North Durham*, App. p. 141; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. ii. p. 141. He also gave to the monks of Durham the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen without the vill of Warkworth (the present Maudlins).—*Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, Surt. Soc. Publ. 58, p. 2. n. etc., etc.

²⁹ Seal 4. 3. Sac. 3. in the Treasury, Durham, 2½ in. in diameter, engraved on steel in Surtees's *Durham*, I. Seals, plate 7, No. 2. On the reverse is an oval gem, 1 × ¾ in., representing apparently the Flight into Egypt, with the legend SIGILLUM SECRETI. Photographs of casts from this seal have been reproduced in the annexed plate by the 'Lichtdruck' process.



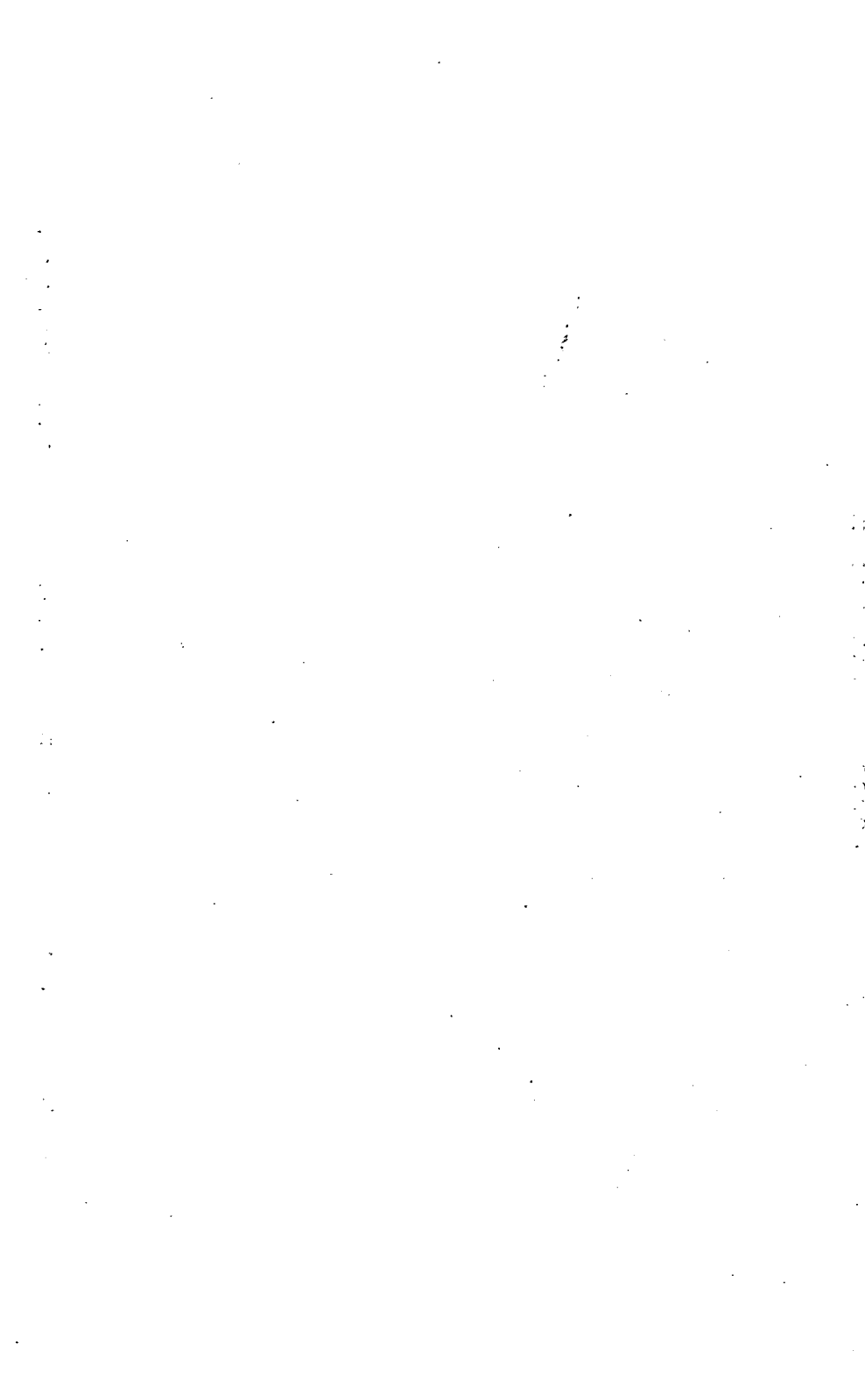
Robert Fitz Roger I, 1178—1214.



Robert Fitz Roger II, 1249—1310.



John Fitz Robert, 1214—1240.



castle.³⁰ He had made a sudden expedition to the North for the purpose of overawing the barons in general, and injuring by every means in his power his especial enemy Eustace de Vesci. The disorder and probable devastation of Northumberland is marked by the absence of any returns relating to it on the Pipe Roll of this the fourteenth year of John's rule. Up to this time Robert fitz Roger had continued to be sheriff, and was so again the next year, when he died. John therefore probably came in peace to Warkworth. While there, though his kingdom was still under interdict and he himself excommunicated, he presented to two livings belonging to estates he had confiscated to his use, and also made over the custody of two unfortunate children to one of his favourites.³¹

John fitz Robert, the next lord of Warkworth (1214-1240), differed in politics from his father. He was one of the Twenty-five to whom the execution of the provisions of Magna Carta was entrusted,³² and as a natural consequence his lands were seized for the king. On the seal of the charter by which he conveyed his meadow of Braineslawe to the monks of Durham, we see him careering in a cylindrical helm, which viewed in profile presents a concave line behind, the front part rounded below and pierced with holes to enable him to breathe, his surcoat considerably shorter than his father's, but the other equipments similar, and the sword equally ponderous.³³ His widow Ada, daughter of Hugh de Baliol, appears to have been a woman of much character. She could not, however, even for a thousand marks, obtain the guardianship of her son Roger fitz John, which Henry III. bestowed on his own half-brother William de Valence. The want of a surname seems to have now made itself felt in the family, and the young lord of Warkworth called himself Roger fitz John de Baliol after his mother's family, while two of his younger brothers took the name of Eure after their father's manor in

³⁰ *Cal. Rot. Lit. Pat.* I. p. 96.

³¹ *Ibid.* At some time in his reign, John gave the church of Warkworth to Thomas his clerk in violation of the rights of the bishop of Carlisle.—*Plac. de Quo Waranto*, Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. p. 142.

³² Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, Clar. Press 1875, I. p. 542. John fitz Robert, is not, however, classed there among the northern lords.

³³ For the charter see Raine's *North Durham*, App. p. 142. The seal (l. l. Spec. No. 51 in the Treasury, Durham) is engraved on steel in Surtees, *Durham*, I. Seals, plate 7, No. 4; and has also been reproduced on the annexed plate, with greater fidelity, by 'Lichtdruck.' The secretum is the same as that of Robert fitz Roger's seal.

Buckinghamshire.³⁴ Roger de Baliol gave, it is recorded, twenty marks, three robes, and corn and hay for two horses every year for the safe-guarding of his castle of Warkworth.³⁵ He must have been a youth of great promise. Matthew of Paris says that he was the most noble knight and baron in the North of England, and had already displayed remarkable activity in the arts of war. His career was cut short by his being ridden over in a tournament at Argences in Normandy in 1249.³⁶ His heir Robert fitz Roger II., only a year and a half old,³⁷ was committed to the custody of William de Valence, together with 'the noble castle' of Warkworth. A beautiful seal attached to a document dated 1276 and preserved at Paris shows us Robert fitz Roger with a fan-crested helmet mounted on a horse with plain housings but also adorned with a fan-crest.³⁸ In his time Edward I. visited Warkworth, on the way from Alnwick to Woodhorn, on Thursday, 18th Dec., 1292.³⁹ Five years later Robert fitz Roger's eldest son John was taken prisoner at the battle of Stirling (11th Sept., 1297), in which Hugh de Cressingham, the English Treasuerr, was

³⁴ See the accompanying Genealogy of the Lords of Warkworth and Clavering.

³⁵ 'Ibidem (Werkeworth) est i castrum pro cuius custodia Dns. Rogerus dedit quolibet anno xx marcas et iij robas;' 'Dns. Rogerus consuevit dare per annum pro custodia castri et manerii per annum xij lib. vi. sol. viij d. et iij robas et fenum et avenas ad ij equos.'—Inq. p. m. 33 Hen. III. No. 66; *Archæologia Eliana* III. pp. 98, 100. Cf. the curious document in which Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke temp. Ed. II. engages Sir John Eure to safely guard his castle of Mitford for the same sum 20 marks (£13 16s 8d) in time of peace or 40 marks a year otherwise; by 'time of peace' i.e. 'when the king is on the Border with his army' really meaning 'time of war' when, in consequence of the castle being garrisoned by the king's forces, the constables of their owners would have less to do.—*Chapter House Records* No. 2731, printed in *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. cxxxix.

³⁶ 'Obiit Rogerus, filius Johannis de Bailloil. Eodemque tempore obiit Roger de Bailloil, nobilissimus de partibus borealibus Angliæ miles et baro, ætate adolescens, in re strenuus militari, conculcatus in quodam torneamento in partibus Franciæ, apud Argenciam. Cujus terræ custodiam rex incontinenti contulit Willelmo de Valentia, fratri suo, cum nobili castro de Werewurthe, et multis aliis terris ac possessionibus ad prædictum nobilem Rogerum pertinentibus.'—Matt. Paris, *Hist. Anglor.* ann. 1249, Rolls ed. III. p. 67. In the margin is the shield of Baliol reversed.

³⁷ Inq. p. m. Essex. 33 Hen. III., *Cal. Geneal.* I. p. 26.

³⁸ 'Towards the end of the thirteenth century came in the fashion of ornamenting the head of the horse with a Fan Crest, similar to that fixed on the helm of the knight The seal of Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, 1292, affords a good example of knight and steed decorated with the fan crest: it is figured in Laing's *Ancient Scottish Seals*, page 54.'—Hewitt, *Ancient Armour*, 1860, I. p. 347. On the plate facing p. 89 will be found a full-size Licht-druck reproduction of the seal of Robert fitz Roger II.

³⁹ *Cal. of Doc. relating to Scotland.* II., p. 153.

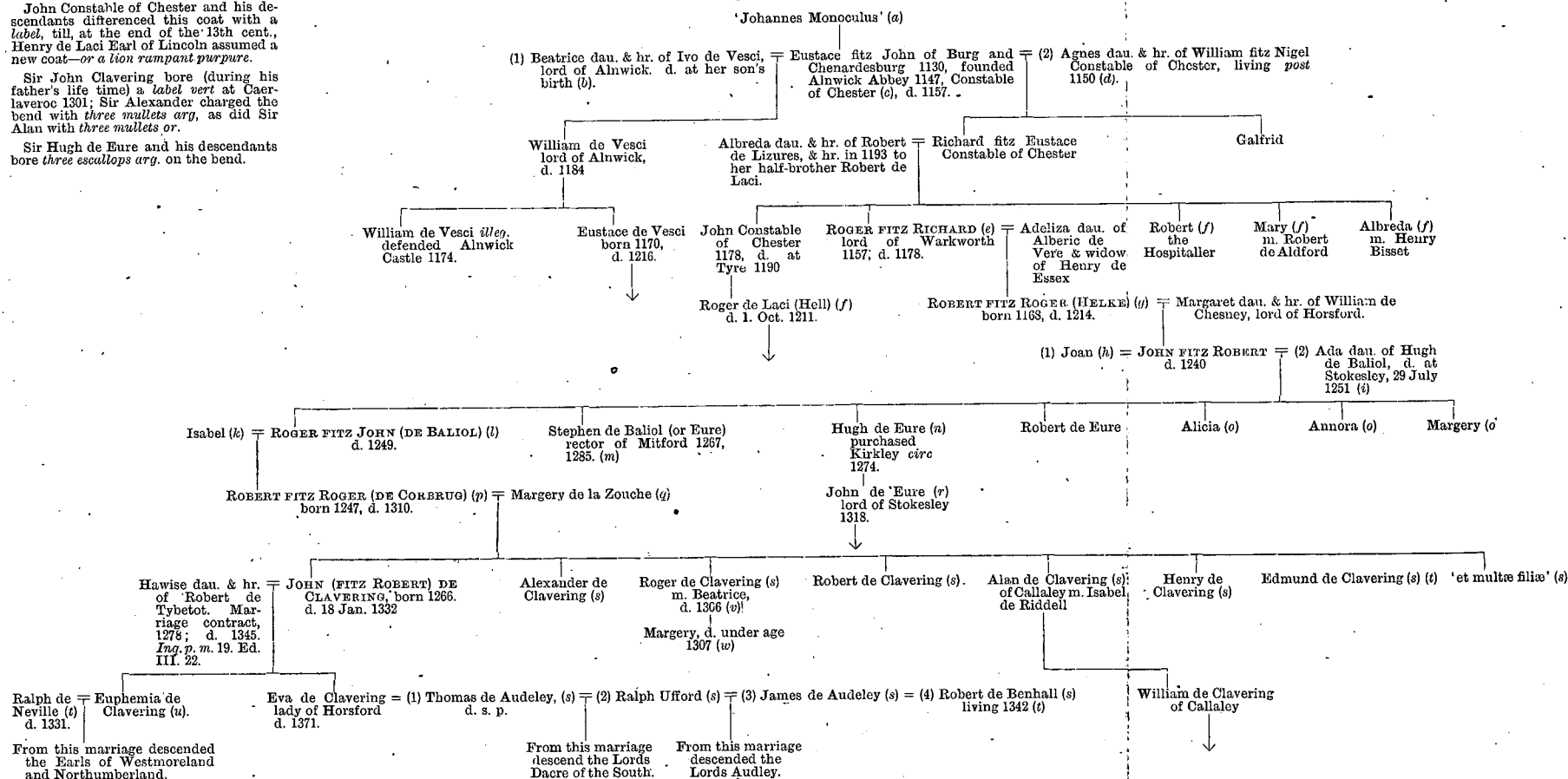
GENEALOGY OF THE LORDS OF WARKWORTH AND CLAVERING.

ARMS:—Quarterly or and gu. a bend sa.

John Constable of Chester and his descendants differenced this coat with a label, till at the end of the 13th cent., Henry de Laci Earl of Lincoln assumed a new coat—or a lion rampant purple.

Sir John Clavering bore (during his father's life time) a label vert at Caerlaveroc 1301; Sir Alexander charged the bend with three mullets arg., as did Sir Alan with three mullets or.

Sir Hugh de Eure and his descendants bore three escallops arg. on the bend.



(a) Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. p. 90; *Mem. of Fountains Abb.* i Surt. Soc. Publ. 42, p. 50.

(b) Stemma Fundatorum Prioratus de Watton.—Dugdale, *Monasticon*. ed. Caley, VI. p. 957.

(c) Ormerod, *Cheshire*, 1819, I. p. 510.

(d) A comparison of the subsequent generations made it probable that Pecham (*The Compleat Gentleman*, p. 189) was correct in supposing Agnes to have been the first wife of Eustace fitz John, as stated p. 84 ante; but Adam Abbot of Meaux (not founded till 1150) is a witness with her to the foundation charter of the monastery of Watton.—Dugdale, *Monasticon* VI. p. 370.

(e) Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. p. 90. The evidence on which Roger is made son of Richard fitz Eustace is not very strong, and it is remarkable that the Lacies, if an elder line, should have used a label over arms which the Claverings bore with no difference.

(f) Ormerod, *Cheshire*, I. p. 509.

(g) Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI. p. 929.

(h) Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. p. 108, referring to Chartulary of Bardney Abbey.

(i) *Inq. p. m.* 35 Hen. III. No. 51, in *Cal. of Doc. relating to Scotland*, I. No. 1,837. For the *Inq.* on her lands in Northumberland, held at Linton, near Woodhorn, see *Ibid.* No. 1,821.

(k) *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 191.

(l) Matt. Par. *Hist. Anglorum*, Rolls ed. III. p. 67.

(m) 'Stephanus de Ever.'—*Newminster Chartulary*, Surt. Soc. Publ. 66, p. 41. 'Stephanus de Bello.'—Randal, see Hodgs., *Northd.* II. ii. p. 31 n. 'Stephanus de Balliol,' rector of Mitford, and Sir Hugh de Eure his brother, by the father's side, in deed at Balliol College, Oxford, dated Durham, Oct. 1284.—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Report, p. 444.

(n) Surtees, *Durham*, Seals, Plate VI. 15 (Loc. I.).

(o) *Coram Rege*, 35 and 36 Hen. III., No. 88, m. 44, verso; *Cal. of Doc. relating to Scotland*, I. No. 1,809.

(p) List of Benefactors of Sibton Abbey, in Taylor, *Index Monasticus*; Dugd. Mon. V. p. 558.

(q) *Beg. Abb. de Sibton*, Royal Soc. MSS. 221; Dugd. Mon. V. p. 228.

Blomesfield, *Norfolk*, ed. Parkin, X. p. 149, calls her Mary de la Zouche.

(r) Surtees, *Durham*, Seals, Pl. X. 10.

(s) Ex antiquo pergamento quodam penes Samsonem Leonard feciale, an. 1598, in Dugd. Mon. III. p. 636.

(t) On 5th June, 1312, John de Clavering and Hawise his wife settled the manors of Clavering and Blibburgh, in the event of their deaths without male issue, on Edmund de Clavering for life, and then on Ralph de Neville and his heirs; while on 3rd Feb. 1342, Robert de Benhall and Eva his wife released the manors of Clavering, Aynho, Eure, and Blibburgh to Ralph de Neville and Hawise de Clavering.—*Ped. Fin. Divers. Com.* Ed. III. 301.

(u) 'Es Coll. R. Glou. S.' in Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. p. 292. The evidence of this marriage is not altogether satisfactory. Ralph de Neville was constable of Warkworth in 1322. Clavering remained in the Neville family for several generations.

(v) *Cal. Genealog.* p. 706.

(w) *Ibid.* p. 733.

slain. It was rumoured that Cressingham on leaving Berwick had entrusted his goods there to the charge of Robert Heron, rector of Ford, who kept the king's coket at that port, and of a certain Sir Hugh de Roubiri (Rothbury), and that on hearing of Cressingham's death Heron and Roubiri immediately sent 400 marks to Warkworth Castle and delivered them to William de Toggesdene, the constable, as also £40 in a pouch. So long after as the autumn of 1304 a formal inquiry was held into this rumour at York. William de Toggesdene declared on oath that about a week after Cressingham's death, Hugh de Roubiri, attended only by his grooms, did bring to Warkworth two 'bulgias' covered with hide, and a coffer for harness sealed and locked, and requested him to take charge of them. He considered that there might be £300 in them, but others thought more probably £400, judging from their great weight, which he too remarked when his son William carried them from the Great Chamber of the castle to an adjoining closet. There they remained for a week, when Hugh de Roubiri returned with his grooms and took them away.⁴⁰

Heron and Roubiri denied that they had ever taken a large coffer to Warkworth at all, or that the money in question had anything to do with Cressingham. They swore that it was deposited at Warkworth before his death. According to Heron, it was a sum of £281 which he had received from the issues of the coket at Berwick; and which, when the Scots rose against the king and slew the Sheriff of Lanark, he put, for fear of them, into two leather bags and two pouches, and, by Hugh de Roubiri's advice, sent them to Warkworth Castle about the 15th of August, 1297. He there delivered them himself to Roubiri, who placed them in the treasury of the castle under the custody of the constable. Roubiri's evidence bore this out, with the

⁴⁰ 'Ad quem diem dictus Willelmus venit. Et juratus et examinatus coram Thesaurario et Baronibus dicit super sacrum suum quod circa octo dies post mortem dicti Hugonis apud Strivelyn dictus Hugo de Roubiri cum garconibus suis sine alia comitiva (venit) ad dictum castrum de Werkworth et tulit ibi duas bulgias coopertas de corio et j coffram pro hernasio sigillatam et serratam, et rogavit dictum Willelmum quod illas custodiret in quibus fuerint ut estimabat cccli, set idem constabularius intellexit a quibusdam quod in eisdem bulgiis et coffra fuerint ccccli, quia multum ponderabant, ut sibi videbatur, quia Willelmus filius dicti Constabularii dictas bulgias et coffram portavit sic sigillatam de magna camera castri usque in quandam calketam contiguam. Et dixit quod ibidem sic remanserunt per viij dies. Et tunc venit dictus Hugo de Roubiri cum garconibus suis et apportavit a dicto castro predictas duas bulgias et coffram sigillatam prout ibi prius portabantur et abiit.—*Eweheq. Q. R. Memor.* 33. Ed. I. m. 37.

slight discrepancy that he said he received the bags, and two canvas pouches strapped together, about the Gule (the 1st) of August. Immediately after Cressingham's death, for fear of the Scots, he carried the two leather bags to Durham Castle. Roger Heron acknowledged that he received them there from Roubiri as he was returning to Scotland with the English Barons who had been summoned to quell the insurrection. They contained £200, half of which he paid to Walter de Agmondesham for the king's business, and half by tallies to the Treasurer at York. What became of the two pouches and the remaining £81, Heron could not tell. Roubiri deposed that he hid these pouches, which he understood contained only 35 marks, with some of his own jewels in a sack of his wool at Warkworth. Pouches, silver, jewels, and wool he never saw again, for the keepers of the castle and Robert fitz Roger when he came there sold the wool and carried off the valuables.⁴¹

Robert fitz Roger had been at Warkworth on the Thursday after the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen (22nd July), 1304, when, in the presence of Sir John de Swyneburne, Sir Roger Corbet, Sir John de Vaux, John de Eure, John de Lisle (of Woodburn), and John de Normanville, he set his seal to an agreement with Lucy the widow of Thomas de Dyvelston respecting boats crossing the water of Tyne at Corbridge.⁴² He allowed the constable at Warkworth the herbage of the castle and its precincts, which covered then, as now, about an acre and a half.⁴³

John fitz Robert, who had been summoned to Parliament by the name of Clavering during his father's lifetime in 1299, succeeded him in 1310. The next year (20th Nov. 1311), he made a compact with

⁴¹ Ibid; *Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, II. p. 417.

⁴² *Misc. Chart.* No. 461 in the Treasury, Durham. Attached to this is a seal, $\frac{3}{4}$ in. diameter, with the arms *Quarterly over all a bend*, and the legend *SI RO BER TI* all within a cusped panel. This is engraved in Surtees's *Durham* II. Seals, plate x. No. 20, but in the descriptive letterpress, *ibid.* IV. App. p. clxxi. it is erroneously attributed to Robert de Widdrington. The Widdrington arms only differed from those of the lords of Clavering in the 1st and 4th quarters being *argent* instead of *or*. A still plainer seal of Robert fitz Roger appended to a deed dated at Horsford the vigil of St. Andrew (29. Nov.) 1279, is engraved in Blomefield's *Norfolk* cont. by Parkin, X. p. 439.

⁴³ 'Est ibi quædam placea continens in se unam acram et dimidium terræ super quam Castrum est situm; et prædictus Robertus dedit herbagium ejusdem in feodo Constabulario ejusdem Castri.'—*Inq. p. m.* 3 Ed. II. No. 55, in *Archæologia Eliana* III. p. 104. In accounts of Warkworth it is usually said that the castle contains between five and six acres. Grose seems to have been the originator of this mistake.—*Antiquities*, London, Hooper, 1785, IV., p. 152.

Edward II. that, on consideration of his being granted for life the manor of Costessey and other lands in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Northamptonshire, his castle of Warkworth and the manors of Rothbury in Northumberland and Eure in Buckinghamshire should, on his death, become the property of the king or his heirs; as should also his manors of Newburn and Corbridge, in the event of his leaving no legitimate male issue.⁴⁴ The long continuance of the Scottish wars made it expedient that the king should have the castles of Northumberland under his immediate control. This was attained, to a certain extent, by his furnishing a portion of their garrisons. In a safe-conduct for John le Irish de Hibernia, dated at York 15th Aug., 1314, Edward II. provides that were the Irishman close pressed by the Scots the constable of Warkworth, if certain no fraud was intended, should receive him into that castle.⁴⁵ At the close of Gilbert de Middleton's rebellion in 1317, the loyal garrison of Warkworth, in conjunction with those of Alnwick and Bamburgh, reduced the peles of Bolton and Whittingham.⁴⁶ The agreement entered into with John de Crumbwell and Robert d'Umfranville Earl of Angus, as Wardens of the March of Northumberland, in September, 1319, mentions that the castle of Warkworth had its own garrison of 12 men-at-arms, and that the king would place in it at his cost 4 men-at-arms and 8 hobilers or light horsemen, to be chosen by Robert Darreys and John de Thirlewall.⁴⁷ In 1322 Robert Darreys, constable of Warkworth, is said to have contributed 26 hobilers from the garrison for the king's expedition to Scotland;⁴⁸ but on the 26th of September in that year Ralph de Neville, as constable, was severely reprimanded by Edward II. for neglecting a favourable opportunity of attacking the Scots.⁴⁹

During their hasty retreat from Stanhope Park in the early part of August, 1327, the Scots, having failed to surprise Alnwick, laid siege to Warkworth. Several of them perished in the attack, and the rest,

⁴⁴ Abb. Rot. Orig. I. p. 185, Ro. 6. 5 Ed. II.; Wallis, *Northumberland*, II. p. 353 *ex* Rot. Claus. 6 Ed. II. m. 11; Hodgson's *Northd.* III. ii. p. 293.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Rot. Scot.* I. p. 131.

⁴⁶ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, III. p. 623.

⁴⁷ 'En le Chastel de Werkeword sont de la propre garnison xij hommes d'armes et le Roy y mettra iiij hommes d'armes et viij hobelours as custages le Roy le qieux Robert Derreys et Johan de Thirlewall ont empres de trouver.'—*Escheq. Q. R. Misc. (Army)* 37.

⁴⁸ Grose, *Antiquities*, London, Hooper, 1785, IV. p. 162, quoting a MS. account of Roger de Waltham, Keeper of the Wardrobe.

⁴⁹ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, III. p. 146.

disappointed of their purpose, set off home.⁵⁰ Towards the end of the year, however, while Edward III. was absorbed in preparing for his marriage with Philippa of Hainault, Robert Bruce entered Northumberland with a large army and invested Alnwick, Warkworth, and other castles. But though these set sieges were followed by frequent irregular attacks, the garrisons made a successful resistance.⁵¹ In their alarm, the inhabitants of the bishopric of Durham, 'the county of Carlisle,' Richmondshire, Cleveland, and Westmoreland bought for a large sum a truce with the Scots till the following Easter. Before this term expired, the Treaty of Edinburgh, in which Edward III. renounced his claims over Scotland, was concluded on 17th March, 1328. Sir Geoffrey le Scrope, one of the English envoys, had broken his journey at Warkworth on the night of Sunday, the 6th of March, and on Monday, the 7th, William le Zouch, another of them, had arrived there.⁵²

Edward III., on the 2nd March, 1328, had made over his reversionary interest in Warkworth and the other northern estates of Lord Clavering to Henry the second Percy of Alnwick, in lieu of the hereditary custody of Berwick and an annuity of five hundred marks out of the customs of that port which had been granted to Percy in reward for the bravery he displayed at the battle of Halidon Hill.⁵³ Consequently, on the death of Lord Clavering, without male issue, on the 18th Jan., 1332,⁵⁴ Warkworth, with its castle and dependencies, came

⁵⁰ 'Castrum prædicti domini (Henrici Percy) apud Werkeworthe adeunt, obsessuri; ubi quibusdam de suis interfectis a suo proposito defraudati, versus Scotiam sunt profecti.'—*Gesta Ed. III. auctore Bridlingtonensi* (Rolls series, *Chronicles Ed. I. and II.*, II. p. 97.) It does not appear why Warkworth should be said to already belong to Henry Percy. In the first of the two princely volumes of the *Annals of the House of Percy* (printed for private circulation, London, 1887), p. 74, n. 2, and Appendix V., p. 488, Mr. E. B. de Fonblanque has, 'in consequence of a printer's error,' stated that the barony of *Warkworth*, held by the service of one knight's fee, was, with the king's approval, transferred by Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, to Henry Percy, Lord of Alnwick, in 1309. The reference given for this, *Rot. Pat.* 3, *Edw. II.*, 2., m. 30, relates solely to *Alnwick*. Mr. Fonblanque very considerably wishes to have the mistake corrected here before it has time to spread further.

⁵¹ 'Dum . . . rex Edwardus circa sponsalia intenderet, Robertus rex Scociæ cum suis in Angliam revertentes castra de Alnwyk, Werkworth et alia castra Northumbriæ, obsidentes et sæpius assilientes, multa mala fecerunt.'—*Chron. de Melsa*, Rolls ed. II. p. 357; see also *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 260.

⁵² *Notes respecting Travelling in the former half of the 14th Century*, by Rev. Joseph Hunter, p. 23, in *Proc. Archæol. Inst.*, 1846.

⁵³ *Cal. Rot. Pat.* 2 Ed. III. m. 25; Hodgson's *Northd.* III. ii. p. 366. 'Iste etiam Henricus perquisivit de dono regis Baroniam de Werkworth pro suo bono et cæbro servitio.'—*Chron. Monasterii de Alnewyke*, in *Arch. Æl.* III. p. 40.

⁵⁴ Dugdale, *Baronage*, I., p. 109. Lord Clavering died at his manor of Aynho, in Northamptonshire, and was buried in the choir of Langley Abbey. Among

into the Percy family, forming a valuable complement to the barony of Alnwick, which they had acquired in 1309.

The castle still continued to be used more or less as a royal fortress. In 1355 the constable and his lieutenant received orders from Edward III., dated Berwick, October the 10th, to release Adam Skele and Nicholas Betteson, men of that town, who had been committed to their custody on suspicion of treason.⁵⁵

Henry the Strong, the first Percy of Warkworth, died there unexpectedly on the 27th Feb., 1352, after having been detained by a short illness.⁵⁶ The jury of inquest empanelled at Alnwick on the 21st March, before John de Coupland, as Escheator of Northumberland, returned the buildings in the castle of Warkworth as of no value beyond the cost of repairing them. The herbage of the moat was, they stated, worth 18d. a year, and was let for that sum.⁵⁷

The succeeding lord, Henry Percy the Short, conferred at Warkworth various privileges on the Carmelites of Hulne, at the instance of their prior, Robert de Populton, on the Feast of the Annunciation (25th March), 1364. Sir Richard Tempest, Sir Thomas Surtees, Sir Ingram Umfreville, and others were there at the time.⁵⁸ This lord, too, died at Warkworth on Ascension Day, the 18th May, 1368, at the eleventh hour—proof that the castle had become a favourite residence of the Percies.⁵⁹ The inquisition taken at Newcastle as to the lands

the muniments of Balliol College, Oxford, is an instruction from him to his receivers, to pay certain moneys to that college, dated at Aynho, 1st May, 1328. The seal attached to this, which is said to be 'nearly perfect,' in *Historical MSS. Comm. 4th Report*, p. I., p. 444, proves to be very small, and in a bad state of preservation, with merely the Clavering shield, and the legend *s JOHANNIS FIL ROBERTI*.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Rot. Scot.* I. p. 381.

⁵⁶ 'Quasi modica infirmitate in castro de Werkworth detentus obiit insperate.'—*Chron. Mon. de Alnewyke*, *Arch. Æl.* III. p. 40.

⁵⁷ *Inq. p. m.* 26 Ed. III. No. 52A, printed in *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. cxxx.

⁵⁸ 'Hiis testibus domino Roberto de Rothbury tunc Abbate de Alnewyk ac Henrico de Percy, Thoma de Percy filiis meis, Ricardo Tempest, Thoma Surteys, Ingram de Umtravyll militibus, magistro Thoma de Fernylawe vicario de Emeldon, domino Wilielmo de Newport rectore ecclesie de Wermouth, domino Johanne Jordan necnon Ricardo Dask, Henrico de Percy, Johanne Whitlee, Hugone Galon et aliis. Data apud Werkworth in Annunciatione Virginis gloriosæ anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo quarto.'—*Registrum Cartarum Conventus de Holne*, in *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1152, ii. App. p. xc.

⁵⁹ 'Qui obiit in castello de Werkworth in die Ascensionis Domini hora undecima, littera dominicali A luna corrente per unum, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo sexagesimo octavo.'—*Ibid.* What does the reference to the Dominical Letter, etc., mean?

he left, again states that the castle of Warkworth was worth nothing over the expense of keeping it in repair; the annual value of the herbage of the moat had fallen to 12d.

On setting out for the wars in France in 1373, Henry Percy, the next lord, ratified the charters of Alnwick Abbey, at his castle of Warkworth, on the 19th of June, in the presence of Sir William de Aldburgh, Sir Richard Tempest, Sir Ingram Umfravill, Sir Robert Clavering, Sir John Heron, and Sir William Claxton.⁶⁰ Created Earl of Northum-

⁶⁰ 'Nos autem dictus dominus Henricus de Percy ad honorem Dei Patris omnipotentis, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et beatæ Mariæ semper virginis, genetricis ejusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, respicientes, et necessarium obsequium ipsorum quod in presenti itinere nostro versus partes guerrivas, nos oporteat considerare et requirere cum effectu pro nobis et complicitibus nostris in predicto itinere nostro, ac pro salute nostra et liberorum nostrorum, quamdiu vixerimus, et animarum nostrarum cum ab hac luce migraverimus, necnon pro animabus omnium antecessorum nostrorum, ac anima Margaretæ nuper consortis nostræ charissimæ &c. . . . Datum in castro nostro de Warkworthe, nono-decimo die Junii, Anno Dni. M^o CCC^o septuagesimo tertio. Hiis testibus, Dominis Willelmo de Albroughe, Ricardo Tempest, Ingramo Umfravill, Roberto Claveringe, Johanne Herone, Willelmo de Claxtoun, Militibus, Dominis Johanne de Acun, Petro de Wellum, et Johanne de Metheley, Capellanis, Henrico Percy, Thoma de Modirby, Willelmo de Atone, Nicholao de Herunne, Johanne de Rodham, Willelmo de Findemer, Thoma de Burton Clerico, Thoma de Wattone Clerico, et Thoma Galoune tunc temporis Seneschallo.'—*Charters of Alnwick Abbey*, 31, in Tate's *History of Alnwick*, II. App. p. xxi., from *Lansdowne MS.*, 326, *Dodsworth*. Many of these witnesses were probably included in the retinue of 12 knights, 47 squires, 160 mounted archers and men-at-arms, who accompanied their lord to France, see *Annals of the House of Percy*, I. p. 110. and *Eschequer Rolls, Army*, 45. Ed. III. The solemn invocation of the Trinity in this charter, and the special care evinced by Lord Percy for the soul of Margaret, 'late his dearest consort,' tend to strengthen the opinion of Mr. Lonsstaffe, *Arch. Æl.*, N.S. IV. p. 182, that the Hermitage 'bilded in a rocke of stone within the parke of Warkworth, in honour of the blessed Trynete,' was intended to honour the memory of this Margaret Neville. The architecture of the Hermitage is of this particular period, and the bull's head was the well-known badge of the Nevilles. On the other hand the absence of anything like a Percy badge is extremely remarkable, and it must be remembered that the only piece of genuine tradition attached to the Hermitage—not that tradition is worth much after the interval of even one generation—is that it was the work of 'a Bertram who murdered his brother.'—*Grose Antiquities*, 1785, IV. p. 92. The Bertram crest was also a bull's head, and although shields charged with the instruments of the Crucifixion were no doubt common in Northumberland in the Middle Ages, it is worthy of notice that the only two instances of such shields surviving are those over the doorway between the two chapels at the Hermitage and in the stained glass of Bothal Church. While on general grounds we may join with Aytoun in exclaiming 'All laud and praise to the memory of good Bishop Percy,' it is impossible not to admit the justice of Dr. Johnson's severe condemnation of the *Hermit of Warkworth*. Any historic interest that the place may possess has been sacrificed to the affected sentimentality of this penny-a-line doggerel. The opening motive of the Hermit's Tale is purloined, without acknowledgment, from the exploit of Sir William Marmion, as related in the *Scala Chronicon*, Leland's translation of which is full of natural grace. It is inconceivable how Bishop Percy, the preserver of really beautiful ballads, could turn Sir Thomas Gray's nobly-worded promise to Marmion:—'Sir Knight, ye be cum hither to fame your helmet: mount on your

berland at the coronation of Richard II. in 1377,⁶¹ he practically placed Henry Bolingbroke on the throne.⁶²

On the 14th September, 1402, he obtained a great victory over the Scots at Homildon, near Wooler. With the view, apparently, of securing a more lasting peace with Scotland, Henry IV. gave orders that none of the prisoners taken at this battle should be ransomed. At the same time he promised their captors that they should not be losers by this change in border policy.⁶³ After some remonstrance, Northumberland brought Murdoch Stewart, son of the Duke of Albany, and six other prisoners to London in triumph on the 20th of October.⁶⁴ He took this opportunity, it seems, of complaining that he and his son, Henry

horse, and ryde lyke a valiant man to your foes even here at hand, and I forsake God if I rescue not thy body deade or alyve, or I myself wyl dye for it,' into such an insipid parody as :—

'Now, Bertram, prove thy lady's helme,
Attack yon forward band :
Dead or alive I'll rescue thee
Or perish by their hand.'

Leland's translation of the whole passage will be found in Note D of the Appendix to Scott's *Marmion*.

⁶¹ John Cook of Newcastle, who died at Norham 2 Ric. II., 1378–1379, left 20 marks towards building Warkworth bridge if it were built within two years from the time of his making his will, otherwise the money was to be given to the bridge of Bolbec (Bywell).—Wallis, *Northumberland*, II. p. 355; Bourne, *Newcastle*, p. 203. Warkworth bridge probably had the benefit of John Cook's legacy, as the architecture of it is similar to that of other bridges of 14th century construction. The gatehouse at the south end of it may have been built about the same time.

⁶² The account of the events of 1402 and 1403, about to be given in the text, is perhaps longer and more detailed than is strictly justifiable in treating of Warkworth Castle. The fact is that the general interest of the history of England at this juncture seems to centre in the home of the Percies, so much so that three scenes of Shakespeare's *Henry IV.* are laid at Northumberland's Castle of Warkworth, which he well describes as 'a worm-eaten hold of ragged stone.' For those who do not possess a degree of imagination sufficient to call up the true facts of history before their eyes, this employment of the castle as a stage background by the great dramatist is the most interesting circumstance connected with it. It is better then to caution those who are thus bent on mistaking poetry for history, that the celebrated Tripartite Indenture between the Earl of Northumberland (not Hotspur), Mortimer, and Glendower was made in 1406, not in 1403 (Giles, *Incerti Scriptoris Chronicon* p. 39); that Hotspur was born in 1366, Henry IV. in 1367, and Henry V. in 1388; that the name of Hotspur's wife was Elizabeth not Kate; that her brother Sir Edmund Mortimer, who married the daughter of Owen Glendower, was not Earl of March; that the Earl of Northumberland received the news of Hotspur's death not at Warkworth, but at Newcastle, while his Countess, Maud de Lucy, died in 1398, and could not have been before Warkworth Castle in 1405, counselling her husband to forsake Archbishop Scrope and fly to Scotland, as in *Henry IV.* Act II. Scene III.; &c., &c.

⁶³ Rymer, *Fœdera* VIII. 278.

⁶⁴ J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV.* Longmans, 1884, I. p. 297. This work is an important contribution to the history of the period, written in a pleasant style and impartial spirit.

Hotspur, had spent their all in the king's service without receiving due payment for the custody of the Marches. With a bare treasury, and no means of refilling it without imperilling his crown, Henry could only reply, '*Aurum non habeo, aurum non habebis.*' The great Earl of Douglas, who had yielded to Hotspur at Homildon, was conspicuously absent from the pageant. The king required that he, too, should be handed over. Instead, however, of complying, Hotspur sought an audience and demanded that the king should ransom his brother-in-law, Edmund Mortimer, who had been taken prisoner by the Welsh on the 22nd June, under circumstances which, if not traitorous, were at any rate disgraceful. Henry refused to allow any money to pass out of England to his enemies, and declared that Mortimer was a traitor who had merely pretended to be captured in order to join Owen Glendower. 'And thou, too, art a traitor,' he added, charging Hotspur with not seizing Glendower when he had the opportunity, and drawing his dagger on him. For once Hotspur showed remarkable self-control. Replying 'Not here, but in the field,' to the king's assault,⁶⁵ he declared that his own honour would not have permitted him to violate the safe-conduct given to Owen at their meeting, and at once set out for Berwick.⁶⁶ The quarrel of the king with Hotspur does not appear to have interfered with his good relations with the Earl of Northumberland, who was commissioned to ask the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and all the Commons to dine with the king after the close of Parliament on Sunday, 26th November. A few days later Henry's suspicions of Mortimer were more than justified. About 30th November Mortimer wedded the daughter of Owen Glendower, and issued a manifesto to his tenantry on 13th December, in which he urged the claims of his nephew and namesake, the young Earl of March, to the throne of England, and promised that the independence of Wales should be

⁶⁵ *Eulogium Historiarum*, Rolls ed. III. p. 396.

⁶⁶ Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ccii. It seems very evident that the report made to the Earl of Northumberland, by a messenger sent by him to Edmund Mortimer by the king's leave, relative to a treaty with Owen Glendower in *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, II. p. 59, is to be referred to the period between Mortimer's capture and his open treason, and not as by Sir H. Nicolas to 1401. In it Owen is made to express a wish to meet the Earl, for whom he professed much attachment, and to add that he would willingly proceed to the Marches of England to treat of a peace if it were not for the danger he would be in on account of the popular rumour that he intended to root out the English language. Probably the necessary 'assuraunce,' as Hardyng calls it, was given him, and led to his meeting Hotspur in place of the Earl.

acknowledged.⁶⁷ In order to reward Northumberland for the victory of Homildon, the king bestowed on him, on 2nd March, 1403, the greater part of the south of Scotland, which was therewith declared to have been conquered and annexed to England. Jedburgh and Roxburgh had long been in the hands of the English, and they also appear to have held the strongholds of Fast Castle, Cockburnspath, and Innerwick, along the east coast. The king, no doubt, considered that a grant of this princely character would also settle any financial grievances the Percies had against him. Hotspur seems, however, not to have been content with the fertile territory already subdued. He resolved to overrun the whole country as far as the Firth of Forth, demolishing the fortresses, and systematically burning and destroying all before him;⁶⁸ but when he appeared before the little tower of Cocklaw or Ormiston in the upper part of Teviotdale, which belonged to James Gledystanes,⁶⁹ the captain, John Greenlaw, refused to give it up, and after some show of a siege, an entire suspension of hostilities was agreed to in May, with the stipulation that the garrison would surrender on the 1st of August if they did not previously receive succour from the Scottish government. Hotspur's professed object in agreeing to these terms was to provoke the Scots to a pitched battle more disastrous than Homildon. On the 30th of May, the Earl of Northumberland wrote to the Council from Newcastle-upon-Tyne informing them that he and Hotspur had bound themselves by an indenture to be at Ormiston on the 1st of August, in order to receive possession of the castle if it were not delivered by battle on that day.⁷⁰ He asked for their good offices in obtaining payment from the king, so that he might know by the 24th of June on what support he had to reckon. Instead of the money, he appears to have then received letters from Henry, in which the king first said that he considered the Percies would be sufficiently strong at the appointed tryst at Ormiston without any assistance from him, and then recollecting the

⁶⁷ Wylie, *Henry IV.*, i. p. 344.

⁶⁸ *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv. 1152, *Ann. of House of Percy* I. p. 215 n.

⁶⁹ The *Ordnance Survey of Scotland* disposes of the difficulty historians have laboured under in fixing the site of Cocklaw, by showing that there are remains of a tower of that name immediately to the north-east of Ormiston near Hawick. The Percies would hardly have bound themselves to be both at Cocklaw and Ormiston on the 1st of August had they not been the same place. James and Thomas Gledstanys 'nobiles viri' were witnesses to the publication in the neighbouring church of Great Cavers on 13th Nov., 1404, of the Papal confirmation of that church to Melrose Abbey.—*Liber de Melros*, II. p. 486.

⁷⁰ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, I. p. 203.

great expense this was likely to cause them, told the Earl he had given orders to send him in all haste a certain sum of money. Two days later Northumberland replied from 'Helawe,' demanding £20,000 as the balance of arrears due to himself and Hotspur.⁷¹ With his empty exchequer, Henry was utterly unable to provide such a sum, but he resolved to do all he could by marching in person to the assistance of the Percies. The Earl in vain endeavoured to dissuade him from this project.⁷² On the 10th of July the king was at Higham Ferrars, in Northamptonshire. He there ordered the Council to despatch £1,000 to his eldest son, Prince Henry, who, after a successful raid into Owen Glendower's country, found himself in great pecuniary straits at Shrewsbury. At the same time he declared himself resolved to adhere to his purpose of proceeding to Scotland to there give all aid possible 'to his very dear and faithful cousins, the Earl of Northumberland, and Henry, his son, at the battle honourably undertaken by them for him and his kingdom against the Scots, his enemies.'⁷³ In the meantime, however, a most formidable conspiracy against the unsuspecting king had been woven within the walls of Warkworth. Under the pretence of enlisting the services of the English nobility for the exploit of Ormiston, the Percies had entered into long correspondence with all of them.⁷⁴ At first they were careful not to commit themselves too far; the most they aimed at was to be self-defence and the removal of the king's evil counsellors; but in the end all these lords, with the exception of the Earl of Stafford, bound themselves by their seals to support the Percy schemes in the field. Hotspur entrusted their letters to the custody of his squire, John Hardying, who had been with him at Homildon and Ormiston; and when, in the

⁷¹ *Ibid.* I. p. 204. Sir H. Nicolas there suggests that 'Helawe' may be Healaugh near Tadcaster. This appears to have belonged to the Percies at that time; but there are several places bearing similar names in Northumberland. Of these Healy in Coquetdale lies on the route between Warkworth and Ormiston. In any case this letter affords no evidence that the Earl of Northumberland was in Yorkshire at the time of the battle of Shrewsbury.

⁷² 'Comes denunciavit Regi non opus esse sibi sua præsentia, sed nec expedire ut elongaret a patria; sed tamen adquevit, ut Domini accederent, et Barones.'—*Annales Henrici Quarti*, Rolls Series, *Joh. de Trokelowe*, etc., p. 361.

⁷³ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, I. p. 206. Mr. Foulblanque in *Annals of the House of Percy*, I. p. 211 n.² points out that this letter bears conclusive internal evidence of having been written in connection with those from Prince Henry, dated Shrewsbury 15th and 30th May, which Sir H. Nicolas was inclined to assign to 1402.—*Proc. and Ord. of P. C.* II. pp. 61, 62. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that all three belong to 1403. See Wylie, *Henry IV.*, i. p. 342 n.

⁷⁴ In *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv. 1152, it is expressly stated that Hotspur after having reduced the Castle of Cocklawes, instead of capturing it, allowed the gar-

beginning of July, they rode away with eight score horsemen to Chester, Hardyng seems to have deposited the letters in some secret corner of Warkworth Castle.⁷⁵ It was not until the 17th of July that the king, at Burton-on-Trent, perceived the imminent danger he was in. At once he ordered a general levy to resist Hotspur, but in doing so confidently declared that by the mercy of God he felt himself strong enough to resist all the enemies of his crown and person.⁷⁶ The battle of Shrewsbury, fought on Saturday, 21st July, 1403, proved that this confidence was not misplaced.

On the following Monday the Earl of Northumberland was at last hastening to Hotspur's assistance, when, finding himself confronted by the levies of the Earl of Westmoreland, he led back the considerable force he had collected to Newcastle.⁷⁷ The burghers closed their gates against him, and, after a fruitless endeavour to storm the town, the Earl was content to himself obtain permission to enter for a night's rest, leaving his armed men without. The next day, while he was at breakfast, his troops, dissatisfied with their exclusion, and possibly conceiving that treachery was intended to the person of their leader, made an unsuccessful attempt to scale the walls. At this juncture the tidings of Hotspur's death at Shrewsbury seem to have arrived, and the Earl, excusing himself as best he could for the conduct of his men, forthwith disbanded his army, and

rison several weeks for surrender, in order to gain time for further increasing his forces, such forces being really intended, not for the conquest of Scotland, 'but that he might overthrow his own sovereign, Henry King of England, as was soon after put out of doubt.'—*Ann. of the House of Percy*, I. p. 215, n². According to the *Annales Henrici Quarti* all the chivalry of England prepared to keep the tryst at Ormiston but soon found out that the whole story was a myth:—*'Cumque multi se parassent ad istud negotium, totum repente monstrabatur phantasma fuisse, et frivolum.'*—Rolls Series, *Joh. de Trokelowe*, etc., p. 361.

⁷⁵ Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, 1812, p. 351 n. Hotspur's departure for Chester with such a small following is perhaps the best example on record of that incurbed spirit of adventure—*effrenata temeritas*—that gave him his name.—*Ann. Hen. IV.* p. 363.

⁷⁶ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, I. p. 207.

⁷⁷ It is extremely difficult to understand where Northumberland was at the time of the battle of Shrewsbury. Hardyng, the best authority, says that he 'came not out of Northumberland,' but it may appear strained to interpret this to mean that he never advanced further than some place west of Newcastle. Ridpath, generally a careful judge of evidence, says his tardy advance was caused by his being taken ill at Berwick, but gives no authority.—*Border History*, 1810, p. 373. The Earl, born in Scarborough Castle 4th July, 1341, was only 62 years old at the time, and Walsingham's account of his advance '*in manu robusta et brachio extenso*' scarcely tallies with his traditionary sickness.—*Ypodigma Neustrie*, Rolls ed. p. 402.

withdrew with the members of his household to Warkworth Castle.⁷⁸ There, it would appear, he received a letter from Henry IV. promising to receive him again into favour if he would peacefully present himself at York. On this assurance he met the king at York on the 11th of August,⁷⁹

‘ Holy submitting hym unto his royll hand.’

But though the promise of his life and an honourable maintenance was renewed, he found himself arrested and taken by Henry IV. three days later to Pontefract. There he agreed that his four castles of Alnwick, Warkworth, Prudhoe, and Langley should be placed by the king in ‘saveguard and good governance,’ but was, nevertheless,

‘ putte to holde in sore prisone
With twoo menne of his own, in Bagyn-ton,’⁸⁰

a Warwickshire castle, situated at about equal distance from Kenilworth and Coventry.

Under circumstances such as these it is not to be wondered that, whether in compliance with secret instructions from the Earl, or acting upon their own responsibility, his grandsons and retainers resolved to hold the castles in question

‘ To tyme the king had graunt hym plener grace.’⁸¹

On the 7th of September the ‘survey and governance’ of all the Earl’s possessions in the North were entrusted by the king to William Heron, Lord Say,⁸² who presided at a council held in Durham Abbey on the 25th of that month.⁸³ It was there decided, among other similar measures, that Sir Henry Percy of Athole the Earl’s grandson, Richard Aske, and John Cresswell the constable should be called on to surrender Warkworth Castle to Sir John Mitford, Sheriff of Northumberland.⁸⁴ Lord Say, therefore, proceeded to Wark-

⁷⁸ ‘Secessit cum cotidiana familia ad Werkeworthe proprium castrum suum’. — *Annales Henrici Quarti*, Rolls Series, *J. de Trokelowe*, etc., p. 371. ‘Rediens ad castellum proprium de Werkeworthe:—Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustrie*, Rolls ed. p. 402.

⁷⁹ Wylie, *Henry IV.*, I. p. 367.

⁸⁰ Hardyng, *Chronicle*, eciii. p. 362.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Rot. Pat.*, 4. Henry IV., 2, 8, in Wylie, *Henry IV.*, i. p. 369 n°. Lord Say was no enemy of the Earl of Northumberland, to whom he left 20*l.* in his will dated 1404:—‘I having been a soldier under the said Earl and received more than I deserved.’

⁸³ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, I. p. 213.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

worth in company with Thomas Nevill Lord Furnival, brother of the Earl of Westmoreland, Sir Gerard Heron and Sir John Mitford, and summoned Sir Henry Percy to evacuate the castle, and repair to the royal presence. Sir Henry, who could not have been more than eighteen, declared himself ever ready to obey his sovereign's behests provided he were properly armed and accoutred, but this, unfortunately, was not then the case. To deprive him of this excuse, the Lords Furnival and Say applied to John Wyndale, the chaplain of Alnwick Castle, and to the 'wardroper' there to furnish Sir Henry with beds suited to his rank, and vessels of silver, armour, and horses.⁸⁵ This Wyndale and the wardroper refused to do, unless they received a warrant to that effect from the Earl. In the end, the two lords, to make the best of a bad business, persuaded Sir Henry Percy to swear on the altar that he would be faithful to the king, and that Warkworth should be well guarded. The constable, John Cresswell, proved equally intractable. The ward of the castle, he maintained, had been granted him for his life by the Earl under indenture. The most that could be extorted from him was an oath to keep the castle loyally for the use and profit of both King and Earl.

Henry IV. was at this time (20th September to 2nd October, 1403) in Wales.⁸⁶ Lord Say turned back from Warkworth, bearing a despatch to the king from Lord Furnival relating the facts just stated,⁸⁷ and he was also entrusted with one from the Earl of Westmoreland. 'The castles of Alnwick and Warkworth,' wrote Westmoreland, 'as well as other 'fortelettes' in those parts have not yet been reduced to a proper state of submission. The king should come North himself after his arrival from Wales. It would be well if, in the meantime, he would send

⁸⁵ 'lites resonables pur son estat vesselles d'armour et chivaux.'—*Ibid.* p. 216.

⁸⁶ Wylie, *Henry IV.*, i. pp. 374, 375.

⁸⁷ 'La credence du Sire de Say par le Sire de Furnivalle pur declarer au Roy nostre souverain Seigneur.'—*Proc. and Ord. of P. C. I.* p. 213. In editing this work Sir H. Nicolas has often paid little regard to the contents of the very valuable documents he was printing. This 'credence,' for example, is entered in his Chronological Catalogue, Introduction, p. xxii., as 'Minutes of Councils held at Durham, 25th Sept. and 13th Oct., 1403,' and on p. 213 as 'Minutes of Councils held at Warham, (not corrected in Errata p. lxxxvii.) 25th Sept. and 13th Oct., 1403.' The truth being that, as plainly appears in the document itself, the despatch relates to a Council held at Durham on 25th Sept., and the memorandum to an interview between Lord Say and the Earl of Northumberland, at Baginton, in Warwickshire, on 13th Oct., 1403.

North by sea siege-engines, cannon, artillery, and other things necessary for storming these castles, both as a terror to the disobedient, and for use in case of emergency.⁸⁸

As want of funds was causing the Welsh expedition to end in failure, it was not very likely that Henry IV. would be able to follow Westmoreland's advice. In this difficulty it occurred to Lord Say that he might procure the pacification of the North by obtaining express orders from the Earl of Northumberland for the surrender of Warkworth and the other castles. He travelled to Baginton, and there on the 13th of October, the Earl, in the highly suggestive presence of his seven gaolers, agreed with Lord Say that he would send to London for his Great Seal in order to affix it to 'everything that was pleasing to his sovereign lord the king.'⁸⁹ About the same time Lord Say submitted to the King and Council a schedule of letters and orders to be issued under 'the Great Seal of the arms of the Earl of Northumberland.'⁹⁰ Sir Henry Percy and Richard Aske were to be commanded to come to the king; Sir Thomas Aulaby and John Wyndale were to prepare fitting apparel for Sir Henry Percy and to provide for the costs of his journey; John Aske was to ride to his brother Richard at Warkworth and to persuade him to journey south in his company; and Sir John Mitford was to take over Warkworth Castle, with the assurance that he would be paid for the expense of guarding it. The Earl's Great Seal was forwarded to him from London by Richard Vaux, a special messenger, sometime before the 9th of November,⁹¹ but the letters and orders if sealed by it were of

⁸⁸ 'La credence donnee au Sire de Say par le Conte de Westmerlande pour declarer au Roy notre seigneur.'—*Ibid.* p. 209. Sir H. Nicolas wrongly ascribes this document to 'about July, 1403.' If he had read it through, he would have seen that the king was in Wales, and the Earl of Northumberland in prison at the time.

⁸⁹ 'Fait a remembrer que le Counte de Northumberlond ad grantez au Sire de Say a Bakyntone le xiiij^{me} jour Doctober (*sic*) en presence de Rogger Smert, Robert Wyville, Robert Passemere, Thomas Riddynges, William Russcheale, Johan Cope et Piers Barewelle gardeins de luy; qil voet envoyer a Londres pur son grant seal pur ensealer tout ce que poet estre plesante a notre tresoverrain seigneur le Roy.'—*Ibid.* p. 217.

⁹⁰ 'Les nouns as queux lettres seront adressees sil plect a notre souverain seigneur le Roy et a son conseil desouz le grand seal des armes du Conte de Northumbrie pur la livree de les chasteaux desouz escriptes.'—*Ibid.* p. 211. Sir H. Nicolas there falsely ascribes this list to August, 1403, while he places it under July, 1403, in his Chronological Catalogue.—*Ibid.* Introduction, p. xxii.

⁹¹ 'Die Veneris *ie. die Novembris, Ricardus Vaux.* Ricardo Vaux misso ex ordinacione consilii Regis cum sigillo comitis Northumbrie eidem Comiti

little use. On the 30th of November, Lord Furnival was instructed to open fresh negotiations with the defenders of Warkworth, and on the 3rd of December was empowered to receive the custody of it for the king.⁹² On the 6th of that month Henry IV. addressed a writ to Sir Henry Percy commanding him, on his faith and allegiance and under pain of forfeiting everything he could forfeit, to at once deliver up the castles of Alnwick and Warkworth to Lord Furnival, and, without further excuse of any kind, to put in a personal appearance at court.⁹³ Notwithstanding all which, on the 13th January, 1404, the castles of Berwick, Alnwick, and Warkworth were still held by main force against the king by Sir William Clifford, Sir Henry Percy, and his younger brother Sir Thomas, who were distributing the 'livery of the crescent' to the large forces they had collected.⁹⁴ The castles had not surrendered by the 25th of the month;⁹⁵ and in February the Earl of Northumberland, having been acquitted of the charge of treason by his peers, was, with diplomatic generosity, restored by the king to his estates, even the fine he had incurred being remitted.⁹⁶

The Earl brought his three grandsons to Henry IV. at Pontefract in June, 1404,⁹⁷ but his conduct continued to excite suspicion. He had

liberando, In denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias pro vadiis et expensis suis eundo et redeundo ex causa predicta per considerationem Thesaurarii et Camerarii, xxvjs, viijd.'—*Polls Issue Roll*, 5 Hen. IV., Mich.

⁹² *Rot. Scot.* II. p. 165.

⁹³ *De essendo coram Rege.* Rex Henrico de Percy filio Thome de Percy Chivaler, salutem. Quibusdam certis de causis nos specialiter moventibus, tibi super fide et ligeancia quibus nobis teneris et sub forisfactura omnium que nobis forisfacere poteris precipimus firmiter injungentes quod statim visis presentibus Castra de Alnewyk et Werkworth per te et tuos tenta et occupata dilecto et fideli nostro Thome Neville domino de Furnyvalle quem ad illa de te recipiendum per literas nostras patentes deputavimus liberes seu liberari facias et excusacione quacumque cessante in propria persona tua penes presenciam nostram in comitiva nostra moraturus te trahas properes et festines Et hoc super fide et ligeancia tuis predictis ac sub forisfactura antedicta millatenus omittas. Teste Henrico apud Westm. vj. die Decembr. Per ipsum Regem et consilium.—*Rot. Claus.* 5 Hen. IV., pt. 1, m. 27.

⁹⁴ 'Et auxi que lez Chastell de Berwyk, Alnwyk et Warkworth sount garde par le mayn force par Monsieur William de Clifford, Monsieur Henry Percy, et Monsieur Thomas Percy, et voilliount tener lez ditez Chastell encontre vous s'ils pouront. Et auxi que lez ditez Chevaliers, &c.'—Letter from John Coppyll, Constable of Bamburgh, to Henry IV., dated Bamburgh, 13th Jan. 1404.—*Royal and Historical Letters temp. Henry IV.*, Rolls Series, i. p. 206.

⁹⁵ Wylie, *Henry IV.* i. p. 399, quoting *Rot. Parl.* iii. 523.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 402.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 450. In the *Annales Henrici Quarti*, Rolls Series, *John de Trokelowe*, etc., p. 390, two of the Earl's grandsons, Henry and Thomas, are given as

but recently arrived in Northumberland, when, on Saturday, the 3rd January, 1405, he received letters from the king desiring his presence at a Council to be held at Westminster during the week after St. Hilary's day (14th January). Instead of going, he replied from Warkworth on the 12th of January, excusing himself on the grounds of having just come home, of his great age and feebleness, and of the long and bad road in winter time. He prayed God to grant 'his very redoubtable Sovereign Lord' an honoured life, joy, and health for long to come, and signed himself 'your humble Matathyas.'⁹⁸

In the following May the Earl, no longer caring to disguise his opinions, seized the person of Robert Waterton, Esquire, whom the king had sent to him with a message, and committed him to durance vile in the castle of Warkworth.⁹⁹ He then joined the conspiracy of Archbishop Scrope, but, as in the case of Hotspur's rebellion, suffered the insurgents to be defeated before he brought up his promised levies.

At the head of an army of, it is said, thirty-seven thousand men, Henry IV. marched into Northumberland in person. He brought with him every conceivable engine of war, from the old-fashioned stone-casting catapults to the newly-invented guns, one of the latter being so large that, it was believed, no wall could withstand the missiles it hurled.¹⁰⁰ The Earl fled before him into Scotland, taking with him

the sons of Hotspur, and only one, Henry Percy of Athole, as the son of Sir Thomas Percy who died in Spain in 1386. This, however, appears to be a mistake, since Henry fitz Hotspur was then only in his tenth year, and a younger brother of his could not have been already a knight nor have taken even a nominal part in the defence of Alnwick and Warkworth.

⁹⁸ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ii. p. 103. The Earl's father is compared to Judas Maccabæus in accounts of the battle of Neville's Cross, 'Dominus Henricus Percy, ut alter Judas Machabæus filius Matathie, etc.'—*Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 350, the Matathias on that occasion being the Archbishop of York. The Earl used the same signature in his letter from Helawe in June, 1403 (see *ante* p. 100).

⁹⁹ 'Item, en le mois de Maii suisdit Henry de Percy appelle Count de Northumbrie enprisona ou fist enprisonner Robert Watertone Esquier de notre Seigneur le Roy et par luy envoiez en message a dit Henry de Percy et luy tenoit et fesoit tenir longement en prisone encontre sa voluntee en les Chastels de Werkworth Alnewic Berwyc et aillours et luy ne vailloit delivrer par mandement ne message de notre Seigneur le Roy nen autre maniere tanque Johan de Watertone frere au dit Robert fust mys en hostage pour luy.—*Rot. Parl.* 7 Hen. IV. 74.

¹⁰⁰ 'omne præparamentum belli, machinas petrarias, balistas et gunnas; quarum una tam capax fuit, ut nullus murus perferret, ut creditur, ictus ejus.'—*Annales Henrici Quarti*, Rolls Series, p. 411. The king is said to have taken a personal interest in the construction of his artillery, and the disastrous effect of his cannonade of Berwick during this campaign is attested by the reports of his son John in *Cotton MS.* Vesp. F. vii. ff. 109, 116.

his grandson Henry fitz Hotspur. After Prudhoe had fallen in the first place, the royal host

‘to Warkworth remeuid in great araye,
¶ Wher the castell with in aweke was yolde
Vnto the kyng after assautes fell and sore ;
The casteleyns to passe free wher thei would,
With horse and harnes without chalenge more.’¹⁰¹

This capitulation took place on the 1st of July. The king, writing there on the following day to acquaint the Privy Council with his success, states that the captain of the castle had announced his determination to hold it for the Earl, but that on the royal cannon being brought up they worked such destruction on the castle, that after the seventh discharge the captain and others of his company cried ‘Mercy,’ and surrendered at discretion.¹⁰² The captain appears to have been John de Middelham, who had been one of the defenders of Alnwick in 1403. With the rest of the garrison he seems to have been accorded the honourable terms mentioned by Hardyng, but in August, 1407, it was discovered that he had received a letter from the Earl of Northumberland, which he had communicated to William de Alnewyk, canon of Alnwick Abbey and vicar of Chatton, and he was accordingly arrested and condemned to death. His confession that he had transmitted the letter in question to William de Alnewyk led the canon to flee for his life to the Earl of Northumberland in Scotland, where he remained for some time. A pardon was granted to Alnewyk in April, 1408,¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Hardyng, *Chronicle*, cciii.

¹⁰² *Proc. and Ord. of P. U.*, i. p. 275 :—‘ . . . le chastel de Werkworthe et a notre venue illeques nous envoiasmes au capitain de mesme livree dicel, liquel capitain soy tenant assez fort sibien de gens comme de vitaille et de tout autre estuffe refusa outrement de le faire, disant quil vourroit garder le dit chastel al oepe du dit Conte. Et ce a nous rapp . . . pour finale response, nous envoiasmes incontinent a ycel chastel noz canones qui y firent a nous tiel service que dedeinz sept gettes, le dit capitain et tous les autres de sa compagnie criantz merci se soubmistrent a notre grace en hault et en bas, et firent a nous livree du susdit chastel a savoir le premier jour de cest mois de Juillet, dedeinz quel nous avons mis noz gens.’

¹⁰³ *De pardonacione*. Rex &c. salutem. Sciatis quod cum mense Augusti ultimo preterito quedam litera per nuper Comitem Northumbrie cuidem Johanni de Middelham nuper custodi Castri de Werkworthe in Comitatu Northumbrie missa fuisset, qui quidam Johannes literam predictam post receptionem et inspectionem ejusdem mandavit Willielmo de Alnewyk Canonico Abbatie de Alnewyke et vicario ecclesie de Chatton, ac idem Johannes ea occasione postmodum inde impetitus et morti condemnatus prefatum nuper Comitem in partes Scocie transiivit, ubi ipse diu moram traxit literam illam prefato Willielmo transmississe se confessus fuisset, quo pretextu idem Willielmus ob metum mortis et in salvacionem vite sue fugit et penes

and he eventually became Archdeacon of Salisbury and bishop first of Norwich and then of Lincoln.¹⁰⁴

Henry IV. had in 1403 appointed his third son John, then a boy of fourteen, Warden of the East March, and in 1405 he bestowed on him the Earl's forfeited baronies of Alnwick, Prudhoe, and Langley.¹⁰⁵ Warkworth, though to all appearance it remained in the hands of the crown, served often as the head-quarters of the young prince. To this period belong four letters written by him at Warkworth, principally to complain of the defenceless state of the Border in consequence of his being left without sufficient funds.¹⁰⁶ Nor can these complaints be deemed unreasonable when it is remembered that he undertook the custody of the East March for very considerably less than had been allowed to Hotspur,¹⁰⁷ and received payment with no greater regularity. In the letter to the Lords of the Council, 'written in haste at Warkworth, the 28th day of December,' he states that he had actually pawned his silver plate and his jewels for the preservation of Berwick and payment of his soldiery.¹⁰⁸ He was certainly at Warkworth Castle on the

ut dicit; Nos ob reverenciam Dei de gratia nostra speciali et ad supplicacionem ipsius Willielmi pardonavimus eidem Willielmo sectam pacis nostre que ad nos versus ipsum pertinet pro omnimodis perdicionibus insurrectionibus rebellionibus forisfactoris felonis et mesprisionibus quibuscumque per ipsum ante hec tempora factis sive perpetratis, unde ipse indictatus rectatus vel appellatus existit, ac eciam utlagarie si que in ipsum hiis occasionibus fuerint promulgate, et firmam pacem nostram ei inde concedimus. Ita tamen quod stet recto in curia nostra si qui versus eum loqui voluerint de premissis vel de aliquo premissorum. In cujus etc. Teste Rege. apud Westmonesterium xxiiij die April. Per breve de privato sigillo.—*Rot. Pat.* 9. Hen. IV. pt. 2. m. 28.

¹⁰⁴ Tate, *History of Alnwick*, I. p. 274. As bishop of Lincoln, William de Alnewyk aided the foundation of Eton College in 1440 by appropriating the parish church of Eton to its use.—Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ *Rot. Pat.* 6 Henry IV. pt. 2, m. 10.

¹⁰⁶ Of these letters that in *Cotton. MS.* Vesp. F. vii. No. 110, f. 105, addressed to the Keeper of the Privy Seal and dated 'al Chastell de Werkworth le xxvj jour de Novembre,' and the almost identical one of the same date to the king, *Ibid.* No. 111, f. 106, seem to belong to 1405, as the prince alludes in them to the fact of the castles of Berwick, Jedburgh and Fast Castle having been recently entrusted to him. In another letter to the king, 'escript en haste a vostre Chastell de Werkeworth,' also on 26th Nov., possibly in a different year, he declares that he cannot remove John Mosdale the constable from Scarborough Castle, nor interfere with the castles of Whitby and Hartlepool, which belonged to the Abbot of Whitby and Lord Clifford, without more express orders.

¹⁰⁷ 'le dit gardein . . a prise la garde de les . ville chastel et marche a meyndre prys annuelment pour le temps du guerre que Mons. Henry Percy prist en soun temps par xj^ml d. marc3 en discharge du roialme, &c.'—*Cotton MS.* Vesp. F. vii. f. 116 in *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, ii. p. 138. Sir H. Nicolas carelessly translates this 'the Duke had undertaken the Wardenship for 1,500 marks a year less than was allowed to Sir Henry Percy.'—*Ibid.* Pref. p. xiv. and *Chronological Catalogue*, p. viii.

¹⁰⁸ 'Jay mys en plege tout mon vessell dargent avec toutz mes autres poveres

1st of January, 1406, when he confirmed there the privileges of Hulne Priory by letters patent.¹⁰⁹ The castle seems to have been entrusted to the keeping of Sir Robert Umfravill in the capacity of captain; at least, on the 30th of May, 1406, the king directs him as such to restore the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, which stood about half-a-mile to the south of Warkworth, and had been held on lease by the attainted Earl of Northumberland to the prior and convent of Durham.¹¹⁰ Sir Robert appointed John Hardyng to be constable under him; and Hardyng was thus enabled to recover in the castle the letters compromising the loyalty of nearly the whole peerage of England which Hotspur had confided to his care before the battle of Shrewsbury.¹¹¹ Subsequently, the castle would appear to have become the property of the royal Warden, as John of Lancaster dates his confirmation of the Maudlins to Durham in 1413 'at *our* castle of Warkworth on the twelfth day of May in the first year of the reign of *my* very sovereign brother King Henry the Fifth.'¹¹²

Two years later, on the 21st of May, John Hull and William Chancellor received instructions from the king to conduct Murdoch of Fife, the son of the Duke of Albany, who had been a prisoner in England ever since the battle of Homildon, to the north for the purpose of exchanging him for Henry Percy, the son of Hotspur, who had been

joiaux pour lease des souldours et salvacion de la ville.'—*Cotton MS.* Vesp. F. vii. No. 113, f. 107. The *Cottonian Catalogue*, p. 498, which ascribes all four letters to 1407 on no authority, has misdated this one 28th Nov.

¹⁰⁹ 'Johannes illustris regis Angliæ filius Conestabularius Angliæ ac Custos Orientalis Marchiæ versus Scotiam &c. &c. Data sub sigillo nostro in castro de Werkeworth primo die Januarii anno regni metuendissimi domini et patris mei regis Henrici quarti post conquestum Angliæ septimo.'—*Proc. of Archæol. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. xcvi. The charter is there headed *Confirmatio domini Johannis ducis Bedfordiæ*. John of Lancaster was created Duke of Bedford and Earl of Kendal on 16th May, 1414.

¹¹⁰ 'Rex dilecto et fideli suo Roberto Umfravill capiteano castri nostri de Werkeworth &c. xxx die Maij.'—Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 142. Cf. Mandate of Henry IV. to the Receiver of Warkworth Castle to pay 20s. to the Sacrist of Durham from Warkworth Mill in the king's hands by the forfeiture of Henry late Earl of Northumberland, Westminster, 30th May, A° r. vij.—Raine, *North Durham*, App. p. 143. See also *Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, Surt. Soc. Publ. 58, p. 2.

¹¹¹ 'whiche letters I sawe in the castell of Werkeworth, when I was constable of it vnder my lord, sir Robert Vmfreveile, who had that castell of Kyng Henry his gift, by forfeiture of therle of Northumberland.'—Hardyng, *Chronicle*, cccii. ed. Ellis, 1812, p. 361.

¹¹² 'En tesmoynance &c. a nostre Chastel de Werkeworth le xij jour de may lan du regne de mon tressouverain frere le Roy Henri quint puis le conquest primer.' The seal is inscribed 'sigill . . . iohannis filii henrici regis.'—Raine, *North Durham*, App. p. 143.

left in Scotland by his grandfather, and letters ordering them to receive Murdoch were written to the constable of Warkworth and to Sir Robert Umfravill;¹¹³ while on the 27th of July, 1415, Henry V., just before setting sail for Honfleur and Agincourt, granted at Southampton an annuity of 3,000 marks to his brother John, whom he had created the Duke of Bedford, in compensation for the lands that he intended to restore to Henry Percy. The exchange of Murdoch for Percy fell through, and it was not until the 28th of February, 1416, that Lord Grey of Codnor and Sir John Nevill really received Percy at Berwick from the hands of Albany's agents.¹¹⁴ On the 18th of March following Henry Percy did homage to the king in parliament, and was, he tells the prior of Durham, 'restored to my name' as Earl of Northumberland.¹¹⁵ On the 14th of April an order was issued to the bailiffs and farmers to admit him to the possession of all lands granted in tail to his father or the Earl his grandfather. That same year he was made Warden of the East March, and the castle of Warkworth seems to have become his favourite home. Here he confirmed the rights of Hulne Priory on the 3rd of October, 1417, in a charter of which Sir Robert Umfravill is the first witness;¹¹⁶ and here his son,

¹¹³ 'A n're ch' & b'n ame le conestable de n're chastell' de ('Bamburgh' *erased*) Warkworth' &c.—*Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, ii. p. 161.

¹¹⁴ *Deputy-Keeper's 43rd Report*, App. I. p. 581. The precise date is recorded in the Little Pedigree of the Percy Family at Alnwick Castle, compiled in the time of the 4th Earl of Northumberland:—'Anno dni MCCCCX^o iij^o kk marcii introivit Henricus Percy comes secundus in Angliam apud Berwyke super Twedam et eodem anno desponsavit Alianoram filiam Rad' Nevyle.' The year 1414 was Leap Year; and, according to this, the marriage of Henry the 2nd Earl must have taken place between the 28th of February and the 25th of March, 1416, thus fully corroborating the statement of the *Whitby Register*, Harl. MS. 692, xxvi. f. 235, that Henry Percy's restoration to the Earldom was due to the intercession of his mother-in-law the Countess of Westmoreland. The melodramatic account of this marriage given in the *Hermit of Warkworth* is on a par with the rest of the ballad.

¹¹⁵ 'restitut a moun nome.'—Letter of Henry Earl of Northumberland to the Prior of Durham, dated London 23rd of March (1414¹⁵), preserved in the Treasury, Durham, loc. 25, 146. *Seal gone*. The date of the Earl's restoration is generally incorrectly given as the 16th of March. During his detention in Scotland, he witnessed as Henry de Perci a charter (now in the possession of the Duke of Argyll) granted at Stirling, 18th Jan., 1413, to Duncan Lord Campbell by his father-in-law Robert Duke of Albany.—*Hist. MSS. Comm.* App. 4th Report, 1873, p. 470.

¹¹⁶ *Confirmatio domini Henrici de Percy sexti*. Pateat universis per præsentis quod nos Henricus de Percy comes Northumbriæ filius et hæres domini Henrici de Percy chivaler nuper defuncti &c. &c. Hiis testibus Roberto Umfraville, Roberto de Ogle, Johanne de Woddryngton, Willielmo de Whytchester, Thoma de Gray de Horton militibus, et multis aliis. Data apud castrum nostrum de Werkworth tertio die mensis Octobris anno Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum Angliæ quinto.—*Proc. of Archæol. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. c.

John Percy, was born on St. Grimbald's day (8th July) 1418.¹¹⁷ In the Treasury of Durham are preserved five letters of this period dated from Warkworth Castle, though the years are unfortunately not given. In one (6. Mar. 14...) addressed 'To oure right dere and with all oure hert enterly wele be lovede Sire in god the Lord Prioure of Duresme' the Earl of Northumberland, having, as he says, previously applied for 'licence and lefe' unto his priest Sir John of Warmouth 'to permutate with the vycar of Byllynghame,' offers 'to be bonden with other knyghtes and squyers' that Warmouth 'sall be of gude beryng unto' the prior and all his tenants and parishioners.¹¹⁸ This letter not producing the desired effect, the Earl wrote again, this time to the prior and convent and in French, on the 11th of March;¹¹⁹ this second letter was supported by one of the same date from his countess who equally betrays her eagerness to have the vicar of Billingham for chaplain in Warmouth's stead.¹²⁰ Notwithstanding these importunities the exchange seems never to have been effected. On the Earl's second letter the seal of his signet still remains bearing a *lion sejant guardant, gorged with a crescent*, and the motto *ie espoir*; that of the countess on her letter has a sprig in flower enclosed in a crescent inscribed with *l'esperance*.¹²¹ Another time the Earl (21st July, 14...) informs the prior and convent that his 'Squier and Cousin William Strother hath a son whiche occupieth ye Scoles at Oxenford called Henry Strother' his 'Sybman,' and asks 'that unto some benefice' of their 'colacion' they 'woule vouchesave aftre y^e preferment' of his 'clerk maistre George Radcliff specially to have him recommended.'¹²² In the fifth of these Warkworth

¹¹⁷ Collins, *Peerage*, 1812, II. p. 280, quoting Cavell's Roll. The most excellent and detailed account of the Percy family there given is generally supposed to have been written by Bishop Percy. St. Grimbald was a monk of St. Bertin at the time King Alfred was entertained in the abbey on his way to Rome. He was invited over to England by Alfred in 885, and became abbot of the secular canons of Newminster at Winchester, where he died in 903.

¹¹⁸ Original Letter in the Treasury, Durham, loc. 25, 159.

¹¹⁹ 'Escript a nostre Chastell de Warkeworth le xj^{me} jour de marce.'—*Ibid.* loc. 25, 160. The Pope, the Earl declares, would readily grant the license in question. 'John Weremouth, chaplain,' is mentioned in the will of John Stockdale of Newcastle, 8th April, 1416.—Welford, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, 14th and 15th Cent. p. 260.

¹²⁰ Original Letter in the Treasury, Durham, loc. 25, 144.

¹²¹ See Longstaffe, *Percy Heraldry*, in *Arch. Æl.* N.S. iv. pp. 157–228.

¹²² Original Letter in the Treasury, Durham, loc. 25, 164.

letters (15th Aug., 14 . .) the Earl requests that the bearer, John del Wardrobe, a poor and aged man, may be presented to the first vacancy in the conventual almshouses at Durham.¹²³

Warkworth next appears as the scene of more important negotiations: from it the Bishop of Durham, William Alnewyk, and Lord Scrope write to the king of Scots on 23rd August, 1425, respecting a prolongation of the existing truce and Sir Robert Umfravill's mission to his court.¹²⁴

In 1428, the Earl of Northumberland granted the hospital of St. Leonard at Alnwick to the abbot and canons there with the reservation of an annual payment of five marks for his chantry recently founded in his castle of Warkworth.¹²⁵ The will of William Stowe of Ripon, an old retainer of the Percies, dated 1430, mentions his 'bed of red' and breastplate at Warkworth.¹²⁶ Finally, the second Earl of Northumberland here confirmed the fishing rights given to Alnwick Abbey by John de Vesci on the 14th Sept., 1441,¹²⁷ and on the 12th Oct., 1450, bestowed on it the advowson of the church of Leckonfield.¹²⁸

¹²³ *Ibid.* loc. 25, 149.

¹²⁴ *Proc. and Ord. of Privy Council*, iii. p. 171. Sir H. Nicolas there erroneously styles William de Alnewyk, at that time probably Archdeacon of Salisbury (see *ante* p. 108), Lord Alnewyk.

¹²⁵ 'Et nos dictus Henricus de concessu dicti Abbatis et Conventus, reservamus nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris, de proventibus præfati hospitalis, quinque marcas legalis monetæ Angliæ, per eosdem Abbatem et Conventum solvendas quolibet anno imperpetuum, per duos anni terminos, Pentecostes videlicet, et Sancti Martini in hyeme, æquis porcionibus, Cantariæ nostræ nuper fundatæ in Castello nostro de Warkworthe Datum in Castello nostro de Warkworthe, xxvi^{to} die mensis Februarii, Anno Domini M^oCCCC^oxxviij^o.'—*Lansdowne MS.* 326 in Tate, *Alnwick*, ii. App. p. xxii. There seems to be no entry of the foundation of this chantry in Bishop Langley's Register. Tate (ii. p. 41) is mistaken in supposing that the obligation of paying the five marks was removed in 1457. It was not removed till 1532.

¹²⁶ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii. Surt. Soc. Publ. 30, pp. 12, 13.

¹²⁷ 'Datum sub sigillo nostro apud Werkworth, quarto decimo die mensis Septembris, anno R. R. Henrici sexti post conquestum Angliæ xx^o.'—*Lansdowne MS.* 326 in Tate, *Alnwick*, ii. App. p. xiv. See also *Hist. MSS. Com.* 3rd Report, App. 1872, p. 47.

¹²⁸ Noveritis nos Henricum Comitem Northumbriæ. et dominum Honoris Cockkirmouth, ac consortem suam ex consensu et assensu Henrici primogeniti nostri, intuitu charitatis, et pro salute animarum nostrarum, patrum, matrum, et omnium antecessorum nostrorum, et specialiter pro salute animæ excellentissimi principis et domini nostri, Henrici quinti, quondam Regis Angliæ &c. &c. Hiis testibus Johanne Priore de Tynmouthe, Willelmo Priore de Brenkburne, Radulpho Percy filio nostro, Roberto Ogle, Henrico Fenwyke, militibus, Rogero Thornton, Willelmo Bartrame, Ricardo Albroughe, et Johanne Cartintonne, Armigeris. Datum apud Werkworthe, xij^o die mensis. Octobris, Anno Domini M^oCCCC^o L^o.'—*Lansdowne MS.* 326 in Tate, *Alnwick*, ii. App. p. xxiii.

The priors of Tynemouth and Brinkburn, Sir Robert Ogle, Sir Henry Fenwick, Roger Thornton, William Bertram, Richard Albrough, and John Cartington attested this last charter.

Both the 2nd and the 3rd Earls of Northumberland fell in battle for the Red Rose. Warkworth, according to the chronicle of John Warkworth, was one of the castles which the Lancastrians retained after the defeat of Towton in 1461, and 'vytaled and stuffed both with Englischemenne, Frenschemenne, and Scottesmenne; by the which castelles thei hade the moste party of alle Northumberland.'¹²⁹ However, on the 10th of August, 1462, Edward IV. granted the castle manor and lordship of Warkworth to his brother George Duke of Clarence.¹³⁰ In the following December, Warkworth was the headquarters of the king-making Earl of Warwick, from which he directed the sieges of Bamburgh, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh, which were in the possession of the Lancastrians. 'My Lord of Warwyk,' writes John Paston the youngest to his brother John Paston the younger from Newcastle on the 10th of that month, 'lythe at the castyll of Warcorthe, but iij. myle owt of Alnewyk, and he rydyth dayly to all thes castelys for to overse the segys; and if they want vataylys, or any other thyng, he is redy to pervey it for them to hys power. The kyng comandyd my Lord of Norfolk for to condyth vetaylys and the ordynans owt of New Castyll on to Warcorthe Castyll; to my Lord of Warwyk; and so my Lord of Norfolk comandyd Syr John Howard, Syr William Peche, Syr Robert Chamberlyen, Rafe Ascheton, and me, Calthorp and Gorge, and othyr, for to go forthe with the vytylys and ordynans on to my Lord of Warwyk; and so we wer with my Lord of Warwyk with the ordynans and the vytylys yesterdaye.'¹³¹ The Lords

¹²⁹ Warkworth, *Chronicle*, Camden Soc. Publ. 10, p. 2. John Warkworth was Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1473-1498. His picture in a clerical habit holding an open book with both hands, is in the Library, with the distich underneath:—

'Vives adoptata gaudeto prole; probato

Non cuiunque libet, progenuisse licet.'—*Ibid.* Introd. p. xxv.

In the new stained glass of the windows of the college hall his arms are given as those of Clavering, *Quarterly or and gu. a bend sa.*

¹³⁰ *Rot. Pat.* 2 Ed. IV. pt. 1. m. 3. It is said that this grant of Warkworth and other estates of the Percies was made for the purpose of enabling Clarence to support the dignity of Lieutenant of Ireland, and that Robert the first Lord Ogle was appointed constable of Warkworth and other castles under him.—Mackenzie, *Northumberland*, ii. p. 113. Does the sign of the principal hostelry of Warkworth 'The Sun,' perpetuate the well-known badge of the House of York and also of the Ogles, its chief supporters in the North.

¹³¹ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. p. 121.

Crumwell, Grey of Codnor, and Wenlock, were at Warkworth with the Earl of Warwick at about this time,¹³² nor does it appear that Warkworth ever fell again into the hands of the Lancastrians.

On 27th May, 1464, Warwick's brother, John Nevill Lord Mountague, the victor of Hexham, was created Earl of Northumberland.¹³³ Warkworth may have been practically entrusted to Mountague in his capacity of Warden of the Marches, for on the 7th of December (1464-1469), under the style of 'The Earle of Northumberland and Lord Mountague, wardin,' he writes 'at my Castle att Warkworth' to Sir John Mauleverer, desiring him to cause Thomas Wade and Richard Croft to cease threatening to beat or slay the servants of Sir William Plumpton.¹³⁴

On 27th October, 1469, Henry Percy, the eldest son of the third Earl of Northumberland, swore fealty to Edward IV. at Westminster, and was consequently released from confinement in the Tower.¹³⁵ The following spring the Duke of Clarence engaged with the Earl of Warwick in a conspiracy for the restoration of Henry VI.; and on 2nd March, 1470, Warkworth and other forfeited estates of the Percies which had been granted to them appear to have been resumed by Edward IV.¹³⁶ John Nevill is said to have surrendered his title of Earl of Northumberland, and on 25th March he was advanced to the Marquisate of Mountague.¹³⁷ The very next day the custody of all hereditaments which had belonged to the third Earl of Northumberland, and had recently been possessed by the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick, was entrusted by Edward IV. to Sir Henry Percy,¹³⁸

¹³² 'My lord of Warwick lieth at Warkworth, and with him the Lord Crumwell, the Lord Grey of Codnor and my Lord Wenlok.'—*Excerpta Historica*, Bentley, p. 365, from *Cotton Charters*, xvii. 10.

¹³³ *Rot. Pat.* 4 Ed. iv. pt. 1. m. 10; Ridpath, *Border History*, 1810, p. 428, suggests by the 26th May. The 'county of Northumberland' was not granted to 'John Nevill Earl of Northumberland' till 28 July, 1466.—*Rot. Pat.* 6 Ed. iv. pt. 1. m. 4.

¹³⁴ *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Soc. Publ. 1839, p. 25.

¹³⁵ Rymer, *Fœdera* xi. 649.

¹³⁶ Cotton, *Abridgement of the Records*, 1657, p. 689.

¹³⁷ John Earl of Northumberland had received a grant of certain castles, etc., in Devon and other counties on 19 Feb. 1470.—*Rot. Pat.* 9 Ed. iv. pt. 2. m. 6.

¹³⁸ 'Rex concessit Henrico Percy militi, custodiam omnium hereditamentorum que fuerunt Henrici ultimi comitis Northumbriæ ac nuper Georgii, ducis Clarencie, ac Ricardi com. Warr. apud Ebor. xxvj die Marcii'.—*Rot. Pat.* 10 Ed. iv. m. 12. The Earl of Warwick had been granted the castle and honour of Cockermouth with its members, etc., in Cumberland, and other estates in West-

and he was soon afterwards appointed Warden of the East and Middle Marches.¹³⁹ In the September of the same year the restoration of Henry VI. was actually effected, and while it lasted Sir Henry Percy naturally bore his father's title. The battle of Barnet, 14th April, 1471, replaced Edward IV. on the throne; but though Percy had, owing to the complications of his position with regard to the Marquis of Mountague, who had turned Lancastrian, passively, at any rate, aided Edward's return, he was not styled Earl of Northumberland by the Yorkists till August 1471.¹⁴⁰ The Earl received William Johnson, a Scot, to be an English subject at Warkworth on the 10th of April, 1475.¹⁴¹ Three letters, evidently his, 'written in my castell of Warkworth' to his cousin Sir Robert Plumpton are still extant; in that of the 15th of June (1483-8) he asks Plumpton to reconcile his servant Thomas Saxston and Richard Ampleford of Spofford,¹⁴² and on the 16th of July (1483-8) he attempts 'the peacifying of a grudge depending betwixt' Plumpton and Sir William Beckwith.¹⁴³ The letter of the 31st of July (1486-9) relates to matters connected with the administration of the lordship of Knaresborough.¹⁴⁴

moreland, Yorkshire, etc., on 11 Apr. 1465.—*Ibid.* 5 Ed. iv. pt. 1. m. 14. In the *Calendar* 'Cumberland' has been misprinted 'Northumberland'.

¹³⁹ 'Henricus Percy filius Henrici nuper comitis Northumbriæ constituitur custos Marchiæ orientalis et mediæ Angliæ, 17 Jul. 10 Ed. iv. (1470).—*Rot. Scot.* II. p. 422. The Middle March is here mentioned for the first time.

¹⁴⁰ The Marquess of Mountague was made Warden of the East March in place of Percy by Henry VI. 22 Oct. 1470; *Sir Henry Percy* was reappointed Warden of the East and Middle Marches by Edward IV. 12 June, 1471, and as *Henry Earl of Northumberland* he appears in a commission for treating of truces with Scotland, 26 Aug. 1471.—*Ibid.* pp. 425, 428, 430. On 19 Aug. 1472 he was summoned to Parliament as Earl of Northumberland, but it is recorded then, in that very parliament which met on 12 Oct. 1472, that 'Henrie Percie, Knight, son and heir to Henry Percie, late Lord of Northumberland, is restored in bloud to the said Earldome, and to all such hereditaments of the same Earl as came to the King's hands the second day of March, in Ann. 9, Edward IV., and the attainder made against the said Earl Ann. 1, Edw. IV. is made void'.—Cotton, *Abridgement*. According to strict Peerage law no less than four Earldoms of Northumberland appear to have been conferred on the Percies of the Louvain line, (i.) the Earldom created by Charter of Ric. II., 16 July, 1377, forfeited by the attainder of the 1st Earl, June, 1406, (ii.) the Earldom created by Charter of Hen. V., 1416 (*Ann. of House of Percy*, i. p. 536 n.), and forfeited in 1537 in consequence of the attainder of Sir Thomas Percy, (iii.) the Earldom created by Ed. IV. between 12 June and 26 Aug. 1471 and probably surrendered before 12 Oct. 1472, and (iv.) the Earldom created 1 May, 1557, and extinct on 21 May, 1670.

¹⁴¹ *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. clvi. from the original at Syon.

¹⁴² *Plumpton Correspondence*, Camden Soc. Publ. 1839, p. 76. Robert Plumpton was knighted by the Duke of Gloucester at Berwick 22 Aug. 1482. The Earl was murdered by a mob near Thirsk 28 Apr. 1489.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* pp. 72-73.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 81. Sir Robert Plumpton acted as deputy for the Earl at Knaresborough from 4 Mar. 1486, p. 79 b.

There seems to be nothing to show that the 5th Earl of Northumberland, who so carefully regulated his magnificent establishments at Wrressil and Leckonfield, was much at Warkworth.¹⁴⁵ His son Henry the Unthrifty, the 6th Earl, the lover of Anne Boleyn in his youth, made Warkworth the northern home of his latter years. On the 3rd of Sept., 1529, he writes from this castle to the Duke of Norfolk to say that he has put to death all the Scots of Teviotdale that came into his hands except three, and that the proclamation he had just made has been well observed in the Marches, 'appearing thereby unto me that they dread more the pain of mony than their lives.'¹⁴⁶ The next year, on the 4th of August, he confirmed here the charters of Hulne Priory;¹⁴⁷ and on the 3rd of December, 1531, granted to his chaplain, Sir George Lancaster, 'myn armytage bilded in a rock of stone within my parke of Warkworth . . . in the honour of the blessed Trynete.'¹⁴⁸ He released the abbot and convent of Alnwick, at Hackney, 26th March, 1532, from the obligation, imposed on them by the 2nd Earl in 1427, of maintaining a chantry priest in Warkworth Castle, and from the penalties they were subject to for not having done so in his grandfather's, his father's, and his own time.¹⁴⁹ Writing to Henry VIII. from Warkworth on Tuesday the 22nd October, 1532, he tells the king that Mark Carr had openly promised the Earl of Murray before the King of Scots 'that within 5 dayes after he wolde burne a touné of myne within thre myle of my poore house of Werkwourthe where I lye, and gif me light to

¹⁴⁵ 'An Account of all the Deer in the Parks and Forests in the North belonging to the Earl of Northumberland taken in the 4th year of Hen. VIII. Anno 1512' states that there were then 150 fallow deer in Warkworth Park and 144 in Acklington Park.—*Northumberland Household Book*, p. 425.

¹⁴⁶ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.*, vol. iv., p. 2645.

¹⁴⁷ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 3rd Report, App. p. 47.

¹⁴⁸ *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 227 n. By letters patent dated 7th January, 1532, the Earl appointed Robert Horsley for life to be Keeper of the Gates of the castle of Warkworth, at a salary of 60s. 8d. annually, seneschal of the castle at 26s. 8d., and superintendent of the park paling at 13s. 4d. He probably about the same time appointed Cuthbert Carnaby constable of the castle for life at £10 a year.—*Ministers Accounts*, 30-31 Hen. VIII. No. 222.

¹⁴⁹ 'Et insuper sciatis nos præfatum comitem pro nobis et hæredibus meis relaxasse et quiete clamasse imperpetuum prædictis Abbati Conventui et successoribus suis de omnibus et singulis arreagiis ante diem confectionis præsentium non solutis, tam in diebus avi nostri et patris nostri quam in diebus nostris quæ solvi debuerunt annuatim ex proventibus Hospitalis Sancti Leonardi pro sustentacione salario et stipendio unius presbiteri imperpetuum celebraturi infra Castellum nostrum de Warkeworth.'—Tate, *Alnwick*, ii. App. p. xxiv.

put on my clothes at mydnyght.¹⁵⁰ In the following spring a letter from Lawson to Cromwell informs us (21st Feb., 1533) that though the Scots had not down to that day carried their threatened invasion into effect, the whole Council had repaired to the Lord Warden at Warkworth.¹⁵¹

A short time before his death at Hackney, on 29th June, 1537, the unhappy Earl, much in the same way as Agricola constituted Domitian his co-heir, gave his estates to Henry VIII., in the hope of their being some day restored to the family of his brother Sir Thomas Percy, who had been attainted and executed for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace.¹⁵²

Warkworth having thus passed into the hands of the crown, in the spring following Richard Bellysys, Robert Collingwood, and John Horsley, esquires, commissioned by the king, drew up, with the assistance of 'dyuers artificiers,' a report on the condition of five of the royal castles in Northumberland in order that it might be seen what things were 'most nedfull to be reparyd and a mendyd for strenth and gud sure holdyng and keypyng of thes castelles.' To their labours we owe

THE VIEU OF THE CASTELL OF WARKWORTH.¹⁵³

'The wich Castell is a very propre howse and has within it a gudly draw well, a payre of yron gaytts and a postern gayt of yron And the said Castell is in good reparacion saveynge this thyngs followynge.

'Fyrste, ther is a new wall at the est syde of the gaythouse wych wall is not fully fynessyd and by estimacion xx *li* wolde fynesse it.

'It. ther is a fayre kychynge, wich wantts a part of the coverynge, and a fother and a half of leyde wold amend it sufficyantly. For the plumbers wages xvij s.

'It. ther is a fayre brewhowse and a bakhouse coveryd with sclatts and two fayre stabylls with garners a bove thame, coveryd also with sclatts, wich howsse must be poynttyd with lym, and amendyt with sclatts in dyvers places liij s iiij *d*.

'It. ther is a marvellus proper dongeon of viij towres; all joyned

¹⁵⁰ *State Papers, Hen. VIII.* Vol. IV. part iv. p. 622.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* IV. p. 637 n.

¹⁵² *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. p. 472.

¹⁵³ *Chapter House Books*, B₂₄ P.R.O.

in on howse togethers and well coveryd with leyd, saveynge on¹⁵⁴ of the said viij towres which must have for mendyng of fylletts and webbes¹⁵⁵ half a fother of leyd. For the plumber's wages xij s.

'It. the gret tymbere¹⁵⁶ the dynynge chamber and a littyll chamber over the gaytts wher the Erle lay hymself: mych of thes thre chambers royffs must be new castyn, the leyd of thaym. For it raynes very mych in theym. And two fothers of leyd to the leyds that is of the said royffs wold amend theym sufficiencyntly; and for the charges of plumbers wages vj li.

'It. for makynge of a horsse mylne x li.

'Sum totale xl li iij s iij d.

'And over and above the
said sum ther must be } iij fother of leyd.'
for the said Castell

The Constable of Warkworth was then Cuthbert Carnaby, esquire, who with his servants Leonard Myres, Robert Kellett, and Robert Davison, and George Carr, keeper of Warkworth Park, attended the Muster held at Alnwick on the 17th and 18th of April, 1538.¹⁵⁷ He was also the King's Receiver, and as such laid out £15 17s. 7d. that year on the repair of divers towers, the great stable and other buildings within the castle, as also on the embattlement of the south wall and the repair of the great barn.¹⁵⁸

About this time John Leland the Antiquary Royal made his tour through the North of England. 'Werkeworthe castell,' he tells us, 'stondythe on the southe syde of coquet watar, it is well maynteyned

¹⁵⁴ i.e. one.

¹⁵⁵ It is difficult to understand the exact meaning of the 'fillets and webs' of a lead roof.

¹⁵⁶ *Sic.* 'Chambre' was no doubt intended. A word following it that may have been 'of' has been inked over.

¹⁵⁷ *Arch. Æl.* IV, p. 162.

¹⁵⁸ '*Reparaciones.* Et in consimilibus denariis per ipsum Receptorem solutis pro diversis Reparacionibus factis et apposis in et super diversas turres magnum stabulum et alia edificia infra castrum domini Regis de Warkeworth hoc anno, ut in vadiis plumbatorum carpentariorum lathamorum et aliorum operancium in eadem reparacione cum empicione plumbi le Sowder tegularum vocatarum slates diversarum serarum cum clavibus et clavorum de diversis sortibus cum imbatillacione muri lapidei ex-austuali parte ejusdem castri cum reparacione magni orei ibidem ut patet per librum predictum super hunc compotum restitutum. xvli. xvijs. vijd.'—'The account of Cuthbert Carnaby, King's receiver of all castles, lands, etc. acquired by the King from Henry Earl of Northumberland in the county of Northumberland from Michaelmas 30 Henry VIII. to Michaelmas 31 Henry VIII.,' in *Min. Acc.* 30-31 Hen. VIII, No. 222.

and is large, it longed to the erle of northomberland it stondithe on a highe hill the whiche for the more parte is includyd with the ryver, and is about a mile from the se, ther is a plety (*sic*) towne, and at the towne ende is a stone bridge withe a towre on it.¹⁵⁹

The sanitary condition of prisoners in the dungeons of mediæval castles must have been terrible in the extreme. On the 8th of December, 1538, the Council of the North write from York to Henry VIII.:—'Dyvers of the prisoners latelye taken by Sir Reynolde Carnabye knight, and ymprisoned within youre castell of Warkworthe be there dede of the plague. And amongis others oone Jerrye Charleton, *alias* Jerrye Topping, the oonlye accuser of John Herone of Chipchas, and of suche others the murderers of Roger Fenewike, late murdered in Tynedale, is yet leving, and is indicted of sundrie robries.'¹⁶⁰

Cuthbert Carnaby accounts in 1540 for the expenditure of 68s. 8d. on new paling for Warkworth park, and of £4 18s. 10d. on repairs to the castle.¹⁶¹ In 1541 the sum of 116s. 2d. was laid out on repairs to divers edifices within the castle and to the 'dungeon,' being the wages of bricklayers, slaters, and carpenters, together with the 'emundacion' of the 'dungeon' against the arrival of the Duke of Norfolk.¹⁶²

In spite of the recent plague among the prisoners, Warkworth must have been considered exceptionally healthy. During the serious outbreak of 'a hot and dangerous ague' at Alnwick in 1543, Lord Parr of Kendal, the brother of the last and most fortunate wife of Henry VIII., then Warden of the Marches, chose Warkworth on this very account for his residence. 'As the place moost holsome and clere from all enfec-tions,' he writes from Newcastle on the 24th of May, 'I ame determyned for a tyme to make myne abode at the Kingis Majestes castell of Wark-wourthe, but foure myles at the moost from Alnewik, the whiche being somme thing decayed and out of reperation, I have partelie caused to

¹⁵⁹ See *ante* p. 27.

¹⁶⁰ *State Papers*, Hen. VIII. Vol. V. p. 142.

¹⁶¹ *Min. Acc.* 31-32 Hen. VIII. No. 256.

¹⁶² 'Et in denariis per dictum Receptorem solutis pro Reparacione hoc anno facta super diversa edificia et le dungeon infra Castrum domini Regis de Warke-worthe ut in vadiis lathamorum Tegulatorum et Carpentariorum cum empcione Tegularum et diversarum serarum cum Clavibus et aliis ferramentis cum Emundacione le dungeon erga adventum ducis Northfolksensis illuc venientis ut in eodem libro plenius continetur. cxvjs. ijd.'—*Min. Acc.* 32-33 Hen. VIII. No. 216. In 1542 John Falconer receives 17s. 4d. for the park paling and £9 6s. 2d. is entered for repairs to the castle.—*Ibid.* 33-34 Hen. VIII. No. 264.

bee apperelled and put in redines, and my preparations to be conveyed thiddre, whiche I doubte not shalbee fullie perfourmed and furnished within thies eight daies; whiche done, I entende to repaire thiddre, and there to reside, and from thens to remove to the castell of Alnewik, as the infections or infirmities there shall sease, and thoccasions shall require.'¹⁶³

In preparing for Lord Parr's visit Robert Horseley the seneschal of Warkworth laid out 15s. 2d. on the 'emundacion' of the great hall, the kitchen, and divers chambers. It is curious that while Norfolk in 1541 occupied the donjon, Parr in 1543 seems to have chosen to reside in the range of buildings connected with the great hall. Between the 17th of May and the 11th of August, a further sum of £40 was spent on repairs to the houses, brewhouses, towers, and buildings within the castle, Parr himself vouching for the items of this expenditure. In addition to this, £12 12s. 9d. was employed under his directions between 7th of July and 25th of October in paying carpenters, masons, and smiths, and for the repairing of tents and pavilions.¹⁶⁴

Sir Ralph Eure, a brave young soldier, the son of the Deputy-Warden Sir William, prays the Earl of Hertford, in a letter dated Warkworth 7th June, 1544, that his father being 'somewhat crossside' may remain at home this time, and that he may conduct 'the exploit' in his stead. He also would be glad if his lordship could spare him 'his Trompyte,' and if it were possible that he might have him on Monday morning by six or seven of the clock for 'it should be a grete encouragement for our men and a discourage for the Scotts.'¹⁶⁵ Jed-

¹⁶³ *State Papers*, Hen. VIII. Vol. V. p. 299.

¹⁶⁴ 'Et in diversis Reparacionibus super domos pandoxataria turres et edificia infra castrum domini Regis de Werkeworthe factis et appositis per mandatum domini Willielmi Parre gardiani generalis marchiarum Anglie versus Scociam a xvij^{mo} die Maii anno xxxv^{to} Regis Henrici octavi ad xj^{um} diem Augusti proximo sequentis ut patet [per] unum quaternum papiri de particulis inde factis manu propria ejusdem Willielmi Parre subscriptum continens summam xl l et pro consimilibus reparacionibus factis super dictum castrum inter vij^{um} diem Julii et xxv^{um} diem Octobris eodem Anno ut in vadiis Carpentariorum Cementariorum Fabrorum Variatorum et Sissorum Reparancium les tentes et pavilions ibidem per Warrantum manu Willielmi Domini Parre predicti Receptori directum super hunc computum ostensum penes Edwardum Edgare auditorem remanens ut patet [per] unum alium quaternum papiri Manu Jacobi Kokebye subscriptum inde restitutum continens xij l xij s ix d ob. ac pro reparacione facta per Robertum Horseley prepositum Castri ibidem super emundacione magne aule coquine et diversarum Camerarum ante adventum dicti domini Parre illuc venientis ut patet [per] unam billam de particulis inde factis continentem summam xv s ij d, in toto &c liij l vij s xj d.'—*Min. Acc.* 34-35 Hen. VIII. No. 227.

¹⁶⁵ *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Report 1883, Hatfield Papers, part 1, p. 43.

burgh and Kelso were burnt in this 'exploit,' but Sir Ralph closed his brilliant career on Ancrum Moor in the following February.

After Somerset's return to England from his victory at Pinkey Cleugh, William Lord Grey of Wilton, whom he had left as the king's lieutenant on the Borders, wrote to him from Berwick on the 18th of October, 1547, announcing his intention of removing to Warkworth till the spring:—'I fynde in the litle tyme that I have lyen upon thies frontiers such a Skarcyte folowing bothe of horsemeate and vittayles that in case I lye here all this wynter with the men at armes and demi launces, in the spring of the yeare when for service sake we must perforce lye here it shall not be had to furnyshe us. Wherefore I meane (yf your grace shalbe so pleased) for this Depe of Wynter to remove to Warkworth Castle, and towards the spring to repayre hither agayne. I trust your grace woll not conceave that I move this for my owne ease but for the reasonable causes afforesaid.'¹⁶⁶ Accordingly, beginning with 20th December, 1547, and ending with 20th April, 1548, most of Lord Grey's correspondence is dated from Warkworth Castle.¹⁶⁷ The administration of the Borders was in great financial straits, but John Uvedale, the treasurer for the garrisons in the North, was enabled to inform the Protector Somerset from Newcastle, 15th December, 1547, that he had appointed £500 to be delivered by his servant at Warkworth Castle,¹⁶⁸ and John Brende, the Muster-Master for the Northern Ports, despatched a letter to the Protector from Warkworth on 9th April, 1548, with the intelligence that 'the mariners had been mustered by the Lord Lieutenant and paid by Mr. Uvedale.'¹⁶⁹ In Sir Robert Bowes's *Book of the State of the Marches*, Warkworth is mentioned in 1550 as one of the royal castles going rapidly to decay on account of no annual repairs being done to them. John Shafto was then constable.¹⁷⁰

Queen Mary having, on the 1st of May, 1557, created Thomas Percy, nephew of the 6th Earl, Earl of Northumberland by a new patent, restored to him Warkworth among other estates of his family. On 20th January, 1558, he informs the Queen in a letter from Warkworth;

¹⁶⁶ *State Papers*, Scotland, Ed. VI. vol. ii. No. 11.

¹⁶⁷ *Calendar of State Papers*, Scotland 1509-1603, I. pp. 72-85.

¹⁶⁸ *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic Addenda 1547-1565, p. 350.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 380.

¹⁷⁰ *State Papers*, Dom. Add. Ed. VI. vol. iv. No. 30; Hodgson, *Northumberland*, III. i. pp. 244, 246, from *Cotton. MS.* Titus F. 13.

'Yesterday I saw six sail of ships pass towards Scotland, seeming to be those you advertised me of.'¹⁷¹ Writing thence again on the 30th of April, he gives her an account of how he had devised with his brother on the Thursday previous to burn Langton in the Merse, where the Lieutenant of Scotland was then lodged, and of the fray with Lord Home which arose from this raid.¹⁷² After the accession of Elizabeth, he concluded with the Earl of Bothwell a deed for abstinence of war at Warkworth on March the 29th,¹⁷³ and he acknowledges from there on 13th May, 1559, the instructions he had received for settling certain articles about Scotland in accordance with the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis.¹⁷⁴

By direction of Earl Thomas; George Clarkson made a Survey of Warkworth in 1567,¹⁷⁵ which furnishes a full and most valuable account of the state of the castle:—

'The castell of Warkworth ys situate one the Ryver of cockett, one the sowth syde of the same Ryver ys one litle mount partly mad by nature of the ground with the course of the said Ryver one the west syde and on theast and north sydes with moytes casten and mad by mens worke, and one the sowth part ys the waye and passadge to and from the sayd castell by two severall wayes, one of the w^{ch} two passadges were good to be mad use, that is the waye that goyth towards the sowth by the Loyninge were most expedyent thendes of the said Loyninge strongly ditched casten or made wth stone wall, and the hye streate to be made to goo thorow the demaynes and the same casten in a Loyning there wth a stronge Quickwood hedge casten of eyther syde the stones of thold cawseye taken awaye and a cawseye newly made wthin that ground of the saide demaynes viz. from the northende of a medowe close called Tybbettes close¹⁷⁶ eastward to one hye waye that goyth to the gate of the demaynes, and alonge the same

¹⁷¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, Dom. Add. 1547-1565, p. 468.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* p. 474.

¹⁷³ *Cotton. MS.* Caligula. B. x. 3.

¹⁷⁴ *Calendar of State Papers*, Scotland 1509-1603, I. p. 108.

¹⁷⁵ This Survey, so far as relates to the castle, is here printed from the *Original MS.* at Alnwick Castle. The versions of it given in Grose, *Antiquities*, IV. p. 154, and Hartshorne, *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 206 n., are full of minor inaccuracies.

¹⁷⁶ Tybbettes Close can still be identified to the south of the castle; but to clearly understand the meaning of the altered approach proposed by Clarkson requires a 'Situationsplan' of the castle before the present high-road, haw-haw, etc., were made.

waye to the sayd gate w^{ch} might be done wth small chardges, and that done, the parke wold not onely be on that syde well inclosed the dear have feadinge nighe the gate of the sayd castell but also yt shold be a great strength to the sayd parke, castell and groundes joyninge upon the same a better passadge than that that nowe ys in all respectes, and hurt to no person, so that the same were well and orderlye done or made.

‘The buyldinge of the sayd castell one the sowthe parte, is thre towres viz. the gatehouse towre in the middle therof, w^{ch} is thentrye at a drawe bridge over a drye moyte, and in the same towre ys a p^{son} and a porter lodge, and over the same a fare Lodginge called the counstables Lodginge, and in the Courtayne betwene the gatehouse and west towre in the corner beyng round of diverse squares called cradyfargus is of¹⁷⁷ a fare and comely buyldinge a chappell and diverse houses of office one the ground and above the great chambre and the Lordes Lodginges all w^{ch} be nowe in great decaye aswell in the covertour beyng lead, as also in tymbre and glas and wthowt some help of reparacions it will come to utter Ruine.

‘Turnyng north from that southwest corner in that courtayne streatchinge to another litle towre called the posterne towre ys: thold hall w^{ch} was verie fare and nowe by reason yt was in decay ys vnroofed and the tymbre taken downe lyng in the sayd castell in the same square a buttrye, pantrye, and ketchinge, w^{ch} are now also in utter decay and at thentrye into the hall for the porche therof ys raysed a litle square towre wherin is two chambres, and on the foresyd in stone portrayed a lyon verie wrokemanly wrought and therfor called the lyon towre the same ys covered wth lead and in good reparacions.

‘Thother towre called the posterne towre is two lodgings under w^{ch} goith owt a posterne and the same ys covered wth lead and in good reparacions.¹⁷⁸

‘In thest syde of the great hall was ane Ile sett owt wth pyllers w^{ch} yet standeth and is covered wth lead.

‘ffrom the gatehouse towre to the towre in the east corner called¹⁷⁹ ys no buyldings but onely a courtayne wall fare and of a

¹⁷⁷ Hartshorne has left out the word ‘of’.—*Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1862, ii. p. 206 n.

¹⁷⁸ The whole paragraph relating to the postern tower has been omitted by Hartshorne.—*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ This tower at the S.E. angle of the castle is now known by the name of the Amble Tower, apparently because it is that nearest the village of Amble.

newe buyldinge and in y^t towre ys a stable one the ground and thre lodgings above the¹⁸⁰ the same ys covered wth lead and in good reparacions.

‘Turnynge ffrom that towre towards the doungeon north is a nother litle turrett in the wall, ys sett upon that courteyne wall stables and gardners over the same covered wth slate and in good reparacions.

‘Over the courte from the sayd towre called the posterne towre to the sayd turrett is the fundacion of a house w^{ch} was ment to have been a colledge and good parte of the walls were builde, w^{ch} if yt had bene finished and made a parfit square the same had bene a division betwene the sayd courte the Lodgings before recyted and the doungeon, The buildinge that was mad of the sayd collidge is now taken awaye savinge that certayne walls under the ground therof yet remaine, and at theast parte therof is now a brewehouse and bakhouse covered wth slaite and in good reparacions.

‘In the sayd courte ys a drawell w^{ch} seruethe the holle house of water.

‘The doungeon is in the north parte of the scyte of the sayd castell sett upon a litle mount highyer then the rest of the courte . . . steppes of a grease¹⁸¹ befor ye enter to yt, and the same is buyld as a foure square and owt of evrye square one towre all w^{ch} be so quarterlye squared together, that in the sight evrye parte appeareth fyve towres verie fynelye wrought of mason worke and in the same conteyned aswell a fare hall kythinge and all other houses of offices verie fare and aptely placed, as also great chambre chapell and lodgings for the Lorde and his treyne.

‘In the midle therof is a peace voyd w^{ch} is called a Lanterne, w^{ch} both receyveth the water from diverse spowtes of the lead and hath his conveyance for the same, and also gevith Lighte to certaine Lodgings in some partes, and on the parte of the same at the toppe ys rayسد of a good hight above all the houses a turrett called the watch house upon the toppe wherof ys a great vyewe to be had and a fare prospect aswell towards the sea as all pties of the Land.

‘In the north parte of the sayd doungeon ys portrayed a lyon wrought in the stone very workmanly.

¹⁸⁰ *Sic.*

¹⁸¹ A ‘grease’ or ‘grees’ signifies a stair.—Brockett, *Glossary of North Country Words*. The passage was probably intended, to have been, ‘and there be fourteen steppes of a grease before ye enter to yt’.

'The castell is envyroned one thre partes wth the said Ryver and of the north parte in an angle wthin the sayd water is situate a towne called the borowgh of warkworth and the parishe churche and at the northend thereof a bridge over the water and a litle towre buyld on thende of the sayd bridge, wher a pare of gates ys hanged and nowe the sayd towre ys wthowt rooff and cover, and wthowt amendement will in short tyme utterlye decay . yt shall be therefore very requisite that the towre be wthall spead repared and the gaites hanged upe w^{ch} shallbe a gret savefety and comoditye for the towne.'

Clarkson goes on to point out the poverty of the burgesses of Warkworth, and the necessity there was to benefit and help them, in order that they might be able to provide lodgings, for 'the gret resort ys alwaye of gentlemen as also of others of meane degre to his Lp. which wilbe rather the more the tyme of his Lp's. abode in the castell of Warkworth.'

Two years after Clarkson completed this survey, Earl Thomas joined the Earl of Westmoreland in the unfortunate Rising of 1569. While the Earls marched south with the intention of liberating Mary Queen of Scots, 'secref warning was given to Northumberland's servants to be ready in defensible array at an hour's notice. Great numbers of persons were put into Alnwick and Warkworth castles to keep them forcibly, as was suspected, against the Queen's peace.' Sir John Forster, Warden of the Middle Marches, consequently made a proclamation, dated November the 18th, before the gates of both castles ordering every person to depart and leave the castle immediately under pain of being 'taken knowen and used as a traytour against her Majesty.'¹⁸² 'If Alnwick and Warkworth were taken it would be,' he pointed out to the Earl of Sussex in a letter from Alnwick, 25th November, 1569, 'a great stay to this country and the Earl would have no retreat here.'¹⁸³ It was with some difficulty that he obtained possession of them, 'by reason that they were garded with a good number of armed men of the Earl's servants and tenants.'¹⁸⁴ He was anxious that both Alnwick and Warkworth should be attached to his charge of the Middle Marches.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Sir Cuthbert Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569*, p. 108 n.

¹⁸³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Addenda, Eliz. 1566-1579*, p. 126.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 118.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 208.

On the 19th of May, 1570, Edmund Hall and William Homberston, the royal commissioners for inquiring into the estates of those compromised in the rising of the previous year, were at Warkworth.¹⁸⁶ 'The castle of Warkeworth,' they report, 'ys wythin fyve myles of Alnewyke towarde the Southest wythin one quarter of a myle of the sea . and ys very well buylded all of stone and covered wyth lead . and is Scytuat upon the topp of a hyll on the South and Est of the Ryver of Coker .¹⁸⁷ the hall and other houses of Offyce late taken downe by Therle of Northumberland meanyng to Reedify the same ageyn whiche ys undone and no provysion Remaynyng there towardes the same buyldyng.'

Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, the President of the Council of the North, fixed his residence at Warkworth Castle in the summer of 1570. On the 15th of August he wrote from there to Lord Herries charging him with maintaining Leonard Dacre and conspiring with him against Elizabeth.¹⁸⁸ The next day he announced his intention of proceeding to the West Borders to avenge himself on those who were openly supporting the English refugees. After wasting Annandale and sacking Dumfries he was again at Warkworth on the 8th of September. Lord Hunsdon was with him on the 10th. From the 14th¹⁸⁹ to the 16th he was engaged there in the tangled diplomacy of Scottish affairs, negotiating at the same time with the Duke of Chetelherault and the party of the Queen of Scots and with the Earl of Lennox and the supporters of the young King. He was still at Warkworth on the 28th.¹⁹⁰

Lord Hunsdon, the first cousin of Queen Elizabeth and one of the noblest and bravest men ever employed on the Borders, may have noticed, during the time that he was at Warkworth with the Earl of Sussex, the way in which Sir John Forster was plundering the castle. He wrote the following spirited protest against Sir John's destructive avarice, to Burghley, which that statesman has docketted 'April, 1572':—'I knowe not what awtoryte ys commytted to Sir John

¹⁸⁶ *Hall and Homberston's Survey*, Publ. Rec. Off., vol. i, p. 151.

¹⁸⁷ The Commissioners had just come from completing a survey of Cocker-mouth Castle, and so confused the Coquet with the Cocker.

¹⁸⁸ *Cal. of State Papers*, Dom. Add. 1566-1579, pp. 319, etc.

¹⁸⁹ Sussex's proclamation for a cessation of arms is dated Warkworth, 14th September, 1570.—*Cotton. MS. Calig. C. II. fo. 104.*

¹⁹⁰ He removed to Alnwick, where he complains on the 9th of October that 'the weather grows extreme and the chimnies of this house and Warkworth will suffer no fire.'—*Cal. State Pap. Foreign*, 1569-1570, no. 1325.

Forster, of th' Erle of Northumberland's lands and howsys, nor what therof he hathe purchasyd; and therfor, when any complaynts come too me, I can say nothinge. But he taks upon hym too have the rule of all, and so comands what he lyst; and thys I assure your. Lo. that ytt ys grete pytty too see how Alnevyke Castell and Warkworth are spoyled by hym and hys. And yf sum order be nott taken for the stay therof, whensoever hyr Majestie shall have occasyon too send any lieutenant ynto thys Cuntry, she shal be att no smale charges to repayre the same. And for the Abbey that stands yn Hull Parke, he hathe neythar lefte lede, glase, ierne, nor so muche as the pypes of lede that conveyd the water to the howse; but he hathe broughte ytt too hys owne howse, and as I am credably informed, he meanes utterly too deface bothe the uther howsys, Warkworth and Alnwyk, which were grete pytty.¹⁹¹

The unfortunate Earl of Northumberland was at this time a prisoner in the castle of Lochleven. Sold by the Scots to the merciless Elizabeth in July, he was beheaded at York, in spite of Lord Hunsdon's urgent remonstrances, on the 22nd of August, 1572. Under the letters patent issued by Queen Mary in 1557, his title and most of his estates, which as long as he lived attainted were enjoyed by the Crown, should have passed to his brother Sir Henry Percy, but Sir Henry was not summoned to parliament as 8th Earl of Northumberland till 1580. By that time the parks of Warkworth had been disparked.¹⁹²

Stockdale, who surveyed Warkworth for the 9th Earl in 1586, merely says of the castle:—

'The castle of Warkworth is a very fair and beautifull castle, scituate in the inner warde¹⁹³ on the south of the of the ryver of Cockett, ij myles west from the sea, environed in part with the said ryver of Cockett, and in other parts with a dry moat;' and the reference to it in Camden's *Britannia*, written that same year, is no less curt.¹⁹⁴

In 1597 Thomas Percy, afterwards one of the conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot, is said to have 'kept William Sisterson of Prudhoe, (for the stealing of two cheeses) in prison in Warkworth Castle, until

¹⁹¹ Sharp, *Mem. of Reb.* 1569, p. 26 n.

¹⁹² *Annals of the House of Percy*, ii. p. 582.

¹⁹³ *i.e.*, Morpeth Ward.

¹⁹⁴ 'ad ipsum ostium (Coquet fluvii) Warkworth Perciorum castrum non inelegans locum habet, et littus tuetur.—Camden, *Britannia*, 1590, p. 655.

he was almost famished,¹⁹⁵ and compounded with him for 20 marks.' Information was also laid against Percy in 1602 that 'there was a bell carried out of Warkworth Castle and sold by Sir John Ladyman, Mr. Percy's deputie, to a Scottishman for £10, and a token sent by Mr. Percy to one Henrye Finch to carry the bell to the Scottishman's ship at Almouth.'¹⁹⁶

During the troubles in which the Earl was involved in consequence of the Gunpowder Plot, his steward Whitehead was ordered, on the 24th of June, 1608, 'to take down the lead that lieth upon the ruinous towers and places of Warkworth, to way it and lay it up, and to certify his lordship of the quantity thereof, that the places were lead is taken off be covered again for the preservation of the timber.' Nevertheless, two years later, the old timber of the buildings in the outer court was sold for 28*l*.¹⁹⁷

The final ruin of Warkworth was caused by the gift of the materials made in 1672 to John Clarke, one of the auditors of the estates, by the widow of Joscelin the 11th and last Earl of Northumberland of the House of Louvain. The doom of the castle is contained in the following letter:—

'William Milbourne, beinge to take downe the materials of Warkworth Castle, which are given to me by the Countess of Northumberland to build a house at Cherton, I doe desire you to speak to all her ladishipp's tenants in Warkeworth, Birlinge, Buston, Acklington, Shilbottle, Lesbury, Longhanton, and Bilton, that they will assist me with their draughts as soone as conveniently they can, to remove the lead and tymber which shall be taken downe, and such other materialls as shall be fitt to be removed, and bringe it to Cherton, which will be an obligation to there and your friend,

JO. CLARKE.

Newcastle, 27 April, 1672.

In regard they are like to be out three days ere they gett home, I shall be content to allowe everye wayne half a crowne, and let me know who refuse to doe me . . . they

To my lovinge friend William Milbourne, at his house at Birlinge.'¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ *Annals of the House of Percy*, ii. p. 592.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* ii. p. 591.

¹⁹⁷ Grose, *Antiquities*, IV, p. 156. In the *Book of Offices* of 1617, are still entered under the heading of Warkworth, 'Constable of y^e castell, fee £10 0s 0d, Porter, fee £3 0s 0d, Keeper of y^e p^{ke} fee £3 0s 8d.'—*Percy Family Letters and Papers*, Alnwick MSS., vol. xi. p. 28.

¹⁹⁸ Grose, *Antiquities*, IV, p. 157.

Ms. Louvain



Exactly a hundred years later, a revolution in taste having occurred in the interval, Francis Grose rapturously wrote of the castle that had been reduced to ruin by the *insouciance* of the fair Countess and the greed of her auditor:—

‘Nothing can be more magnificent and picturesque, from what part soever it is viewed; and though when entire it was far from being destitute of strength, yet its appearance does not excite the idea of one of those rugged fortresses destined solely for war, whose gloomy towers suggest to the imagination only dungeons, chains, and executions, but rather that of such an hospitable mansion as is alluded to by Milton—

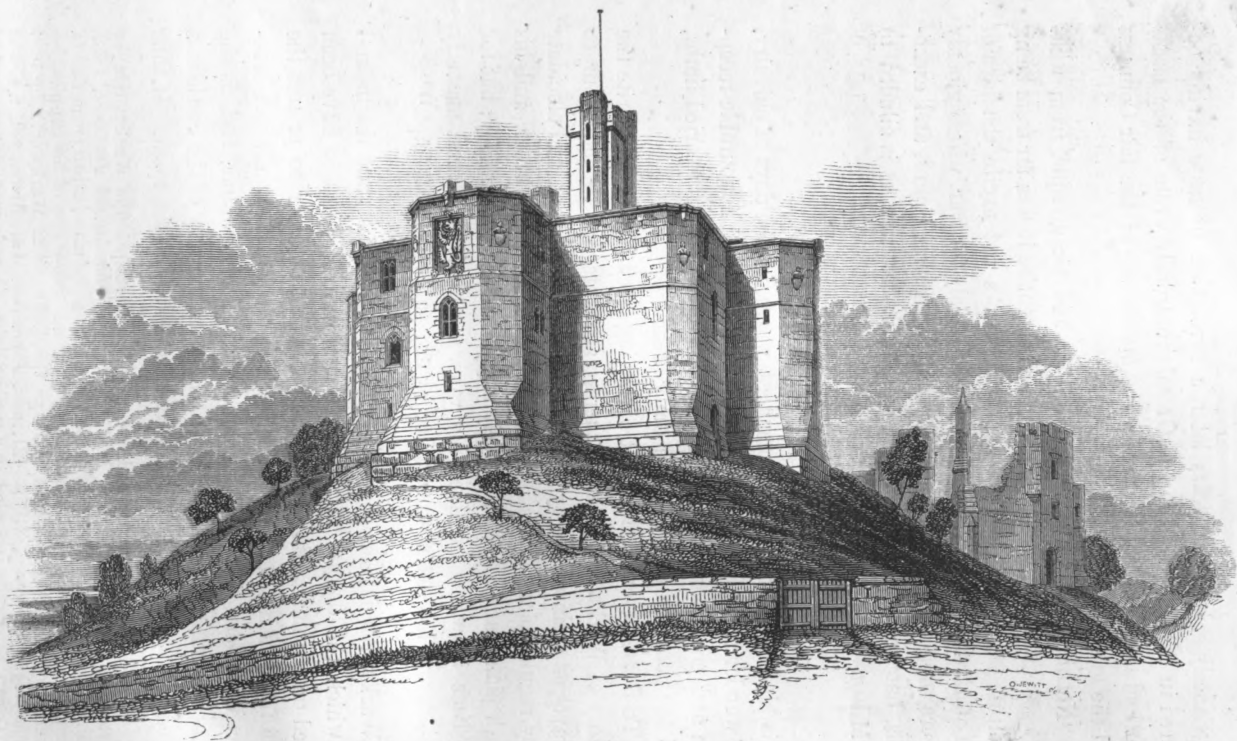
‘Where throngs of knights and barons bold,
In weeds of peace high triumphs hold’;

or is described in our old romances, where, in the days of chivalry, the wandering knight, or distressed princess, found honourable reception and entertainment, the holy palmer repose for his wearied limbs, and the poor and helpless their daily bread.’

To Grose belongs the credit of having been the first to write the history of Warkworth from authentic accounts, and to endeavour to unravel its architecture by reference to the old surveys, and elucidate it by regular plans. His information is not always correct, and his rough plans can have had scarcely any pretension to accuracy; but for the time in which he lived his work was done in a most masterly fashion, and has not been equalled by any subsequent attempt.¹⁹⁹

Warkworth is almost surrounded by the Coquet, and the mound on which the donjon of the castle now stands seems to have been raised on the narrowest part of the peninsula, in order to protect the town from the higher table-land stretching away to the south. A base-court was added on the level ground south of the mound; and, as the demesne-land lay in that direction, the great gateway of the castle was placed in the side of the curtain-wall furthest from the town. It thus

¹⁹⁹ ‘The Manorial History and Architectural Description of Warkworth,’ by the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in *Proceedings of Archaeological Institute*, 1852, vol. ii. pp. 186–211, are very perfunctory, and the plans attached to them full of inaccurate details and false chronology. The address—‘one of his happiest’—delivered by Mr. George Thomas Clark to the Institute at Warkworth in 1884 (*Archæological Journal*, xli. p. 421, and *Proc. Soc. Ant. Newc.*, vol. i. (N.S.) p. 203) can hardly be regarded in a serious light. A very excellent account of Warkworth ‘as seen by an artist,’ by Margaret Hunt, will be found in the *Art Journal* for 1883, p. 309.



WARKWORTH CASTLE, FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

happens that very few of those wishing to see and study the castle enter it, as they should, at any rate for the first time, by the great Gatehouse. Nearly all cross the old bridge over the Coquet, pass under the little tower at the south end of it, and proceed straight up the quaint steep street of the ancient borough. At the head of this street the marvellous donjon, with a huge lion rampant carved on the upper storey of its northernmost face, rises nobly in front of them. This heraldic lion, with an exaggerated bushy tail, and legs furnished with scales rather than hair, stands on the head of a diminutive demi-lion corbelled full-face out. They are protected from the weather by a water-tabling and two side-shafts that rest on small winged demi-lions. Notwithstanding the very exposed situation, all this elaborate carving, except the central ornament of the water-table, looks remarkably fresh.²⁰⁰

Roughly speaking, the ground plan of the donjon is a square, with a semi-octagon applied to its south side, and smaller squares to the centre of its other sides. The outer angles of all the squares die away, buttress-fashion, into sides of octagons. On the third storey of these, and of the angles of the southern semi-octagon, are remains of the figures of angels covered with plumage,²⁰¹ formerly fourteen in number, holding shields which, if not originally blank, have now become so. The battlements of the donjon, as may be seen at the south-east angle, were of considerable height, and in the centre of the chief faces of the whole pile and of the canted angles of the main square, they project curiously in small triangles, probably merely for the purpose of improving the sky-line.²⁰²

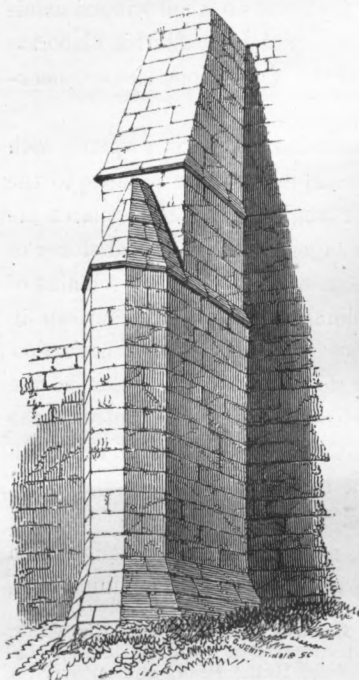
On the west side of the donjon, near the north-west angle, is a postern door, a close examination of which leads to the opinion that,

²⁰⁰ This lion rampant at Warkworth contrasts strangely with the almost obliterated one on the Bond Gate at Alnwick, carved in Denwick stone in 1450 (see *ante*, p. 21, n.); while that procured from Hulne Priory and set over the outer gate of the barbican of Alnwick Castle in 1488 was also so worn that it had to be replaced in modern times.

²⁰¹ Angels were often represented in the Middle Ages with feathers in lieu of raiment. Good examples of this treatment may be seen in the fine Perpendicular roof of the church of South Creak in Norfolk. In one of the early Northumbrian Gospels at Durham the four Evangelists are represented as plumed, and the strange effect is heightened by the beards there given them.

²⁰² Triangular bartizans of this kind are seldom met with. There is another instance of them over the gateway of Spynie Castle near Elgin, built *circa* 1406. — McGibbon and Ross, *Castellated Architecture of Scotland*, i. p. 444.

at any rate, the basement of the building must have been at some time refaced. Indeed, the general ground plan of the donjon is one that might be looked for rather in the 13th than in the 15th century, though, with the exception just mentioned, all its architectural features belong to the latter.²⁰³ That the mound was occupied by masonry at the very beginning of the 13th century seems proved by the splendid pair of buttresses of that date which, on the east and west sides, strengthened the curtain-wall as it rose to a great height in order to climb the mound; the upper portion of the wall nearest the donjon is however later work.



BUTRESS OF WEST CURTAIN.



POSTERN-GATE.

Beyond the western of these buttresses the postern-gate of the castle opens from the base-court on to the precipitous bank above the Coquet. The massive arch of this postern is but slightly pointed, and is vaulted internally with mere rubble. A plain chamfered string-

²⁰³ The donjon of Trim Castle on the Boyne is said to resemble that of Warkworth in its ground plan. It is attributed to about the year 1200.



course runs through it below the springing. The door, as was often the case in early buildings, opened outwards.²⁰⁴ At the inner end of the archway, originally 8 feet deep, was a portcullis, the groove not extending below the string-course. The ground-level of the postern has been lowered 15 inches, materially altering its proportions. Both buttress and postern seem to have been the work of Robert fitz Roger, *circa* 1200. The curtain-wall between them originally terminated in a turret containing a newel stair, of which two slits remain, leading to the walk. At a subsequent period an addition of 6 feet was made to the postern on the east side. In the battlement of this turret a long cross-loop has lost all except the lower limb, a shorter cross-loop having been inserted in it. The west face of the postern-tower retains the windows of the two floors, and a range of battlement with two crenelles.

Withstanding the temptation of entering the courtyard of the castle by the postern, we proceed along the external face of the western curtain. High up on either side of a very obtuse angle of the wall are the two windows of the kitchen; the arches of two large drains appear below. The masonry is similar to that of the upper floors of the postern-tower; the high base has two set-offs. Beyond the kitchen, to the south, is a piece of irregular walling, weather-worn, battered, and bulged. The upper portion seems original, the lower has been repaired; a fragment of a Decorated window having been built up in the filling. The base now rises 4 feet or so, and the wall above it disappears altogether for about 18 feet. This gap marks the site of the buttery. The low pitch of the buttery roof is given at the south end of the gap, on the remains of the higher north wall of the Great Hall. The four stone spouts that carried off the water from the roof of the hall are next seen in progressive states of preservation. Above the last of them, one of the great crenelles of the battlement has been left, filled up with inferior masonry. A little further south the high base ceases, and a disturbance occurs in the masonry of the

²⁰⁴ This was the old Roman fashion of opening the outer door of the house. The seal of William Moraunt, a Kentish landowner in 1272, represents his manor-house with the door opening outwards, and the same may be observed in the early 14th century illuminations of the romances of the 'San Graal' and the 'Round Table' (B.M. Additional MSS. 10292, 10294).—Thomas Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, pp. 143-6. The outer door of the old manor-house of Hollinside on the Derwent is another instance of the practice in the North.

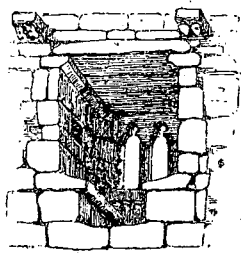
curtain-wall, probably owing to a slight change of direction, and the insertion of a large single-light window, much worn away, in the south-west corner of the hall. Beyond this again the masonry is of a more archaic type, and the wall turns much thicker. Here, on the first floor, was the Great Chamber; but the building must have partaken much of the character of an early keep. A slit with the mouth of a spout in it is half-way up the mural stair which led up from the hall to where a little window, now boarded up, lit the entrance of the Great Chamber. Above the line of this stair is a large round-headed arch, similar to one in the north curtain of Mitford Castle, which contained the stone frame of the west window of the Great Chamber. It is now built up with decayed stone and mortar containing pieces of red brick. Judging from a row of four small spout-holes, the roof of this chamber was originally higher than that of the hall, but was subsequently lowered into the same pitch, when one large spout was substituted. Just before reaching the tower at the south-west angle of the castle is a small, and once strongly barred, window, inserted in very late, possibly Elizabethan times, in order to admit a ray of western light into the basement below the Great Chamber.

The south-west tower of the castle is that called *Cradyfargus*-by Clarkson in 1567.²⁰⁵ He describes it as 'round of divers squares,' meaning that its round general outline was formed by several straight lines. The west side of this tower has fallen away, but the ground-plan seems in reality to have been an irregular octagon, of which the north and north-east sides were supplied by the curtain-wall. The tower, built probably by Robert fitz Roger about the year 1200, for purely defensive purposes,²⁰⁶ seems to have been converted in the beginning of the 14th century into the *Lord's Lodgings*, an addition

²⁰⁵ See above, p. 123. Clarkson distinctly says that on the south side the castle consisted of three towers, the Gatehouse Tower in the middle, the west tower in the (south-west) corner called *Cradyfargus*, and the tower in the east (i.e. south-east) corner called the (Amble) Tower. Mr. Hartshorne, who can never have read Clarkson's Survey attentively through, erroneously bestowed the name on the spire-capped stair-turret that forms so prominent a feature in the sky-line of *Cradyfargus*. This, however, was known merely as 'the Watch Tower' in the time of Grose. It is impossible to do more than suggest that the curious name of *Cradyfargus* may in some way be a corruption of *Carriickfergus*, either from its resemblance to one of the towers of that famous castle, or from its builder having borne that name.

²⁰⁶ In its irregular ground plan and certain other particulars *Cradyfargus* resembles the Bell Tower at the south-west corner of the inner ward of the Tower of London, the basement of which is of about the same date.

to the primitive requirements of domestic architecture for which its contiguity to the Great Chamber rendered it particularly suited. The southern sides of the tower were provided with lanky cross-shaped loops of the early 13th century type. In the basement only the upper part of these loops are visible, while the triangular recesses leading to them have been partially walled up. This basement communicated with the cellar under the Great Chamber by means of a mural passage in the south curtain, while the first floor of the tower opened almost immediately from the Great Chamber itself. This latter floor is of great historic interest, as in it probably the first two



Percies of Warkworth died,²⁰⁷ and Northumberland, Henry IV., and John of Lancaster²⁰⁸ indited their Warkworth correspondence. The east window of two cusped lights looking out along the moat is provided with pleasant window-seats, and a small aumbry in its northern splay. The fire-place has had a pretty hood, and the ceiling was supported on carved corbels, two of the remaining ones

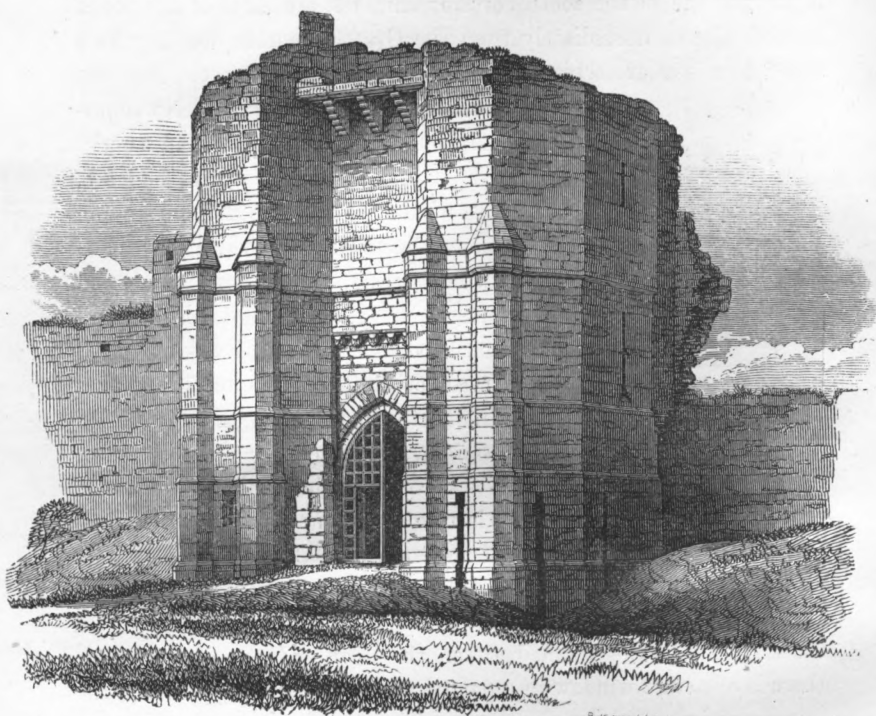
bearing pairs of quatrefoils, while between them on the third are a shield charged with some *beast statant*, and some other badge too worn to be identified. At the north-west corner is the jamb of a door that probably was connected with a latrine turret, now fallen away. The second and uppermost floor of this, the true Cradyfargus Tower, is now approached from a door in the south-east corner of the Great Chamber by a mural stair in the thickness of the south curtain. On the east side of this room, between the door and the east window, there is a smaller window in a curved recess, utilizing, apparently, the upper portion of an original loop. The fire-place, except the north jamb, with a plain cap, has entirely fallen away, but the line of the hood may still be traced. In the north wall a shoulder-headed doorway leads up to the battlements of the western curtain. This room we are justified in imagining to have been the Lady's Bower; the only *châtelaine* of whose presence at Warkworth we have actual evidence

²⁰⁷ See above, p. 95, where the extract from the Hulne Cartulary given in the note may be explained by the fact that in 1368 the Dominical Letter was A, and the Golden Number 1 ('unum').

²⁰⁸ See above, pp. 106, 107, 108.

between the time of the adaptation of this tower to domestic uses and the probable erection of the donjon, which was designed to supersede it in this respect, is the second Countess of Northumberland.²⁰⁹

The south curtain-wall between the Cradyfargus and Gatehouse Towers bears marks of having been considerably repaired and cobbled in places, but much of it with the high steep base seems to be Robert fitz Roger's work. The battlemented walk seems to have descended by



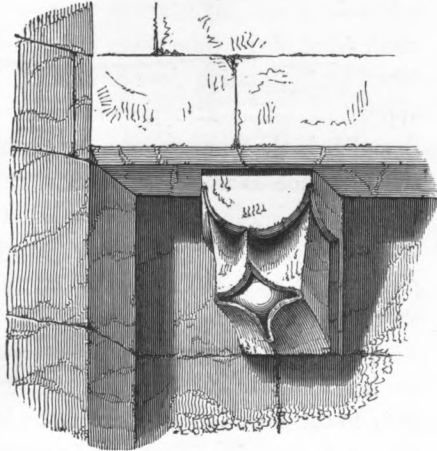
WARKWORTH CASTLE, GATEHOUSE TOWER (1857).

a flight of steps from the roof of Cradyfargus and to have risen again at first to a door in the second floor of the Gatehouse, and afterwards to the roof of it. At this latter point the line of the battlements has evidently been twice raised, two successive crenelles, one above the other, having been walled up and the hoarding-holes altered accordingly. The piece of battlement still left gives the height of the Gatehouse

²⁰⁹ See above, p. 111.

parapet. The little glazed window is that of a mural chamber, now used as the custodian's milk-house. In the west face of the Gatehouse a cross-loop has been opened out at the first floor into a doorway, now closed, that probably belonged to a latrine, and a small window with a slop-spout inserted to the south of it.

There are now no traces of the draw-bridge over the dry moat described by Clarkson as being at the entrance to the castle. The gateway, with a massive pointed arch of two courses, is flanked by two semi-octagon towers whose southern angles are covered by buttresses of similar shape with spire-like terminations. Over the gateway the wall projects slightly, as at Dunstanburgh, and is supported on five corbels. These are now much decayed, but seem to have been all alike, and of a Transition-Norman character. The Gatehouse acquires an aspect of extreme severity by there being no window over the gate, which derived additional protection from machicolations of a later date resting on three triple corbels. The gate, like that of the postern, opened outwards; had it not done so it would have covered the two insidious arrow-loops placed on either side immediately within it. A plain chamfered string-course continues through the whole vault, and the portcullis, which was here nearly 4 feet behind the gate, must have been wider at the top than at the bottom. The groove of the portcullis ends at the string-course, on which the shoulder of it would rest, while the bottom must have fallen into some sort of socket to hold it fast. On the inner side of the opening for the portcullis is an arch, only 17 inches wide, with the stones above it curiously joggled, and beyond it an opening of the same width, the use of which is not very apparent, though near the ground a slot has here been cut in the stone on the west side; and there is also a rectangular hole on the



CORBEL ABOVE GREAT GATEWAY.

whole vault, and the portcullis, which was here nearly 4 feet behind the gate, must have been wider at the top than at the bottom. The groove of the portcullis ends at the string-course, on which the shoulder of it would rest, while the bottom must have fallen into some sort of socket to hold it fast. On the inner side of the opening for the portcullis is an arch, only 17 inches wide, with the stones above it curiously joggled, and beyond it an opening of the same width, the use of which is not very apparent, though near the ground a slot has here been cut in the stone on the west side; and there is also a rectangular hole on the

east, as though there had been a barrier of some description. The remaining $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet of the vault of the roadway is arched in rubble. Pairs of cross-shaped arrow-loops by their decreasing length show that the road has always risen on a slope through the gateway. Marks of a palisade appear on the ashlar of the inner face of the vault; probably they are comparatively modern. The string-course here ends, and the roadway from 8 feet widens to $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet, while for 5 feet there has been no vault, and possibly an opening into the floor above. We then come to the springers of the great arch of the inner face of the Gatehouse.

On either side of this are two sturdy arches, the doorways of the porter's lodge and prison, and beyond them again, set about 10 feet back, were other doorways approached by straight flights of steps that led by short winding stairs to the first floor; so that when perfect, this north front of the Gatehouse, with the massive central arch flanked by four equally massive doorways, must have presented a very stately appearance. This arrangement can now be best seen on the east side, though it is the more ruinous, the exactly similar steps and doorway on the west side having been incorporated in the custodian's dwelling, which has been formed out of what was probably the porter's lodge with a modern room built over it. Fortunately a photograph has been preserved at Alnwick Castle, showing the Gatehouse before the external stair was walled up.

The first floor of the Gatehouse has been filled up with rubbish to the height of about 4 feet, and coated over with asphalt. Immediately to the north of the door at the head of the eastern stair there appears to have been a cross wall very much on the line of the modern wall of the custodian's dwelling. The room on the north side of this cross wall was the Constable's Lodging, and as such served, no doubt, as the quarters of John Creswell, John de Middelham, and Hardyng the Chronicler.²¹⁰ It seems to have been occupied by the 6th Earl of Northumberland during the latter years of his life.²¹¹ It had two fine windows opening to the east and west, of which the southern splays only are left. There were probably gables above them, as there are marks of the roof line against the east wall and a stone spout outside to carry off the water from the valley between this roof and the higher

²¹⁰ See above, pp. 103, 107, 109.

²¹¹ 'A littyll chamber over the gaytts wher the Erle lay hymself.'—Bellys's Survey, see above, p. 118.



WARKWORTH CASTLE: THE GATEHOUSE FROM THE COURTYARD, CIRCA 1850,
from a Photograph at Alnwick Castle.





semi-octagonal turrets of the front of the gateway.²¹² Inside the eastern turret is a chamber about 7 feet 8 inches wide, vaulted with rubble. There is an arrow-loop looking eastward along the moat, and on either side of this, high up from the original floor level, are small aumbries, 1 foot high and 1 foot 3 inches broad and deep, that have had three bars across them let into the stone. The portcullis seems to have been walled off from this floor and to have been worked from that above.

In the courtyard immediately to the west of the Gatehouse was a chapel. The very plain piscina is still to be seen in the south wall. A space left between this wall and the curtain contained a stair which formerly led off that now enclosed in the custodian's dwelling. On the south side of this stair is the vaulted mural chamber, previously referred to as being now used as a milk-house, and on the north a door gave access to what was probably an oriole or upper floor in the western portion of the chapel.²¹³ The base of this door still remains a little to the left of the fire-place with which the oriole was provided. A doorway in a deep recess to the right of the fire-place, now walled up, seems to have been the original entrance to the mural passage and stair communicating with the second floor of the Cradyfargus Tower. The basement beneath the oriole has also had a large fire-place in the south wall. Possibly this fire-place may have been used for secular purposes and been one of the 'houses of office' mentioned by Clarkson. In the north-west corner is a doorway leading into a passage, 4 feet 6 inches wide, that eventually communicated with the aisle of the Great Hall. The jamb of a doorway in the west wall is at the foot of some steps that seem to have ascended to the Great Chamber.

²¹² With its high towers in front and gabled building of only one storey behind, the Gatehouse of Warkworth must have greatly resembled the view of the *Porte de Laon* at Coucy, in Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, vii. p. 335.

²¹³ Mr. Longstaffe says, the oriole is a feature explained by Matthew of Paris as the porch, by William of Worcester as *le ovyrstorie*; and adds that 'where the oriole was the upper story of the nave of a chapel, and looked into the chancel, which in that case was the height of both stories, the oriole was for the lord and his family's use, or often for the ladies only.'—*Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. p. 90. The chapel in the Donjon was certainly provided with an oriole of this description, and there is said to have been another example in Northumberland in the chapel of the preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers at Chibburn. Turner gives numerous instances of the practice in his *Domestic Architecture of England during the Middle Ages*, ii. p. 80. In the present instance it may be that this upper room was that used generally by the ladies in the castle, with merely an opening at the east end looking down into the chapel.

The original level of the basement under the Great Chamber is lost in accumulations of rubbish. The Great Chamber itself, a room 39 feet 3 inches long by 21 feet 6 inches broad, was approached in the first instance by a stair in the thickness of the west curtain-wall that came up under a large window-recess, almost Norman, opening on the Coquet. Facing the stair-head was the door of a small mural chamber, with a smaller one, possibly a latrine, inside it. The Great Chamber, it will be remembered, was the scene of the delivery of the mysterious leathern bags and sealed coffer to William of Togsden, the constable of the castle, by Hugh of Rothbury in 1297, and probably this mural chamber was the actual closet to which they were carried with so much difficulty by the constable's son.²¹⁴ On the Percies making Warkworth their residence, the late 12th century doorway of the Great Chamber appears to have been walled up, and a small one broken into it from the mural chamber. At the same time a fire-place with a skilfully joggled flat arch, a slight hood, and ornamental side-shafts, seems to have been inserted, as also a door in the south-east corner connecting the Great Chamber immediately with the mural stair leading to the second floor of the Cradyfargus Tower, which, as has been said, we may regard as the Lady's Bower at that period. The first floor of this tower had always been in direct communication with the Great Chamber, by a shouldered doorway, the head of which is formed by a stone of unusual size.

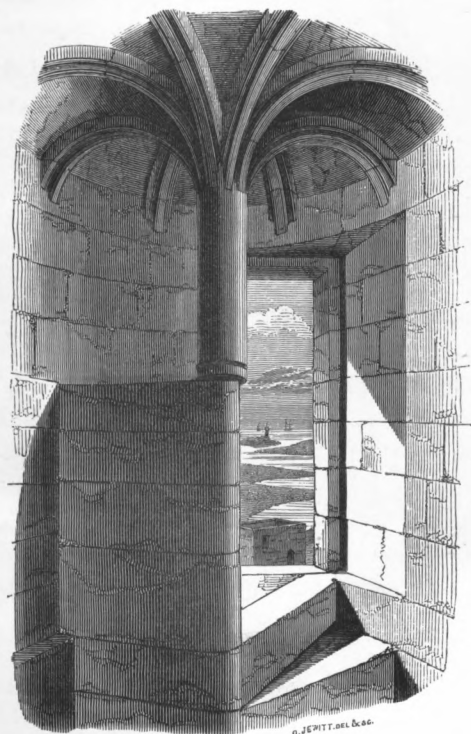
Towards the end of the 15th century, the 4th Earl of Northumberland appears to have constructed a much more magnificent stair for approaching the Great Chamber by building a tower at the north-east corner.²¹⁵ The lofty first floor of this was devoted to a sort of state ante-room with an elaborate groined vault, a mural seat, and a high doorway into the Chamber with effective mouldings.²¹⁶ Immediately inside this doorway on the right, a small newel stair

²¹⁴ See above, p. 91. The closet is called 'calketa contigua.'

²¹⁵ At the same time, a bay about 12 feet wide with a window overlooking the courtyard, was added to the Great Chamber, above the passage leading from the north-west corner of the ground floor of the chapel. The pitch of the roof of the Chamber was also changed from a steep to a very low one, as may be seen by marks on the wall of the Cradyfargus Tower.

²¹⁶ A piece of a cusped window-head in the east wall still remains. The first floor of this tower looks at first sight of earlier date than the basement, with its flat arched passages and four-centred doorways.

ascended to the upper floors and roof of the tower. As at Alnwick, Bothal, Haughton, and other castles, the newel terminates in a sort of umbrella-shaped vault. From the door that led out on to



STAIR-HEAD IN SPIRE-TURRET.

the roof a lovely peep is obtained of the mouth of the Coquet. The turret containing this stair-head is covered with a tall stone spire, and as the remainder of the tower has fallen completely away, this spire is now a very prominent object in the sky-line of the castle.²¹⁷ Traces of the battlements of the tower are still visible on the north and south faces of the turret. There seems to have been at some time an intention of either placing another floor over the Great Chamber, or of

²¹⁷ The pentagonal stair-turret of Sauchie Tower, not far from Alva, in Clackmannanshire, and supposed to have been built 1430-1440, terminates in a similar stone spire.—Macgibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, i. 267, 270. There are a few mason marks in the Warkworth turret, but nothing positive as to its exact date can be inferred from them.

forming a high false façade to it on the courtyard side as a door and aumbrey that admit of no other explanation are to be seen in the external face of the second floor of the tower.

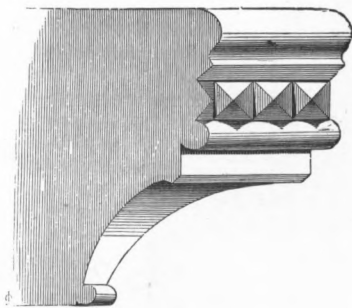
The erection of this tower with the spire-turret interfered with the arrangements of the Great Hall, which adjoined the Great Chamber on the north, but had an aisle projecting into the court-



SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF GREAT HALL.

yard. This aisle was of 13th century origin, but, as so often happened in churches, the low external wall and long steep roof came to be replaced by a higher wall, with large Perpendicular windows and a comparatively flat roof. The base of only one pier of the Early Pointed arcade is now in position. The north-west corner of the tower filled

up rather more than half of the southernmost of the three bays, and has been the means of preserving the respond, ornamented with the nail-head pattern, and a shattered portion of the arch of the bay. An arched opening underneath the respond that communicated with the original entry to the basement of the Great Chamber was built up. A bold moulding of rather late character was carried along the intruded wall of the tower and over the door that opened from it into the aisle. The Great Chamber



SECTION OF RESPOND.

could thus be reached either by the winding stair in the tower, just within this door, or by the original mural stair that went up from a door in the south-west corner of the hall, which the curtain wall was splayed off to admit.

The foundation of the brazier may be seen near the upper end of the main portion of the Hall, which was 58 feet 5 inches long. At the lower or northern end were three doorways, of which the bases only are left. The mouldings on them seem to belong to the same period as the Lion Tower. The centre doorway opened into a passage leading to the kitchen, the side ones into the pantry and buttery. As at Bamburgh, there seem to have been two other rooms on each side of the central passage beyond the pantry and buttery, but the ground plan is obliterated by accumulations of rubbish. The large fire-place of the kitchen seems to have been in the east wall, while on the west side, against the curtain, are the remains of a large oven, and a trough and sink.

The main entrance to the Great Hall from the courtyard was at the north-east corner, through the magnificent porch under the Lion Tower. On the front of this tower two brackets ornamented with fan-tracery support a huge stone lion, so much mutilated as to be only sound in his fore off leg, though the feet of the other three on which he stood still remain.²¹⁸ Round the neck he wears, after the

²¹⁸ Mr. George Thomas Clark has described this 'portentous lion' as *sitting* on a shelf of stone 'with a vast *frill* round his neck by way of mane'—

fashion of a Celtic torque, the Percy badge of a crescent inscribed with the Percy motto of *Esperance*. His great tail was lashed up



THE LION TOWER.

against the wall above him, where traces of it are yet left. No doubt, at a time before the art of using bright colours without abusing them

Archaeological Journal, XLI. p. 424; while even so careful a writer as Mr. Longstaffe says, 'this large and terrible beast probably supported a banner.' It only requires an ordinary pair of eyes to see that the lion must always have been *statant guardant*, and that in such a posture as to absolutely preclude the notion of his ever having borne a banner like the lion *sejant guardant* on

was lost in England, this great Lion of Louvain was painted an unmistakable blue.²¹⁹

the Percy Seal of 1446, engraved in Surtees's *Durham*, Seals, VIII. 11, and in *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, 1852, ii. Plate XI. No. 7. We may remember that a letter of the 2nd Earl of Northumberland, written at Warkworth circa 1420, was sealed with a *lion sejant*

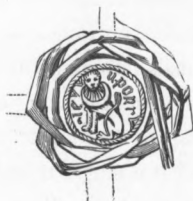
guardant gorged with a crescent; while the crescent on the same-sized signet of his countess was inscribed with the words *l'esperance*. See above, p. 111. It appears that the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Earls of Northumberland,

all bearing the name of Henry, used the same or very similar devices. Canon Greenwell has a document with the seal of the 4th Earl exactly resembling, if it is not identical, with the great seal of the 2nd Earl appended to deeds of 1417 and 1435, and engraved in Surtees's

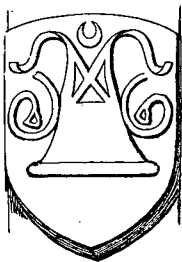
Durham, Seals, VIII. 2, and in *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. Plate XI. No. 6. It will be seen that the lion-crest with its smooth body is a totally different

beast from the crest over the *Old Percy* shield on the Lion Tower, the body of which is covered with wool or scales.

²¹⁹ Mr. Joseph Robertson finds from the Records of the year 1535 that the group of figures above the grand gateway in the eastern side of the quadrangle of Linlithgow Palace, 'together with the group of the Salutation of the Virgin upon the other side of the quadrangle, and certain unicorns and a lion upon the outer gateway were brilliantly painted.'—Macgibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, i. p. 495. Mr. Longstaffe, *Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. pp. 177, 195, tries to make out that the great lion *statant*



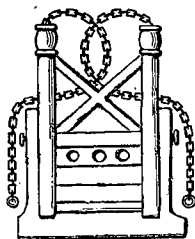
Over the lion are two shields with their upper rims turned up, and apparently *bouches*, or notches for lance-shafts to work in, in their right-hand corners. One of these shields bore the arms of PERCY ANCIENT, and the other those of LUCY. Their dimensions have been much curtailed by time and weather; only four of the five Percy fusils now remain, and the *lucres* or pikes have all lost their tails. On the mantled single-cleft helm above the Percy shield is a *bycocket* or cap of state, like that worn by Henry VI. at the battle of Hexham, with a singular animal, possibly a ram, certainly not a heraldic lion, on it for the crest. The similar helm and accompaniments over the Lucy shield have almost entirely fallen away. The whole of this carved work is framed in at the sides by thin pinnaced buttresses



BEVERLEY.



WARKWORTH.



RAGLAN.

EXAMPLES OF BASCULES.

resting on pairs of angels, while at the top is a battlemented cornice. Three badges are carved on the under side of this cornice—the first seems to have been the falchion of the Fitzpaynes, but the strap and pommel are all that is left,²²⁰ the middle one is a crescent

guardant of Warkworth was *white*, and had some official connection either with the county of Northumberland or the wardenship of the marches. He seems to have forgotten that a lion *argent* could not possibly be gorged with a crescent *argent*, and no one will venture to argue that a crescent bearing the Percy motto of *Esperance* was of any other metal or tincture. The fact of this Warkworth lion, together with several in the characters of badges or supporters on the 15th century Percy seals, being *guardant*, seems only a free and perfectly justifiable treatment. Indeed, the azure lion is absolutely required to complete the achievement over the entrance into the Great Hall, which would otherwise only consist of the strange combination of PERCY ANCIENT and LUCY.

²²⁰ This is the only known Percy badge of which these remaining fragments, faint as they are, can seem to have formed part. The black curved falchion or scimitar, hilted and tipped with gold, of Fitzpayne, was brought into the Percy family by Lady Eleanor de Poynings, the wife of the 3rd Earl.—Longstaffe, *Percy Heraldry* in *Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. pp. 189, 191, 213.

inscribed with *Esperance*, and the third a *bascule* or counterpoise for raising a drawbridge, charged with the words *Ma Comfort*. This last badge is known to have been that of the House of Herbert, of which the countess of the 4th Earl of Northumberland was a daughter, while the entire motto *Esperance Ma Comfort* seems to have been peculiar to her husband.²²¹ The old arms of Percy, too, disused after the middle of the 14th century, do not re-appear in the family heraldry before the close of the 15th;²²² so that, without appealing to the confirmatory architectural evidence, we may safely pronounce the Lion Tower to be the work of the 4th Earl—

‘The famous Erle of Northumberlande,
Of knyghtly prowes the sword, pomel and hylt,
The myghty lyon doutted by se and lande,’²²³

between his restoration in 1471 and his murder in 1489.

The magnificent porch loses some of its effect by the floor being now a step below the level of the courtyard. It is about 10 feet 6 inches square inside. There are stone seats along the side walls, and a slit for light to the south. The vault is formed by two transecting arches, intersected by two flat ribs, with a central boss ornamented with a rude lion rampant. On the north side is a four-centred doorway leading into a corridor, of which only the foundations remain.²²⁴

²²¹ *Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. p. 200. ‘The word *comfort*,’ Mr. Longstaffe observes, ‘is the mot, word, or cry of English writers, and we find Hotspur’s army using *Esperance* as such.’—*Ibid.* p. 199. The same motto occurs both on the originals of the cornice above the lion rampant over the outer gateway of the barbican at Alnwick, and of the ledge below it. The Herbert *bascule* appears also on the underpart of this cornice, which we have positive proof was carved at Hulne Priory just before the death of the 4th Earl in 1489.—*Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 271.

²²² Henry Percy, who died at Warkworth in 1353, left to his heir all the tapestry for the hall of *the ancient arms of Percy*; they occur next in the Percy Chapel at Beverley in connection with the 4th Earl of Northumberland.—*Arch. Ael.* N.S. iv. pp. 171, 193.

²²³ Skelton’s *Lament*, MS. Reg. Brit. Mus., 18 D. II.; Percy, *Reliques*, i. p. 95.

²²⁴ A font about 2 feet in diameter, with a battlemented design round the bowl, has been placed in the centre of the porch, thus causing it often to be mistaken for a chapel. It is apparently of very late workmanship, but where it actually came from seems uncertain. Connected with a blue stone about 3½ feet in diameter and 2 feet deep, lying just outside the porch, is a conventional story of treasure trove. Possibly the stone belonged to the horse mill recommended to be made by the Commissioners of 1538.

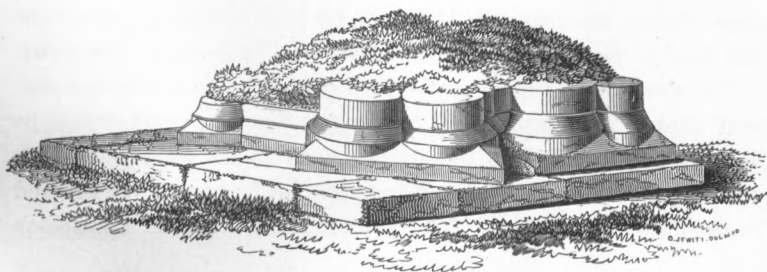
Just within this doorway, on the left, a worn stair ascends to a passage in the north wall of the Lion Tower.²²⁵ Here a door opening outwards admits us to the room on the first floor. In the east wall we notice the back of the large stone, 3 feet by 2 feet, which forms the lion's head, and an aumbrey to the left of this. The south wall has a window of two lights, and the west retains the lower jambs of a fireplace. The upper floor of the tower was supported by a projecting ledge on the south side, and by three corbels of late character on the north. In the north-east corner of the tower, just outside this room, is a latrine. The north wall has been carried out very slightly step fashion to give width to this, and the shaft comes down close to the north-east buttress of the porch.

At right angles to the Great Hall and Lion Tower, stretching from near the kitchen across the entire courtyard to the east are the foundations of a cruciform chapel, the origin of which has been one of the greatest mysteries connected with Warkworth Castle. There is no allusion to anything of the sort in the Royal Survey of 1538,²²⁶ but in 1567 Clarkson tells us of the foundations of a house that was meant to have been a college, of which a good part of the walls had been built, and which if it had been finished and made a perfect square, would have been a division between the lodgings connected with the Great Hall and the Donjon. The building had then been all taken away except certain walls that remained under the ground, and at the east part of it was a brewhouse and bakehouse covered with slate and then in good repair.²²⁷ In considering what this college could have been, it is natural to be reminded in the first place of the chantry in the castle of Warkworth, which the 2nd Earl of Northumberland mentions as having been lately founded in 1428,²²⁸ and which seems to have come to an end after the death of the 3rd Earl at Towton in 1461;²²⁹ but this chantry cannot have been founded in an unfinished chapel, and most probably was connected with the chapel in the Donjon. When, too, we come to examine the foundations of this

²²⁵ This stair, straight at first, changes afterwards into a newel one only 2 feet 8 inches in width, and in doing so must have made the entrance to the room over the pantry or buttery, of which the north door-jamb remains, extremely awkward. This room must have extended over the passage between the porch and collegiate chapel, and there are traces of a window belonging to it.

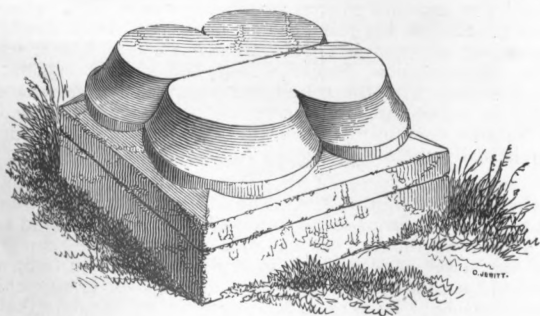
²²⁶ See above, p. 117. ²²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 124. ²²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 112. ²²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 116.

chapel at the east end we shall find that instead of the range of unfinished buildings connected with the brewhouse being built on or against them, as Clarkson's language would lead us to suppose, they actually block up a window of this range. The internal proportions of the chapel are also singular: the nave would be about 40 feet long, and the choir 52 feet, but there would be little more than 11 feet clear



BASE OF SOUTH-WEST PIER OF CENTRAL TOWER.

space between the piers of the central tower that was to rise between them. The moulded bases of the four piers of this tower, and of two of the north arcade of the nave still remain. 'Unfortunately,' says



BASE OF NORTH ARCADE.

Mr. Hartshorne, 'it happens that the mouldings of these bases are so plain and inexpressive, that their architectural character affords no assistance in determining their exact age. The conception of this collegiate church may, as far as architectural evidence goes, range through nearly a century or more, from the death of Hotspur's son at

the battle of St. Alban's in 1455, to the execution of Clarkson's survey in 1567.²³⁰ One reasonable hypothesis would be to consider the work to have been begun by the saintly Earl Thomas in 1557 or 1558, and to have been abandoned on the accession of Elizabeth in consequence of the change in religion; but it is evident that the north door of the porch under the Lion Tower was purposely designed to communicate by a corridor with this chapel, and consequently we are compelled to conclude that the chapel itself formed part of the general plan of the 4th Earl of Northumberland for constructing a mansion more suited to the domestic requirements of his age than were the complicated and limited arrangements of the Donjon.²³¹ The work would be brought to a standstill on the Earl's murder in his 42nd year, as his son seems to have neglected Warkworth in favour of Wressil and Leckonfield. The ruined 6th Earl preferred even the Constable's

²³⁰ *Proceedings of Archaeological Institute*, 1852, ii. p. 209. Hartshorne is there inclined to attribute the foundations of this chapel to the 5th Earl of Northumberland, 1489-1527. Prof. Freeman, who follows Hartshorne in believing the keep to have been the work of the 2nd Earl, nevertheless has fallen into the extraordinary error of imagining this chapel to have been of more ancient origin, bracketing it with the Early Pointed pillars of the hall:—'The later chapel, as well as the later hall, is in the keep; but the older chapel and the older pillared hall are still to be traced in their foundations. But the chapel was to have been more than a chapel. According to a practice found in several royal and in a few baronial dwellings, it was to have been a small minster, a cross church with an attached college, within the castle walls.'—*English Towns and Districts*, p. 322. Of the third chapel, near the Great Gateway, Professor Freeman evidently never heard. Mr. George Thomas Clark, who gravely informed the Archaeological Institute that the landing outside the Great Chamber in the tower with the spire-turret was 'the smaller chapel, showing delicate additions of Decorated date,' compared this cruciform collegiate church to the late Norman church in Hastings Castle, and dropped no hint as to its never having actually risen.—*Archaeological Journal*, xli. p. 424.

²³¹ There are certain points of resemblance between the remains of this chapel and the church of Linlithgow. The ideal of a late 15th century castle-palace built round a courtyard seems to have been best attained at Linlithgow; while, next to Warkworth, the finest example of a residential keep is perhaps to be found in the tower of Borthwick, in Midlothian, dating from about 1430. The conception of a palace in the base-court of Warkworth, into which the old hall and chamber should be worked, is of essentially later date than that of a tower-house, however magnificent. Disregard of this led Mr. Hartshorne to ascribe the Lion Tower and the whole façade connected with it to the time of the 1st Earl of Northumberland; and it must be confessed that had it not been for the badges on the cornice of the Lion Tower, the pommel of the Fitzpayne falchion, and the Herbert *basculle* being unquestionably connected with the mother and wife of the 4th Earl, it would have been easy to regard the whole as of early 15th century construction. It is well known that the several architectural styles continued in considerably later use in the north than in the south of England. Nothing has been found in the remaining Episcopal registers at Durham to throw any light on the history of the three chapels in Warkworth Castle.

Lodging in the Great Gatehouse to the accommodation afforded by the Donjon. Norfolk certainly was housed in the Donjon in 1541, but Parr deliberately chose the range of buildings connected with the Great Hall as his residence in 1543; and we have evidence that Earl Thomas at one time intended to carry out a general scheme of reconstruction, similar to that which the 4th Earl apparently began.

The late date of the cruciform chapel is apparent from the fact that the stone stair from the vaults in the thickness of the east wall of the north transept must have led up into the church, which seems to indicate that the vaults were intended for places of sepulchre. The smaller vault is under the north transept, the larger under the west end of the choir, two octagonal pillars of which have been carried down through the stone roof.²³² Immediately to the east of these vaults, a passage 43 feet long, 8 feet broad, and 8 feet high in the centre of the very flat—almost Tudor—arching, was carried under the choir as a means of communicating between the bakehouse and brew-house and the courtyard with the draw-well which served ‘the holle house of water.’ A narrower passage beyond this again was formed to afford access from the courtyard to the basement of the semi-octagonal tower that projects fieldwards from near the centre of the east curtain, through the original doorway of a room, one window of which was blocked, as has been mentioned, by the foundation of the church, while the east wall of the church built diagonally across it would have cut it up into two almost triangular compartments with a doorway between them.²³³ Adjoining this room on the north, and extending in line with it along the east curtain are the foundations of two or three rooms that formed the brewhouse, and on the west side of these, crowded in between the vaults of the church and the Donjon, are traces of the bakehouse and its two large ovens.

²³² Against the east wall of the larger vault is now a well of water, brought here in pipes from some distance. This does not appear to have existed in mediaeval times. The masonry of these vaults, especially the flat arches of the window recesses, with their triangular keystones, resembles that of the great kitchen. The transepts of the chapel were not true transepts, but mere projecting bays. The general idea conveyed by the foundations is more that of a toy minster than of a genuine cross church.

²³³ The foundation of the east wall of the church deflects slightly towards the south. The springing of the vaulting left on it is the same as that of the passage under the choir. Mr. Hartshorne, in his ground-plan, has actually shaded it all as Transition Norman.



WARKWORTH CASTLE FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

The curtain wall is in a good state of preservation for the 24 yards intervening between the Donjon and the semi-octagonal tower already mentioned as being near the east end of the foundations of the church. As on the west side of the Donjon, it was carried to a great height, and it is supported externally by a buttress of very early 13th century character, of even grander proportions than that near the postern. A series of corbels connected with the floors and roof of the brewery buildings project at various levels from the inner face of the curtain.

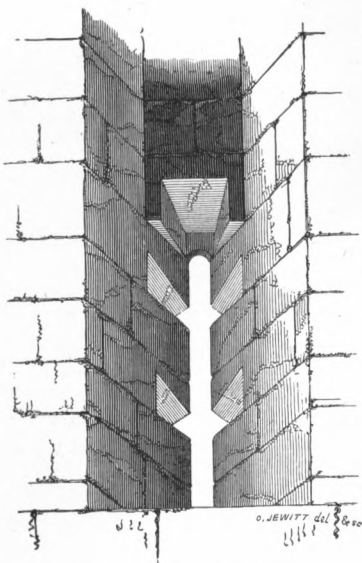
The *Eastern Tower* was originally of much the same construction as the south-west or true Cradyfargus Tower, but unlike the latter it has been subjected, externally, to few alterations or additions, and, when viewed from the field, may be regarded as a most remarkably perfect specimen of early 13th century military architecture, and as the work of the first Lord of Clavering and Warkworth. Its five external faces are each pierced by a giant cross loop, 16 feet in length; the loop in the northern face being slightly deflected in order to make room for a very characteristic latrine turret in the angle between the tower and curtain.²³⁴ These five loops, extending through the two lower stories of the tower to within a short distance of the ground, are probably the finest examples in Europe of those defensive openings adapted for the cross-bow, which became peculiarly common in the 13th century.²³⁵

The tower is entered by a rubble-vaulted passage from the room at the east end of the collegiate chapel, passing the latrine chamber on the left. The ground floor of the tower has been sunk about 2 feet. At about 3 feet 5 inches above the original level a range of five oilets

²³⁴ Mr. Jewitt seems to have been led by a false sense of delicacy to leave out this latrine turret altogether in the accompanying view of Warkworth from the north-east, which he prepared under Mr. Hartshorne's guidance.

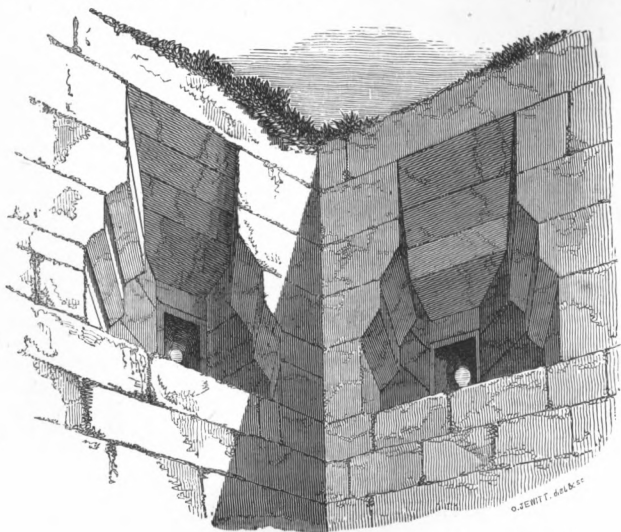
²³⁵ Viollet-le-Duc gives a masterly account of these arrow-loops and their successive developments, in the article *Meurtrière* of his *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, VI. p. 387. The Romans directed all their defensive operations from the summit of their towers, and it is not till the 12th century that openings for the discharge of missiles at besiegers occur in the lower parts of towers; even then they are rare, the most notable examples being at the castle of Carcassone. During the 13th century they become of frequent occurrence; but the improvements in the arts of sapping and mining in the 14th, caused tower-bases to be again built as solid as possible, and the openings to be restricted to the upper parts. It was not till the introduction of cannon for defensive purposes that the bases were again pierced with loop-holes. The oilet recesses inserted in the subsequent lining of the east tower at Warkworth resemble some drawn by Viollet-le-Duc, and dated 1250-1350.—*Ibid.* p. 390.

are inserted in the masonry, with which the tower has evidently been lined for the purpose of adding to its strength. All of the oilet openings have, however, been closed up with stone, except those in the east and south-east faces. They are about 2 feet high, the heads supported on plain chamfered shoulders, and the roofs sloping upwards. The original long oilets, through which any shaft or shot discharged through these insertions sped afield, have not been regularly built up to fit them, but are merely filled with pieces of timber and other rubbish. An attempt has been made to pull out the ashlar lining of the tower at the north-west corner, for the purpose, no doubt, of



HEAD OF ORIGINAL OILET.

forming a fireplace, as may be seen from the holes drilled for the crow-bars. On the first floor the eastern oilet recess has been scooped out



EASTERN TOWER, INSERTED OILET RECESSES ON FIRST FLOOR.

for the same purpose, and the lining wall above it rebuilt with large stones to form the chimney, the original oilet being roughly closed with clay. The roofs of the four other inserted oilet recesses on this first floor are level, and are supported on double rows of plain chamfered shoulders. The first floor was originally approached by a straight external stair, the lines of which may be traced against the curtain; there is another vaulted latrine chamber near the entrance. The second floor of the tower appears to have had no opening to the field; a door jamb is left at the south-west corner. The battlements are in a good state of preservation.

Southward of this tower, 89 feet of the lower external face of the curtain seems much battered, and presents an archaic Norman appearance, looking indeed older than anything else about the castle. The walk here was approached by a flight of steps connected with what was to have been the south-east buttress of the choir of the collegiate church. The three northern merlons of the battlement are intact. Built against the curtain were the stables, with granaries above; and on its walk behind is a latrine turret, 12 feet in width, with two quatrefoil windows to the east. The curtain is then pierced by a small doorway that leads to the custodian's garden. This is probably original. Beyond it the battlement rises in a noble series of steps connecting the walk of the east curtain with the roof of the Amble Tower.

The *Amble Tower*, so called from its being the nearest to the village of Amble, is a rectangle 25 feet square, with its inner wall built in a line with the east curtain, at the south-east angle of the castle. It is evident that at this angle the castle at one time extended to the top of the irregular earthworks just outside the present walls, and that the Amble Tower was built at a late period in order to square off the courtyard. Indeed the wall between it and the Great Gatehouse, which Clarkson designates as 'fare and of a newe buyldinge' in 1567, had not been finally embattled till 1538, as appears from the accounts of Cuthbert Carnaby, then constable of the castle.²³⁶ The basement of the tower, which Clarkson tells us was used as a stable,

²³⁶ 'Cum imbatillacione muri lapidei ex australi parte ejusdem castri cum reparacione magni orei ibidem.'—*Ante*, p. 118 n. It seems probable that the great barn was built against this wall, as foundations may clearly be traced on the turf.

presents at first a rather perplexing appearance, owing to its having been half filled up with rubbish internally, and to the head of the doorway being broken through to give height for an entrance. There are narrow slits in the east and south walls. According to the plan copied by Hartshorne, there was formerly a wheel-stair in the thickness of the south curtain close to this tower, and this was no doubt connected with an external stair leading up the west face of the tower. The first floor has a fireplace in the west wall near the north-west corner, and slits in the three outer walls. The second floor, with windows to the east and south, has a large rough fireplace across the north-east corner, while in the north-west corner there is a latrine. The fireplace of the third and uppermost floor is in the south part of the west wall, and the window in the south wall is set in an unsplayed recess. The whole tower is in a very perfect condition.

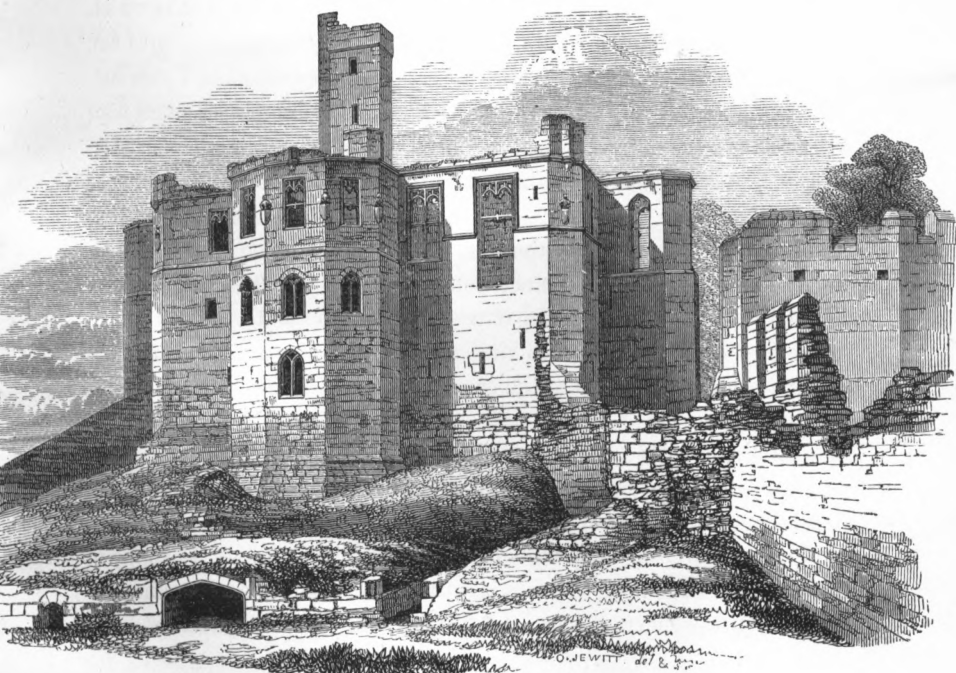
Having thus completed the circuit of the base-court, we proceed to enter the *Donjon*, which has been treated by many writers as if it were not merely the most interesting but, indeed, the only interesting part of the castle.

Built on a mound, apparently more ancient than the days of King Ceolwulf, and following the contour if not the actual foundations of a thirteenth century keep, the Donjon of Warkworth is beyond all question the most elaborately planned tower-house in existence—‘a marvellous proper dongeon’ say the King’s Commissioners of 1538. Hartshorne has described the Donjon as a model for a domestic building adapted to modern habits and to just notions of comfort, luxury, and refinement, the view, the aspect, the lighting, the water supply, the sewerage, all properly attended to.²³⁷ Viollet-le-Duc has gone so far as actually to attempt copying its plans and elevations for his ideal of what a country house, suited alike to France and England, should be at the present day.²³⁸ A more thorough study of the base-

²³⁷ *Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 207.

²³⁸ *Lectures on Architecture*, from the French of Viollet-le-Duc, by B. Bucknall, 1881, ii. p. 370. The plans for an ideal country house are there given as being actually those of Warkworth Castle, instead of being merely based on its arrangements. The liberties taken in the adaptation are amusing: the central lantern is roofed in, and contains a well-stair, the hall becomes the drawing room, the buttery a billiard room, the chapel a saloon, while the upper floor is extended over the whole building. This *jeu d’esprit* throws some light on the wide tether Viollet-le-Duc gave to his imagination in his restorations of Blois and Pierrefonds.

ment and two upper floors of the Donjon—Hartshorne took no account whatever of the second floor—will, it is believed, tend rather to show the immensity of the gulf that separates all our ideas of domestic life from those prevalent in the Middle Ages. The especial value of Warkworth Donjon in the history of the development of household architecture is not only that the walls stand practically perfect and unaltered, but that the internal evidence is sufficient to more or less plausibly determine the use to which every room was put.



WARKWORTH DONJON, SOUTH SIDE.

The main entrance is on the west side of the semi-octagon that projects into the courtyard near the centre of the south front. Formerly there was before it a square platform approached by steps both on the west and east, or along the walk of the west curtain-wall. The four-centred doorway and much of the adjoining masonry underwent a conscientious restoration by Mr. Salvin in 1853-1858, and still present a bald appearance. There was a small portcullis, as can be seen from the groove, and if any assailants burst through this and the strong door

behind it, the chances are that, rushing impetuously on to a wooden platform, the bolts supporting which could be easily withdrawn, they would find themselves precipitated down some 16 feet into a pit 13 feet 3 inches by 7 feet 10 inches, lined with splendid ashlar work. On the south side of this trap for Scots was a small porter's room with a fire-place, and on the east a door communicating with the eastern battlements of the *enceinte*. We turn north into a vaulted hall at the foot of the main stair. On our left is a vault that appears to have been the prison.²³⁹ In the rectangular loop-recess at the south end is the square mouth of a veritable dungeon, 9 feet 4 inches deep and measuring 9 feet 6 inches by 8 feet 5 inches at the bottom. The sides contract gradually higher up, very large stones being placed over the corners, and the dungeon thus acquires a sort of bottle shape. An underground dungeon is a rare feature in our Border castles. There is one like this in the gatehouse of the inner ward of Alnwick Castle. A narrow flight of steps on the west side of the dungeon mouth leads to an inner prison 12 feet 2 inches long but only 4 feet 9 inches wide,²⁴⁰ formed in the thickness of the outer wall. At the south end is a small fire-place, at the north a latrine chamber. The situation of this inner prison reminds one of the condemned cell in the keep of New-castle when used as the county gaol of Northumberland; but probably it was intended for a captive of superior position and importance. It is to be hoped that only very heinous offenders were consigned to the bottle-dungeon. Probably it was in the vault above that the plague put an end to the sufferings of many of Sir Reginald Carnaby's prisoners in 1538.²⁴¹ Considering the loathsome state of mediæval prisons, the wonder is that the plague did not always cheat the hangman.

In almost the centre of the Donjon is the remarkable Lantern, as Clarkson calls it, an open space about 8 feet by 10 feet, which served

²³⁹ There was of course another prison in the Great Gatehouse, but it was not of large dimensions, and captives must have been numerous in Border warfare. The Donjon seems to have been intended to be a complete castle within a castle; and when we find a prison and a porter's lodge on either side of the Great Gate the probability is that there were the same on either side of the entrance vault of the Donjon.

²⁴⁰ This inner prison is usually called the 'captain's bedroom,' a mistake followed by Mr. Stevenson in his *House Architecture*, ii. p. 33. The door has evidently been fastened from the outside, and neither soldiers nor prisoners were in the habit of bolting the captain of a castle into his bedroom.

²⁴¹ See *ante*, p. 119.

the double purpose of receiving the water from the leads and giving light to certain portions of the building. The general ground plan of the Donjon being, roughly speaking, a cross, about 117 feet from north to south by 108 feet from east to west, with square compartments in the angles between the limbs, the whole thus forms what heralds would call a cross quadrate quarter pierced. In the western limb of the basement is a long, narrow vault, with a mural stair off the steps of the loop-recess leading up into the buttery. Between this and the similar vault in the northern limb, which contains stone tanks for holding the water collected in the Lantern, is a square vault, with a mural stair to the kitchen in its north window-recess, and the postern door in its west wall opening on to the escarpment of the mound above the town and river. The vault in the east limb is entered by a diagonal passage; on the south side a mural stair ascends to the upper end of the hall, while on the north is a square vault, probably used as a wine-cellar. The south-east corner of the basement is occupied by a large square vault, possibly a guard-room, but with no special feature except a mural chamber approached by steps on the east side of the rectangular ingoing of its southern loophole.

To recapitulate, there were three entrances to the Donjon, the main entrance reached by a flight of steps from the court between the collegiate chapel and the west curtain wall, the small round-headed door opposite connected with the walls of the east curtain, and the external postern near the north-west corner of the Donjon; there were four stairs from the basement to the first floor, the main stair in the southern projection, and the three mural stairs issuing respectively in the buttery, the kitchen, and the dais end of the hall.

The main stair, which has a small chamber as if for a page or usher at the fourth step level, terminates on a landing lit by three fine windows overlooking the courtyard, two of them provided with seats. There is a fire-place in the west wall of the landing, and to the right of this a hole for the insertion of stays to support the portcullis when raised. Passing through the doorway of the hall, we enter a small alcove with a stone seat on the left, and on the right a door inside which a wheel-stair leads to two rooms on the second floor entirely renovated in 1853-1858.

The hall was a noble room, 41 feet long by about 25 feet broad at the lower and 23 feet at the upper end. It rose to the full height of the second floor of the Donjon, the side walls being 26 feet high to the string-course immediately under the roof. The stereotyped arrangement of three doors remains at the lower or western end; but the first two of these both open into the buttery, while the third and widest communicates with the kitchens. In the north-west corner of the hall is a passage leading to what Hartshorne styles the state-chamber, but which it will be clearer, if not also more accurate, to term the parlour. Further along the north wall near the dais is the door of the chapel. Originally there were two large windows on the south side of the hall, but the western of these was clumsily converted, probably in Tudor times, into a fire-place and chimney. Till then no doubt the hall was warmed by a brazier in the centre. The recess of the remaining window is raised to what was possibly the level of the dais; on the left side of it the narrow stair comes from the wine-cellar.²⁴² At the end of the hall above the dais are the two arches of a mural gallery with windows behind them. This gallery is entered from the oriole or upper floor of the chapel and has a small closet at its south end. In previous descriptions of the castle, it has generally been allotted to the musicians, but it is at the wrong end of the hall for them, and seems rather to have been intended for the ladies of the house to witness the feasts and revels going on below.

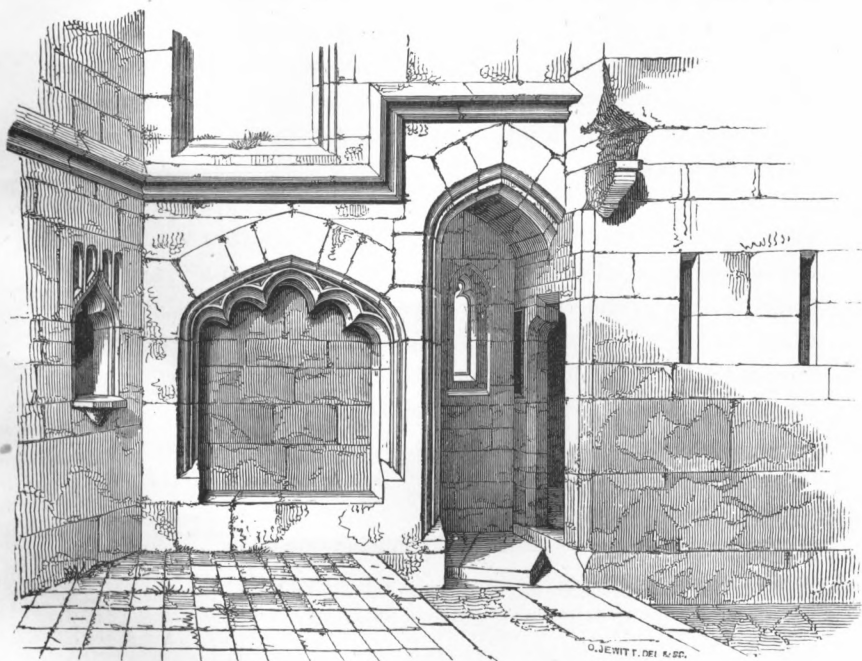
The outer kitchen, very long and narrow, is provided with a large fire-place with an oven on the right and circular boiler-seat on the left. A mural stair ascends from near the window to the second floor. The great kitchen, open to the roof, has huge cavernous fire-places in its north and east walls, with numerous mason-marks in their chimneys. In the south-west corner is a small pantry, while over the stair coming up from the vaults in the north-west corner is a curious chamber in the thickness of the wall, 8 feet above the floor.²⁴³

The nave of the chapel entered from the hall near the dais is about

²⁴² Each window-recess has a square ventilating hole in its stone roof; the gallery has two. The small stair from the hall to the wine cellar was the regular arrangement in Scottish castles.—*Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, by Macgibbon and Ross, ii. p. 17. Alnwick and Langley have stairs of this description.

²⁴³ This wall-chamber is popularly called the 'cook's bedroom.'

25 feet in length and 12 feet in width. It had been originally intended to have had another door opening from it into the parlour immediately opposite the door from the hall, and judging from the slop-spouts in the west wall which emptied into the central lantern in a way not calculated to improve the purity of the rain water collected by it, the western part of this little nave must have always retained a secular character. A wheel-stair in the south-west corner gave access



THE CHAPEL, SOUTH SIDE OF CHANCEL.

to the oriole or upper story as well as to the Great Chamber. The chancel occupies both stories of the eastern semi-octagon of the Donjon, and is four or five feet wider than the nave and oriole. Three perpendicular windows, each of six cusped lights with traceried heads were in the east, and two similar windows in the north and south walls.²⁴⁴ Between the three east windows and against the blank north-east and south-east walls were stone brackets for statues with

²⁴⁴ Mr. Jewitt's restoration of the heads of these windows in his view of the chapel in Mr. Hartshorne's volume is not exactly accurate.

shield-bearing angels on their lower sides. To the north of the altar was an aumbry and to the south a piscina and broad sedile under a cinque-foiled arch. Beyond this is a door leading to a long and narrow mural chamber, at the back of the dais of the hall and above the stair coming up from the cellars; that appears to have been used by the priest. From this sort of vestry there is a small squint in the direction of the altar of the chapel. There is a niche containing a small pedestal for an image in the west wall. The two slits in the north wall were probably merely for ventilation. It is not easy to determine the use of the large altar-like slab at the south end of the vestry.²⁴⁵ The chancel communicates with the eastern window-recess of the parlour through a small mural chamber provided with a slop-spout and aumbries.

The uses of the remaining rooms of the Donjon have to be determined more by general considerations based on the state of domestic habits that prevailed in England during the 15th century, and still more or less survive in some foreign countries, than by any direct evidence that can be quoted from the rooms themselves.²⁴⁶

The parlour, as it seems best to call the chamber on the north side of the chapel, was about 36 feet in length by 16 feet in width and height. It must have been dark. Besides the eastern window-recess already mentioned as communicating with the apsidal chancel of the chapel there is a larger recess with a window to the north and a considerable arched cupboard on its east side. The fire-place has a remarkably

²⁴⁵ In Mr. Hartshorne's plans of the Donjon this slab has five consecration crosses marked upon it, as though it were an altar. There is no trace of any such crosses, and probably there never was. An altar placed east and west with a gallery over it would be an anomaly in the 15th century. The raised position of this slab was rendered necessary in order to give height to the stair beneath it.

²⁴⁶ Mr. Baring Gould, in his delightful *Old Country Life*, p. 77, expresses himself astonished that the house of the Upcotts of Upcott, a Devonshire family, that expired in the reign of Henry VII., had but a single bedroom. 'There may have been,' he says, 'a separate apartment for the squire and his wife, over the parlour, which was rebuilt later; but for all the rest of the household there existed but one large dormitory over the hall, in which slept the unmarried ladies of the family, and the maid-servants, and where was the nursery for the babies. All the men of the family, gentle and serving, slept in the hall.' In Poland at the present day the stereotyped arrangement of a country house is a central hall with one wing for ladies and another for gentlemen. The squire and his wife have each their own private room at the opposite ends of the house. In the case of a house-party beds are brought into the drawing-room for the ladies in the evening, while the gentlemen are accommodated in the hall and dining-room, some of the younger ones on a pinch being relegated to the hay in the barn, as described in the 'Pan Tadeusz' of Mickiewicz, i. p. 42, Torun 1859.

deep flat arch over it and is of much later character than might be expected in the building. The parlour, originally the business-room of a monastic house, was a sort of secondary hall, where visitors might be received more privately than in the great hall, and yet with less familiarity than in the chamber. The window recesses with their fixed seats, the fire-place smaller and more comfortable than that of the hall, and the cupboard, are all distinguishing marks of the mediæval parlour.²⁴⁷ Here at Warkworth it was no doubt the general living and sleeping room of the gentlemen of the family, while the more secluded chamber in the northern semi-octagon beyond it was probably intended for the Earl himself. This room, 17 feet long by 11 feet wide, has a large window-recess in the west wall, and a small fire-place with a curious hole inside it, possibly for concealing treasure. There are latrines in the thickness of the east wall of this room, and in that between it and the parlour.

A wheel-stair ascends to the roof from just outside the door of the Earl's room and communicates with the room over it, which was probably the Countess's Bower. Separated from this only by a latrine passage is the Great Chamber of the same dimensions as the parlour under it, but than which it must have been much lighter, owing to an additional large recessed window on the north side. The walls are hardly 10 feet high, but it probably had an open timber roof. The chamber in the middle ages was the special apartment of the ladies of the family both by day and night.²⁴⁸ Originally this chamber could only have been approached either through the inner room that has just been hypothetically assigned to the Countess or by the wheel-stair at the west end of the chapel. At the head of this stair the ladies could conveniently enter the oriole of the chapel and cross it to the gallery above the dais. Near the south-west corner of the Great Chamber is a passage leading to a vaulted room, 10 feet long by 7 feet broad, immediately under the central watch-tower of the Donjon, and lit from the lantern. An irregular stair winds its way, in the thickness of the partition wall between the Great Chamber and the kitchen to a similar room above. It may be that at first rooms so difficult of access were intended for treasure-chambers,²⁴⁹ but it was found that

²⁴⁷ *Homes of Other Days*, by Thos. Wright, pp. 381, 479.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 145, 272.

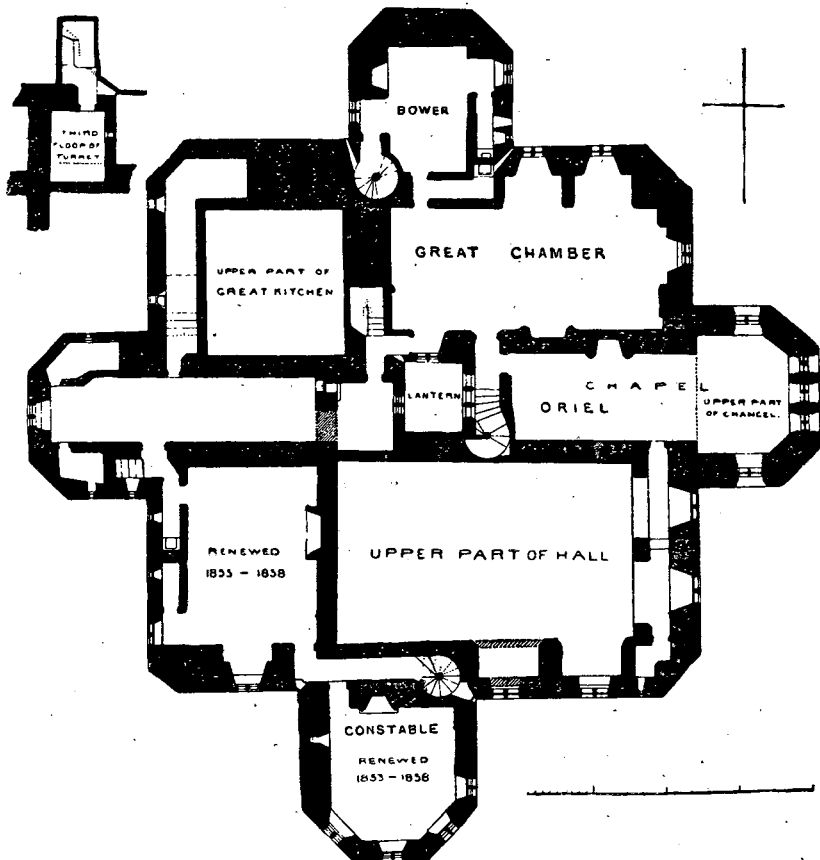
²⁴⁹ The treasure of a nobleman like the Earl of Northumberland must have

the internal arrangements of the Donjon could be much improved by making an opening in the wall between the lower of these rooms and the long chamber over the outer kitchen, thus connecting together the whole of the second floor. This opening probably caused a slight shrinkage of the watch-tower, and it was deemed prudent to build it up again, red brick being the material used. Mr. Salvin refaced the west side of the closed aperture, with stone, and so obliterated all external trace of the connection that at one time existed. A most mysterious double piscina, separated only by a very thin stone from an aumbry in the lower turret room, is still left in the north-east corner of this narrow chamber, or rather, perhaps, we should say broad passage, measuring as it does 36 feet by 8 feet.²⁵⁰ Opening off this chamber or passage are a long mural chamber in the wall of the kitchen and two small ones in the western semi-octagon of the Donjon. A door on the south side leads on to the head of the stair coming up from the outer kitchen, and beyond this is a passage affording access to the larger of the two restored rooms on the south side of the Donjon. The smaller of these commanding the whole courtyard from its four windows, seems to have been designed to be occupied by the constable, as the portcullis was worked from it, and the larger may have been more or less of a guard room for his men-at-arms. Proceeding along the passage between them we reach the wheel-stair coming up from the entrance of the great hall, and can mount by it to the battlements. The central turret or 'watch house,' as Clarkson calls it, rises 32 feet above the roof.

With a building of such intense interest, both in the history of architecture and of society, it is vexatious to have to confess that there is no direct evidence to prove when or by whom it was actually built. Mr. Hartshorne considered that the corbel tabling and general character of the masonry so exactly corresponded with the rougher work in the Bond Gate Tower at Alnwick that there was no room for doubting that both were erected by the second Earl of Northumber-

been more than could be conveniently stowed away in ordinary hutches, and there can have been little possibility of deposit or investment in mediæval Northumberland.

²⁵⁰ It is not easy to believe that this chamber can have been used as a chapel. The east end of it must have been extremely dark if no light was obtained from the roof. Piscinas on the north side of the altar are unusual in England.



PLAN OF THE SECOND FLOOR OF WARKWORTH DONJON.



land. The Bond Gate Tower he thought was built in 1434, and he was disposed to consider that Warkworth Donjon was built after that, probably between 1435 and 1440.²⁵¹ We now know for an absolute certainty that the Bond Gate Tower was begun in 1443, and not entirely finished till 1450,²⁵² and though there is some resemblance between the two buildings, it seems, owing to the different character of the stone and masonry, to fall very short of proving the actual identity of their origin. Warkworth Donjon, with its intricate maze of chambers and passages, must have been a masterpiece of one of the best architects of the day, while the Bond Gate Tower looks more like a rough adaptation of some of its features by a mere country builder.

Mr. Hartshorne's ideas of the chronological sequence of the various parts of Warkworth Castle were most seriously warped by his cardinal error of attributing the Lion Tower and the general façade of the courtyard connected with it to the first Earl (1398-1407) instead of to the fourth Earl of Northumberland (1471-1489). But it would seem extremely improbable that a man of such power and ambition as the first Earl should have done nothing to render his favourite home both more habitable and magnificent, and better calculated for a refuge in the time of trouble. Nor if the Donjon did not then exist with what were looked upon no doubt as the latest improvements in house planning, can we understand why John of Lancaster, the son of Henry IV., chose Warkworth as his headquarters? There are, therefore, in the want of that direct evidence which may hereafter be forthcoming, some grounds for supposing the Donjon of Warkworth to have been the work of the first and the greatest, but hardly the best, of the eleven Earls of the princely House of Louvain.²⁵³

With more certainty we may picture to ourselves the great Earl of Warwick quartered in the Donjon at the time of John Paston's expedition to Warkworth in the winter of 1462,²⁵⁴ and we know that it

²⁵¹ *Proceedings of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 207.

²⁵² See *ante*, p. 21.

²⁵³ This hypothesis, if it should ultimately prove correct, will materially affect the question of the probable occupants of the private rooms in the south-east tower of the Castle, see *ante*, pp. 135, 136. If, as seems most likely, the chantry mentioned as recently founded in 1428, see *ante*, p. 112, was connected with the chapel in the Donjon, the latter must have been already in existence, though some years may have passed since it was built.

²⁵⁴ See *ante*, p. 113.

was carefully prepared for the reception of the Duke of Norfolk in 1541.²⁵⁵ Very probably it was from its battlements that Earl Thomas saw the six ships passing full-sail towards Scotland in 1558,²⁵⁶ and considering the innumerable cross currents and down draughts that must have swept through this labyrinth of stairs and passages there can be little wonder that Sussex was forced to fly from its smoky chimnies in the autumn of 1570.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 119.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 122.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 126.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

P. 94, l. 20, *del.* 'at the battle of Halidon Hill.'

P. 105, n. 93, for 'millatenus' read 'nullatenus.'

P. 107, n. 103, transfer l. 8 to bottom of page.

P. 113, add in a note to l. 3:—In 1448 Earl William of Douglas 'passit in Yngland the xviiij of Julie with xl^m men and did gret scaith and brynt Werkworth.'—*Chronicle of the Reign of James II.*, published by Thomson, quoted in MSS. of the Rev. John Hodgson. If these ravages of the Douglas affected the castle as well as the town of Warkworth, they would naturally account for considerable works of reparation in the former immediately afterwards, possibly even for the erection of the Donjon in its present form.

P. 133, l. 25, add the note:—'This gap, as is often the case in castles, *e.g.* the so-called Bloody Gap on the site of the Friars' Tower at Alnwick, seems to have been caused by the fall of a tower. Mackenzie (*Hist. of Northumberland*, ii. p. 114) mentions a ruined tower about the middle of the west wall; and a semi-circular tower is clearly shown at this spot in a view of Warkworth taken by Samuel Henry Grimm, a native of Switzerland, in about 1786, and now in the British Museum. *Add. MS.* 15,543, fo. 86.'

