

WARK CASTLE.

No castle along the whole line of the Border plays so active a part in the last four centuries of that bloody roll of open wars and treacherous raids as does Wark-upon-Tweed; of no such castle have more detailed descriptions been handed down to us, and yet none has left so few visible evidences of historical importance and architectural grandeur.

The Honour of Carham was bestowed by Henry I. on Walter Espec, one of the leading men of his day in the North of England, whose principal residence was at Helmsley, in Yorkshire.¹ The manor of Carham, situated in the extreme north-west corner of Northumberland, is itself bounded on two sides by Scotland; and here, a little more than two miles below the spot where the Tweed begins to form the boundary between the two kingdoms, Walter Espec founded a castle on a steep ridge or *kaim* about sixty feet above the river. To this Norman castle the English in the neighbourhood gave the name of Werch or Wark, probably from its being the great Work at which they were obliged to assist.² The castle appears to have fallen an easy prey to David of Scotland when he invaded England in 1136.³ On his renewing the attempt during the campaign of 1138, the result was very different. William the son of Duncan, once king of Scots, was sent to surprise the fortress by a *coup de main* before it was light⁴ on the morning of the 10th of January;⁵ but Jordan de Bussei, who had been entrusted with the command by his uncle Walter Espec was prepared to ward off the attack.⁶ A larger force was then brought up by the king himself and his son Henry. For three weeks they prosecuted

¹ Mr. Hartshorne has given some particulars of the manorial history of Wark in *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. pp. 31-36.

² 'Carrum, quod ab Anglis Werch dicitur.'—Ric. Hagustald, *De Gestis Regis Stephani; Chronicles, Stephen, Henry II., Richard I.*, Rolls Series, iii. p. 145. As this immediately follows 'Lugubalia, quod Anglice Carlel dicitur,' it may after all happen that 'Carrum' was a Celtic name. We meet with 'weorce' in the sense of *corvée* in the account of the building of London Bridge and Westminster Hall in 1097.—Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, pp. 234, 452.

³ Ric. Hagustald, *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, Rolls ed. p. 145.

⁴ 'Antelucanis insidiis invasit.'—*Ibid.* p. 151.

⁵ 'MCXXXVIII. iv idus Januarii.'—*Ibid.*

⁶ 'Jurdanus de Bussei, nepos Walteri Espec, magister militum oppidanorum, invicta constantia animorum militarium omnes conatus regis sprexit et contrivit.'—Joh. Hagustald, *Historia Ecclesiæ, XXV. Annorum*, § 4; Rolls ed. (Symeon of Durham, ii.) p. 289.

the siege with the aid of *balistæ* and other engines. The defence was equally spirited. The king's standard-bearer was slain in his sight with many of his men, and many more were wounded. At last, perceiving matters growing daily worse instead of better, David broke up his camp and betook himself to ravaging Northumberland. In February, King Stephen himself arrived at Wark, and made a hurried raid over the Border. The following May, while David was besieging Norham, the garrison of Wark cut off his supplies by frequent sallies, and on one occasion wounded and took prisoners several of his son's escort.⁷ Enraged at this he again invested their castle, but found himself baffled a second time, after many of his men had been killed or wounded. In August he sent two of his thanes⁸ to resume the blockade of the castle, and in his retreat from the Battle of the Standard returned to direct the siege in person, accompanied by his son Henry and as many of his followers as he could rally round him. He made use of various engines and other new instruments of war, but the besieged also availed themselves of similar appliances in order to destroy them.⁹ Only one knight of the garrison was killed, and that was in consequence of his own want of consideration in issuing out alone to disable one of the Scottish engines.¹⁰ At last provisions ran short, and about Martinmas the garrison received, through William abbot of Rievaulx, a message from Walter Espec directing them to capitulate, which they were not loath to do, since one horse alive and another one salted was all there was left to eat in the fortress.¹¹ David presented them with twenty-four horses, and allowed them to march out with the honours of war. He then razed the castle to the ground.¹²

⁷ 'Milites de Werch egressi ministros et vehicula cum victualibus regis rapuerunt intra oppidum retrudentes. Sed et in filium regis Henricum impetum facientes et in socios ejus, quosdam occiderunt, quosdam vulneraverunt sive ad redemptionem exposuerunt.'—*Ibid.* § 5, p. 291.

⁸ 'Duobus baronibus suis ad obsidendum Werch cum multitudine . . . dimissis.'—*Ibid.* p. 292.

⁹ 'Oppidum Carrum machinis, ac novis instrumentis, et pluribus modis capere temptavit. At oppidani machinas machinis frangentes,' etc.—Ric. Hagustald; Rollis ed. p. 166.

¹⁰ 'Quippe de castello xiens, et in sua probitate nimium confidens, et ideo temerarie audax, dum incautus circa fractionem cujusdam machinæ moraretur, a multitudine Scottorum oppressus et extinctus est.'—*Ibid.*

¹¹ 'Residuum ad esum nihil repertum est, nisi unus caballus vivus et alter in sale.'—Joh. Hagustald, § 5, p. 292. John of Hexham's account does not sufficiently bring out the fact that the Battle of the Standard took place during this siege of Wark.

¹² 'Eos rex xxiii caballis donatos cum armis suis dimisit liberos, oppidum funditus evertens.'—*Ibid.*

One of the first objects of Henry II., after his resumption of the northern counties, was to rebuild Wark. As in the case of Harbottle, he seems to have claimed the right of erecting and maintaining a royal castle upon what was private property. The work was begun in 1158, and in that and the three following years William de Vesci, the sheriff of Northumberland, laid out no less than £367 8s. 3d. on the castle.¹³

On the outbreak of the rebellion against Henry II. in 1173, William the Lion, king of Scots, gathered a great host at Caldenlea in Selkirkshire, and proceeding to Wark in about August, demanded of Roger de Stuteville, the sheriff of Northumberland, who was in charge of the castle, whether he would capitulate or stand a siege. Stuteville, a man of undoubted loyalty who, we are told, 'never liked treason nor serving the devil,'¹⁴ saw he had no chance of assistance either in the north or from his king, who was far away in Normandy. Going, therefore, to the camp of William, he entreated him to spare him the disgrace of surrendering the castle, and to grant him a truce of forty days that he might cross the Channel to receive King Henry's instructions or effect the same purpose by means of sealed letters. Strange as it may seem, his request was granted.¹⁵ He went himself to collect reinforcements in England, and when the appointed time came told the Scottish king that he might assault the castle, as he was ready for him.

Owing to William's campaign in Cumberland and the subsequent truces, it was not until after Easter, 1174, that he was able to take Stuteville at his word. He resolved to carry Wark by storm. One Monday morning his Flemish auxiliaries received orders to commence the attack. They rushed bravely to the trenches and tried to break

¹³ *Pipe Rolls*, 5, 6, 7 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. pp. 2-5. 'Anno 1159. Iterum firmatum est castellum de Werc, præcipiente rege Angliæ.—*Chron. de Mailros*.

¹⁴ 'Rogier d' Estuteville en fud le cunestable,
Ki unkes n' ama traîsun ne servir al diable.'
—Jordan Fantosme, *Chronique*, ll. 483-4; *Rolls ed.* (*Chron. Steph., Hen. II., Ric. I.* iii.) p. 244.

¹⁵ Two days after arranging this truce with Stuteville (*ibid.* l. 543), William received a messenger from the Bishop of Durham stating that he wished to be at peace with the Scots, and promising not to attack them.—*Ibid.* ll. 534-7. Mr. Howlett, the editor, has chosen to add in the margin, 'Truce with the Bishop of Durham (13 Jan. 1174)'—a piece of entirely false chronology. William on leaving Wark, Matthew Paris tells us, 'per fines episcopi Dunelmensis securum habuit transitum' (Surt. Soc. Publ. *Jordan Fantosme*, App. p. 193); then, after Lucy and Bohun had burnt Berwick, according to Benedict of Peterborough, he agreed to an armistice till the feast of St. Hilary, 13th Jan. 1174 (*ibid.* App. p. 165), and it was a prolongation of this armistice that the Bishop of Durham obtained at 'Revedale' (*ibid.* p. 167).

through the portcullis,¹⁶ but were beaten back, many of them being put out of the possibility of ever again raising their battle-cry of 'Arras, Arras !'¹⁷ The sheriff cautioned his men not to waste their arrows, but to reserve their strength for real emergencies. 'Bring up your stone-hurling machine at once,' roared the Lion-king to his knights in his rage at seeing his men falling on all sides ; 'it will soon break through the gate, unless the engineer is a liar, and we shall gain the bailey without more delay.'¹⁸ The machine was brought up, but instead of battering the castle, the first stone cast from it brought one of the Scottish knights to the ground, and would undoubtedly have finished him, if it had not been for his shield and armour. At this King William swore in a frenzy that he would rather be taken alive before Toulouse than witness such a discomfiture.¹⁹ Not knowing what next to do, he gave orders to try and set the castle on-fire. A sudden change of wind prevented the execution of this design. So fearful was the king of the effect a sally of the garrison might have on his disheartened host, that he caused them to keep watch all the night long. At dawn he assembled his earls and barons, and, confessing that they could make nothing of the siege, advised a retreat to Roxburgh. The pavilions were taken down, the tents folded, the huts burnt, and so King William and his army departed. It was then that Roger de Stuteville showed the moderation of a true knight, ordering his men not to rail at the discomfited Scots, but rather to render praise to God for their own deliverance. They might give expression to their feelings of joy, each in his own way, and he himself did not intend keeping silence. The castle of Wark, therefore, soon resounded with trumpet and horn, but there was no abuse or rough language, only songs and ballads and farewell ditties. There was, indeed, good cause for rejoicing, since not a man in the castle had been killed, nor would a single denier have to be paid

¹⁶ 'Assaillir le hericon.'—Fantosme, l. 1210. The Rolls edition translates this : 'The cheval-de-frise assaulted'; but it is generally safer to follow the Surtees Society's version.

¹⁷ This being the name of one of the principal towns of Flanders.

¹⁸ 'Faites vostre periere venir hastivement ;
Jà pescera la porte, si l'engignur ne ment,
E prendrum la baillie senz nul delaïement.'

—Fantosme, ll. 1245-7.

¹⁹ 'Mielz volsisse estre pris tut vif devant Tuluse.'—*Ibid.* l. 1259. Alluding; no doubt, to some incident in the siege of Toulouse in 1159, at which William was present.

to a physician of Salerno for healing their wounds.²⁰ The irritation of the Lion-king can easily be imagined. Nearly swooning from rage, he swore by St. Andrew and St. James²¹ that he would never end the war in such disgrace, no, not if it should cost him his kingdom.

Roger de Stuteville had victualled the castle of Wark with 48 chalders of oatmeal, costing £19 4s. 0d., and 53 chalders of malt, costing £10 12s. 0d. For this, and for £41 spent on the maintenance of ten knights and forty squires in the castle, he was allowed to recoup himself as sheriff of Northumberland out of the farm of the county. Ralph Surtees was also allowed 100s. for the maintenance of the king's knights at Wark.²²

Walter 'Espec, the original founder of Wark, had died without issue in 1153, and in the division of his estates among co-heiresses the barony of Wark became vested in the Ros family. Robert de Ros, surnamed Fursan, who probably built the keep of Helmsley about 1200, is also said to have restored the castle of Wark. In about the year 1226 he granted to Robert, his second son, all his land of Wark with the castle and its appurtenances *prope et procul*, except what he had bestowed on his Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr at Bolton, to be held by him and his heirs by his lawful spouse, paying a 'soar-hawk' annually at Roxburgh fair.²³

There seems, as was natural, to have been a long dispute with the Crown as to the actual ownership of the castle, and when Henry III. wished to make it his residence for a week or two in the autumn of 1255, the Robert de Ros of the day stipulated that it was to be without prejudice to his claims. The king despatched Bartholomew le Bygod, the marshal of his household, to Wark, on the 28th of August, in order to make preparations for his reception,²⁴ and

²⁰ 'A mire de Salerne pur estre medcinez.'—*Ibid.* l. 1320. It does not seem certain whether this is a proverbial expression or whether there really was an Italian physician at Wark.

²¹ 'Saint Andreu e saint Jacme!'—*Ibid.* l. 1324.

²² 'Et in warnistura castri de Werche pro xlviii cheldris farine de avena xix li et iiij s per breve Regis. Et pro liij cheldris brasii x li et xij s per idem breve. Et in custamento x militum et xl servientium residentium in castro de Werch xli li per breve Regis. . . . Randulfus de super Teise reddidit computum de C s. de relevio suo. In custamento militum regis de Werch C s per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll*, 20 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. pp. 21-22.

²³ This grant was confirmed by Henry III. 15 Aug. 1227. *Charter Roll*, 11 Hen. III. pt. 2 m. 5; *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, i. p. 177.

²⁴ *Patent Roll*, 39 Hen. III. m. 3; *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, i. p. 303.

arrived there himself with his queen on the 6th of September. On the day following Henry and Eleanor were visited by their daughter Margaret and her husband Alexander III. of Scotland. The latter returned on the same evening to Roxburgh, but left his queen behind in consequence of her mother's illness.²⁵ The Scots regarded this with some suspicion, and a fortnight later Henry actually gave a solemn bond that she should be restored to her husband as soon as her mother was sufficiently recovered to leave Wark.²⁶ A day or two afterwards he himself set out on his return to the south of England. Orders were given on the 12th of May, 1256, that the castle should be restored to Robert de Ros.²⁷ Its actual delivery probably took place a month later, as eight serjeants-on-foot were quartered at Wark by the king's command from Michaelmas, 1255, to the 12th of June, 1256, for which they received £17 1s. 4d. at the rate of 2d. a day each.²⁸ Two years afterwards, Henry III. again borrowed the castle from Robert de Ros on account of urgent matters of state that had lately arisen on the Scottish marches. This was not to prejudice the pending suit, and on the conclusion of the anticipated war the sheriff of Northumberland was to return the castle with its towers and *appendicia* to Robert de Ros or his attorney.²⁹ On the 5th of April, 1258, the king instructed the sheriff, Robert de Nevill, that if he had been given possession of the castle by Ros, he was to receive Walter de Moray, one of the king's Scottish partisans, into it, but was prudently to keep the inner bailey and the tower in his own hands.³⁰ Ultimately, on the 7th of November, 1259, Henry III. renounced all claims of the Crown upon Wark in the favour of Ros.³¹ After receiving the homage of John Baliol, to whom he had just adjudged the throne of Scotland, in the castle-hall of Norham, on Thursday the 20th day of November, 1292, Edward I. proceeded to Wark, where he spent the two following days. The expenses of his household while there were as follows:—Friday, 21st November.—The pantry 51s; the buttery 48s 1½d; the kitchen 79s 3½d; the scullery 4s 5½d; the hall

²⁵ *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 181.

²⁶ Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. p. 565.

²⁷ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, i. p. 398; *Patent Roll*, 40 Hen. III.

²⁸ *Ibid.* i. p. 392; *Pipe Roll*, 40 Hen. III.

²⁹ *Ibid.* i. p. 412; *Patent Roll*, 42 Hen. III. m. 11.

³⁰ *Ibid.* i. p. 413; *Close Roll*, 42 Hen. III. m. 10. dorso.

³¹ *Ibid.* i. p. 425; *Charter Roll*, 44 Hen. III. m. 6.

10s 4d; the chamber 13s 6d; the stable 6l. 1s 1½d; wages 71s 4½d; alms 4s—Total 21l. 4s 5d. Wine 66½ sesterces; wax 50lb. Saturday, 22nd November—Total 20l. 2s 8d. Wine 94¼ sesterces; wax 56lb. He was again there for one day on the 12th of December.³² As he was preparing to march into Scotland in 1296, he received intelligence that the Robert de Ros who then held Wark had fallen so desperately in love with Christiane de Moubray, a Scottish lady, that he had abandoned his castle and gone over to the enemy,³³ after having vainly attempted to induce his brother William to accompany him.³⁴ William, who was left in the castle, urged the king to reinforce the garrison lest the Scots should seize it. A thousand men were immediately despatched by Edward for this purpose, but were nearly annihilated by the Scots under Robert de Ros in their night quarters in the small village of Presson.³⁵ Edward now advanced to Wark with his whole army, and kept Easter there previous to crossing the Tweed on the Wednesday following.

Three months later, Hugh le Despenser was sending home 966 oxen, cows, stirks, stots, and heifers that he had captured in Scotland, together with two chargers, all in the care of his own men, who were provided for the purpose with the king's safe-conduct issued by his seneschal Sir W. de Beauchamp. The sight of this herd quietly crossing the Border proved too strong an incitement to the predatory instincts of John Sampson and Robert le Eyr of Presson, and swooping down upon them at Presson on the 29th of June, they drove them all off to Wark Castle. In deference to a royal precept they released 800 head of cattle and the men and chargers on the 26th of July, but Despenser alleged that they still detained 166 of his beasts, that one of his chargers, worth £50, had died in consequence of its treatment at Wark, and that he had lost his men's services for three weeks. Summoned to answer this in

³² *Ibid.* ii. p. 153; *Exchequer Q.R. Miscellanea (Wardrobe)*, 76.

³³ 'Le roy Edward de Engleterre . . . teint la fest de pasche a Wark, de quel chastel Robert de Ros qi enfust sires sen fuy del obeisaunce le dit roi Dengleterre dedens le tierce iour deuant la venu le roy et lessa le chastel voide et sentrey a Senewar, vn petit chastel qil auoit en Escocè, tout pur paramours qil ama Cristiane de Moubray, qe apres ne ly deigna avoir.'—*Scalacronica*, p. 121.

³⁴ William de Ros, brother of the late Sir Robert de Ros of Wark, on account of his having saved the castle when his brother joined the Scots, afterwards petitioned the king for a grant of his mother's 'petyt maner' of Bellester, but apparently without success.—*Ibid.* iv. p. 381; *Chancery Misc. Portfolios*, 41, 195.

³⁵ Walteri de Hemingburgh, *Chronicon* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii. p. 93.

the camp at Berwick on the 28th of August, John Sampson declared that the 'hue and cry' was raised after the cattle, and that he merely detained them till the 'cry' was discussed in the king's court. He had, he said, delivered up all the animals except two, which Despenser's men declined to take with them, and no safe-conduct had ever been exhibited to him. Both sides demanded an investigation of the case, and the sheriff was instructed to impanel a jury of twelve, among whom were to be no tenants of Wark, on the following Monday.³⁶

Edward I. considered it necessary to borrow the castle of Wark in 1300. William de Ros, lord of 'Hamelak,' granted it to the king on the 8th of October till the following Michaelmas, together with its munitions, reserving to himself the ground sown with the crop, and stipulating for the residence of his own serjeant in the castle to protect his armour and other property.³⁷

Doubts having been expressed as to the legal title of William de Ros to Wark, which having fallen into the king's hands through the treason of Robert de Ros, had been given by him to William, as the escheat of the latter, without any writing, the king ordered at Linlithgow on the 2nd December, 1302, that his Council should in any case see that it was amply confirmed to William.³⁸

It was good policy for the crown itself to endeavour to acquire a castle that it was so constantly in the habit of borrowing, and on the 25th of September, 1317, William de Ros agreed to give Wark up to it in exchange for lands between the Thames and the Tees.³⁹ The very next year, however, the royal castle, not having been relieved by an appointed day, was compelled through famine to surrender to the Scots.⁴⁰ In 1333, Wark was granted by Edward III. to Sir William Montagu, with the consent of Parliament.

Sir William, who was created earl of Salisbury in 1337, was taken prisoner by the French at Lisle in 1340, and confined in the Chatelet at Paris. Froissart, in an account which, although its foundation in fact is extremely shaky, is too interesting as a picture

³⁶ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, ii. p. 192; *Chapter House (Scots Documents)*, Box 93, 15.

³⁷ *Ibid.* ii. p. 295; *Exchequer Q.R. Memoranda*, 29 Ed. I. m. 60.

³⁸ *Ibid.* ii. p. 343; *Privy Seals (Tower)*, 30 Ed. I. file 9.

³⁹ *Ibid.* iii. p. 111; *Close Roll*, 11 Ed. II. m. 20 dorso.

⁴⁰ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 235.

of the manners of the fourteenth century to be passed over, tells us that the countess of Salisbury, Katherine de Grandison, one of the most beautiful women in England, happened to be in their Castle of Wark, when the army of David Bruce passed under the walls, laden with rich booty, on its return from an invasion of England. This was too much for Sir William Montagu, the account proceeds, who was the earl's nephew and captain of the castle. He sallied out with about forty horsemen, and tracking in silence the last division of the Scots, which consisted of pack-horses so burdened with spoil that they could hardly get on, fell upon them at the entrance of a small wood. Two hundred Scots were killed or wounded, and a hundred and twenty horses, with the treasure on them, were driven by Montagu towards the castle.

Sir William Douglas, who commanded the rear-guard, which was already beyond the wood, hearing the shouts of the fugitives, turned back at full gallop with his men, but by the time they had ridden up the hill on which the castle stood, the barriers were closed, and the intercepted booty placed in safety behind them. Sir William Douglas commenced a violent attack on the castle; Sir William Montagu bravely defended it. At last the whole Scottish army, with the king himself, arrived on the scene.

David and his council when they saw so many of their men lying killed and wounded, with little or no effect on the castle, ordered a retreat to night quarters, wherever they could be found. The next morning the attack was resumed. The Scots advanced boldly up to the moats, bringing large trees and beams to fill them up in order to bring their engines of war as near the castle as possible. The garrison, cheered by the presence of the lovely countess, made a gallant defence, and in the evening the Scots were compelled to again fall back, leaving only sufficient of their number to protect their engines. All the same, the besieged saw that they were engaged in a hopeless task, if David persevered. They therefore determined to send a messenger to Edward III., who, as some of the prisoners they had taken informed them, had arrived at Berwick. No one was willing to leave the defence of the castle and the countess for this dangerous errand, until Sir William Montagu himself volunteered. Stealing out of the castle during the heavy rain that confined the Scots to their quarters that night, he passed through their army unnoticed. Soon after, as day was breaking,

he met, half a league on his road, two Scots driving two oxen and a cow towards their camp. Having wounded them and killed the cattle, in order to stop the supplies, he despatched the two men to David Bruce with a message to say that William Montagu had passed through his army and had gone to solicit assistance from the king of England at Berwick.

The arrival of this intelligence caused considerable alarm in the Scottish camp. The leaders of the army, dreading to be attacked by the English king before they could reduce the castle, went in a body to David, and declared that any further prosecution of the siege would confer neither profit nor honour upon him; their twelve days' campaign had done much damage in England, and if they could now carry home their rich plunder in safety, they would be ready on another occasion to return and do his bidding. Much against his will, David was forced to listen to their advice, and the next morning the Scots broke up their camp and retreated to the forest of Jedworth. About noon King Edward arrived after a forced march from Berwick, and was extremely disappointed to find the enemy flown.

Having ordered his army to take up their quarters on the site the Scots had abandoned, he disarmed, and accompanied by ten or twelve knights, went up to the castle to enquire for the countess and see what damage the attack of the Scots had done to the castle, and how the defence had been conducted.

On hearing of the king's approach the fair countess of Salisbury ordered all the gates to be thrown open, and went out to meet him in her richest attire. Making a low reverence, she tendered her thanks for the relief of the castle, and then led the king into it, the two walking hand in hand. They entered first the hall and then the chamber, which was richly furnished, as belonging to so great a lady. The king was so much struck with the beauty of the countess that he could not keep his eyes off her till at last he retired to a window, and leaning on it fell into a long day-dream.

The countess in the meantime going to look after the knights and squires, ordered dinner to be prepared, the tables to be set, and the hall decorated. She then returned and tried to rouse the king from his reverie. His declaration of unquenchable love she answered in a very practical way by fetching his knights and saying, 'Come, sire, to the

hall, your knights are waiting for you to wash their hands, for they, as well as you, have fasted too long.'

The king left the chamber and came into the hall, where, after washing his hands, he sat down to dinner with his knights, as did also the countess. At daybreak King Edward set out in pursuit of the Scots, impressed no less with the virtue than with the beauty of the fair chatelaine of Wark.⁴¹

On the 12th of July, 1383, John, earl of Carrick, the eldest son of the king of Scots, as Commissioner of Scotland, agreed at Morehouslaw with John, duke of Lancaster, that the damages done by the Scots to the buildings and walls of Wark Castle should be assessed by twelve notable esquires, six of each country, with the advice of masons and carpenters, and that the amount should be paid in three months to the chamberlain of England at Roxburgh.⁴² The earl of Northumberland, to whom Lancaster entrusted the government of the marches in the following year, was empowered to place men in the castle of Wark at his discretion, though the command of the donjon was specially reserved to its lord, Sir William Montagu.⁴³ The Scots are said to have taken and dismantled Wark, with Ford and Cornhill, in 1385.⁴⁴ Sir John Montagu received a license to exchange the barony and castle, which he had inherited from his father, Sir William, with Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, for other lands in 1396.⁴⁵ They shortly afterwards became the property of Sir Thomas Gray of Heton.

While Sir Thomas Gray was in attendance on Henry IV., between the time of his landing in Yorkshire and his coronation in October, 1399, the Scots seized Wark Castle, burning the houses in it and beating down the walls. They carried off Gray's children and many of his tenants, together with property valued at 2,000 marks.⁴⁶ The king deemed it necessary to grant a pardon to Sir Thomas for the inefficiency of his garrison.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Froissart, *Chronicles*, translated by Johnes, London, 1805, i. pp. 286-296.

⁴² *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, iv. p. 70; *Exchequer Treasury of Receipt Misc. (Placita, &c.)* 4^g.

⁴³ Ridpath, *Border History*, p. 354; Rymer, *Fœdera*, vii. p. 425.

⁴⁴ Ridpath, p. 355; Buchanan, lib. ix. 49, has merely 'tribus arcibus dirutis.'

⁴⁵ *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 36.

⁴⁶ Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV.* i. p. 81; *Patent Roll*, 1, Hen. IV. 7, 28.

⁴⁷ *Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland*, iv. p. 114; *Privy Seals (Tower)*; 1, Hen. IV. file 12.

In 1419 the castle, then in the custody of Robert Ogle, was taken by William Haliburton, of Fast Castle, and all the garrison were put to the sword. Soon afterwards, however, some English soldiers, who were well acquainted with the place, crept up the large drain that led from the kitchen to the Tweed, and then broke down a piece of a decayed wall to let their confederates into the castle. The Scottish garrison, being thus surprised, was in its turn massacred.⁴⁸

After the death of James II. before Roxburgh in 1460, the Scots took advantage of the internal dissensions in England to seize and demolish Wark.⁴⁹

It was not until the earlier successes of the Scottish invasion, which ended so disastrously at Flodden, had shown the need for stronger fortresses on the Border that Wark was ordered to be restored by Henry VIII. On the 8th of June, 1519, Thomas, Lord Dacre, writes to Wolsey from Harbottle:—

‘Pleas it also your grace I wrote unto youe hertofore concernyng
‘the Castell of Warke and the estate therof, whiche by the meanes of
‘your grace, in labouring to the kinges highnes, is thus fer set for-
‘wardes for the suretie and weall of the est marches and to the
‘Conforte of the kinges subjectes inhabitante within the same, and to
‘the gretest displeasur and destruction for Scotland that cowlde have
‘bene devised. The kinges money is spent nigh hand a yere agoo. It
‘has stande to no more chargies to the kinges highenes out of his Coffres
‘but onely to the som of cccc iiij^{xx} *li.* and if I might have the som of
‘ccxx*li.* to make out the hole som of dcc*li.* I suppose it shall thereby
‘finish it.

‘To make a shorte Declaracion to your grace the state therof shalbe
‘after this maner. The dongeon is clerely finished with all maner
‘of howses of offices as apperteignes till a Constable haveing xl persons
‘fotemen dayly wateing upon hym and the overmoste hows is made for
‘the kepeing of ordinaunce. The wacheman being in his wach hows
‘standeing upon the Top of the dongeon, whiche is now surely kept,
‘may se the Castell of Norham and all the boundes of Berwyk.

‘The said dongeon is made of foure howses high, and in every
‘Stage, there is fyve grete murdour holes, shot (*sic*) with grete voutes
‘of Stone, except one stage which is with Tymbre, So that grete

⁴⁸ Fordun, *Scotichronicon*.

⁴⁹ Buchanan, *Historia*, lib. xi. 1.

'bumbardes may be shot out at icheon of them. And there is a well
'made with trap dores thorow the middest of every hows for the
'heasing (*sic*) up of ordinaunce.

'The said dongeon is and shalbe so divised and cast with close gates
'going from it upon the Countremore, that in tyme of peas it shalbe
'able to kepe all the grete Castell. The same Castell shalbe of thre
'wardes. The dongeon is one. The ij^{de} warde that shalbe next the
'dongeon, shalbe and have an overthwarte wall from the one side of
'the Castell to the other and shalhave an irne yate in it with a voulte
'as fer as the yate goes, that an armed man may ride in at it, which
'shalhave anoder wall set to it, for to set an hows upon of vij yerdes
'widenes, which hows shalbe of Two Stages hight, Stables to be under-
'nethe and Chambres above, and the Stables and Chambres to be Di-
'vided, xij horses in a Stable and vj men in a Chambre, whiche by
'estimacion shalbe able to serve for vij^{xx} men and there horses and
'shalhave hall, kitcheing, bakhows and all oder howses of office stande-
'ing within the same warde with a draw well to serve the same garrison.
'And besides that, within the same warde there shalbe Rowme lefte to
'serve and kepe a flock of shepe and viij^{xx} hede of nowlte on the night
'and in a Skirmish tyme.

'In the iij^{de} warde is a yatehowse Towre of thre howses hight which
'is nerehande finished and covered all redy. In the lowest hows are
'ij grete voutes. The one is for the grete yate So that a lode of haye
'may com in at the same yate. The other is for the porter lodge and
'a Chambre within it, and two Stagies hight above the same. And at
'the ende of the said Castell next the watter of Twede, is a litell Towre
'of Thre Stagies hight. A litell Towre must be made at the weste
'posterne, which, as yet, is not done, So that men may com from the
'dongeon upon the Countremore to the same toure and to receyve in
'to the dongeon whome they woll for there reskewe. And so that
'outermoste warde shalbe for the Towne and Countrey to set there
'howses upon the Countremore in the tyme of warre and shalbe able to
'kepe one m^l hede of horses and nowlte within the same warde upon
'the night or in a Skirmish tyme.

'And when the said Castell shalbe finished, siche meanes shalbe
'founde that the landes belonging to the same and the fishinges
'whiche lay waiste and no man had prouffit thereof, shall fynde the

‘hows in tyme of peas, wherby the kinges highenes shall not be charged, but onely with the wages of foure gonners. And, seyng that the same howse shall do more dammage to Scotland, then twise Berwyk shall, and to have but the iiij^{de} parte there in garrison, I cannot se how the kinges highnes cowlde have spended his money better, for the suretie of his marchies, and in the tyme of warre to have suche a jewell of noysaunce to his enimies and to put his highnes to so litell Chargies in the tyme of peas but onely the wagies of the same iiij gonners. And if it might stande with the pleasur of your grace to move the kinges highnes that som ordinaunce might be sent to Newcastle with the Cole shippes of the same that lieth in Temse, I shall cause it be caried from thens to Holyeland by watter and from thens to be caried by lande to the said Castell. So that, when as the lord Hamylton and the Treasower of Scotland, commes downe to the bordours they lye at the Nonnery of Ekkles which is but twoo miles from Wark and commes nigh hande the same Castell when as they comm to mete me upon the est marches at Caldstreame and Cornell, might somtyme here a nose which shuld be displeasaunte to theym, and to the Conforte of all the kinges subjectes hereing the same. And of your pleasur in the premisses I beseche your grace that I may be advertised if it so stande with your graceis pleasur. And the holy Trinite preserve your grace.’⁵⁰

Dacre’s opinion as to the immense importance of the fortification of Wark through Wolsey’s influence was afterwards strongly endorsed by Sir Anthony Ughtred, captain of Berwick, who assured the cardinal that nothing more beneficial had been done on the Border since the death of Henry V., and that in consequence children yet unborn would pray for him.⁵¹

A good picture of the wild state of the Border in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. is afforded by the account of the raid of 500 Scots of Teviotdale, who met at Hoselawlough on the 14th of December, 1521, ‘museld’ so that they could not be known, and despatched John Davidson of Fowmerden, Wat Young of Lempitlaw, and others as ‘skurers’ to the ‘suberbils’ of the castle of Wark. These, while engaged in driving off cattle, struck down John Ewerd, a bailiff of the

⁵⁰ *State Papers, Scotland, Hen. VIII.* vol. i. No. 57, P.R.O.

⁵¹ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Hen. VIII.* iii. pt. 2, p. 1,296.

'suberbils,' and took away his horse. Lord Dacre's men in the castle gave chase to the Scots, and recovered all the cattle, but not the bailiff's horse. They drove together 200 cattle on the Scottish side, but only took six 'kye,' so they said, not worth so much as Ewerd's steed. In the middle of the night the whole host of Teviotdale came down the Tweed with banner unfurled, and burnt the village of Learmouth, half a mile from Wark. They drove off, so Dacre complained to the Duke of Albany, 400 head of 'kye' and oxen, 2,000 sheep, 4,000 'gate,' 30 geldings, and 20 prisoners, while 'ane honest woman' perished in the flames. Dacre's men would not leave the castle 'for fear of betreasing behind them,' because 'a skrymmage was upon the night before.' A thousand natives of Northumberland gathered, eager to pursue the Scots, but Dacre, preferring to seek satisfaction from the Scottish government, charged them to return home in the king's name.⁵²

On the approach of the great army of the Duke of Albany in September, 1522, William Ellerker deserted Wark Castle, and Dacre was obliged to allow the Greys of Northumberland to enter and keep it.⁵³

In June, 1523, Lord Leonard Grey reinforced the garrison of Wark. On the morning of the 23rd of that month Seton, the captain of the castle, hearing that a body of Scots were in the neighbourhood, made a sally, leaving Lord Leonard to guard the castle. He sent on in front fifty spearmen and twenty archers, and placed his other men in ambush. They eventually slew twenty-five Scots and took sixty-one prisoners, among them several Trotters and Davisons. Davy Hume was put to flight with a broken spear either in his coat or body. Sixty-one geldings, the best in the March and Teviotdale, together with a standard and a 'gyttern,' formed part of the spoil.⁵⁴

The Earl of Surrey inspected Wark in the following September, and had new bulwarks made there, under the direction of Richard Caundish, the master of the ordnance at Berwick. These, he considered, would enable it to stand a ten days' siege. The outer ward might be lost in two days and yet the enemy be nothing nearer taking the donjon, 'which,' he says, 'is the strongest thing that I have seen. I would the keep at Guisnes were like it.' He had so trimmed it with ordnance

⁵² *Ibid.* p. 794.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 1,077.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 1,310.

that he only wished Albany would come and try its strength.⁵⁵ A month later, however, he was alarmed at discovering that the foundation of the donjon was not two feet underground and that it could be easily mined.⁵⁶

On the 17th of October the garrison consisted of Lord Ogle the captain, his deputy Sir William Lisle, and his brother John Ogle, with 131 spears, archers, gunners, and mariners.⁵⁷ By Saturday, the 31st of the month, Albany, who had been three days at Melrose, having received his great gun, in addition to eight cannon, two double cannon, and twenty-four falcons and serpentines, proposed to march to Birgham, within a mile of Wark, and shoot over the Tweed at the castle,⁵⁸ which he had assured the Scots would never dare shut its gates against him.⁵⁹ He arrived before the castle that same evening with a great puissance, and fired at it all the Sunday and Monday.⁶⁰ At three o'clock on the Monday afternoon, as the river was too high to ford, he despatched two thousand Frenchmen in boats to assault the place. They made their way into the base court, which was too large for a garrison of little over a hundred to attempt to defend, and after an assault of an hour and a half's duration, forced a passage into the inner ward. As fast, however, as they came in, they were slain, fighting 'at hand-strokes,' by Sir William Lisle and his men. After the captain of the first band of French foot had fallen with nine others, the rest were driven out of the inner ward, and so hotly pursued by the handful of Englishmen that the thousand French and five hundred Scots in the base court also took fright, and fled pell-mell towards the Tweed, where not a few were drowned in the panic. Twenty-two more Frenchmen died that night, and a hundred and sixty were sore hurt. Hearing that Surrey was approaching to give him battle, Albany beat a disgraceful retreat. Wark could not have held out long. If Surrey had not made new bulwarks of earth it would not have been tenable half a day. Indeed, even after its brilliant defence he found it so difficult to get a garrison to stop there that he cordially wished the castle were in the sea.⁶¹

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 1,400.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 1,445.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 1,424.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 1,450.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 1,433.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 1,454.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 1,459. Cf. Wolsey's letter to Sampson and Jerningham in *State Papers, Henry VIII.* vi. 201. The Scottish historian, Buchanan, was in Albany's camp at this time, and gives the following description of Wark:—
'Arcis hæc forma est. Turris munitissima in intima area in magnam assurgit

In anticipation of this siege, the roof of the donjon had been taken off and made flat for setting guns upon. This caused the timber to take 'grete skathe,' and no person could lodge or remain in it till it was repaired. The Lord Treasurer knew that a low roof was required, and Dacre applied, in the following May, for nine or ten fotheres of the waste lead at Dunstanburgh for this purpose.⁶²

Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker in their View of the Fortresses of the East and Middle Marches in 1541, made an elaborate report on the state of the defences of Wark :—

'The towne of Warke standeth . . . upon the banke of the 'Ryver of Twede in the which towne bene xiiij husbandlands well 'plenysshed of the kings Majesties inherytaunce. There ys also a 'castell of the said kings majestie of thre wardes whereof the utter 'most warde serveth for a barmakyn the said castell ys in greate and 'extreme decaye as well by reason that yt was never perfytely fynysshed 'nor the walls of the princypall tower or dungeon thereof was never 'covered as by occasion of a battrye made upon the utter walls of the 'same with greate ordenaunce at the last sege lade thereunto by the 'duke of Albany. The said castell of Wark ys the only chefe succour 'relefe and defence of all the quarter of the border of England lying 'on the west syde of the ryver of Tyll And yf the said castell be not 'maynteyned and upholden the resydewe thereof wyl soone be layde 'waste and dyssolate as by the late experyence after the said Scottes 'felde dyd plainly appear and was proved.

'And although ye yt may be thoughte that the said castell of Warke 'cannot where yt standeth be tenable against the sege royall because 'that syde thereof where the dongeon standeth ys not by the nature 'of the self grounde defensyble from the daunger of mynnery yet under 'the correction of suche men of greate experyence and dyscreton as 'have lately by the kings majesties comaundemente vyewed and con- 'sydered the same yt woll be very-harde (as we thinke) thereabout to 'fynde a place for all respects more necessary and convenyente for the 'defence and relief of that frountier and border than where the same

altitudinem : eam duplex murus ambit, exterior latum amplexus spatium, in quod, belli tempore, rustici solebant confugere, ac pecora fructusque agrorum conferre : interior multo angustior, sed, fossis circumductis, et turribus excitatis munitior.' *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, lib. iv. xxii. Edin. 1727, p. 412.

⁶² *Cotton MS.* Calig. B. iii. 6 ; Raine, *North Durham*, General History, p. xiv.

‘castell nowe standeth and the said castell as yt maye (as we esteeme)
 ‘with the coste of twoo hundreth pounds or lyttle more be repared
 ‘amended and fynysied in suche wyse as yt shalbe not onely able to
 ‘receyve and lodge two hundreth souldiours in tymme of warre with
 ‘all their horses in the myddle warde but also in the utter warde
 ‘thereof releyve and harborowe all the tenants and inhabytantes of
 ‘the Lordeshippe with their goodes in tyme of nede. And a garryson
 ‘of two hundreth men layde there in tyme of warre may do more
 ‘annoyance and dyspleasures to the Scottes and more relefe to the
 ‘Englyshe Inhabytants of that border then yf they were in any other
 ‘place of all the said marches.

‘And consyderynge the Scottes and especyally the borderers to be
 ‘men of no great experyence or engyne in the assaillinge of fortresses
 ‘as we thinke the said castell myghte be where yt standeth fortifyed
 ‘in suche wyse that yt well defended mighte be able to withstande the
 ‘Scottes armye to suche tyme as an armye mighte be prepared within
 ‘this realm of England and avaunced thither for rescues of the same.
 ‘And yf yt were the kings majesties pleasure we thinke there might
 ‘be within the cyrcuyte of the said castell a strong towre or kepe
 ‘devysed and made for the savegarde of suche mens lyves as were
 ‘within the said castell when in extreme nede shoulde chance and that
 ‘towre to be prepared fortifyed and kepte only for suche a purpose.

‘The specyall decayes of the said Castell of Warke of necessitye
 ‘requysite to be repared in brefe tyme.

‘Fyrste, the walls of the chefe towre or doungeon muste be covered
 ‘with leade for preserynge of the same from the rayne water that fal-
 ‘leth and by estimacon that woll take four fother of leade or lytle more.

‘And where for lacke of coverture of the same heretofore as yt ys
 ‘thoughte the wall of the said tower ys ryven in two places whiche
 ‘muste be amended and for the better assystance of the same two
 ‘stronge buttresses to be rased from the grounde one joyninge to
 ‘eyther syde of the said tower.

‘Also there ys a longe house that was devysed and never fynysied
 ‘within the mydle warde of the said castell whereof the walles be rased
 ‘of lyme and stone and nether rooffe floores nor coverture standinge
 ‘upon or in the same That house was devysed for the lodgynges of
 ‘two hundredth souldyours in warre tyme.

‘There ys also a nother longe house within the said castell with
‘stables underneath and garners above whiche woulde be better re-
‘paralleled both in the coverynges floores partycons and other neces-
‘saryes requysite to the same.

‘The bullwarkes within bothe the utter and inwarde warde which
‘at the last sege of the said castell was for the instance necessytie
‘made of dovett turves and earthe ware requyset to be made of lyme
‘and stone for the better and more durable contynuanace of the
‘same.

‘The walle of the utterwarde whiche was beaten downe nere to the
‘grounde at the last sege and made redye dybatrye for assaulte
‘remayning as yet unprepared had greatt nede to be newe reedyfied
‘and allmost all the utter warde to be newlye rampered and fortefyed
‘and the roofes of the gate house tower thereof and of an other lytle
‘tower standinge in a corner of the said utterwarde to be new repaired
‘and amended where as nede so requyreth.

‘Also the ordenaunce within the said castell would be newly
‘stocked and mounted and some store of powder munycon and
‘artyllerye be sente to the same to be kepte in store for a soden
‘necessytie for affayres as we perceyed there was very small store of
‘any suche necessities wyth in the said castell.’⁶³

Henry VIII. laid out considerable sums on the repair of Wark between the 12th of February and the 10th of November, 1543. The wages and other expenses were certified and paid fortnightly by Thomas Gower the Surveyor of Works, and Thomas Pettyt the master mason. Gower found it necessary to ride to the Court to declare to the king the state of all his works, and to sue for a warrant for money to pay for them. He obtained £600 at the hands of Sir John Gostwick, and on the 8th of September charged the sum of £10 3s. 6d. for the carriage of this money from London to Berwick, and his own personal expenses in the matter. The whole accounts may be presented in a short abstract:—

‘The charges of the Kyngs Maties Works at Warke Castell, begyn-
nyng Monday xij day of February, the xxxiiij yere of the reigne
of our soueraygn lorde Kyng Henry the viijth:—

⁶³ *Cotton MS. Calig. B. vii. B.M.* ; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 181.

Thomas Pettyt, master mason, at 12d. a day ...	£15	2s.	0d.
Thomas Gower, expenses to London and back..	10	3s.	6d.
'Clarks and Ouersears,' at 7s. a fortnight, and 6d. a day	37	10s.	6d.
'Masons, Setters, and Hewars,' at 3s. 4d. and 3s. 8d. a week	113	11s.	8d.
'Rough layers and wallers,' at 6d. and 5d. a day	113	16s.	10d.
'Smythes,' at 8d. and 6d. a day	12	18s.	5d.
'Carpyntrs,' at 8d. and 6d. a day	6	14s.	9d.
'Quarrers' at the 'Quarryes in Oxenden' and at 'Qwarrey Hagg,' at 6d. a day	70	1s.	6d.
'Lymeborners,' at 5d. a day	53	16s.	2½d.
'Laborers' at 4d. and 5d. a day, and women to carry earth to fill in between the walls of the ramparts and so on, at 3d.	303	14s.	4d.
For lime bought of 'Edward Muschame lord of Gatheryck,' at 2d. a boll, and carriage at 3d.	66	15s.	3d.
'Coles bought at Forde Cole Pytts'	31	15s.	8d.
'Coles bought at Gatteryck Cole Pytts,' at 4d. a boll	110	3s.	4d.
'Horses hyred at iiij d. the day euery horse' ...	264	5s.	8d.
Carters, at 4d. a day	106	0s.	0d.
'Necessaries payments emptions and expenses'	530	7s.	0d.
<hr/>			
' <i>Summa totalis</i> of the hole charges' ...	£1846	16s.	7d. ⁶⁴

Sadler, in a letter to Wriothesley of the 26th of April, 1545, represents John Carr, captain of Wark, active and expert enough in Border warfare, as incapable of properly defending the castle, which, with others in the North, had been kept more like a gentleman's house than a fortress of war.⁶⁵

Sir Robert Bowes, in his Book of the State of the Marches, composed in 1551, was more occupied with the state of the village than that of the castle of Wark:—

'The next Castle upon the frontier (above Norham) is the kinges 'majesties Castle of Warke, the utter warde whereof is moche decayed,

⁶⁴ *Harleian MS.* 1724, fo. 166.

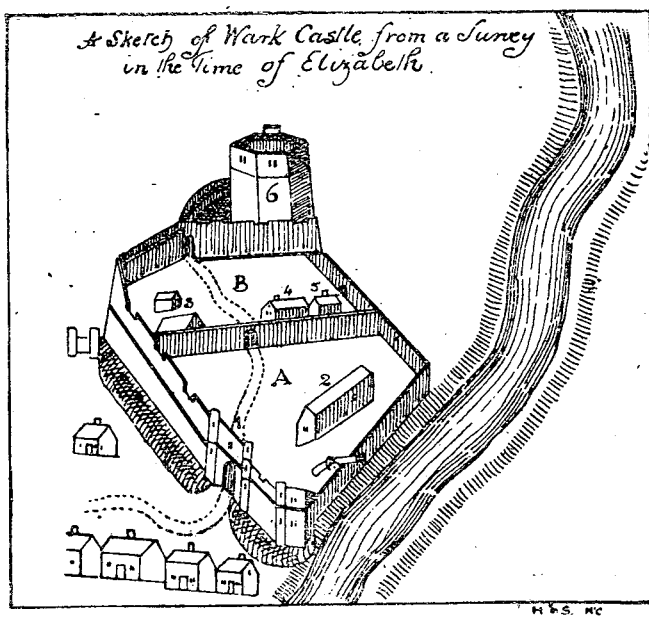
⁶⁵ *State Papers, Henry VIII.* vol. v. p. 439.

‘specyally towards the water of Tweade, And had muche nede to be
‘there repared. That Castle standethe also to very good purpose, for
‘the defence of the frontier and countre. And if way colde be founde
‘to encrease the plenyshing and inhabytation of that towne it wolde
‘moche strengthe and enforce that frontier against the enemye. And
‘for that purpose, myne opynyon is, That if the towne were made
‘larger as from the east ende thereof extending w^hout the ringe of
‘the castle as farre westwarde from the castle as that parte of the
‘towne that is by east the castle. And the same fortyfied with a
‘ditch, and an earthe walle as Guynes is, I think the most parte of
‘the ditch wolde be full of water. And so it might be with no
‘great charge made tenable for the sodayne, excepte the enemye came
‘with powre and ordynance. And then the Castle might be the
‘keeper’s saffegarde for the men and goodes of the towne. And this
‘fortefyeng of the towne wolde be also muche savety unto the Castle
‘specyally from mynorye where unto the saide inner warde of the
‘castle is muche subiect. And this towne of Warke (so enlarged)
‘wolde not onely conteyn in tyme of warre the inhabitantes of sondry
‘villages therabouts for there better savety, but also a nombre of
‘artificers and merchantes, whiche, I thinke, might be gathered thider,
‘and their maynteyned, if a liberty were graunted unto that towne
‘of a market every weeke, and ij faires in the yeaere, w^here the comerce
‘and enterchange of all wares and merchandize passing betwene the
‘realmes of England and Scotland upon horseback within the east and
‘myddle marches of the same sholde be had and made. And the
‘tolle and custome there payde for the same, to goo to the fortifyca-
‘tions of the said towne.

‘There was left in the saide castle of Warke much faire tymber
‘that was of a storehouse brought from Roxebrughe whiche wolde
‘be safely kept, and also a copper panne, and sondry other brewe
‘vesselles broughte also from Roxebroughe. Whiche I think wolde
‘suffise to make a large brewhouse and a backhouse there. And it
‘were muche necessary to have suche houses there, as well to serve
‘the cattle (if nede sholde requyre) as to helpe in victualling an armye,
‘if any sholde entre Scotlande by that waye, whereby muche cariage
‘might be saved that must nedes be occupied, if all the victuall sholde
‘be conveyde from Berwicke or the Holle Island.

'This castle of Wark is not flanked, but rownde in compasse, 'albeit (I think) there might be waies devysed in fortifyeng the 'towne, as afore to flanke bothe the towne and the Castle.'⁶⁶

Actuated by that strong sense of justice, devoid of any ulterior purpose, which so distinguished her from the rest of the Tudors, Queen Mary reminded the Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, on the 6th of May, 1554, that the barony, castle, and manor of Wark, after the death of Sir Edward Gray on the 6th of December, 1531, by reason



WARK CASTLE.

of the minority of his son Ralph, came into the king's hands; and that considering it was convenient for the defence of the country against Scotland, Henry VIII. fortified it with sumptuous, strong, and large buildings, and it was so maintained till the 6th of December, 1550, when Ralph Gray came of age, tendered his livery, and presented a petition for the restoration of the castle and all his lands. The petition was then stayed in order that the charge employed on the

⁶⁶ *State Papers, Dom. Add.* Ed. VI. vol. iv. 30, P.R.O.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 201.

castle by the crown might be continued, but considering the good service done by Ralph Gray's ancestors for the defence of the country, and that none less was conceived of him, and that his inheritance could not justly be withdrawn without his free assent, Mary now granted him livery of the castle and his other possessions on condition of his giving the Master surety for the performance of these articles:— To keep the castle in as good repair as now; to maintain in residence a house-porter, two gunners, and eight soldiers; to visit it himself or by deputy twice a year in time of peace; to see to its repair and the good order of the soldiers; to repair thither and continue there in time of war and serve according to the custom of the Borders, or as commanded; and to redeliver the ordnance there to the queen or her heirs when required. These articles Ralph Gray covenanted to observe under an obligation of £500.⁶⁷

A bird's-eye view of Wark Castle from the north-east as it stood in the reign of Elizabeth has fortunately been preserved.

Attached to this sketch is the following elucidation:—

'A. The nether or outer ward.

1. The great gate and Porter's Lodge.
2. The Stonehouse.

'B. The second or middle ward.

3.) The Constable's House.
4.) Bakehouse.
5.) Kitchen, etc.

'C. The third ward, called the Ring.

6. The great Dungeon, which has a Hall Parlour, Kitchen, and several chambers.'

An accompanying Survey informs us that 'The Circumferance of 'the Castell of Warke, some time called the baronie of Roos, conteineth 'lxxii perchies, everie perche comprehendes xvi foute and one half, so 'that the compasse of. the same Castell is ccclxxxxvii yards, and a 'thousande one hundred ninety one foute, within the whiche thaire is 'three wairdes.

'The neather wairde or utter warde wherein stands the great Yaite, 'or entrie into the Castell, and lieth next unto the waiter of Tweide, in

⁶⁷ *Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Add. Mary*, vol. vii. 19, p. 434.

'which there is a Porter's luge, in the occupation of the Porter called William Selbie, one goodly Stone house in the Lord's owen hande.

'The seconde wairde is called the midle warde, wharin is ane Bawkehouse, ane house or Chawlmer the Constable lieth in; ane Kitchinge, ane house that John Morninge occupies, ane bakehouse all in good reparations.

'The third wairde of this Castell is called the Ringe, wharin standes the greate Dungeon in rounde forme wharin was boithe Haulle, Parler, Kitchinge, and manye goodlie Chalmers, but nowe in great decaie and ruine, and parte els fallen downe to the earth.

'Within the Castell thaire is of the Queens Majestie allowed for the better preservation of hir fronte, 4 Gunners and John Morninge the maister gunner; the rest are called Richarde Hazelwoode, Mathewe Hutchinson and William Caxton, and paid upon hir chargies, who haith in charghe, Three duble basies—ij fawconettes of brasse—a culvret—ij sakers—ij demiculverins—ij fawconettes of brasse for the feilde, and all ere in good repaire and servisable as tyme and service requireth in all xiiij peace.⁶⁸

The proposed budget for the garrison of Wark in 1583 comprised, as in the cases of Norham and Harbottle :—

Captain of Horsemen, at 6s. 8d. per diem ...	£121	13s.	4d.
Lieutenant, at 3s. 4d.	60	16s.	8d.
80 Horsemen, at 10d. a man ...	1,216	13s.	4d.
An Ensign Bearer, at 20d. ...	30	8s.	4d.
A Trumpet, at 16d.	24	6s.	8d.
A Porter, at 10d.	15	4s.	2d.
An Under Porter, at 6d.	9	2s.	6d.
Master Gunner, at 12d.	18	5s.	0d.
A Quartermaster Gunner, at 8d.	12	3s.	4d.
16 Gunners, at 16d.	146	0s.	0d.
A Chaplain, at 16d.	24	6s.	8d.
A Surgeon, at 16d.	24	6s.	8d.

£1703 6s. 8d.

⁶⁸ *Collections relating to Camps and Castles*, by Sir David Smith, Alnwick Castle MSS. It has hitherto been impossible to discover the original survey.

The castle, we are told, was Mr. Gray's inheritance. He was bound by his covenant to keep a lieutenant and certain gunners and officers in it, and to lie there himself in time of war in order, with the queen's help, to defend it with his tenants. This, it was considered, he would be unable to do, as since making this bargain, he had done nothing to the castle; and because a place so necessary to the defence of the frontier must be kept up, it would be well to let him provide a lieutenant and fifty men from his tenantry, as he was doing, and for the queen to bear the other charges.⁶⁹

Writing from Chillingham on the 7th of October, 1592, Sir Ralph Gray stated that he had finished the water wall of Wark Castle, except a little in the basement, and that he had sufficient stone, lime, sand, and timber for the remaining works of the castle. He complained that as yet he had only received £200 out of the £500 promised him as the estimated cost of the work, although many people in that neighbourhood considered that what he had already done was well worth the whole money.⁷⁰

Sir Ralph's son, Sir William Grey, was created Lord Grey of Wark by James I., on the 11th of February, 1624, and the castle is now the property of his descendant the Earl of Tankerville.

With the aid of the sketch of the castle as it stood in the reign of Elizabeth, it is easy enough to make out the general ground plan on the spot. The great gatehouse on the east side has entirely disappeared, but the foundation of the little tower next to the Tweed may still be traced in a garden, and marks the eastern extremity of the castle area. Below this garden a terrace, formerly known as the Maiden Way, but now called the Ladies' Walk, has been formed along the cliff above the river. It was possibly intended for a battery. The site of the wall separating the outer from the middle ward is indicated by a hedge. From this middle ward, which contained the quarters of the garrison, with a draw-well, and was supposed to be capable of sheltering a flock of sheep and 160 head of cattle, the west postern led down to the boat house. Enough is left of the double curtain-wall on the south side of this ward to show how it was filled in with earth by the women

⁶⁹ Raine, *North Durham*, General History, p. xxxv.; Cotton MS. Titus F. xiii.

⁷⁰ *Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Add. Eliz.* vol. vii.

in 1543. The flight of steps that ascended to the Ring or inner ward can be distinctly traced. The donjon itself seems to have been a sort of oblong octagon, with an octagonal turret about 18 feet in diameter attached to its east face. The position of the donjon, on by far the highest member of the *kaim* or comb-like range of drift gravel, is very striking. Beyond it to the west is the ditch made in consequence of recommendation of Sir Robert Bowes, in 1551, that the village should be extended in that direction, and in some measure fortified.

ADDENDA.

P. 345, l. 19.—Dacre's accounts relating to the year 1552 have been preserved, and contain some additional particulars of Ellerker's cowardly abandonment of Wark:—

- 'To William Ellerker, captein of the Castell of Warke for the tyme for
 'his owne wagies and his custrell for two monethes aither monethe
 'contenyng xxviiij. dayes begynnynge the xj.th daye of Julii and
 'ending the iiij.th daye of September inclusive, anno xiiij.^{mo} at iiij.s.
 'by the daye xj*li* iiij.s.
- 'To the same William for the wagies of iiij^{xx} xiiij. soldeours his
 'retinewe by the space of two monethes begynnynge the xj.th daye
 'of Julii and ending the iiij.th daye of September inclusive either
 'monethe contenyng xxviiij. dayes wherof to xlviiij. of the same
 'soldeours every of them at viij*d*. by the daye xliii*li* xvjs and to
 'xlv. of them every one at v*d*. by the daye the one monethe
 'xxxj*li* xs and the other monethe to every one of the hole retynue
 'v*d*. by the daye lxx*li* ijs cxlj*li* viijs
 elij*li* xijs
- 'Of the last monythes wages atteynynge to lxx*li* ijs ther is deteyned
 'in the handes of the foresaid William Ellerker xli ijs for hym
 'and his retynue for foure daies wagies parcell of the said two
 'monethes wagies, that is to saye from the last daye of Auguste
 'unto the v.th daye of September exclusive whiche last daye of
 'Auguste the same William Ellerker gaif over the said Castell in
 'the presence of the Lorde Roos wardein and others when as the
 'Duke of Albanye with the power of Scotland came forwardes to-
 'wardes the marchies wherof the said William muste aunswere the
 'kinges highnes.

‘Paied unto Edward Graye Squyer in partie of paiement of xix daies
 ‘wages for him and his retinue of iiij^{xx} xiiij. soldeours entring as
 ‘caiptain of the Castell of Warke the furste daye of September
 ‘anno xiiij.^{mo} aftur the departure of the foresaid William Ellerker
 ‘and endynge the xix daye of the same monythe at whiche daye
 ‘peas was taken and from that tyme forward the said Edward
 ‘undertoke to kepe the said Castell withoute wages duryng peas⁷¹
 ‘as apperes by billes remanyng, that is to saye iiij. a daye for
 ‘hymself and vjd. a daye for every souldyour ... xlvj^h xiiij. iiijd.
 ‘And then in truste of peas the said garrison of Edward Greye were
 ‘all discharged by the said Lord Dacre save only the gonners
 ‘called John Martyn, Thomas Tindale and John Atkinson who
 ‘taried there a monethe contenyng xxviiij. dayes every of
 ‘them at vjd. by the daye over and besides thre gonners taken of
 ‘the grete retinue of Berwik according to the kinges warraunt
 ‘remanyng in the Tresourer custodie within the counsell house of
 ‘Berwyk xlijs
 xlviiij^h xvs iiijd.⁷²

P. 349, l. 21.—John Carr, captain of Wark, was taken prisoner by the Scots at Haddonrig on the 24th of August, 1542, together with ‘Master John Tempest and his broder Lasseye,’ who were in command of a hundred men stationed at Wark. On hearing of the disaster, the Earl of Rutland immediately despatched another hundred men under Thomas Waterton and Nicholas Tempest to reinforce the garrison. Rutland was, however, informed by Thomas Gower, on the 28th, that the castle of Wark was not tenable. The next morning he was surprised to hear from John Carr that his taker, who appears to have been Richard Carr, a possible kinsman, had been good to him, and had released him for a month on his own bond and other sureties he had obtained in Scotland. Carr had returned in good courage to keep the house of Wark, and as only about fifty out of the hundred men who had gone with the Tempests to Haddonrig had made their way back to the castle, and that ‘with great hurts and without weapons or harness,’ he asked Rutland to allow him to engage fifty men of his own choosing in order to defend

⁷¹ After ‘peas’ is added and crossed out ‘quod hoc factum fuit discessionem (sic) Domini Dacres nulla billa pro hujusmodi solucione habet ad ostendum.’

⁷² *Chapter House Book*, B₃, f. 232, P.R.O.

a place which the earl of Huntley was almost certain to besiege if he entered England.⁷³ Rutland complied with his request, but the moment the Privy Council heard of the matter, they naturally considered that a prisoner on parole was not a fit person to be captain of one of the most important fortresses on the Border, and instructed Rutland to gently remove Carr to some other post and put Robert Raymond, whom they sent down, in his place.⁷⁴ The castle, Henry VIII. was told, was far out of order, and 'Scottes-borne' were still allowed to remain in the house. The royal pleasure was, therefore, that the Duke of Norfolk, who had been appointed to command the forces preparing to take the field against Scotland, should speak to the king's mason then at Wark to see that the donjon was repaired to turn the wet, and that 'where there was sometime a well in it, it shall be meet the same to be searched out and cleansed accordingly.'⁷⁵ The Privy Council was informed that there was a secret vault at Wark that led to the captain's chamber, but Norfolk assured them there was nothing of the kind. The works on the defences of the castle were already in active progress. On the morning of Tuesday, the 26th of September, as the king's carts were engaged in carrying stone from Carham church to the castle, the Scots came and seized three of the carts with the horses and harness, without any attempt at their rescue being made by John Carr and his fifty men, or any other soldiers in the castle, 'whereof none was stirring but only the poor workmen. The demeanour of John Carr and other capetains ther, I referr,' the denunciand Lawson wrote to Norfolk, 'to your graces wisdoms in this behalve.'⁷⁶ Although the king 'much noted both the behaviour of the Scots in the taking of the carts from Wark, and the slackness of Carr in suffering the same,'⁷⁷ Carr remained at Wark while the castle was nominally in the charge of Raymond. On the 22nd of November the two captains of Wark were requested by the captain of Berwick to obtain what information they could in their neighbourhood of the probable incursions of the Scots, but as the Earl of Hertford had only recently made a proclamation 'that

⁷³ *Hamilton Papers*, ed. by Joseph Bain, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, 1890, vol. i. pp. 164-166.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 175.

⁷⁵ Henry VIII. to Norfolk, etc., 22nd Sept., 1542. *Ibid.* p. 222.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 242.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 245.

there should no man speak with no Scots,' Carr was very doubtful if he could safely hold any communication with his friends across the Tweed. At last yielding to the advice of Raymond and a certain Master Utdred he sent to a Scotsman who came to them at ten o'clock at night, and said that the king of Scots was at Hawick intending to ravage the West March and leave the East alone.⁷⁸ On July 16th, 1543, six hundred Scots from Teviotdale and the Merse 'ran a foray' at Wark and drove off eight score of cattle with some sheep and nags, and took two of the king's tenants prisoners. This time Carr and his company gave chase, and in crossing the ford the Scots turned round on them. In the skirmish Watty Young, a household servant of the laird of Cessford, the supposed instigator of the raid, was slain, and several of the Scots were badly wounded.⁷⁹

APPENDIX.

THE RELIEF OF WARK CASTLE BY EDWARD III.

ALTHOUGH Froissart's story of how Edward III. raised the siege of Wark, and was honourably entertained there by the Countess of Salisbury,⁸⁰ presents many difficulties of detail, these difficulties have been immensely increased by the blunders of those critics who have ventured to deny that there could be any foundation in fact for his narrative. 'What follows,' Mr. Ruskin justly says in presenting the story of Wark to his readers, 'you may receive on Froissart's telling as the vital and effectual truth of the matter. A modern English critic will indeed always and instantly extinguish this vital truth; there is

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Appendix to Introduction, selections from Longleat MSS. lxxvii.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 574.

⁸⁰ Froissart makes the singular mistake of calling the countess, *Alice*. There was indeed an Alice Countess of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Lancaster, alive at the time—the widow of Thomas Plantagenet of the fascinating age of ninety. Ridpath in his *Border History* is equally wrong in supposing the countess to have been Joan Plantagenet, the Fair Maid of Kent, then a girl of thirteen. Katharine de Grandison, as the countess of William Earl of Salisbury, then a prisoner in France, was really called, was born before 1310, and married about 1327—her son William Montagu was born 25 June, 1328 (Inq. p.m. Will. Montagu, 18 Ed. III. Berks, P.R.O.) She was therefore over thirty years of age in 1341; Berenice was, however, the same when Titus laid the empire of the world at her feet. In 1332 Katharine had been charged to distribute at Woodstock the presents made by the queen to the ladies of her court.—Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Chroniques de Froissart*, iii. pp. 518-519.