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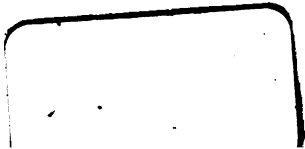


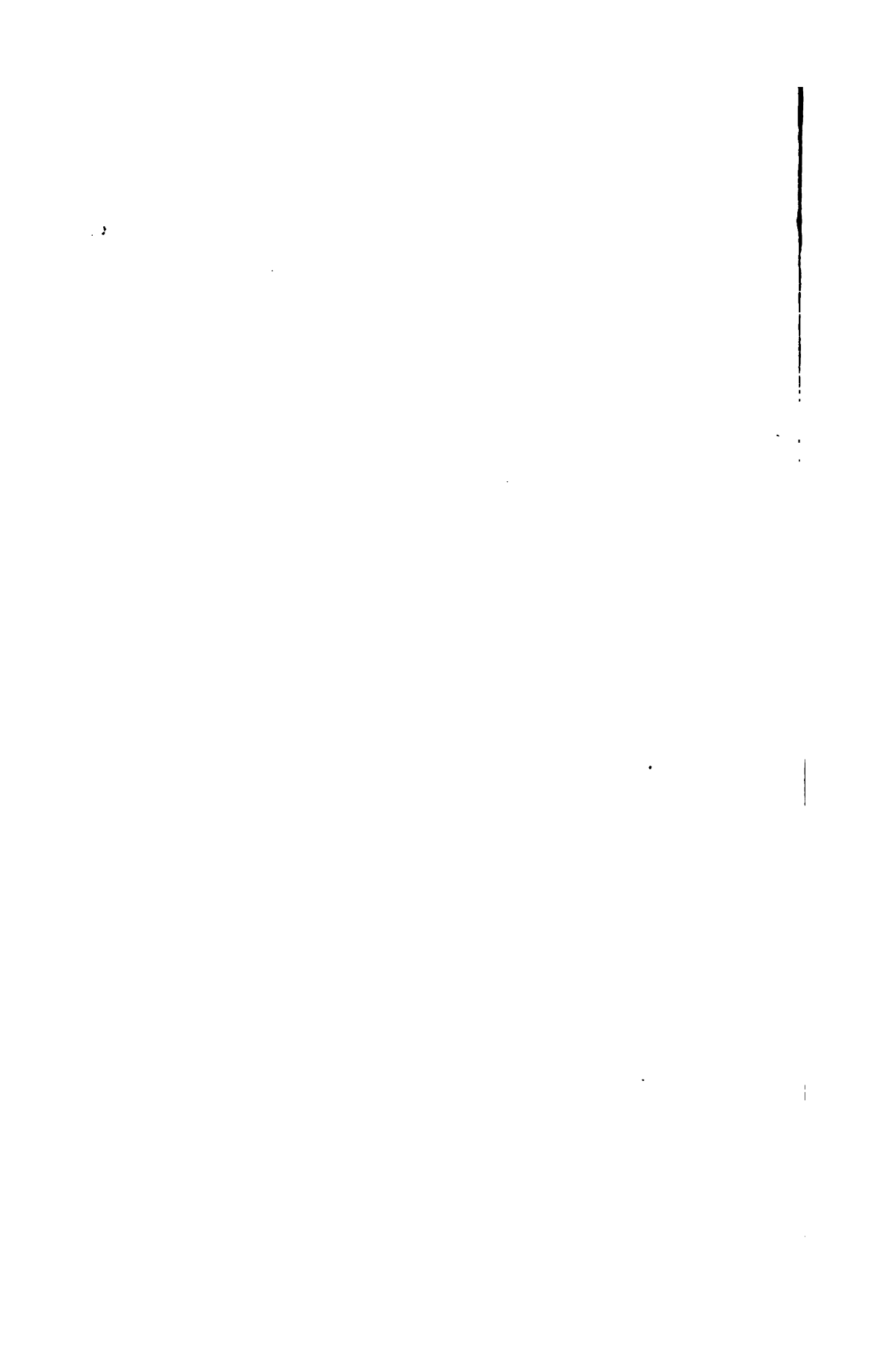
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Part II, Vol. III., for 1876-7.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
BERLAND AND WESTMORELAND
ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 1800.

EDITED BY R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE MEMBERS ONLY.

1877.

PRINTED BY T. WILSON, HIGHGATE, KENDAL.



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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND
ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY.

—
VOLUME III.
—

EDITOR:
RICHARD S. FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.
1876-1877.

KENDAL:
PRINTED BY T. WILSON.
1878.

The Council of the CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, and the Editor of their Transactions desire that it should be understood, that they are not responsible for any statements or opinions expressed in their Transactions; the Authors of the several papers alone being responsible for the same.

The Council also desire to record the following list of Illustrations presented to the Society:

Photographs of Plumbago Moulds, by the Editor.

Plates of the Orfeur Arms, and Tombstone, by W. JACKSON, F.S.A.
Plans to "Archæology of West Cumberland Coal Trade,"

I. FLETCHER, M.P., F.R.S.

1884
2

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MR. T. WILSON, Kendal.

MEETINGS HELD BY THE SOCIETY
1876 and 1877,
FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

1. Hexham July 6, 1876,
Housesteads and Roman Wall " 7, "

2. Aspatria, Plumbland, and Tor-
penhow, August 30, 1876.
Wigton and Old Carlisle " 31, "

3. Kendal December 11, 1876.
" " 12, "

4. Gilsland June 21, 1877.
Tryermain, Askerton, and Bew-
castle " 22, "

5. Dalton, Aldingham, Gleaston,
and Furness August 16, 1877.
Piel Castle and Barrow " 17, "

6. Whitehaven December 10, 1877.
" " 11, "

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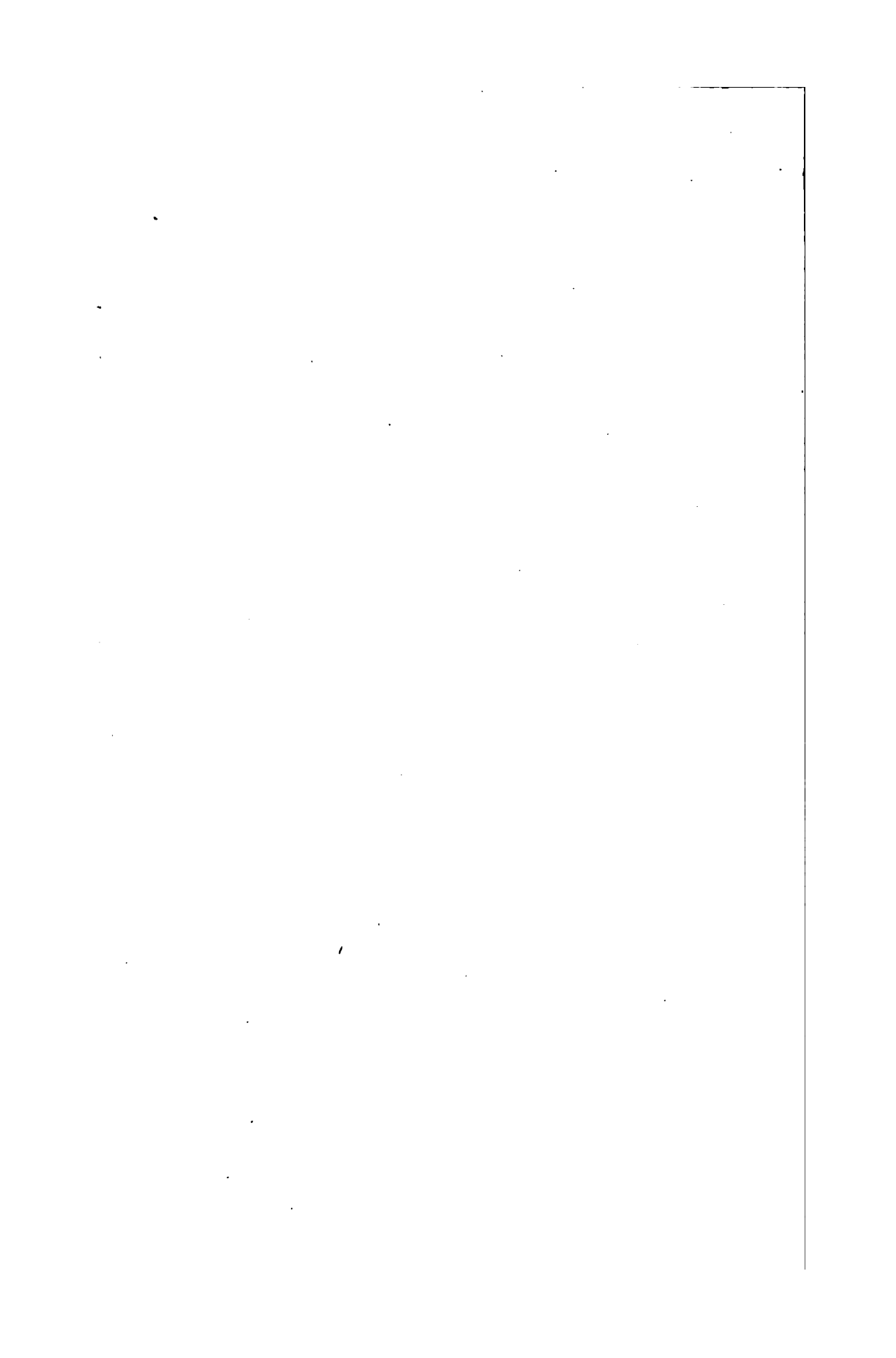
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EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

JULY 6th and 7th, 1876.

THE Society met on Thursday, July 6th, at Hexham, for a two days' foreign excursion, in conjunction with the Durham and Northumberland Archæological and Architectural Society. The members of the two Societies, and their friends, to the number of nearly two hundred, met shortly after noon in the chancel of Hexham Abbey, where Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe delivered a long and interesting history of Hexham and its famous Abbey, and a detailed description of the latter. In the course of his lecture he said that the church was much more interesting before the work of restoring it began, and remarked that the pitman's cottage style of seating it was much against the fine effect of the architecture. The south transept, in which there is the Sanctuary Chamber, reached by a broad flight of steps, he described as one of the finest works of the kind to be found anywhere. The north transept, although very good, had about its decorations a certain coarseness. The Architecture at that portion was beginning to run into a very florid decorative style, and that of the north transept was of a tentative kind. With reference to the nave, the tradition was that it was destroyed during an incursion of the Scots in 1296. That an incursion of the Scots took place, and that the church was burned, admitted of no doubt. The transepts showed considerable signs of fire, and it was probable that the marauders began their work of destruction with the nave. It might be concluded that the nave, which was the Parish Church, was very considerably injured in 1296, but he did not think that it was altogether destroyed then, because in 1310 we still hear of the Parish Church of Hexham and its chapels. Among numerous other interesting events in the history of the Abbey, Mr. Longstaffe described the visit

visit of Sir William Wallace and a sacrilegious band in 1297, when the rude soldiers, taking advantage of the temporary absence of their chief, stole the valuable moveables of the church. He also gave a graphic account of the defence of the monastery by the Master of Ovingham and his followers against the Commissioners, who in 1536 were charged with the suppression of the monastic places. The last notice we had of the magnificent monastery of Hexham was in relation to the "tying up" of some of the brethren, with whom it was believed the master of Ovingham, who had made so valiant a defence, was hung.

Mr. Longstaffe having finished the reading of his interesting paper, conducted the company through the Abbey, indicating its chief points of architectural beauty, and the various relics of antiquity which abound. He called particular attention to some very beautiful wood work of a character only found at Hexham, Carlisle, and Jarrow, all evidently the work of the same artist. The specimens at Carlisle are in St. Catherine's Chapel, in the Cathedral.

Canon Greenwell read a paper descriptive of the various kinds of Saxon sculpture extant, a few specimens of which were to be found in the Abbey. He traced the origin of what was called Anglo-Saxon carving to Ireland, and proved it to be a Celtic art: from Ireland it spread to Scotland and Northumbria with the settlement of the early Celtic missionaries. It also found its way thereafter to Westmorland, Durham, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, being influenced somewhat by Roman art. Its characteristics are interlacing work; spirals that double on themselves; and birds and beasts with curiously prolonged tails.

Hearty votes of thanks having been accorded to Mr. Longstaffe and Canon Greenwell for their papers, most of the company paid a visit to the ancient Crypt of the Abbey, and to the remains of the Conventual buildings.

About five o'clock upwards of fifty ladies and gentlemen sat down to dinner at the White Hart Hotel. The chair was occupied by the Rev. Canon Greenwell, the President of the Durham and Northumberland Society. After dinner, the Rev. Chairman proposed "Success and Prosperity to our Sister Society." Mr. R. S. Ferguson responded, and gave "The Durham and Northumberland Society," and afterwards read a short paper, (printed in these Transactions) on certain plumbago coin moulds, found at Wastdale in Cumberland.

The following new members were elected: Joseph Simpson, Esq., Romanway, Penrith; Crosby Hetherington, Esq., Carlisle; and Mrs. Arnison, Penrith.

The

The first day was brought to a close by a ramble through the more interesting parts of Hexham, the Conventual ruins, the Seal, the Manor House, and the Moot Hall.

Several members of the Cumberland and Westmorland Society paid a visit to Prudhoe on the following morning, Friday, July 7, but by twelve o'clock some thirty assembled at Bardon Mill, and drove thence to Housesteads, on the Roman Wall. *En route* the Roman camp at Chesterholme (Vindolana) was passed, and a halt made to inspect the only Roman milestone now standing *in situ* in Britain.* At Housesteads (Borcovicus) the party were met by Dr. Bruce, who at once took command, and conducted them over the extensive ruins of the camp, and pointed out the Mithraic cave, the amphitheatre, the market cross, &c., illustrating his able and interesting account by many numerous anecdotes. Under the same guidance, the party visited the neighbouring mile castle, enjoyed the lovely view of the Northumberland lakes, and proceeded along the Wall to Hotbank farm, to which place Mr. Clayton of Chesters had kindly sent some refreshment. The carriages were regained at "Twice Brewed," and the party drove to Haltwhistle, passing Æsica, the Cawfield Mile Castle, and the Standing Stones, known as the Mare and Foal.

AUGUST 30th, 1876.

The Society met on Wednesday, August 30th, at Aspatria, and drove thence to Plumbland Church, which was visited, after which Mr. Jackson read a paper on the family of the Orfeurs, of High Close or, as it is commonly called, Plumbland Hall. A paper on old Plumbland Church by Mr. Cory was read, and also a very interesting paper by the Rev. S. W. Watson, late curate of Plumbland, entitled, "A short account of the Re-building of the Church of St. Cuthbert, Plumbland." This paper, most beautifully illustrated with numerous photographs and water colours of the Old Church, is transcribed into a handsome book, and preserved with the parish archives, by the forethought of Mr. Watson. We regret that the wide scope of the paper, and the many illustrations (photographs and water colours) hinder it from being reproduced here. From Plumbland Church the party drove to Cockbridge by Threapland, and by Bothel, which is universally pronounced "Bo-all," and is spelt on old deeds "Bo-ald." On the road a halt was made to inspect an Erratic Block

* Roman milestones are not rare, but are rarely found *in situ*. A perfect one is in the Museum at Leicester; another at Caton near Lancaster; a third at Middleton in Westmorland; another at Aldcliffe, and a fifth at Kirkby Thore.

want of Sir William Wallace and a sacrilegious band in 1397, of the male soldiers, taking advantage of the temporary absence of the chief, stole the valuable treasures of the church. He also gave graphic account of the violence of the monastery by the Monk, Cwington and his followers against the Commissioners, who it were thought with the suppression of the monastic places. It is interesting to see the "coming up" of some of the brethren, with whom, believed the master of Cwington, who had made so valiant a was long.

Mr. Longstaffe having finished the reading of his interests, conducted the company through the Abbey, indicating its chief architectural beauty, and the various relics of antique around. He called particular attention to some very beautiful work of a character only found at Hereham, Carlisle, and evidently the work of the same artist. The specimens are in St. Catherine's Chapel, in the Cathedral.

Canon Greenwell read a paper descriptive of the various Saxon scripture extant, a few specimens of which were in the Abbey. He traced the origin of what was called Saxon carving to Ireland, and proved it to be a Celt Ireland it spread to Scotland and Northumbria with that of the early Celtic missionaries. It also found its way Westward, Durham, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, be somewhat by Roman art. Its characteristics are inter spirals that double on themselves; and birds and curiously prolonged tails.

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The following new members were elected: Joseph Romanway, Penrith; Crosby Hetherington, Esq. Arncliffe, Penrith.

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The party had luncheon at the comfortable inn at Cockbridge. Mr. Moore and Sir W. Lawson had both kindly invited the Society to partake of their hospitality; but, as the precedent might occasion difficulty in other cases, it was resolved not to break through the standing rule of the Society which prohibits the acceptance of invitations to lunch.

The drive was then resumed to Torpenhow and Bolton Churches, where papers by the Rev. C. H. Gem and by Mr. C. J. Ferguson were read; these papers are printed in the Transactions.

About half-past six the party reached Brayton Hall, where they were the recipients of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's most welcome hospitality. After tea and coffee and light refreshment had been dispensed—Sir Wilfrid himself attending to the comfort of his guests—the honorable baronet showed them through the gardens and grounds.

AUGUST 31st, 1876.

The Society met this morning at Wigton, under most disheartening circumstances, the rain falling heavily. The annual meeting was held at the King's Arms Hotel,—The Rev. Dr. Simpson presiding.

The Chairman said the first business was the election of officers. By the death of the Lord Lieutenant the Society lost its President, and they, in common with the rest of the two counties, deeply regretted that loss. It was agreed to defer electing a successor at present.

The Vice-Presidents were re-elected, with the addition of the name of the Lord Bishop. The Council were re-elected, Mr. Rigge taking the place of the late Dr. Lonsdale. Dr. Simpson was re-elected Chairman of the Council; and Mr. R. S. Ferguson, was also re-elected the Editor of the *Transactions*. The following is a list of the officers of the Society, for the year 1876-7.

PRESIDENT :

PRESIDENT: (Vacant).

VICE PRESIDENTS;

The Lord Bishop of Carlisle.

F. A. Argles, Esq.,	P. H. Howard, Esq.,
E. B. W. Balme, Esq.,	Hon. W. Lowther, M.P.,
The Earl of Bective, M.P.,	Lord Muncaster, M.P.,
Robert Ferguson, Esq., M.P.,	Hon. Percy S. Wyndham, M.P.,
Hon. C. W. G. Howard, M.P.,	John Whitwell, Esq., M.P.

COUNCIL:

The Rev. Canon Simpson, LL.D., Kirkby Stephen, Chairman;

W. Browne, Esq., Tallentire,	Rev. Thomas Lees, Wreay,
J. A. Cory, Esq., Carlisle,	James Mawson, Esq., Lowther,
R. S. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle,	Wm. Nanson, Esq., Carlisle,
C. J. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle,	H. F. Rigge, Esq., Cartmel,
Professor Harkness, Penrith,	Dr. Taylor, Penrith,
Wm. Jackson, Esq., St. Bees,	C. Wilkinson, Esq., Kendal.

EDITOR: R. S. Ferguson, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Carlisle.

AUDITORS: John Hudson, Esq., and G. F. Braithwaite, Esq., Kendal.

TREASURER: W. H. Wakefield, Esq., Sedgwick.

SECRETARY: Mr. T. Wilson, Kendal.

The following new members were elected: Rev. C. Boutflower, Kendal, Wm. Garnett, Esq., Quernmore Park, Lancaster, Rev. John Lowther, Bolton Rectory, Carlisle.

The following resolutions were passed:—

1. That a Publication Committee be appointed to assist the Editor in his duties:—to consist of the Rev. Dr. Simpson, Rev. Thos. Lees, John Whitwell, Esq., M.P., and William Jackson, Esq.
2. That Professor Harkness be requested to write a description of the boulder "Sampson" at Aspatria.
3. That Tenders be invited for re-printing 36 copies of Part I. and II. of the Transactions.
4. That a Winter Meeting be held at Kendal, in December, and that Dr. Simpson, Mr. Whitwell, and Mr. Hudson, be a local committee for arranging the same.
5. That it is desirable to take steps to publish the Nicholson MSS., and that permission for so doing be asked from the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. The Editor to take the necessary steps.

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at Bothel, in a field belonging to Mr. Thorburn. This block which is about 20 feet long, 9 feet high, and 8 feet broad, Professor Harkness described as a mass of Silurian conglomerate which has been transported by ice from the north-west part of Dumfriesshire, having travelled about forty miles from north-north-west to south-south-east. It occurs immediately east of the village, and at a level a little below the 500 feet contour line. It is locally known as "Sampson" and has, on its western side, well marked *Striæ* the result of glacial action.

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Robert Ferguson, Esq., M.P.,	Hon. Percy S. Wyndham, M.P.,
Hon. C. W. G. Howard, M.P.,	John Whitwell, Esq., M.P.

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J. A. Cory, Esq., Carlisle,	James Mawson, Esq., Lowther,
R. S. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle,	Wm. Nanson, Esq., Carlisle,
C. J. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle,	H. F. Rigge, Esq., Cartmel,
Professor Harkness, Penrith,	Dr. Taylor, Penrith,
Wm. Jackson, Esq., St. Bees,	C. Wilkinson, Esq., Kendal.

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at Bothel, in a field belonging to Mr. Thorburn. This block which is about 20 feet long, 9 feet high, and 8 feet broad, Professor Harkness described as a mass of Silurian conglomerate which has been transported by ice from the north-west part of Dumfriesshire, having travelled about forty miles from north-north-west to south-south-east. It occurs immediately east of the village, and at a level a little below the 500 feet contour line. It is locally known as "Sampson" and has, on its western side, well marked *Striæ* the result of glacial action.

The party had luncheon at the comfortable inn at Cockbridge. Mr. Moore and Sir W. Lawson had both kindly invited the Society to partake of their hospitality; but, as the precedent might occasion difficulty in other cases, it was resolved not to break through the standing rule of the Society which prohibits the acceptance of invitations to lunch.

The drive was then resumed to Torpenhow and Bolton Churches, where papers by the Rev. C. H. Gem and by Mr. C. J. Ferguson were read; these papers are printed in the Transactions.

About half-past six the party reached Brayton Hall, where they were the recipients of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's most welcome hospitality. After tea and coffee and light refreshment had been dispensed—Sir Wilfrid himself attending to the comfort of his guests—the honorable baronet showed them through the gardens and grounds.

AUGUST 31st, 1876.

The Society met this morning at Wigton, under most disheartening circumstances, the rain falling heavily. The annual meeting was held at the King's Arms Hotel,—The Rev. Dr. Simpson presiding.

The Chairman said the first business was the election of officers. By the death of the Lord Lieutenant the Society lost its President, and they, in common with the rest of the two counties, deeply regretted that loss. It was agreed to defer electing a successor at present.

The Vice-Presidents were re-elected, with the addition of the name of the Lord Bishop. The Council were re-elected, Mr. Rigge taking the place of the late Dr. Lonsdale. Dr. Simpson was re-elected Chairman of the Council; and Mr. R. S. Ferguson, was also re-elected the Editor of the *Transactions*. The following is a list of the officers of the Society, for the year 1876-7.

PRESIDENT :

PRESIDENT : (Vacant).

VICE PRESIDENTS ;

The Lord Bishop of Carlisle.

F. A. Argles, Esq.,	P. H. Howard, Esq.,
E. B. W. Balme, Esq.,	Hon. W. Lowther, M.P.,
The Earl of Bective, M.P.,	Lord Muncaster, M.P.,
Robert Ferguson, Esq., M.P.,	Hon. Percy S. Wyndham, M.P.,
Hon. C. W. G. Howard, M.P.,	John Whitwell, Esq., M.P.

COUNCIL :

The Rev. Canon Simpson, LL.D., Kirkby Stephen, Chairman ;

W. Browne, Esq., Tallentire,	Rev. Thomas Lees, Wreay,
J. A. Cory, Esq., Carlisle,	James Mawson, Esq., Lowther,
R. S. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle,	Wm. Nanson, Esq., Carlisle,
C. J. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle,	H. F. Rigge, Esq., Cartmel,
Professor Harkness, Penrith,	Dr. Taylor, Penrith,
Wm. Jackson, Esq., St. Bees,	C. Wilkinson, Esq., Kendal.

EDITOR : R. S. Ferguson, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Carlisle.

AUDITORS : John Hudson, Esq., and G. F. Braithwaite, Esq., Kendal.

TREASURER : W. H. Wakefield, Esq., Sedgwick.

SECRETARY : Mr. T. Wilson, Kendal.

The following new members were elected : Rev. C. Boutflower, Kendal, Wm. Garnett, Esq., Quernmore Park, Lancaster, Rev. John Lowther, Bolton Rectory, Carlisle.

The following resolutions were passed :—

1. That a Publication Committee be appointed to assist the Editor in his duties :—to consist of the Rev. Dr. Simpson, Rev. Thos. Lees, John Whitwell, Esq., M.P., and William Jackson, Esq.
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J. A. Cory, Esq., Carlisle,	James Mawson, Esq., Lowther,
R. S. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle,	Wm. Nanson, Esq., Carlisle,
C. J. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle,	H. F. Rigge, Esq., Cartmel,
Professor Harkness, Penrith,	Dr. Taylor, Penrith,
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On the motion of Mr. Whitwell, cordial votes of thanks were passed to the Chairman, the Editor, and the Secretary. Mr. Jackson seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation. The gentlemen concerned acknowledged the vote.—Mr. R. S. Ferguson said in the course of his work he had great difficulty in keeping down some current errors; but he hoped by this time contributors had become aware that William the Conqueror was never in Cumberland, and Thomas de Morville of Burgh did not kill Thomas a'Becket. He further pointed out that for the year ending June 30th, 1875, the balance to the credit of the Association was £117; but for the year ending June 30th, last, the balance was £126. The Society at present numbered 200 members, 60 of whom were elected last year.

On the motion of the Chairman, the Publication Committee were requested to consider the subject of publishing the interesting MS. notes made by Bishop Nicholson on his Visitation of the diocese; and it was decided to request permission of the Dean and Chapter, in whose library the volume is.—Mr. Jackson: it may be the commencement of a series of similar character.—The Chairman: that is exactly what I have in view.

This concluded the formal business of the meeting.

Professor Harkness exhibited a portion of a celt, which had been found by Mr. Williams, at the entrance into the Mayborough near Eamont Bridge. It was obtained on the surface of the soil, from which a thin covering of turf had recently been cut. The faces of the fragment exhibit the regular and uniform outline of polished celts—one of the angles has been rubbed flat, while the other has its original outline. The celt appears to have been broken in the finishing, and the fragment thrown away. The rock out of which it is formed is one of the ash breccia of the volcanic series of the Lake Country, which being of unequal cohesion caused its fracture before the implement was perfected. The occurrence of this broken unfinished celt in connection with the Mayborough leads towards the inference that this circular enclosure perhaps protected a settlement of Neolithic men, and in this respect, it has its analogue in Cissbury camp, Sussex, as described by Col. Lane Fox, F.R.S.*

Mr. Whitwell exhibited three silver coins recently found near Kendal. The largest has an inscription in Hebrew on one side and in Syriac on the other.

* *Archæologia*, XLII.

Mr. Jackson read a paper upon the line of march taken by Agricola through Cumberland, and also two papers on some Roman remains, all of which are printed in this year of the Transactions. Mr. R. S. Ferguson indicated the outlines of a paper of his, also on Agricola's line of march, and the discussion thereon was adjourned to Kendal, at the winter meeting.

Subsequently a few of the members drove in a heavy storm of rain to view the site of Old Carlisle.

This visit concluded the proceedings of the meeting.

On the first day of the Aspatria Meeting, *apropos* of Threapland Hall, which was passed en route, Mr. Jackson read the following little Archæological *jeu d'esprit*, a filling in of some passages in Ralph Thoresby's Journal.

Mr. Jackson said perhaps they had never visited an old hall with less architectural beauty or even peculiarity than Threapland Hall; but the interest of the reminiscences connected with an ancient dwelling may sometimes be in an inverse ratio to its attractiveness; and, when he informed them, that what he was about to say in connection with this hall closely concerned an individual who is one of the principal saints in our archæological calendar, Ralph Thoresby, they would, he was sure, bear with him for a few moments, while he related certain preliminary details, and then endeavoured to describe a scene which occurred there 182 years ago. On the 24th of March, 1694, died Richard Sykes, joint lord of the manor of Leeds, and a scion of a Cumberland stock, which, migrating from Sykes Dyke, near Carlisle, and settling in Leeds, had there prospered exceedingly; and whose members have so gone on increasing since then, that we might almost apply to them the words of scripture, and say that the bearers of that name had become, in the land of their adoption, "like the sand on the sea-shore for multitude." Richard left four daughters—Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Wilson; Mary, married to Thomas Rayner; Anna, to Ralph Thoresby; and Deborah, still unmated. The portions of these co-heiresses were very considerable; and within three months of the father's death, Mr. Salkeld, jun., of Threapland Hall, was a suitor for the hand of this very eligible young lady. There were, however, circumstances in connection with this young gentlemen which led her widowed mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Sykes, to hesitate before giving her consent. He (Mr. Jackson) thought that the young heir was a Roman Catholic, whilst the Sykes were, he believed, Presbyterians; and he feared that there were some pecuniary embarrassments on the Salkeld side. After many family consultations, it was decided that Thoresby should visit the paternal mansion in Cumberland, and make the needful inquiries on the spot. On Monday, September 17th, 1694, Thoresby left home on horseback, reaching Long Preston that night; his next day's journey brought him to Kendal, and in the following evening, after traversing the mountain pass of Wrynose and Hardnott, he arrived at Calderbridge. His journey on Thursday was a short one, for he stayed at Whitehaven, accepting the hospitalities of William Gilpin, one of his most valued correspondents, a co-religionist, just in the same transition stage as himself, and a collaborateur in the new edition of Camden. On Friday evening he reached Threapland, but found Mr. Salkeld absent at
Bothel

Bothel securing his harvest. Thoresby had not been idle with regard to the main object of his journey, but he had been making enquiries relating to the Salkelds whenever opportunity offered as he came along, and the results had not been very encouraging. He spent Saturday in business conversations with the father, and in coursing with the son. In the evening Mr. Charles Orfeur, of High Close, who, in the following year, married Jane, daughter of Richard Lamplugh, of Ribton, and widow of John Senhouse, of Nether Hall, dropped in. Next day, being Sunday, he walked to Plumbland Church, where Parson Robinson, "prayed and preached very affectionately." After service, there was a considerable muster of the gentry and clergy, whom Mr. and Mrs. Salkeld, the daughter of Squire Irton, had invited to meet their honoured guest. One of the most important was the son-in-law, Squire Dykes, of Warthole, the owner of the handsome new house Thoresby had passed on his way from Tallentire, and who, in reply to Thoresby's admiring comments, would state that it had been erected by himself, from a design by Inigo Jones. Thereupon would naturally rise the story respecting the old mulberry tree so conspicuous in front of the mansion, of which a feeble remnant was still existing a few years ago, and in which his father had secreted himself when sought for by hostile Roundheads. Thoresby, whose connections were all on that side, although his Presbyterian convictions were at that time undergoing a change, would scarcely like to listen to unfavourable comments on the party his father had fought for, and Mr. Wilfrid Lawson, of Brayton, a younger branch of the Isel stem, might change a conversation touching too closely upon wounds still smarting, by an inquiry respecting his cousin, the Worshipful Mr. Godfrey Lawson, quondam Mayor of Leeds. The two parsons of Plumbland and Aspatria, by a jocular allusion to the business which brought Thoresby amongst them, would evoke a reply from their guest, who could scarcely receive a well-meant remark in a churlish spirit; and, so it happened, that treated with wine, Thoresby retired to bed, feeling as many a one has, under similar circumstances, that he had said some very foolish things, and committed himself further than he had intended. That this is no imaginary sketch, but the mere filling in from the outline of what actually occurred in the best parlour of the house, on Sunday, September 23rd, 1694, they would acknowledge when he read to them the entry which Thoresby made with his very unsteady hand the next morning:—"Die Dom. It should be, though, alas, some part little like it; no prayers of any sort in the family. Many gentlemen invited to dinner; the modest parson, Esquire Dykes, &c., the day and evening spent very unsuitably to the duties of the day. Sat too late, or early, rather, was foolishly cheerful and vain in my expressions, too compliant, &c." Next morning Thoresby quitted Threapland, and consultation with his mother-in-law, resulted in a cessation of any further negotiations as to the projected marriage. Deborah Sykes married John Hough, and died April 12, 1705, leaving three children.

DECEMBER 11 AND 12, 1876.

The winter meeting of this Society opened in the hall of the Kendal Literary and Scientific Institution on Monday afternoon, the 11th of December. The chair was taken by Mr. R. Ferguson, M.P.

Mr. T. Wilson, the honorary secretary, having read the minutes of the summer meeting, the following new members were elected:— Mr. Charles Smith, Barrow; Mr. William Harrison, Grange; Mr. A. B. Dixon, Ulverston; Mr. F. Wilson, Underfell, Kendal; The Earl of Lonsdale; Mr. John F. Wilson, Middlesborough; Mrs. T. H. Parker, Warwick Hall; Mrs. C. Ll. Braithwaite, jun., Greenside, Kendal; Mrs. Wilson, Castle Lodge, Kendal; Mrs. Hudson, Larch How, Kendal; and Mrs. Colville, Sale.

The following papers were read, all of which appear in the Society's Transactions:—

A paper on local Roman Roads and Agricola's Line of March, by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, illustrated by several maps; a paper on Fragments in and near St. Bees, by the Rev. Canon Knowles; and a paper on a Roman Camp on Caermote. After the reading of these papers, several objects of interest were exhibited. Mr. H. F. Rigge contributed a horn, found under fifteen feet of peat-moss at Cartmel, which he attributed to some period immediately after the glacial epoch, describing it as the horn of the *bos longifrons*, the progenitor of our present breed of cattle. Mr. Rigge also exhibited a leaden seal attached to a Bull of Pope Boniface VIII., which was found in Cartmel Priory Church about eighteen inches below the present floor. Miss Powley sent what is believed to be the bell attached to the collar of the leader of the gang of packhorses between Penrith and Alston. The bell is a small hollow sphere, about the size of a cricket ball, with a slit on the lower side, from which escapes the clanking sound from the tongue within. Mr. Ferguson, M.P. exhibited a bronze statuette found near Brough, and some bronze articles found in the river Eden; also some *posie* rings.

The proceedings of the afternoon were brought to a close about four o'clock, and the company separated, the visitors afterwards repairing to the King's Arms Hotel, where, at half-past five, an excellent dinner was served. In the evening the Society was entertained at a *conversazione* given by the members of the Literary and Scientific Institution, who assembled in great numbers. At the meeting in the lecture theatre Mr. W. Wakefield, in the name of the council and the members of the Literary and Scientific Institute, cordially welcomed the Antiquarian Society. The first paper read was by Mr. G. E. Moser, on the Kendal Parish Registers, which will be found in the Transactions. Mr. Bellasis (Bluemantle-Pursuivant at Arms) then

then read a paper on Reminiscences of Kendal during the last century; and the Ven. Archdeacon Cooper, by request, read a paper on Kendal Church, written by Mr. Crowther, and printed in the first volume of this Society's Transactions.

On the conclusion of the papers, the Rev. Dr. Simpson asked the members of the Archæological Society to join him in a hearty vote of thanks to the Kendal Literary and Scientific Institution for their Invitation to Kendal, for the use of the room they occupied, and for the kind reception they had given. He and his fellow members wished the Institute God speed in the work in which it was engaged.

Mr. E. B. W. Balme seconded the motion, and a vote of thanks to the readers of papers, moved by Mr. Cropper, seconded by the Mayor, brought the meeting to an end.

On Tuesday morning a meeting of the Society was held for the transaction of business, the Rev. Dr. Simpson presiding. Mr. G. F. Braithwaite moved a vote of thanks to the readers of papers. In doing so he said that they had missed Mr. Whitwell, who had hurried home from London to attend this meeting, but, unfortunately, had been seized with a violent cold. He was sorry to hear that he was rather worse than better. Considering that Mr. Whitwell had always taken great interest in the Society, he might single him out as one whose absence they all deplored. He should like to move a special vote of thanks to Mr. Whitwell, to which should be added an expression of the great regret that they all felt at his absence.

Mr. R. S. Ferguson seconded the proposal. He had had a deal of correspondence with Mr. Whitwell about this meeting, and Mr. Whitwell had taken a deal of trouble in getting it up.

The resolution was carried, and it was determined also to place on the minutes an expression of thanks to the Literary and Scientific Institution for the use of their rooms, and for their liberal entertainment on Monday night.

Mr. R. S. Ferguson reported that permission had been granted to the Society to print the Nicolson Visitation MSS., and handed in the following letters.

(COPY.)

Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.

Very Reverend Sirs,—The Council of the above Society have long had in contemplation the publication of some of the manuscripts in existence in various places, which relate to the antiquities, to the history, to the topography, &c. of Cumberland and Westmorland.

At

At an annual meeting, held in August last, it was considered that the manuscript, known as "Bishop Nicolson's Visitation of his Diocese," would be the most suitable to commence with. I was, as Editor of the Society's Transaction, directed to apply to your Chapter for the necessary permission, and the Rev. Canon Simpson, LL.D., Colonel Whitwell, M.P., W. Jackson, Esq., and the Rev. Thomas Lees were appointed a Committee to assist me in arranging for the publication of the manuscript, should your permission be accorded.

I have now the honour to respectfully ask you for that permission. In the event of its being granted, I beg further to ask that some one or more of your Chapter be appointed to confer with our Publication Committee.

I remain,

Very Reverend Sirs,

Your obedient Servant,

R. S. FERGUSON,

Editor of the Society's Transactions.

(COPY.)

The Abbey, Carlisle, Dec. 11, 1876.

Dear Mr. Ferguson:—I find the following resolution in our Minutes: you ought to have received it.

"That Mr. Ferguson be informed that the Dean and Chapter assent to his application on behalf of this Society (headed Archæological Society), for permission to print Bishop Nicolson's MS. Visitation of the Diocese of Carlisle, the MS. of which is now in the Library, on the express understanding that the *text* alone be published.

"That Canons Prescott and Hodgson be nominated to confer, as requested, with the Committee on behalf of the Dean and Chapter."

This will sufficiently answer your purpose,

Yours very truly,

J. E. PRESCOTT.

The following resolutions were passed:—

1.—That 100 copies of Part I. be reprinted, the editor to carefully revise before going to press.

The editor reported that permission had been granted to the Society to print the "Nicolson Visitation," and that Messrs. Thurnam, of Carlisle, had offered to undertake the work at their own risk and expense; it was, therefore, resolved:—

2.—That Mr. R. S. Ferguson be empowered to negotiate with Messrs. Thurnam.

- 3.—That the Autotype Co's account be left for settlement in the hands of Mr. Whitwell, M.P.
- 4.—That the thanks of the meeting be conveyed to Mr. Whitwell, M.P. for the paper he had prepared, and for the trouble he had taken in arranging the meeting; and that the Secretary express the Committee's regret that indisposition has prevented his attendance.
- 5.—That the thanks of the meeting be given to the members and council of the Kendal Literary and Scientific Institution for their kind invitation, and for the use of their rooms which have so generously been placed at their disposal.
- 6.—That the thanks of the meeting be given to those gentlemen who have provided papers.

DEC. 12, 1876.

The members proceeded to the Parish Church, a peal rung by the amateur bell-ringers welcoming them on their arrival. The Ven. Archdeacon Cooper conducted the party round the church, and with Mr. Crowther's paper in his hands, pointed out the chief features in the building. Proceeding down the aisle, near the Bellingham Chapel, and standing under one of the arches supported on the northern row of columns, the Archdeacon pointed out the northern line of the foundation of the earlier erection, which was immediately beneath the column just mentioned. The church on that side had thus been widened by the addition of the Bellingham Chapel and aisle, and on the southern side, by the Parr Chapel and aisle, where also a row of columns marked the site of the old foundation. The first subject which awakened discussion was the addition of the Parr and Bellingham aisles. They seem to have been added at about the same period, and the question therefore arose why this sudden and enormous increase to the accommodation provided? Mr. R. S. Ferguson suggested that family emulation would prompt the Parrs and the Bellinghams to an extravagant rivalry in church enlargement. The Archdeacon and others put forward the conjecture that there might have been a sudden increase in the population of the town through the developement of the woollen manufacture. The company then crossed the chancel to the Parr aisle, the chapel which now forms the vestry of the church. Attention was called to several details worthy of notice, among which was a maiden's head carved in the capital of one of the columns, and the same was to be seen over two of the windows in the eastern portion of the aisle. This maiden's head has been the subject of much discussion, and by some has been said to be a portrait of Queen Catherine Parr. It is the ancient badge

badge of the Parr family, borne by Sir William Parr in the reign of Edward VI., as shown by a contemporary MS. in the College of Arms, marked 2nd M. 19, (see Planche's Pursuivant-at-Arms, pp. 222, 224). The Archdeacon also referred to the painting on the walls of and near the vestry, which he said had been carried out by Earl Bective, who, as the owner of Kendal Castle, they looked upon as in some measure the representative of the Parrs of former times. Conversations arising upon various points were joined in by the Archdeacon, Dr. Simpson, Rev. G. F. Weston, Rev. Thomas Lees, Mr. G. F. Braithwaite, Mr. I. W. Wilson, Mr. G. E. Moser, Mr. F. Wilson, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, Mr. Bellasis, and other gentlemen, the visitors manifesting deep interest in all that came under notice. The general survey of the interior comprised an examination of the vestry, the private chapels, many of the memorial tablets, the stained windows, especially the principal eastern window, &c., and the results apparently in the case of all present repaid the inconvenience of a visit on a dirty December morning.

The bells in the tower again rang some lively peals as the party left the church, and this brought to a close a session that will doubtless be remembered with some satisfaction by the members of the Archæological Society of the two counties.

JUNE 21 AND 22, 1877.

The Society met on Thursday, June 21st, at Gilsland Railway Station, for a two days' excursion.

The Rev. A. Wright, Vicar of Gilsland, was placed in charge of the expedition, and several ladies, who did not choose to walk, having been placed in a carriage provided for them and sent on a-head, the members crossed the railway and descending a meadow came on the Mile Camp on the Roman Wall, known traditionally as "The King's Stables." It is situated on the western edge of a pretty ghyll, through which the Poltross flows, its banks high on either side and well covered with verdure. From excavations made recently it appears that the camp has had an outer wall of ten feet in thickness, and, after a space of two feet, an inner wall two feet thick, the latter in all probability, as Dr. Simpson suggested, being the wall of a building inside the camp. While examining this, Mr. R. S. Ferguson pointed out the gap in the Roman Wall at this place, caused in consequence

sequence of the range of hills from Carlisle failing here. It had been a post of considerable importance, for five camps had been erected in the neighbourhood, all round the gap in order to defend and strengthen it, viz: —at Willonford, Throp, Crocks, Banktop, and —, where the ridge of hills known as the “Nine Nicks” commences. It was also pointed out that close to the “mile castle” there had been a bridge thrown over the ghyll, as was evidenced by the existence of ashlar work, which was carefully uncovered during the Society’s visit by two stout labourers with picks; but it was not suggested that the mile castle had been anything more than a mile castle on account of the bridge, or that there was any connection between them. A Roman road had been traced to the eastern edge of the ghyll, and it could not have stopped there.* After a due inspection of the sites, the party went to see a piece of the Roman Wall behind the vicarage, where it had been bared by Mr. Wright; and they then went to the school-room to hear papers read by Mr. Wm. Nanson and Mr. R. S. Ferguson, which will be found in the Society’s Transactions. Over Denton church was next visited—the papers read by Mr. C. J. Ferguson and Mr. Wright will also be found in the Transactions. Most of the party found their way to the Shaws Hotel, by the Roman station of Birdoswald (Amboglanna). After dinner, the Annual Meeting of the Society was held, when the following officers were elected: —

PRESIDENT: The Earl of Lonsdale.

VICE-PRESIDENTS: The Lord Bishop of Carlisle; F. A. Argles, Esq.; E. B. W. Balme, Esq.; The Earl of Bective, M.P.; Robert Ferguson, Esq., M.P.; Hon. C. Howard, M.P.; P. H. Howard, Esq., F.S.A.; Hon. W. Lowther, M.P.; Lord Muncaster, M.P.; Hon. Percy Wyndham, M.P.; John Whitwell, Esq., M.P.

COUNCIL: Rev. Canon Simpson, LL.D., Kirkby Stephen, Chairman; W. Browne, Esq., Tallentire; J. A. Cory, Esq., Carlisle; R. S. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle; C. J. Ferguson, Esq., Carlisle; Professor Harkness, Penrith; W. Jackson, Esq., St. Bees; Rev. Thomas Lees, Wreay; James Mawson, Esq., Lowther; William Nanson, Esq., Carlisle; H. F. Rigge, Esq., Cartmel; Dr. Taylor, Penrith; Charles Wilkinson, Esq., Kendal.

EDITOR: R. S. Ferguson, Esq., M.A., LL.M., F.S.A., Carlisle.

AUDITORS: John Hudson, Esq., and G. F. Braithwaite, Esq., Kendal.

TREASURER: W. H. Wakefield, Esq., Sedgwick.

SECRETARY: Mr. T. Wilson, Kendal.

The following new members were elected: — Mr. and Mrs. Varty,

* See a map in “Gillesland,” by the late G. G. Mounsey.

Stagstones, Penrith; Mr. John Orfeur, Norwich; Rev. J. Irving, M.A., Millom; Rev. F. Scamell, B.A., Newton Reigney; and Rev. George Ornsby, M.A., F.S.A., Fishlake Vicarage, Doncaster.

Letters of thanks from the Society of Antiquaries of London, acknowledging receipt of the Society's Transactions, were read and ordered to be entered on the minutes. Mr. Horrocks, of Eden Brows, exhibited, through the editor, a button mould, found recently on Alston Moor, during the making of a drain in land which could not have been disturbed for at least sixty years. It consists of three pieces of hone stone; the principal piece is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{8}$ broad, and 1 inch thick. It has cut upon it the dies of the faces of half-a-dozen buttons; two other pieces of about the same length, but somewhat thinner and narrower, fit on it, and on one another, by metallic pins, having the button shanks cut in their inner faces, and also apertures for pouring in the molten metal. The outside of the mould is neatly ornamented with a series of small circles. The button patterns are modern, and the articles would seem to be of the last century.

Mr. Hudson exhibited a tripodal vessel of yellow metal, found at Docker, near Kendal. It stands about 8 inches in height, on three legs or feet about $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. in length, and has a handle and spout, the whole having been cast at once. It weighs about 3lbs. 1 oz. A precisely similar one is described in West's Furness, pp. 9-10 and 425, and is figured on Plate V. in that work. Another is figured in Dr. Bruce's work on the Roman Wall, edition of 1851, Plate XVI., fig. 2. Another is figured in the catalogue of the Antiquities of Animal Materials and Bronze in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 535. Two were exhibited at Carlisle in 1859, and several are in the British Museum: the better opinion is that they are not Roman.

Mr. Cartmell exhibited a small vase of red coarse clay found in the Bush site, Carlisle.

Mr. Cory exhibited certain metal objects, described in a paper which is printed in these Transactions.

AUGUST 16 AND 17, 1877.

The Society met at Dalton-in-Furness on the 16th of August for a two days' excursion. They proceeded without delay to visit Dalton Castle and Church. The castle, which consists of a handsomely proportioned tower of red sandstone, has not much history extant as to its origin. It is supposed to have been built by one of the Abbots of Furness for the purpose of holding his manorial courts. After the restoration,

restoration, it became, together with the manor of Dalton, the property of the Duke of Albemarle, from whom it has descended to the present owner, the Duke of Buccleuch. When it was restored in 1856, there were two floors above the ground-floor. The upper floor was at that time, however, removed, and there is now only one room on the floor above the ground-floor. In this the manorial courts of the Duke of Buccleuch are still held. The apartment, which is now used by the local volunteers as an armoury, is said to have been anciently the dungeon. In the castle, there are a few objects of interest, especially an ancient cannon, which local tradition alleges to have been fished up in the channel of Piel harbour. Although tradition further says that vessels of the Spanish Armada were wrecked off this harbour, this cannon appears of much more ancient date, and may possibly at some time have been on the battlements of Piel Castle.* The curious stone figures which guard the top of the castle and the gurgoyles, (similar to the stone figures,) would repay a patient study by anyone versed in the details of ancient armour. The castle contains a few pieces of armoury which were brought from Scotland some time ago. Dalton Church possesses no special objects of interest; in the Baptistery window there are a few pieces of old stained glass, which are said to have come from Furness Abbey. West, in his *Antiquities of Furness*, states that there were the small remains of a Roman ditch and rampart on the eastern side of the churchyard, although all the rest have been defaced, removed, and smoothed down to make place for the present town and castle of Dalton. He also states that other Roman remains found near Dalton warrant a supposition that Agricola visited and reduced Furness in the summer of his second campaign, A.D. 79, and that he or some successor had erected a castellum at Dalton. Among other interesting matters connected with this ancient town, it is recorded in the parish registers that, in the year 1631, the plague broke out in it, and that "there died in Dalton of this sickness, three hundred and three score, and in Walney, one hundred and twenty."

Leaving Dalton Castle, the party proceeded in several carriages, by way of Crookland, to Urswick, but before they reached the latter place they alighted, and, guided by Dr. Simpson, Mr. Fell, and Mr. Rigge, the local managing committee, left the highway by a passage on the right, and ultimately reached an uneven field where are to be seen the remains of what is considered to be an ancient British encampment, known as Stones Walls. Mr. Fell introduced the subject by remarking that there was every indication from the stones and the

* This relic is the chamber, or breech-piece, of a cannon of very early construction, say about 1340. So the Rev. T. Lees writes me, and I agree with him. R.S.F.

foundations which were to be found in that field, this had been the site of an ancient British encampment. He read an extract from Close's edition of West's *Antiquities of Furness*, p. 395, from which it appeared

"That these were the remains of foundations of the walls of an angular enclosure, three of its sides measuring sixty-seven yards each, and the fourth fifty-two. The walls appear to have been composed of loose stones, and have been ten feet in thickness. There appear to have been two openings or gates on the side opposite the village. About twenty yards to the north-west of this enclosure are the remains of a wall encompassing a circular plot of ground ninety-four or ninety-five yards in diameter, and which appears to have been divided into several compartments by interior walls of somewhat less strength than that on the outside, which has been about nine or ten feet in thickness, and formed without mortar. * * * * The circumference of the circle measures three hundred and twenty yards, but the enclosed plot is not accurately round. * * * These enclosures are known by the names of *STONE WALLS*, but no tradition remained concerning their intention, nor had anything been discovered which would throw any light on their origin. The size of the circle was nearly the same as that at Mayburgh, in Cumberland."

Mr. Fell, after reading the above quotation, proceeded :

"The following particulars, given by an old inhabitant of Urswick, who himself worked upwards of thirty years ago at the process of destruction, may not be an uninteresting record of the condition of the "*Stone Walls*." The country around them at this time was a mixture of open pasture and unfenced coppice. The latter was fenced about thirty years ago to improve it, and the ancient "*Stone Walls*" supplied material, so far as it was handy, and could be got without trouble. In all the fences round this ancient enclosure the stones which formed it were indiscriminately placed, so that all trace of them was lost. Thirty years ago the wall of the enclosure was well and clearly defined, standing up above the ground on the average two feet high ; it was rough walled without mortar, with various sized stones. The inner circle of that time had a surrounding of upright stones, almost perfect, with apparently space for two entrances, which can now be traced. The stones composing the circles were not large, none of them exceeding four feet above the ground. They were thin upright slabs of limestone, which showed no trace of having been quarried. All these stones were removed for the adjacent wall fences. About one hundred and fifty yards distant, men engaged in stone getting discovered under a flat slab of limestone, as if it had been concealed there, a spear, which they thought was made of brass. The shaft had been about four feet long, but, although quite distinguishable, it had crumbled away to powder. On making this discovery, one of the men, not knowing what they had found, gave the socket of the spear a blow with the iron tool he was working with, and cut out of the metal, which the persons present considered very brittle, a three-cornered piece. Subsequently, and in close proximity to the spear, four or five "*celts*," or "*axes*" of brass were found. They were sharp at one end and like a hammer at the other, with a hole through the thicker end for a shaft. The hole might be an inch and a quarter in diameter, and was a round hole. Near the place where these "*axes of brass*" were found, four or five rings of brass were dug up. They were large enough to go over the hand, and had an external eye to them, as if for the purpose of being strung. The discoverers of these curiosities handed them to

a person named Adam Lambster, who took them away for the nominal purpose of ascertaining whose they were, but failed to return them, and the inventor of this account informed me that he always understood they had got into 'Preston' museum, but it is possible he confounded the word, and that it should have been 'British' museum."

Mr. Fell also referred to the remarks upon these stone walls made by Dr. Barber, in a paper written by him, under the title of "Pre-historic Remains of Furness and Cartmel," and in which the author, after describing the position, measurement, and general plan of the place, gave the idea that, had not the greater bulk of the stones in this enclosure been removed, they would probably have been able to identify the work as that of an ancient British camp or hut circle. The circular plan of the defences, the traces of foundations of semi-circular walls inside the outer barrier, the walled way leading to the inner circles, the *Pratorium* of the chief, and the elevated situation of the whole warranted them in assuming that this record of antiquity was essentially British.

Dr. Simpson agreed with the remarks made by Mr. Fell, and compared the circle with those at Barton Fell and at Mayburgh, the inside of both of which were perfectly level, but that at Urswick was not; at the two circles he had named, large stones had been found inside, which was not the case with the one they were inspecting that day. He was strongly of opinion that this had been a place of British residence, and pointed out the different parts of the enclosure which were occupied by the household of the chief, the residence of his vassals, the place for cattle, &c., as far as the indications now to be seen led him to believe. He also alluded to the fact that the circle was placed in a position in which it was sheltered from the prevailing west winds.

Mr. Fell said that in a neighbouring field there were indications of the existence at one time of another encampment, and much the same was to be seen as in the field they were then assembled in.

Proceeding along the road, a little nearer to the village, the carriages again made a halt, while several of the party proceeded across two fields on the left to view a large piece of rough, weather-beaten limestone, which was standing on the top of two other pieces of the same stone, and which was locally considered to be a rude monument erected over the grave of some distinguished man. From the fact, however, that the two lower stones were not placed in the reverse way to the stones they supported, and from other indications it was unanimously determined that they had no significance, and that they came there by natural causes.

The chief object of interest at Urswick Church, where a halt was next
made

made, was a figure cut in red sandstone, which occupies a prominent position in the outer walls of the tower, and which represents the Mater-Dolorosa, or the Virgin supporting the dead body of Christ.

After a four miles' drive, by way of Little Urswick and Scales, Aldingham was reached, and the little church here was inspected.

THE MOAT AT ALDINGHAM.

Arriving at Moat Farm, the residence of Mr. R. Coward, the party alighted for a two-fold purpose—first, that of partaking of lunch, on the summit of the Moat; and, secondly, to consider the object or purpose for which this high mound of earth had been raised. Mr. Fell read a description of the moat from West's *Antiquities of Furness*, as follows:—

“At a little distance from the present farm-house, anciently called Aldingham Hall, but now known by the name of Moat, is a small square plot surrounded by a ditch, upon which Aldingham Hall, the residence of the Fleming's family, is supposed to have stood. It lies at the foot of a gentle slope, which, rising to the south-east, terminates in a precipice formed by the waste of the sea. On the crest of the precipice, are the remains of an artificial mound of a considerable height, having apparently been somewhat oval at its base, and surrounded by a deep trench, between which and the insulated square plot at the foot of the hill, is a long straight ditch, erroneously called a fish-pond. The intention and antiquity of these works are uncertain. No traces of foundations are perceptible upon the insulated square: but at some little distance from the south-east corner, the foundations of some kind of buildings were not long ago demolished. The ditch has been cut through a spring, and consequently could never want water. Mr. John Simpson, the farmer of the estate anciently called Aldingham Hall, showed us much civility; and, upon our enquiring whether any antiquities had recently been discovered about the place, he informed us, that when the road which passes by the house, was first made in its present situation, two very thick earthenware vessels, containing bones of infants, or of very small human subjects, were discovered, a little to the west of the adjoining house called Colt-park; and that, in a field contiguous to the same place, a third pot was found in planting potatoes. As these pots were never shown to any antiquarian, it is impossible to ascertain whether they were ancient urns or only vessels of modern pottery, in which, as was supposed by those who found them, the bodies of murdered infants had been concealed by two women of abandoned characters, who, many years before lived at a house, now totally demolished. It is much to be regretted, however, that the nature of these remains were not more clearly ascertained; if they were ancient, they might probably have thrown some light upon the origin of the works which we have mentioned. The pots are said to have been extremely thick, and formed of very friable materials; they were short cylindrical vessels about one foot in diameter. The writer is inclined to believe they were more ancient than was supposed. Mr. Simpson also informed us of a medicinal spring near the same place, and which he supposed had once been of some repute, but we had not time to search for the place. As the sea, after a short interval of repose, has resumed its destructive ravages upon this shore, and has already swept away a part of the
mound,

mount, and may at some future period annihilate the whole, we thought proper to subjoin a sketch of the work to perpetuate their form. The view from the top of the mount, or moat, is pleasant, and extends across the spacious bay of Morecambe, on the opposite side of which, the town of Lancaster is one principal object. On a fine day, the refraction of the atmosphere, makes the promontories of the distant shores to the west of Lancaster, appear like tufts of trees or groves suspended in the air."

Dr. Barber, writing on this subject, in his *Pre-historic remains of Furness and Cartmel*, says:—

"The Moat Hill, or more properly the Folk-mote Hill (from the Saxon, signifying a place of public assembly), is an artificial hill of considerable height, being ninety-six feet above the sea-level, and has been considered by different writers to be of Druidical origin; an exploratory mound from which to view the coast and bay of Morecambe; a beacon hill, whence alarm could be given or received of any shipping on its first appearance in the bay; a moat hill for the Saxon lord of Aldingham. The mound is a plain earth-work, covered with grass, originally resembling the frustrum of a cone, but now an irregular shape from the action of the tide on the side facing the sea. It is surrounded by a deep ditch, twenty feet wide, from which most of the material for its construction is derived. About one hundred feet distant from this is a long and deep ditch, erroneously called a fish-pond, which some think has been intended to surround the mount but never completed. Further below, behind the farm buildings and the hedge which separates the field from the road in the front of the house is another enclosed plot, nearly square in form, also surrounded by a ditch, on which, according to West, it is supposed that the early residence of the Flemings, lords of Aldingham, stood. This cannot have been the case, for more reasons than one. That the great mound just mentioned is nothing more than a barrow or burial mound there cannot be the least doubt, because by the directions of the late Colonel Braddyll, of Conishead Priory, a small shaft was sunk down the centre of the hill from the top, and portions of human bones were brought to light, after which they were replaced and the opening filled up. The question of the original purpose of the hill being settled, there yet remains the difficult task of assigning to it the proper owner."

In answer to a question put by one of the members, Mr. Fell said that Aldingham was the ancient seat of the Flemings. Dr. Simpson said he should be glad to hear any theory advanced as to the purpose for which the moat was raised. It was a very curious mound, and was no doubt artificial. It might be called a moat, because it had a ditch round it or because it was a meeting place for certain purposes. The raised square on the other side of the field might have been a Romish encampment, for it was certainly of the usual shape. The moat might have been erected by a people older than the Romans, for there could be no doubt they would be most anxious to ascertain when a fleet approached the shore, as England at that time was subject to many invasions. His own opinion was that it was raised especially for a look-out, and that the earth was carried in baskets from a ditch below.

below. The moat would be much higher than it was now, and, consequently, narrower at the top. Beacons could here be seen across the bay and the alarm could thus be given of the approach of danger from either one side or the other. He had no doubt many theories could be supported as to the use of this moat.

The Rev. Mr. Lees asked if it might not be sepulchral and used as a moat afterwards.

Dr. Simpson did not see anything which led to the idea that it was sepulchral.

The Rev. J. M. Morgan explained that there was a place at Rampside, owned by Mr. Toulmin and Mr. Clarke, in which the dead were buried after some great engagement, but the mound was not raised as high as that at Aldingham. The dead were covered with boulder stones and some time ago the hinge of an ancient coffin, together with the remains of human bones, were found there.

Mr. Fell said there was no record of any investigation of the moat, but it was traditionally stated that Colonel Braddyll, of Conishead Priory, had discovered human bones in the moat. He agreed with Dr. Simpson as to the purpose for which it was used, and pointed out that at the time when it was raised there was a better look out to the sea than at present, owing to the extraordinary growth of beach which had since taken place. At the time when the lighthouse at Walney was built, it was at the edge of the water, but was now at a considerable distance from it, so that a person standing on the moat could not only command a fine look out to the sea, but could see the whole of the Morecambe Bay and a great many prominences on land. On the approach of vessels this would be an admirable place to create an alarm.

Mr. R. S. Ferguson thought there might have been a garrison quartered on the square plot of land at the other side of the field, and a certain number of men could be marched on the moat for watch during prescribed hours. The moat had, undoubtedly, been much higher and more pointed at the top, and, consequently, much smaller than the square plot referred to.

Mr. Ferguson added that West seemed to think this moat was Roman. How far was it from the nearest Roman road?

Mr. Rigge: Bardsea, three or four miles.

The Rev. J. M. Morgan said this moat was the most prominent position round the shore. There was no other head like it. They could see twenty miles out to sea.

Dr. Simpson agreed that this was the main headland, but questioned the accuracy of the tradition of Col. Braddyll.

The party left the moat, rejoined their carriages, and proceeded by way of Colt Park to Gleaston Castle.

On

On arriving at this ancient seat of the Flemings, the equanimity of some of the ladies and gentlemen was a little disturbed by the presence of an unfriendly bull in the ruins, but when the animal was removed the exploration of the Castle commenced.

Dr. Simpson said that as far as he could judge, the castle was of comparatively late date, for it had not grown like most other castles from a peel tower as a nucleus, but had evidently been built at one time, and a further evidence that it was of later origin than most places was to be seen in the fact that more arrangements had been made for the comfort of the inmates of the house than were generally to be found. The living apartments were at the south-east corner, the buttery, fireplaces, and windows, &c., leading to this idea.

Mr. Jackson mentioned that there was a romantic association about this castle, as it belonged to Lady Jane Grey, as the representative of the Harrington family at the time of her retainer, and was forfeited to the crown.

The day's excursion terminated by a drive to Furness Abbey, through Leece and Roose, the destination being reached about half-past five o'clock. Here the members gathered in the ruins, and Dr. Simpson explained that it had been considered useless on the part of anybody to write a paper on the Abbey, inasmuch as it had been treated in so able and so exhaustive a manner by the late Mr. Sharpe, of Lancaster.

Mr. Ferguson, however, read several extracts from Mr. Sharpe's papers on Cistercian architecture, and accompanied the party through the ruins, pointing out the nave, transepts, choir, private chapels, cloisters, chapter house, and other places of interest. He said this was one of the finest Cistercian abbeys which they had left. It had been ascertained that Cistercian abbeys were built, generally speaking, on the same plan. The church ran east and west, while the frater, the refectory, and the *domus conversorum* ran parallel with each other, north and south. The chapter house was perhaps the finest specimen extant in the country. The frater immediately to the south of the chapter-house was originally opened at one end. In this place the monks spent their spare time. Over it were their dormitories. The *domus conversorum* was on the opposite side of the cloisters, and in this place the *conversi*, or servants and workmen lived and performed their daily work. Over this was their dormitory, and their superintendent, the *magister conversorum*, had a special room. These *conversi* generally consisted of the scum of society, for when they could not get work anywhere they could get into these abbeys, but strict watch was kept over them, and they were made to work. The refectory, or dining hall, of which the foundations were still left, ran parallel with the frater at the south side of the cloisters.

The Rev. T. Lees, of Wreay, read an interesting paper on "The probable use of certain stones found in the ruins of Calder and Furness."

In the evening the following new members were elected:—Rev. Adam Wright, Gilsland; Capt. Sewell, Brandling Ghyll, Cockermouth; Mr. R. A. Brooke, Ulverston; Mr. Amos Beardsley, F.S.C., F.G.S., Grange-over-Sands; Mr. Bernard Quaritch, 15, Picadilly, London; Mr. William Fletcher, Brigham Hall, Workington; Mr. W. S. Calverly, Dearham, Carlisle; Mr. Charles Litt, Workington; and Mr. Hippolyte K. Blanc, Edinburgh.

The following gentlemen were appointed the local committee to manage the ensuing Whitehaven meeting:—Dr. Ianson, Canon Knowles, and Mr. Jackson.

During the evening a series of excellent plans of the detail of the architecture of Furness Abbey, by Mr. John Harrison, were exhibited; they were much and deservedly admired.

A document was submitted by the Rev. Mr. Ellwood, of Torver, containing the signature of Cromwell, giving sanction for the burial of dead at Torver.

Papers were read by Mr. Ellwood on "Sheep Scoring Marks;" by Mr. Lees, on "A Monk of Furness;" and by Mr. Ferguson, in reply to Mr. Nicholson's paper, read at Gilsland meeting on the Roman station Concangium. This closed the first day's business.

The members assembled at Furness Abbey at nine o'clock in the morning of the 17th, and proceeded to Barrow, under the guidance of Mr. J. Fell, who conducted them along the docks, through the Iron and Steel Works, Flax and Jute Mills, and other places of industrial interest in the town. At half-past eleven o'clock the members took train to Roa Island, and then crossed the channel in boats to Piel Island. Arrived here, the party walked to the Castle, and after a brief examination of the buildings, assembled in the outer court, where Major Harrison read the interesting paper on the ruins, which he had previously read before the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club.

Hearty votes of thanks were given to the local committee for their very efficient arrangements, and also to the Barrow Field Club. Mr. Fell replied that what he had done as a member of the local committee had afforded him great satisfaction, and if at any time the Society again visit Furness he should be glad to afford the committee any assistance in the examination of the valuable monuments which existed here.

Mr. Charles Smith, as president of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club, said he should have been pleased to do even much more for the Society, and hoped there would be an opportunity of the Societies meeting together—as had been spoken of by Dr. Simpson—at some future date.

DECEMBER 10 AND 11, 1877.

The winter meeting of the Society was held at Whitehaven, on Monday and Tuesday, December 10 and 11, 1877, on the first of which days the members assembled at the Black Lion Hotel about six o'clock, for dinner. In the evening the members of the Society attended a *Conversazione* given by the Whitehaven Scientific Society in their rooms, Howgill Street, where the following papers were read:—“The Archæology of the West Cumberland Coal Trade,” by Isaac Fletcher, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., “Observation on Ancient British Numerals (the Cymric score),” by the Rev. T. Ellwood. A very agreeable evening's entertainment was brought to a close with a vote of thanks to the Whitehaven Scientific Society.

Previous to the business of the second day, several members met at the Granary Yard to examine a plan of Whitehaven. The plan gave the visitors a good idea of the underground workings below Whitehaven. Subsequently, the company adjourned to the Castle, and a number of objects of interest were there pointed out.

Business was resumed at 10 30, in the Scientific Society's rooms. Dr. Simpson, Kirkby Stephen, occupied the chair, and the following papers were communicated to the Society:—“On and off the Roman Road from Papcastle to Lamplugh,” by W. Dickinson, Esq.; “A Contribution to the Map of Roman Cumberland,” by John Dixon, Esq.; “Notes on Archæological Remains in the Lake District,” by J. Clifton Ward, Esq., F.G.S.; “Notes on the Registers of Millom and Waberthwaite,” by the Rev. Canon Knowles; “Observations on the Parentage of Gundreda,” by Sir George Duckett, Bart., F.S.A.; “Whitehaven: its streets, its principal houses and their inhabitants,” by William Jackson, Esq.; “The Romans in Westmorland and Cumberland,” by Cornelius Nicholson, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S.

A vote of thanks was proposed to the Whitehaven Scientific Society for the use of their rooms; the motion being proposed by the Chairman, seconded by Alderman G. F. Braithwaite, of Kendal, and supported by Mr. Jackson. The vote of thanks was acknowledged by Mr. Russell, the President of the Scientific Society.

The following new members were elected:—Mr. George Henry Parke, F.G.S., F.L.S., Barrow; Mr. Thomas Massicks, The Oaks, Millom; Miss Wilson, 76, Lowther Street, Whitehaven; Sir James Ramsden, Barrow; Mr. Robert Russell, F.G.S., H.M. Geographical Survey, St. Bees; Captain Kennedy, Summerfield, Kirkby Lonsdale; Captain Thomas M. Hutchinson M. Martin, Tryermaine, Bitterne, Southampton; Mr. R. H. Greenwood, Bankfield, Kendal; Rev. Canon Troutbeck, Dean's Yard, Westminister; Dr. Douglas, Workington; Mr. A. Helder, Whitehaven; Mrs. Fletcher, Croft Hill, Whitehaven; Mrs. Hodgetts, Saint Bees.

ART. I.—*Bolton Church, Cumberland.* By CHARLES J. FERGUSON.

Read at Bolton, August 30th, 1876.

“NOW on the north-west side of this River of Elne you have fair green downes and fair flockes of sheep, and fine sweet mutton, and over against Ireby, stands Bolton, a fair Church and Psonage of £100 per annum.” So writes Sandford, in his quaint manuscript; the Church still stands in pleasant pastures, and is one of the most remarkable, if not actually the most remarkable, of our Country Churches, differing essentially in its character from any of its neighbours, and shewing, most clearly, foreign influence in its design.—The chief peculiarity is its stone roof, which differs entirely from the early barrel vaulting, of which an instance may be seen in the Chapel of the Tower of London, and from the vaulting or groining of pure Gothic; both of these were intended to have an outer roof of timber, to be in fact a ceiling only, but the vault under which we stand is, or rather was, intended to have been a true roof; the extradados, or outside of the vault, has originally either actually formed the outer skin, or the covering slabs have been laid over it, or attached, to it without the intervention of wood; it has little in common with the Gothic of England, but seems rather to resemble the pointed barrel-arch over the choir at Roslyn, and that which formerly existed at Holyrood. The Scotch never willingly borrowed from England, but all their predilections were for continental nations and especially for

France : Mr. Ferguson, in his Handbook of Architecture, says that the whole character of Scotch Architecture is continental, wrought out in a bolder and generally in a simpler and ruder fashion than the corresponding examples in other countries. In the southern part of France, in Provence, in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, these vaults are common ; one of the best examples being that of the Church at Fontifroide, where the nave is covered with a continuous pointed barrel, and the aisles are roofed with half vaults, exactly as the transepts are here, thus forming abutments to the central arches. The advantage of this form of construction is that the tiles or paving stones of the roof rest directly on the vaults without the intervention of carpentry, a copy in fact of the Romans in their treatment of the Dome.

It seems at first sight curious to find in the very extremity of the kingdom such an excellent example as we find here of this Romance or Romanesque style of building. And when we examine the church itself we find that it has no doubt succeeded an earlier one of Norman times, for in four of the corbels in the west wall may be noted the remains of four Norman capitals. The long narrow chancel is so similar in proportion to those of late Norman times, to that of Torpenhow, which has just been visited, and to that of Dacre on the other side of the county, as to show that it has been rebuilt on its own foundations. The chancel has a much plainer base course than the nave, namely, two simple splays, which stop on the east side of the nave : the base course to the nave is much more elaborate, and that to the vestry, of which a portion is, I think, original, is more simple, being a single splay only. I take it that the Old Norman Church having fallen or been battered to pieces, the architect first rebuilt the chancel, and then carried out the nave and transept, on a more extensive scale than before, and some years later added the sacristy : the building thus
erected

erected seems to have come down to us with few alterations, except those of modern times, a piece of luck arising partly from its substantial build and partly, as Bishop Nicholson relates, from there being so many dissenters in the parish, that no necessity arose for enlargement.

The question is by whom it was rebuilt and when? As to the when, we know that in 1322, Robert Brus burnt Rose Castle and laid waste all the western side of Cumberland to Duddon Sands, that in 1387, a similar visitation seems to have been paid which had Cockermouth for its centre, and that during this period throughout Cumberland little architectural progress was made; and we need not be surprised that Bolton Church required to be rebuilt about the end of this period. Tradition says the church was built in one night by imps at the command of Michael Scott, the wizard, a tradition which seems to linger still in a modified form, for I heard from a lad in the village that it was the work of his well known namesake, Sir Walter who utilised Michael Scott in the Lay of the last Minstrel: the wizard flourished during the thirteenth century, and is reported to have died a monk either of Holm Cultram or Melrose, both of which claim his body, and his books. Tradition thus points to Holm Cultram and to Melrose Abbey, both communities of Cistercians, and doubtless in constant communication: we find on further examination that Holm Cultram had a actual holding in the parish, and owned land at Bolton, which the monks of such an order as the Cistercians, we may be sure, did not neglect to visit and look after, and I think that the tradition which points to these Abbeys in connexion with the rebuilding of Bolton, is probably correct, and that thence were obtained the drawings and designs and the men to carry them out, if the monks were not the actual originators of the plan. This, Mr. Cory suggests to me was Ralph Nevile, first Earl of Westmorland and 8th Baron Nevile of Raby, who

who in the time of Richard II., (the very time when Bolton Church required to be rebuilt), was, in conjunction with the Earl of Northumberland and others, in government of the city of Carlisle and custody of the West Marches ; he, or his family were also patrons of Bolton ; he was actively engaged in France, in fact, I believe, at one time was actually Governor of Provence ; he rebuilt Raby Castle, and added a porch to Gainford Church, roofed in this manner, so that it seems, most probably, that Ralph Nevile, struck with the stability of the buildings seen on his travels, was instrumental in introducing a similar style here, and that he was able to do so through the Scotch connection of Holm Cultram and Melrose, and the foreign workmen to be got through thence.

Be the designer who he may, having completed the chancel on the lines of the previous one, he next commenced with the nave ; this was laid out on a most scientific plan ; towards the east were two transepts, and towards the west two porches, which thus form admirable abutments to the stone roof, with which the nave is spanned : that the stone roof was intended to form the actual outer covering, there can be little doubt, for on careful examination it will be observed, that the water tabling or projecting course of stone work at the west gable, under whose projection slating is usually housed, is worked out of the walling stones themselves, and does not admit of any timber or woodwork being housed under it ; at Lanercost Priory a small example remains of similar treatment in the roof of the south aisle of the choir, which, as far as the thickness of the wall, is formed of the actual walling stones, carefully wrought and weathered as is usual in buttress slopes. After the troublous times which immediately preceded its erection, we cannot wonder that the church was built for defence and shelter, as well as for a house of prayer ; a stone staircase, capped with an hexagonal stone top, leads to the roof, round which is an ample walk protected

tected by a parapet wall ; in order to make the circuit complete, the west gable is set back on corbels, which are cleverly managed in the interior.

In the inside of the stone roof, just above the springing not only of the nave roof, but also of the transepts, are a series of massive corbels, intended, I think, in the first place, to rest the centering on, on which the arch was formed. They are not unusually so left in bridges and other works requiring heavy centering, and I am informed by my friend Mr. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., that some, of the 14th century, still exist in Tadcaster bridge, although the arches have been since rebuilt; they may also have been utilized in case of need for forming a temporary loft, which would form a place of refuge.

In examining the interior of the church, while we are grateful for the handsome way in which it has been repaired, we may feel some regret that the plaster has been laid on with so lavish a hand that sundry objects of interest are quite buried. Above the doorway to the turret stairs may just be discerned traces of the doorway which lead to the rood screen; and from the sacristy to the chancel there still exists a squint, formed to command a view of the high altar, now, I am sorry to say, entirely plastered over on the church side. The interior is still to be traced, though at present filled with a cupboard.

The transepts, I need hardly say, have been used as chapels, in both the piscinas and aumbreys remain, as they do also in the chancel. The chancel contains, on the south side, to the west of the Priests' door, a very interesting low side window; if you examine it you will find that it is on a lower level than the other windows, and is checked or rebated on the joints and mullion, to receive a door or shutter, and that on the mullion itself special provision has been made for the reception of the bolt; traces of the hinges on which the shutters worked are also visible. No exact record has been discovered as to what

what the purpose of this peculiar kind of window was, of which several examples exist, but I think the most reasonable one is that they were intended for doling alms from, and you usually find that where such a window exists, there is a charity in the parish, as is the case at Bolton. The window tracery is peculiar, and is quite un-English in character; at Linlithgo, a doorway exists the tympanum of which is filled with tracery of precisely similar character to that in the East Window, another proof of the Scotch feeling to be found throughout the work. I think on the exterior you should not fail to note the excellence of the masonry and its massive character, some of the courses being no less than 21 inches in height.

The church, I should add, is rectorial, and is dedicated to All Saints. In conclusion, I propose to read a transcript of Bishop Nicholson's visitation to Bolton Church, which took place very nearly at this time, one hundred and seventy-three years ago, and it is, I believe, chiefly through the liberality of Mr. George Moore, and Mr. Foster, of Kilhow, that the dilapidations the Bishop refers to refers to, no longer exist.

"Bolton August 26th, 1703. The chancel here is a very great length, and its high walls are good and firm. There are five Windows in it, whereof half of each is wall'd up. The want of Rails is what is common with this, and a great many of its Neighbours. But the Irregularity of the Floor (which lies in hollow pits) and a great rough Heap of Stones, at the very entrance of the Door, are somewhat Extraordinary. The roof needs looking after.

"The body of the Church and the two Side Isles, (belonging to the Parishioners in common) are covered with a Tapering Arch of large hewn Stone, over which there is an outer Covering of Slate. So that a small matter will repair and beautify it in such a manner as to give it a very glorious appearance. The mischief is, there are so many Dissenters, (chiefly Anabaptists and Quakers in the parish),
that

that t'will be difficult to set forward anything of that kind; till God and the Government blesses us with a more effectual method of Raising our Church Assessments. A set of new Books has been procured, since Mr. Thompson came to the Living. But the old Curate (poor Mr. Heddy) looks as tattered as ever, but will hereafter, I hope, have his Salary rais'd.

“On a Brass plate upon a Tomb Stone in the Church-yard is this inscription:

Depositum Danielis Hechstetterij quondam hujus Ecclesie Rectoris, qui post defatigatos Viginti Annorum Labores Tandem requievit in Domino, Creatoris sui brachiis Confisus. Sepultus 7^o die Apr. A.D. 1686.

“All this (except the Date of his Burial) is said to be the composing of the deceased Rector himself, who was M.A., of Queen's College, Oxford, and sometime Master of the Grammar School at Carlisle.*

“The Parsonage House (having first dropped piecemeal) was much contracted by the last incumbent, Mr. Robinson; who paid yearly (as was reasonably suspected) so high a quit rent, out of this Rectory, and that of Plumbland, to his patron, Mr. Thompson, that he was never well able to keep himself and his Family (any more than that of his Curate) out of a starving Condition. The Register Books begin at 1574, but like the other matters have been much neglected and spoiled.”

On the conclusion of the paper, a discussion arose, in the course of which Dr. Simpson, referring to the low side window, said the received theory was that lamps were placed in these windows after a funeral to scare away evil spirits. Mr. Ferguson said another theory was that lepers, being unable to come into church, made confession at these windows. Mr. Cory said these side windows had their earliest date in the 13th century, and they always had hinges and bolts for shutters, but not glass. They would, therefore, appear to be

* For Daniel Hechstetter, see vol. 2 Transactions, pp. 226, 231.

be for some such purpose as giving out alms or receiving confession. In corroboration of his inference that Ralph de Neville built Bolton Church, Mr. Cory added that a similar roof existed in Staindrop Church, which was of the same period and was connected with the same family. Mr. Whitwell said Mr. Cory's theory was extremely probable. He remarked upon the paucity of decoration inside the church while not a little was observable outside. Mr. Ferguson said the inside was once covered with plaster, which was no doubt painted with figures. Dr. Simpson: I should like to see us come to that again. We want more colour in our churches. Mr. Moore said the plaster was not coloured when he was a boy. He added that in his youth he implicitly believed the tradition about Michael Scott.

ART. II.—*Agricola's Line of March from Chester to the Solway.* By WM. JACKSON, ESQ.

Read at Wigton, August 31st, 1876.

WHEN, after having completed his conquest of North Wales, Agricola retired into winter quarters, most probably at Chester, it is natural to suppose that the period of enforced abstinence from military undertakings would be spent in arranging his plans and accumulating supplies for the future; and, as we learn incidentally that he did not merely contemplate the conquest of a tribe, but the entire subjection of the whole island, it is evident that the preparations made during the winter of A.D. 78—9 would be of the most elaborate and extensive nature.

The pregnant words of Tacitus supply us with particulars which to me scarcely seem to be, even yet, correctly appreciated; and it may well be that, owing to his ignorance of the country, some misconception of Agricola's notes of campaigns may have occurred, though suppositions of that nature should be carefully introduced, for the caution and attention to minutiae which were so conspicuous in Agricola's character as a commander, would, no doubt, be equally visible in his dispatches and the private memoranda of his campaigns, to both of which his son-in-law, the historian Tacitus, would have access.

It is no great assumption to suppose that Chester was the main point of departure, and it seems not unimportant, in certain considerations which present themselves, that it should have been a maritime rather than an inland city at which the preparations should have been made.

In considering the advance of Agricola, we must remember that it was not merely an expedition into a hostile country, but a permanent conquest that was contemplated;

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that

that at important points, as nearly as possible equi-distant from each other, *castella* had to be erected : that these had to be garrisoned and supplied with provisions for a whole year, and as each of these was only founded after a most careful survey of the whole district, so that each, at least, might be able to maintain communication with its immediate neighbour in advance and in the rear by beacons, it is evident that much time would be taken up in surveys; and when we call to mind the assurance that none of these *castella* were ever taken, we cannot fail to be impressed with the circumspection and attention to minute detail that must have characterized the advance of this great Roman General.

In marching northwards through Lancashire, we may safely conclude the route chosen would be that by the centre of the county, and that one of the stations would be Ribchester. Even supposing the sea level in that day to have been the same as in our own, it is not at all probable that the invading army would have crossed the Ribble west of that point, for the district from Southport to Rufford would be little better than a desert of sand heaps and peat mosses, and, moreover, some concentration of troops marching from the south, would naturally take place in the region from Mancunium to Ribchester. Lancaster would be the next great central station, and here the route to be pursued northwards would necessarily be decided on, even if it had not been previously arranged, which, however, I should be disposed to think it was.

This portion of the advance of Agricola seems never to have had the advantage of being contemplated by one fully acquainted with the whole region, and has been, therefore, slurred over in a manner quite inadequate to its great importance; and it is the object of the present paper, and ought to be the steady aim of our Society, at the boundary of whose district we now halt, to determine the route taken by the Invader.

Upon

Upon the whole, it seems almost tacitly to have been decided, though Horsley has sagaciously thought differently, that the district was pierced by an advance up the valley of the Lune; but I think the coast-line can show far superior claims to the, it may be, rather ambiguous distinction. But, before considering the probabilities as to which route the general was likely to have chosen, it may be well to quote the words of Tacitus in speaking of Agricola's care in selecting sites for the camps, —“*loca castris ipse capere, æstuaria ac silvas ipse prætentare.*” Now few, if any, writers have ever contended for a march up the coast line of Lancashire, and if the advance was up the valley of the Lune, the word, “*æstuaria*” would be meaningless, for certainly no *æstuaries* could be traversed on that line.

But, on all accounts, the coast-line is the most probable; the narrow gorge of the Lune was, in a military point of view, most dangerous; ranges of mountains abutting upon it on each side, the attacks would be incessant, and the communications would be continually in peril of being cut off.

On the other hand, the coast-line, besides exactly answering to the words of Tacitus, in being intersected by estuaries, presents remarkable advantages; in many places there is a tract of tolerably level ground between the mountains and the sea: the army would only be liable to attack on the right flank; and I cannot but think, though I am not unmindful of the words of Tacitus in his 25th chapter, that supplies were brought to the army in ships, which did not, however, advance *pari passu* with the army till a later period, when the coast, protected by the western islands and numerous promontories, would admit of this being done with comparative safety.

I am disposed to believe that we under-rate the general civilization of the Britons, and, consequently, the amount of commerce and communication on this, as on other
coasts

coasts of the island, at this early period. Harbours are by no means wanting, and pilots would not be difficult to procure.

The Roman roads would, I conceive, be originally on the lines of communication used by the Britains, though, doubtless, more and more adapted to their own ideas, and always intended or improved, like the Russian railways of the present day, with a special eye to military requirements.

The difficulty of tracing the early roads in this part of England is much enhanced by the, as yet, unsolved problem, when the sea receded, or began to recede, from the well-recognized mark of 25 ft. above the present level. It is impossible to go fully into the question in a paper of this kind, but when geologists have solved the problem as, no doubt, they will do at no distant date, sufficiently, at any rate, for our purpose, an element of uncertainty will be eliminated from our Roman researches. Mr. Stockdale, in his "Annales Caermolenses," gives good reason to believe that, supposing Hest Bank to have been the point of departure then, as now, in crossing the Morecambe estuary, the Wyke on the Cartmel shore would be the point of arrival. Hence by Pigeonhouse-lane, running close to the ancient Pele Tower of Wraysholme, once belonging to the Harringtons, there is an old road on which Roman remains have been discovered, which, again reaching the sands at Sandgate, has its point of arrival at Conishead Bank, near the ancient Priory, whence Red Lane, so called because once used for the cartage of the hematite of the district, but previous to that known as The Street, runs, *via* Dalton, to Ireleth Gate, on the bank of the Duddon estuary. The landing place on the opposite shore is curiously marked by the site of the gallows of the Lords of Millom, close to a lane conducting from the sands to the castle, whence there is a direct road to Silecroft.

Supposing,

Supposing, on the other hand, that the sea level were as much higher as I have indicated the possibility of, we have the old site of Hincaster, not far from the head of the Kent estuary, we have decided traces of the Romans in the discovery of coins at Castle Head, and again in Cartmel valley. For more minute details respecting this district, I refer to Mr. Stockdale's "Annales Caermolenses," and West's "Antiquities of Furness."

Starting on the borders of Lancashire and Cumberland, I should have been pleased to find indications of Roman presence at Broughton, at the head of the Duddon estuary; but, beyond the prefix Brough, which in its variations of Burgh, Borrow, Burrow, and Burrens, &c., always denotes a Roman site, I must confess I have been unable to learn if any remains of that people have ever been discovered there. It is almost certain that the Roman road over Hardknott and Wrynose would send an offshoot down the Duddon valley to this town, but I am at present without any confirmatory information. The first trace of anything Roman in the south-west of Cumberland that I have been able to discover, is to be found in the name of Street, given to the ancient road running at the foot of Black Comb, and applied to a portion extending from about Silecroft to the River Esk, and on this route are situated the three ancient parish churches of Whicham, Whitbeck, and Bootle, and the old nunnery of Seaton; and if the sea-level were the same as at the present day, travellers by this road would cross the Esk at the ford marked by the old church of Waberthwaite.

Immediately after passing the Esk, we find ourselves in a locality once noted for its Roman remains, but which of late years has ceased to furnish any further indications of its ancient occupants, and few know of the existence, even, of this encampment.

My first visit to the old ruin once known as Walls Castle, was on the 28th of July, 1873, and I was deeply impressed

impressed with its very peculiar character, and felt quite unable to decide to what period it belonged, though, on careful consideration, I was disposed to believe that we had here, in this obscure corner of Cumberland, the remains of a Roman villa, in a much more perfect condition than were to be found elsewhere in England, if not in a wider district. Upon taking my friend Mr. Lees to examine it, he came, without any suggestion from me, to the same conclusion; and Canon Knowles, though on a first visit in our company he was very unwilling to adopt our theory, has finally yielded to the same conviction, and has embodied the results of several visits made by him and myself in a paper and a carefully drawn plan, which will be laid before you. I propose also to make the camp, and some very peculiar discoveries in connection with it, the subject of a special paper.

By what route the Roman advance was made northwards from this point I am unable to say. On all the earliest maps of our county there is laid down an ancient road running from Drigg to Calder Hall, and on this stands Seascale Hall, very near to the site of an old circle marked by a solitary stone, all the others having been buried at the commencement of this century. There are, I believe, indications that a road once traversed the Calder at this point, and, passing by Sella Park, was continued by existing roads to the venerable Church of St. Bridget, with its so-called Runic Cross, close to which, on an eminence over the Ehen, is a field called Castley, where old foundations have been discovered; whilst, on the other side of the river, is a gravelly eminence known as Burrough Hill, which the river is, and for years has been, undermining. Another prominent point of a ridge, abruptly cut off by the river's attrition, is called Warborough Nook, on which was lately found a stone celt or hammer.

The road from Braystones (Burrow-stones) by Saint Bees
runs

runs within half a mile of, and parallel to, the coast for the whole distance, and certainly is very ancient. Half a mile after passing Braystones, on the left hand, is a prominent eminence without earthworks, known as Maiden Castle ; on the right, at a distance of about half a mile, was Ehen-side Tarn. In it were found, about seven or eight years ago, some interesting prehistoric remains, which formed the subject of a communication by Mr. Darbishire to the Antiquarian Society, printed in the 44th volume of the *Archaeologia*. Half a mile further to the right is the remarkable conical hill, artificially shaped, at any rate, called Couderton Cop, a very prominent object, and one of the many cops which, together with Kinniside Cop, Catgill How, it may be Wotobank, and others around Egremont, gave origin to the ancient name of Copeland. Passing through Saint Bees, and reaching Whitehaven by way of Preston Hows and Monkgray, thence climbing the hill of Bransty, the ancient road, now in part disused, commanded from the summit of that hill, a splendid view of the encampment at Moresby. From Moresby another ancient road passed through Harrington to Workington, and beyond the point of Burrow Walls it may be considered as settled that a road of Roman date, at the latest, was continued to the Solway, and at this point our district ceases, and we may fitly pass to others the task of further elucidating the subject.

The question of time taken by Agricola in his march to the north has been re-opened by the discovery (placed I understand from those best qualified to judge, beyond any doubt,) that the estuary hitherto called Taus in our printed copies of Tacitus's "Agricola," ought to be Tanaus ; but which is the Tanaus none can tell. The Tweed and Tyne have both been named as competitors, but neither have, nor debouch into, estuaries. If we might suppose the Tanaus to be the Ituna of a later geography, the Solway Frith would be reached at the end of the first summer's march,

march, and the Clyde at the expiration of the second ; and considering the effectual manner in which the work was done, this is a more rapid advance than we could have anticipated.

Mr. R. S. Ferguson, at the close of the paper, said in reference to the route taken by Agricola, Mr. Jackson and himself were quite in accord, and that he hoped to shortly lay before the Society a paper on the same subject. He referred to the existence of a Roman camp between Mowbray and Allonby, and another at Silloth, which had been destroyed by the sea, and stated they would find Old Carlisle the centre of a complete system of military roadways. He could not help thinking that the military power of the Romans was centered at one time in Old Carlisle, and that afterwards they found the present Carlisle a more suitable place, and removed their seat of government to that place, which was protected by troops at Stanwix. Old Carlisle appeared to be a centre of great importance in a strategic point of view, because from every point of it, like the spokes of a wheel, roads branched out, and at the end of every one of them was a camp.

Dr. Simpson and Professor Harkness both then suggested that, the subject being so important, the discussion should be adjourned to the Kendal meeting.

ART. III.—*The Camp at Muncaster and certain Roman Discoveries there.* By WM. JACKSON, ESQ.

Read at Wigton, August 31st, 1876.

I PROPOSE now to lay before you some particulars of the ancient camp from which Muncaster takes its name, first pointed out to me by my friend Mr. Lees, and which may plainly be discerned in a field in front of the farm house called Walls, not many yards distant from the ancient ruin of Walls Castle.

The camp, which presents on three sides distinct and continuous traces of the wall and fosse, and which is about 140 yards long, has not been less than 120 broad, but I am unable to state the exact width, even if ever it had a wall on the western side, where a steep descent of fifty feet dips sharply down to the river Esk, flowing into the Ravenglass estuary at this point. There are traces of round towers at the two eastern angles, but no other indications remain on the site.

Camden speaks of Ravenglass, "where as I have heard, were to be seen Roman inscriptions."

Denton, who wrote c. 1680, says, of Muncaster, "This place is now corruptly called Moncaster, howbeit, the right name is Mulcastre or Meolcastre, of an old castle towards the water side, near Esk Meal. It was called Meolcastre, or Mulecastre, from the Meal on which it anciently stood, and is accordingly written Mulecastre and Mealcastre in all their old evidences and records. Esk Meal, whereon the ancient castle stood, is a plain, low, dry ground at the foot of Esk, between the mountains and the sea, which sort of grounds, lying under mountains and promontories into or at the sea, are commonly called Mules or Meils, as it were the entrance or mouth from the

sea into a river, or such like place as the Meil of Esk, Kirksanton Meil, Cartmeil, Mealholme, the Meald of Galloway, and Millum itself."

Hutchinson says, "This has been a place of great consequence in distant antiquity. Broken battle axes of flint, arrow heads, and coins of different people have been found, many of them Roman and some Saxon."

Lysons describes two tripod bronze vessels, in the possession of S. L. Irton, Esq., both found at Eskmeals; and although he doubts their Roman origin, I cannot but think that they must have been Roman camp kettles of a by no means uncommon type. Into whose possession they fell at the dispersion of the Irton collection, I am unable to state. Mr. Linton, in his "Handbook to the Whitehaven and Furness Railway," a work whose value has scarcely been sufficiently appreciated, alludes to some remarkable discoveries made when the cutting for that line was excavated along the western side of the camp.

I have been favoured by Mr. John Tomlinson of Whitehaven, a zealous antiquary, with an account of his observations made on the spot at the period of the discovery, which I transcribe:—"During the summer of 1850, when the Whitehaven and Furness Railway was in progress of construction through Ravenglass, and the workmen were smoothing down the cutting, about 150 yards south-west from Walls Castle they discovered three remarkable constructions, about twenty yards apart from each other. The openings had been two feet below the present surface; the shape excavated was a cone or sugar loaf, say fifteen feet deep, and ten to twelve feet diameter at the bottom. The bottom had been flagged, the sides wooded round, in a square of seven or eight feet, with the trunks of trees of fourteen inches girth, laid horizontally one on the other, and filled up between them and the soil with stones, and so continued up, gradually lessening the size
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to about sixteen inches, over which a slab of stone was placed. The inside was filled with a dark, peaty matter, which on being excavated, contained many various bones, and many human bones and skulls of various sizes, but so decayed as to be beyond preservation. There were two oak clubs found in one of the structures, and a skin covering for the leg, with thongs attached. The workmen opened one of them down to the flagged bottom, under the expectation of finding it an underground passage to Walls Castle; but no coins or implements were found. I found myself a kind of shoe, a protection for the foot of a boy, made of raw skins of several thicknesses; a piece of burnt wood, part of a hazel-nut shell, part of a cow's horn which I still have." Mr. Tomlinson thinks they have been Pict's holes.

Since receiving the foregoing account, I have inspected the remains in Mr. Tomlinson's collection, and have learnt from him that he only saw the pits on the Sunday after the discovery, and that the contents were then in a state of great confusion, owing to the excavators, in their hurry to reach the bottom, where they hoped to find treasure, having thrown the bones, skulls, horns, oak leaves, &c., they passed through, indiscriminately together. Amongst the remains in Mr. Tomlinson's possession is a human bone which my friend Dr. P'Anson, identified as the first phalanx of the fore-finger of the left-hand of an adult; it had not been subjected to the action of fire. I saw a fragment of charred pine wood, still retaining its characteristic smell, and the spur of a cock.

This is the third find of a similar nature which railway excavations have produced. The first was discovered at Stone, in Buckinghamshire, and though fragments of urns were found in the pit, Wright, in his "*Celt, Roman, and Saxon*," expresses a strong opinion that it was a rubbish-pit, and not of a sepulchral nature. His affirmative opinion on the point, at any rate, seems to be rendered doubtful

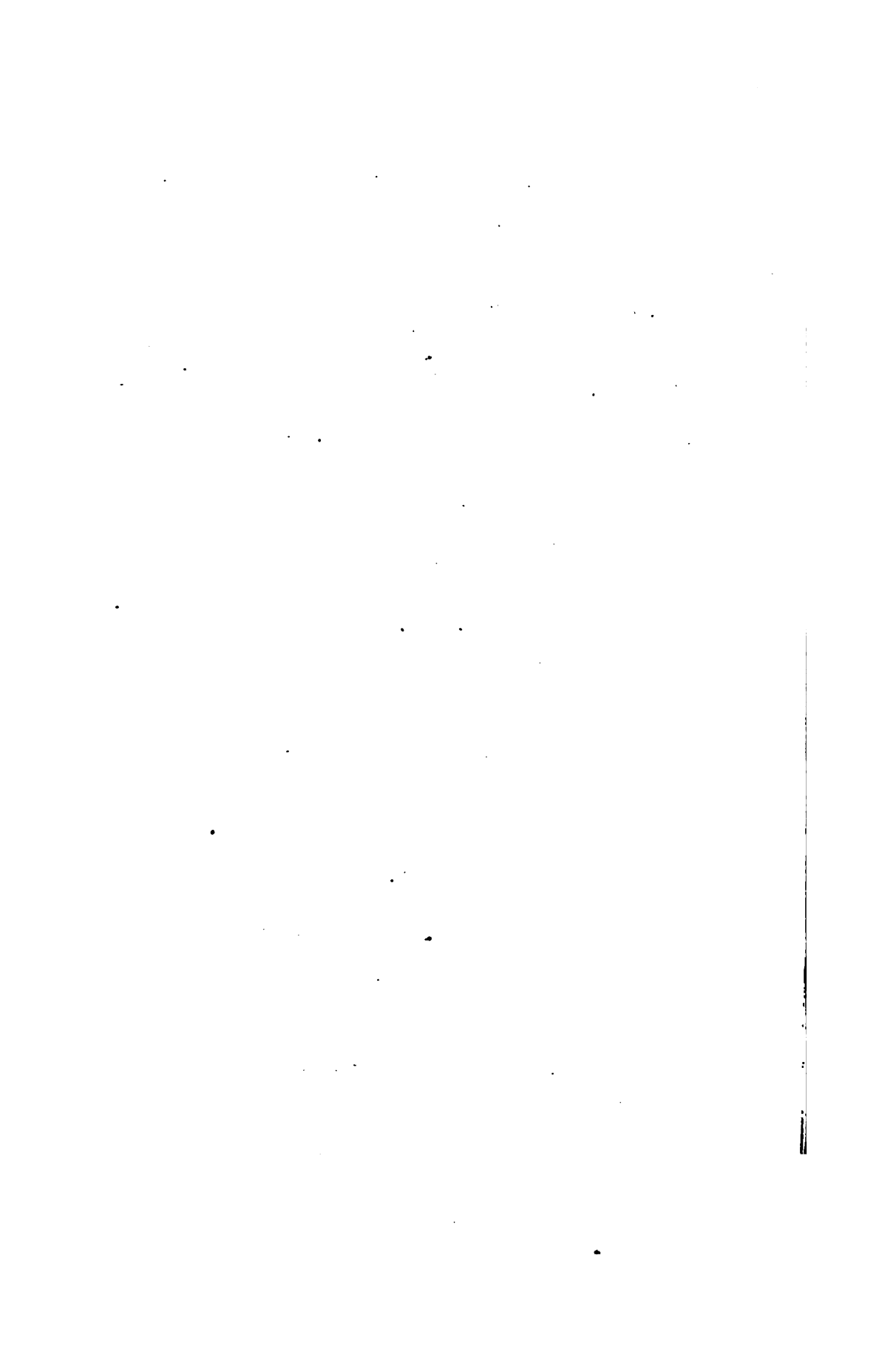
have communicated, we felt compelled to abandon the idea, although its prominence is from other directions sufficiently remarkable. If the carse or twenty-five feet sea level extended down to the Roman era, the estuary of Ravenglass would be a noble haven for ships, and even were the extent of water only the same as at the present, a large town, such as would grow up around the camp, would necessitate a considerable commerce.

The popular story that at times the remains of sunken Roman galleys may be seen by the spectator in Selker Bay,

"In the waves beneath him lying."

may well be a tradition of some great nautical catastrophe which befel a fleet bound here, for it is certain that vessels, caught under some circumstances with a north-westerly wind, would find it no easy matter to weather the south-western promontory of that bay.

Since writing the foregoing I have been informed by Mr. Barton that he has abandoned his idea that the enclosure in which these pits were discovered was a Roman camp. Its magnitude (250 yards square), and the fact that there is a ditch inside the bank militating strongly against that supposition. The villa was at the north-eastern corner of the area, between the inner and the outer ditches, so that this enclosure was probably intended for cattle belonging to the occupant of the residence.





WALLS CASTLE.

ART. IV.—*Walls Castle, Ravenglass.* By the REV. CANON KNOWLES, M.A., and WM. JACKSON, ESQ.

Read at Wigton, August 31st, 1876.

THIS curious ruin stands a few yards to the N.E. of the Roman camp at Muncaster.

The ground plan annexed shows its dimensions to be at present about 52 by 43 feet; but it is clearly only a fragment of a larger building.

We call your notice first to the materials. The stone is good red freestone, set in pretty regular courses of five or six inches in depth; it has probably been brought by sea, as it is fuller of spangly particles than that of the neighbourhood.* The mortar is coarse, but of exceeding hardness, laid in wide joints of from half an inch to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The internal walls, at least, have been plastered with a strong cement of various thicknesses, from $\frac{7}{12}$ ths to one inch, on which is a coating of lime and pounded tile about $\frac{5}{12}$ ths of an inch thick: in this the pieces of tile range from mere dust to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and are numerous enough to give it a nearly uniform and very pleasant colour. The walls are at present about 12 feet 6 inches in height.

2. The doorways have all had rough constructive arches above them, with *voussoirs* of irregular thickness, about 9 feet from the ground; and, beneath these, flat lintel stones (from 7 to 9 inches in depth), nicked on the underside to receive a door frame of timber, which has been wedged in at the hollows marked *b.b.* on plan II. All this has left clear traces. The height of the doorway was not much more than five feet.

* On further consideration I am disposed to believe the sandstone may have been obtained from some now disused quarry in the neighbourhood; the quartzose particles are larger than are usual in the Permian of the vicinity, and more like the Penrith stone. W.J.

3. There

3. There is no perfect window opening, but traces of five window-sills and sides remain,* clearly marked by fragments of the hard internal plaster. The windows must have been small and narrow, and the level of their sills about four feet from the ground.

Almost all the windows, probably, had large plate stones under the spring of the hood arch.

4. There are through-holes in the walls, original, about five inches square, chiefly at two levels, the upper about nine feet from the ground; they are marked *k.* on the larger plan.†

5. In the west wall of room C. is a curious niche 3 feet $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, 2 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and 1 foot 6 inches deep, plastered thickly with sifted beech pebbles; the sill has been one flat stone 3 inches in thickness. There are fifteen irregular *voussoirs* to its rough semi-circular arch. The recess in the east wall is not similar, having no sill-plate, and is probably long posterior to the building—the effect, in fact, of ruination.

6. It will be seen by the plan that G. and H. must have been rooms without any communication with those of the building now examined.‡

7. In room B. the ground is uneven: against the north wall the floor has evidently been raised. We found fragments of large red tiles lying beneath the surface.

After repeated examination we are convinced that this curious structure is late Roman. It is certainly not mediæval, as early Norman houses were not built on such a plan, and the masonry can belong to no later date. The niche at I. has Roman character, and was probably built for an image.

* The distinct traces of windows caused me to hesitate before I concluded that the ruin is of Roman work, but it cannot be attributed to any later style. K.

† All, I think, have mortar at the bottom, as if blocks of wood had been placed in them. K.

‡ And, therefore, it seems likely that the building now examined was one of a row of three. K. I cannot subscribe to this conclusion. W.J.



NICHE AT WALLS CASTLE.



Like the Roman camp, it has been made a quarry for more recent buildings, and no carved or inscribed stones have, it seems, been found.

About half a mile eastwards stands Newtown Knott, a hill about 250 feet high, commanding the camp below, the immediate neighbourhood of the camp on Ponsonby fell, and the hills beyond Moresby. It is naturally scarped on all sides, but its strength to north and east has we think, been increased by art.

One of us has recently visited "Hard Knott Castle" to test our opinion that Newtown Knott was the site of a *turris specularis* and beacon.

High ground jutting out from Birker just intercepts the view, however, though the higher hill close by Newton Knott is visible from Hard Knott camp, which is set on the only available ground.

We must add that we found the mortar below the surface disintegrated by the soil, all above being as hard as stone.

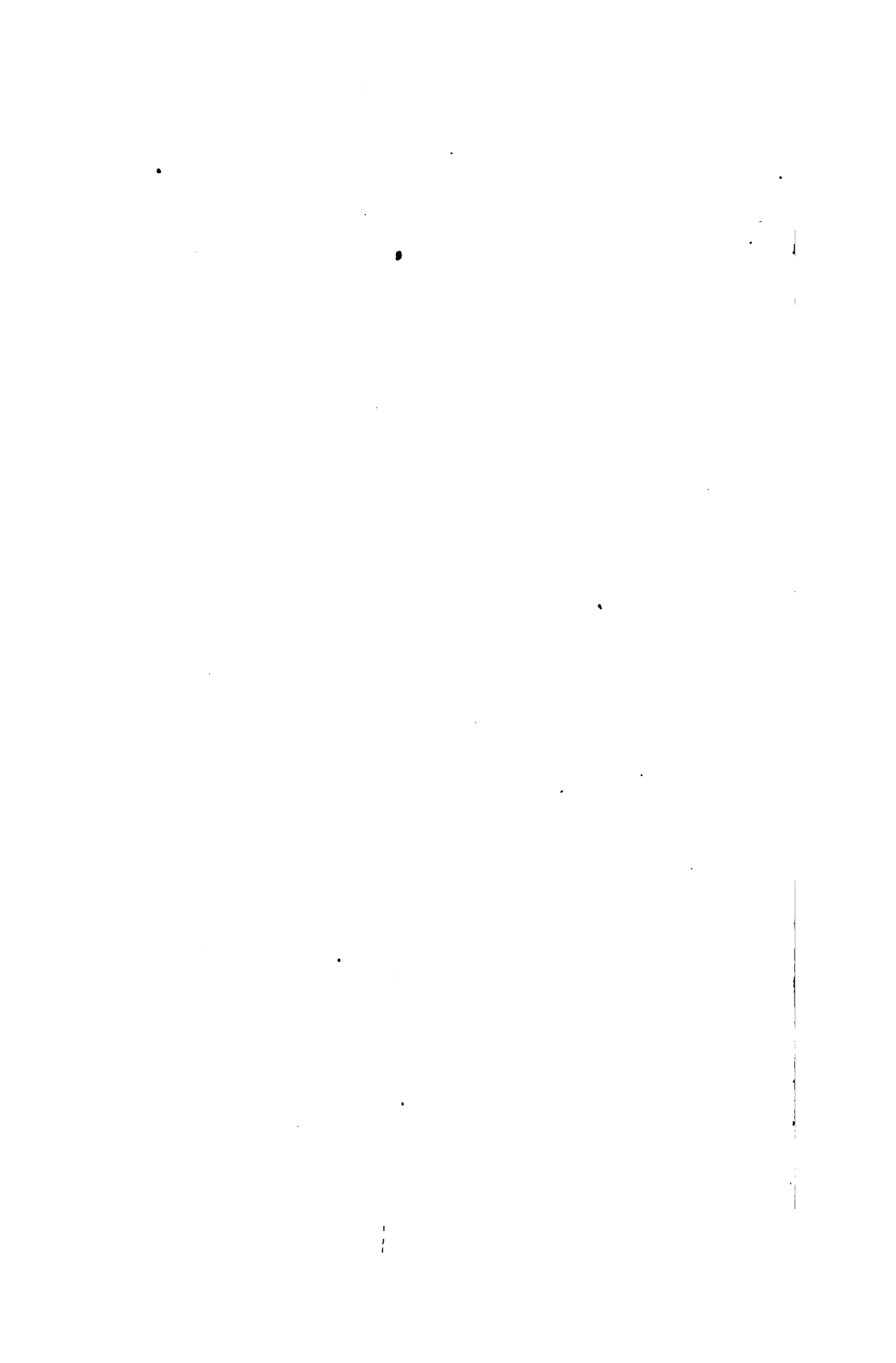
There are, of course, no fire-places in the ruin.*

Another and scarcely a secondary interest to its Roman origin attaches to this old building from its connection with the Arthurian legend. Mr. Stuart Glennie, in his able work on Arthurian localities, undoubtedly succeeds in identifying several of them with places situated within our boundary, but he has not had the opportunity of alluding to the following passages in Denton's account of Cumberland, for that work is only found in manuscript, though, it is true, several copies exist. Denton, writing about A.D. 1680, states that, Waldeoff, son of Gospatric, Earl of Dunbar, amongst other gifts bestowed upon him upon the Priory of Carlisle, gave "a mansion near St. Cuthbert's Church, where, at that time, stood an ancient building called Arthur's Chamber, then taken to be a parte of the

* Professor Harkness inquired if the hypocaust had been found, as one was invariably part of every Roman Villa in England. Mr. Jackson said, it had not, but further excavation might possibly reveal one.

mansion of King Arthur, the Son of Uter Pendragon, of remarkable note for his worthynesse in the tyme of the beginning of the British kings, and another antient building called Lyons Guide "(query Guard)," often remembered in that History of Arthur, written by a monke, the ruines whereof are yet to be seen, as is thought, at Ravenglass, distant from Carliell, according to that number of 50 miles in that history reported placed near the sea, and not without some credibility thought to be the same."

When Camden stated "That a certain King Eveling had his palace here, of whom abundant stories were told;" would that he had deigned to digress for a moment from his matter-of-fact statements, and had babbled for a while of the legends to which he must certainly have listened.





PLUMBAGO Moulds FOUND IN NETHERWASDALE.

ART. V.—*On certain Plumbago Moulds, found in Netherwasdale, Cumberland.* By R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., & LL.M.
Read at Hexham, July 6th, 1876.

I HAVE the honour of exhibiting this day two blocks of plumbago, which form a mould, whose halves have cut on their insides the obverses and reverses of some English coins.

The history of these blocks, so far as known, has been furnished to me by the Rev. T. Paitson, M.A., of Netherwasdale, Cumberland, and is as follows:—"They were found in April, 1865, by a labourer named Tyson, in a small cairn of stones in a straggling oak coppice a little outside the village of Netherwasdale, and near to the river Irt. The heap of stones, which I examined myself afterwards, was not near any public road, and about a quarter of a mile from any dwelling houses. Tyson, as I remember, was picking out the larger stones for walling purposes when he made the discovery. My impression is that the blocks must have been placed there for secrecy."

As history thus tells us little, we must try and gather what we can from the internal evidence afforded by the mould itself. And, first of all, it is composed of two blocks of pure Cumberland plumbago, one weighing 5oz. 3dr., and the other weighing 5oz. 7dr. The fact that these blocks are blocks of pure Cumberland plumbago is a proof of the genuineness of the discovery, for that material is now both rare and expensive, the mines having been closed for many years. The blocks have a pin-hole through them, and when pinned together by a wooden pin, it is easy to see that a place has been cut for passing in molten metal, and that the blocks have been used for the manufacture of coins by casting. This gives us at once the clue to what these blocks are; they are the working tools of some
 coiner

coiner of long ago. It is well known that all sterling English money was hammered or milled, not cast; and therefore a mould for casting coins can be nothing else than the machine by which some coiner defrauded the King by imitating in base metal the coinage of the realm.

The mould, when open, exhibits the dies of the obverses and reverses of five coins, namely, of a silver groat, a silver half-groat, and three silver pennies. All the pennies are the same, and one appears to be a failure and of no use, for the pin-hole goes through it. They have been engraved with the point of a knife, or with some sharp instrument, and present this peculiarity—that the dies are not sunk into the plumbago, but are raised, while the plumbago is cut away around them, and thus the casting comes out a solid sheet, the coins being surrounded by a thicker mass of waste, from which they have to be cut out by a knife or chisel. The reason of this is, that the coins are so excessively thin, that the molten metal would not run into the mould were not this device adopted. With the assistance of my practical and ingenious friend Mr. Cory, I have succeeded in turning out some very good imitations of the coins, of which these moulds were designed to furnish counterfeits. At first our attempts were by no means happy, but we found that the secret of success consisted in first heating the plumbago blocks, to a degree far beyond that at which they could be safely touched with unprotected hands. In fact the coins to be counterfeited are so thin, that a cold mould chills the metal as fast as it is run in. However, by first baking the blocks well to a high degree of heat, it is quite clear that, with practice, extremely good counterfeits could be turned out.

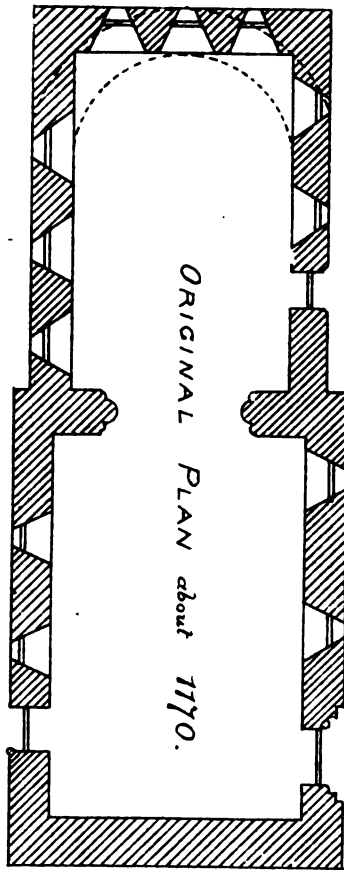
As to the coins, for whose counterfeiting this mould was made, the largest coin is a groat of either Edward IV. or Richard III. On the obverse is the King's head, which, in these forgeries, much resembles a death's-head.

head. It is crowned with an open crown; of the legend I can only read the letters "ARDUS," which belong alike to Edwardus and Richardus. On the reverse are the cross and pellets, long characteristic of the early English coins, and said to be derived from the Roman *as*, and two legends—the inner one is "Civitas London," and the outer one "Posui Deum Adjutorem Meum." The second coin, in point of size, is the half-groat, exactly similar to, but smaller than, the groat. The other three dies are all intended to counterfeit the same coin. On their reverse is the cross and the quartered arms of France and England. The obverse puzzled me long, and it will probably puzzle you more. If you inspect it with the eye of faith, you will find it has on it the figure of a king, robed, crowned, sitting in a chair of state, with a sceptre in one hand and an orb in the other. The coins are, therefore, silver pennies of Henry VII.; the legend I cannot read, but it will be "HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANG.," and on the reverse, "CIVITAS EBORACI," for the mint mark of a key, discernible on the counterfeits which Mr. Cory and I succeeded in making, shows that these three coins (the three smaller ones) were intended forgeries on the York mint.

We now know all that can be known about these moulds. They are the tools of some coiner, who lived in the reign of Henry VII. He must have been of some education, for he could engrave Latin backwards with a high degree of correctness; therefore he would be entitled to the benefit of his "clergy," and was probably an ecclesiastic—possibly a monk of Furness, and the monks of Furness owned Borrowdale. Further, he was probably a Cumberland man, for he knew where to find his plumbago in Borrowdale, and to carry it by the passes over Styhead to Wasdale. He had probably travelled abroad, for he knew, at a time when the use of Cumberland plumbago was confined to the marking of sheep, its properties in resisting heat, which he turned to such good

or

or bad purpose. It is known that most of the counterfeit money of the time was made abroad at Luxemburg, and imported in bales of cloth; at that place he probably may have picked up his knowledge. His name we cannot hope to know; he never returned to reclaim the tools he had secreted in the place, where they were found in 1865. Probably he fell into the clutches of the law, and suffered the penalties provided for gentlemen of too much ingenuity, who imported or made pollards, crockards, suskins, dotkins, gally-pennies, and other base money.



*Plan of Norman Church, at Plumbland.
By J. A. Cory, Esq.*

ART. VI.—*An Account of Plumbland Old Church; * its History, drawn from its remains, as they existed in 1868.*

By J. A. CORY, Esq.

Read at Plumbland, August 30th, 1876.

AS the body of St. Cuthbert rested here for a time, no doubt a degree of sanctity was attributed to the spot, and the remains of a hogbacked tombstone, reworked in the thirteenth century, point to a church on this site anterior to the Norman Conquest.

This church was almost certainly of wood, and having existed two or three hundred years, was replaced by an edifice of stone, about the year 1170. This consisted of a nave and chancel; the plan given with this paper shews its size and proportions. Enough of this building remained in 1868 to allow a restoration to be drawn both of its general features and details by any architect acquainted with ecclesiastical architecture of the Norman period. It had as usual a south door, pulled down in the fourteenth century, the remains of which were found in the south wall of the church, and are now partly built up in the vestry and partly in the tower.

The north door forms the present entrance to the coal cellar. The chancel arch, heightened in the shafts, is reused in its old position. The east end gable had no doubt, three small windows, but of it no remains existed except the lower part of the east wall, which corresponded in thickness with the Norman walls, but not with those of later date. It was dark, as the unglazed windows were only nine-and-a-half inches wide. It had neither door nor window at the west end, but a small bell cote, probably terminating the west gable. So the building continued for about fifty years till the thirteenth century.

* Pulled down and rebuilt in 1870-71.

About 1220 the south, the east, and half the north wall of the chancel were rebuilt in the early English style, and the piscina, found broken in the later south wall, and now replaced in its original position, is of this date, as are also the windows of the present vestry. Why this rebuilding took place is not quite certain, but as no enlargement of the fabric was made, it was most likely necessary in consequence of the ill-built Norman walls becoming insecure. Thus again the church remained ill-lighted and cold with its character unaltered.

Sixty years more elapsed, and about 1280, another fashion had succeeded; glass now universally prevailed, even in the smallest country churches, and larger windows, and more light followed. The east end window was made in three lights combined in one large window, the remains of which are now built into the north transept. This must have caused the whole interior to be much better lighted than ever it had previously been, at the same time the whole east end and most of the south side appears to have been rebuilt. After this the chancel remained unaltered except perhaps by the addition of St. Cuthbert's chapel.

When this was added it is difficult to say, as no remains existed except the doorway from the church and the uneven surface of the chancel wall where the new wall had been tied into it, thus shewing the width of the building to have been only five feet five inches from east to west, it must however have been erected after the priest's door of the chancel, for the width of the chapel was curtailed by the existence of that door.

About seventy years again pass by. Population must have increased and the church become too small for the inhabitants, for about the year 1350 it was determined to increase its size. The south wall of the Norman church with its fine old doorway was then taken down, two pillars and three arches substituted, and a south aisle erected.

The

The roof being continued in one slope from the eaves of the nave to the new south wall necessarily made that wall very low, and the greater width of the church rendered the insertion of a new window on the north side necessary. Hence the larger two-light square-headed window of the decorated period, built into the north wall, subsequently repaired and rebuilt into the new church in the same situation. At this time also the west wall of the old Norman building was refaced, and a small window built into the west end of the aisle, which, on being taken down, was rebuilt into the bell chamber of the tower. In 1614 the chancel roof was renewed and subsequently, like other churches, this one underwent the process of new pewing and was fashioned more in accordance with the prevailing taste of the day and habits of people.

It was again found too small, so that in 1834, the pillars and arches were thought inconvenient, and were taken away, involving necessarily a new roof, which was ceiled below. The south wall was nearly double in height, and a spacious gallery erected, and the main entrance made at the west end, so it came to the condition it was found just before the rebuilding. In pulling down the portion of the south wall built in 1836 the penstones of the nave arcade were found, and the head of one of the south side windows probably formed the south door of the aisle, built in or about 1380. It now forms the doorway leading from the vestry into the transept. In the rebuilding, I and my colleague Mr. C. J. Ferguson, of Carlisle, endeavoured to preserve as much as lay in our power every portion of old work which was not too far decayed for re-use, and thus have been saved those relics of the past which bind present history with bygone times, and must add considerable value to the building in the estimation of the cultivated mind.

ART. VII.—*Torpenhow Church.* By the Rev. C. H. GEM,
Vicar.

Read at Torpenhow, August 30th, 1876.

THE Parish of Torpenhow, containing an area of 9,001 acres, is situated on the south bank of the river Ellen, or Elne, as the original name seems to have been. The land rises gradually from the river till it reaches its highest points, Camp Hills, Caermote, and Binsey, and then descends to Bassenthwaite Lake. The Parish is divided into four "quarters," comprising the eight townships of Torpenhow and Whitrigg, Bewaldeth and Snittlegarth, Bothel and Threapland, Blennerhasset and Kirkland. The population is 1152, mostly employed in agriculture, though owing to the working of the coal mines in Aspatria and Mealsgate, an increasing number are devoting themselves to mining.

The origin of the names of places is always an interesting study; and the name of our parish will still "furnish much debate both to the learned and the great." Some authorities make the word entirely Danish, saying it is the "How" or hill of Torpen, some mythical Norse hero. Others maintain that it is the "Thorpe" or village on a hill. Others again, in the words of the Denton manuscript, say "it is called Torpenhow,

Every syllable of which word, in several languages of the people, which did successively inhabit the place, signifies after a sort the same thing. The Britons, the first inhabitants, called a rising topped hill, (such a one as is there), Pen, *i.e.* head. The Saxons next succeeding, and not understanding the signification, Pen, called it Tor-pen: *i.e.* the hill Pen. They who came next (the Danes) understanding neither of the former names called it Tor-pen-how."

This same process is going on at this present day, the neighbouring people speaking of Torpenhow "brow." This theory has the support of the authority of Dr. Donaldson, who.

who, in his "New Cratylus" quotes it in connection with "*Hamptonwick*" near London, as the only instance in England of three syllables of a name, all meaning the same thing.*

Within the area of the parish are to be found the remains of two camps; the one on Camp Hill is Roman and commands the approach from Keswick (through the plain in which Bassenthwaite Lake is situated), towards the Roman road from old Carlisle by Papcastle, to the west. Close to this camp, when the neighbouring fields were broken up, two Roman hand-millstones were discovered, and are now in the possession of Mr. R. Fisher Irving, in whose land they were discovered. About half a mile westward there is another camp, erected by the Danes, on *Caer Mote*. This camp, like the other, from its lofty situation, commands a large tract of country from Bassenthwaite to the coast.

The Parish, notwithstanding its numerous townships, is singularly destitute of ancient seats. Torpenhow Hall, the seat of the Applebys, Moresbys, and Fletchers, which was situated about a hundred yards to the north-east of the church-yard, has entirely disappeared. Bothel Hall, a mean and poor house, is now a farm. Threapland Hall, a building of the seventeenth century, contains no features worthy of notice, is also a farm. Blennerhassett Hall, also a farm, is of rather earlier date, but small. There are two seventeenth century cottages on the other side of the road at Blennerhasset. On the turnpike road below Kirkland there may be noticed a public house with the initials and date over the door. This was "*Low Wood Nook*," the patrimonial seat of the Addisons, from whom sprang

* Since the above was written, "a Cumberland Parson," in the *Carlisle Journal*, in an extract from a pedigree of the Rev. Richard Mulcaster, master of *Merchant Taylor's School*, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, quotes the name of the Parish as "*Torpenham*." Not having seen the manuscript he quotes, I am unable to say whether he has mis-read the name in the manuscript, or whether the writer of the manuscript was guilty of a "clerical error," that it is an error, I am convinced from the fact that it is the *only* place in which it is so written, at least as far as evidence goes.

the Addisons of Maulds Meaburn, in Westmorland, and the Addisons of Maryland, now a rich and influential family in the United States.

On the east side of Bothel* Beck is a large boulder stone, locally called Sampson. It is 21 feet long and 10 feet above the ground. It has evidently been carried by the ice, as I am informed by Professor Harkness, from the granite rocks of Dumfriesshire.

An examination of the Register Books, which, commencing in the year 1651, are perfect with the exception of the years 1685—1699, shews that a great change has taken place among the inhabitants. Of the families now possessing land in the parish, none can be traced back to the year 1651, excepting the Plasketts of West House, the Railtons of the Smithy, the Dobsons of the Nook, and Fishers of Whitrigg, now represented by Mr. Fisher Irving; the Bushbys of Bothal, represented by the Rev. Edward Bushby, Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; and the Moores of Kirkland, represented by Miss Moore of Kirkland, and Mr. George Moore of Whitehall.

An entry in the year 1651—"Johannes filius Johannes Whitehead de Kirkland Baptizatus"—gives rise to the conjecture that Whitehead Brow in the township of Kirkland, derives its name from that family, rather than, as is generally supposed, from the whiteness of the brow. And Borrowscale Hill may derive its name from the family of Borrowscale, mentioned in 1652. And perhaps it may be allowed us to conjecture that Addison's friend Tickell, the praise of whose translation of Homer gave rise to the famous quarrel between Addison and Pope, may, like the Essayist, be sprung from a family resident in Torpenhow, for we find the name "Tickell" in connection with that of "Addison" in the years about 1685, in the account

* Can Boald, which is the original name of this Township, be connected with the word Bal (Catbells) which occur in many villages in the coast of Scotland?

books of this parish.* There are no amusing entries in these registers, like those at Penrith and Greystoke; the only one approaching singularity is one in the year 1726, in which a man is ticketed, as we say now, as a Dissenter. On the first leaf of the register, under the date 1719, "J.H." has written the sarcastic hexameter, "Clericus applaudit, dum causam funeris audit:" a line which is deprived of its sting, as regards the vicar, when we consider the *very* small amount of the funeral fees.

The "Account Books" begin in the year 1672 and continue perfect to the present day. The affairs of the parish were managed by the "Sixteen Men" as they were called, elected from the householders in the four quarters into which the parish is divided, in addition to the vicar and churchwardens. The last nomination of these "Sixteen" took place about 1807.

It was by this parochial council of Sixteen that the first attempt to supply elementary education was made, for on May 12, 1686, a resolution was passed in favour of founding a free school at Bothel; and in pursuance of this resolution the sum of £40 was collected from the inhabitants, assisted by a donation from Mr. John Orfeur, of High Close, Plumbland. It says something for the public spirit of the parishioners that they should, with scarcely any extraneous aid, have laid the foundation of a school which has been of such great service to the place. The Sixteen from time to time drew up various rules for the conduct of the school, one of which would greatly astonish the present generation of certificated masters, for in 1689, the master was ordered "to keep school from six in the morning till eleven, and from one till six, from Lady day till Michaelmas. Fees for instruction in duties

* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—Dr. Lonsdale, (Cumberland Worthies, vol. 4) states that Tickell was born in 1686, in the neighbouring parish of Bridekirk, and that a family connection existed between the Addisons and the Tickells. For the quarrel between Pope and Addison, see *Ibid*, and also Disraeli's *Calamities and Quarrels of Authors*.

and

and arithmetic were allowed to the master, who also, with the permission of the Sixteen, might make his own terms for the instruction of children, not qualified by residence as free scholars. The most celebrated masters in late years were Mr. Hair, afterwards curate, Mr. Joseph Railton, and Mr. Richard Abbatt, F.R.A.S.

In our examination of the account books, we find, on passing from educational to general matters, that on July 6, 1701, it was ordered by the Sixteen that all intramural interments should cease, excepting a fee of one pound be paid for permission. Among the various items of church expenses, we may notice that, in 1759, an annual allowance of five shillings was made to the Sexton for whipping dogs out of the church, and that he might the more completely fulfil this order, he was allowed threepence for a whip, and twopence for a thong. With regard to the fabric of the Church, the Sixteen seem to have made liberal provision. In 1763 they paid eight shillings for binding the Bible, in 1784 they paid £8 7s. for Bible and Prayer Book, and in 1728 they granted an annual allowance of five shillings to Nathaniel Noble for the purchase of bell ropes. In 1789 their proceedings do not seem to have been marked with their usual acuteness, for then they altered the flat roofs of the side aisles, and sold the lead for £39 13s. 10½d., and the slate for £1 5s.; with the proceeds of this sale, augmented by a parish purvey of £13 19s. 3d., they reroofed the church in its present form; one item, by the way, in this year displays Falstaff's proportion of sack and bread, for in selling the old materials, they "expended in ale at Gunson's 19s. 3d."

The certificates for burial in woollen are numerous, and so far curious in that they are headed by the proper form of affidavit, which I have never met with in any parish registers, it runs as follows:—

"I, A.B. make oath as follows that C.D. lately deceased, was not put in, wrapt, wound, or buried, in any shirt, shift, sheet, or shroud,
made

made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or other than what is made of sheep's wool only, nor in any coffin lined or or furnished with any cloth, stuff, or any other whatsoever, made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or any material but sheep's wool only."

The majority of the earlier certificates were sworn before Mr. John Orfeur, of High Close.

There are a few entries of "Briefs and Collections," some of which may be of interest. For the inhabitants of Russell Street, Westminster, 2s. 5d. was collected on Feb. 22, 1673, and for one John Smith of the same place, on Dec. 15, 1672, 2s. 7d. For losses in the Sugar Houses, London, 3s. on Nov. 17, 1672. For S. Katherine's College near the Tower of London, 3s. 1d. was collected on Feb. 27, 1674. For the repairs of S. Paul's London, Aug. 30, 1680, the sum of 7s. was contributed by the parish, and on the same day 6s. 3d. for the relief of the English captives in Algiers.

In turning from the parish in general to the church, we may state that the patronage is vested in the Bishop of Carlisle, having been previously in the hands of the Convent of Rosedale in the County of York, to the prioress of which the advowson had been given by Sibella de Valonois and Eustace D'Estotville, which gift was confirmed by Edward III. Of the various vicars who have from time to time ministered in the parish only one seems to have emerged from the mass of country parsons—William Nicholson, who held the living from 1681—1698, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. The Church, as might be expected from its situation, is dedicated to St. Michael.

In all probability there was a church here before the Norman Conquest, but no part of the present building is older than the twelfth century. In William II. or early in Henry I. a church was erected here consisting of chancel and nave. We can easily gather from indications in the present building that this chancel was much shorter than usual, and the nave much wider.

The

The windows were narrow and unglazed, and the church consequently very dark. This darkness would be much increased in the time of Henry II. when the chancel was lengthened and the north aisle built. About the year 1260, Henry III., the north transept, or Lady Porch as the registers term it, was built, and the present east window inserted in place of the original Norman one, the remains of which can be clearly traced outside. Still later in the fifteenth century the west window was inserted, the south aisle added, and the old Norman south door removed to its present site. This, as far as the area is concerned, gives the present building. The roof of the nave was originally much higher, and the roofs of the aisles flat and much lower than at present. The alteration of the roof was in all probability made, when, in 1789, the lead was sold, new gutters made, and the ale drunk at Gunson's. The present ceiling in the chancel was the work of the Rev. J. Thexton, the last incumbent.

The chief feature worthy of a visitor's attention within the church are the north windows of the chancel, and the extremely fine chancel arch with grotesque figures on the capitals of the columns. The font, with its interlacing arches, like those in the Hospital of St. Cross, Winchester, an old piscina on the south wall of the chancel, and the massive northern pillars all call for attention. Over the west windows may be noticed an incised slab of the fourteenth century. All who enter the church will be most certainly struck with the ceiling of the nave. The ceiling is, I believe, unique, and is certainly not in keeping with the rest of the building, but it has an interest of its own, being associated with the memory of Mr. Thomas Addison, a great benefactor to the parish, as the following extract from Bishop Nicholson's visitation August 26, 1703 will shew :

"The

"The body of the church was lately beautified on a motion made by Mr. T. Addison, commissioner of sick and wounded, who having enlarged his paternal estate at Low Wood Nook, and wanting a seat answerable to his present quality, offered to cover the middle aisle with a fair painted canopy of fir, on condition of having leave to erect such a seat at his own charge. Both these covenants have been performed, and the parishioners to bring the rest of the church to somewhat of a harmony with these new improvements, have backed all the seats with wainscot, and floored the whole so decently, that this is the fairest inside of any parish church in the Diocese."

Mr. Addison's pew is gone, his ceiling remains; and I should be glad to have advice as to the retaining or removing it in the contemplated restoration. For my own part I confess I think it wrong to remove every trace of our forefathers' work, simply because it is not in accordance with the prevalent Canons of Restoration. A church has a living history, it grows, and never springs into perfect being at once. Each age adds what seems good to it; and though I am quite ready to admit that those excrescences which were added when religion and art were at their lowest ebb, during the ages of the Georges, may legitimately and wisely be removed. I am reluctant to do away with every monument of our father's affection for their house of prayer. Any parish may possess a brand new church, few in these days possess a really *old* church. A parish possessing one should be loath to destroy what can never be replaced. Let us do what we can to make our old churches comely and worthy of the God by whom they are sanctified, but let us beware of destroying every memorial of our forefathers' piety, in the attempt to build a church with no hallowed association of the past.

Externally the chief objects of interest are the south doorway, which, though Norman, indicates an approaching change, the west pillar being slightly hexagonal. The north side of the chancel is a fine specimen of Norman walling, and the original east window can be easily traced by the side of the present one.

In the churchyard there is a stone figure which has evidently been removed from its recumbent position within the chancel : it is a female figure and may be the monument of one of the ladies who in early times possessed the Manor of Torpenhow. On entering the churchyard, there may be seen built into the wall a small incised slab, with sword and floriated cross, two feet by one, most probably the tombstone of a child. Before leaving the churchyard the visitor may observe a plant growing on the wall, which I believe is only to be found, in this diocese, here and at Furness Abbey, it is the "*officinalis parietaria*" or "pellitory from out the wall" of the poet, a plant which is eagerly sought after by persons, who come long distances to gather it for its medicinal powers.*

These are the only observations I have to bring before you to-day, and though naturally the subject is one very dear to me, I am conscious they are hardly worthy of your attention ; and, after asking you for any corrections of any mistakes I may have unwittingly made, I feel I may crave your pardon for thus inflicting upon you the profusions of a tyro in archæology.

* NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

"The pellitory healing fire contains

"That from a raging tooth the humour drains." — *Tate, Cowley*

ART. VIII.—*On a Roman Camp on the South-east Slope of Caermot, the probable Arbeia of Camden and other writers.*

By W. JACKSON, ESQ.

Read at Kendal, December 11, 1876.

I PROPOSE in this, and probably in succeeding papers, to follow up those endeavours towards elucidating the Roman Topography of South-west and Central Cumberland, which, initiated by Mr. Dykes, have been continued by Canon Knowles, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, and myself; and I am sure there are many whose services might be enlisted in the same cause, who could supply valuable information, which, if garnered in our Transactions might ultimately enable our Society to draw up a Sketch Map of the whole district whilst under Roman occupation. Although not able to claim the credit of discovery, I was fortunate enough, in a paper read at Wigton, to record the identification of the site of the Roman Camp at Muncaster, around which, though once well known, had gathered something darker than the mere mists of obscurity. I have now to draw attention to another camp, which I believe to have been one of the most important links in the great net work of fortresses so thickly strewn over the country for a considerable distance south of the great wall and contiguous to the Irish Sea.

Many of you will be well aware how conspicuous a feature the hill of Caermot presents in the landscape of a great part of West Cumberland, stretching southwards towards Maryport. Apart from its height of 935 feet, and its commanding position on the skirts of the mountain range, its remarkable name seems to bespeak its ancient importance.

It

It would seem that this is the hill alluded to by Denton, when he says, in relation to Bothel, "that it stands on the skirts of a hill where in old times watch was kept for seawake," and he then proceeds to give a derivation of the name which it does not concern me either to adopt or contest, it being sufficient to remark that the hill was of great note in ancient times as the site of a Beacon. Being satisfied that this was, so to speak, one of the key notes of the district, I on one occasion, some time ago, climbed to the southernmost of the two peaks, but met with nothing to reward me. On reference to the Ordnance map, at a later period, I found that a small camp of a somewhat rounder form was marked on the northern and most commanding peak. Shortly after this, I was much struck with the following passage in West's Guide to the Lakes, first edition, 1778; "Caermot is a green crowned hill, and on its skirt, just by the road side, are the manifest vestiges of a square encampment;—the road from Keswick to Old Carlisle has crossed it at right angles, part of the agger is visible where it issues from the north side of the camp till where it falls in with the line of the present road. On the northern extremity of the said hill of Caermot are the remains of a beacon, and near it the vestiges of a square encampment enclosed with a foss and rampart of 60 feet by 70. This camp is in full view of Blatum Bulgii (Bowness) and Olenacum (Old Carlisle) and, commanding the whole extent of the Solway Frith, would receive the first notice from any frontier station where the Caledonians made the attempt to cross the Frith, or had actually broke in upon the province, the notice would be communicated by the beacon on Caer-mot to the garrison at Keswick by the watch on Castle Cragg in Borrowdale. The garrison at Keswick would have the care of the beacon on the top of Skiddaw, the mountain being of the easiest access on that side. By this means the alarm would soon become
general

general, and the invaders were either terrified into flight or the whole county was in arms to oppose them. Whether these camps are the Arbeia I pretend not to say, but that they were of use to the Romans is evident, and what the Britons thought of them is recorded in the name they conferred on the hill where they are situated. The largest camp has no advantage of site and is but ill supplied with water. The ground is of a spongy nature and retains wet long and therefore could only be occupied in the summer months. They seem to have the same relation to old Carlisle and Keswick as the camp at Whitbarrow has to Old Penrith and Keswick." This passage from West has I find been transcribed into the pages of Hutchinson, *sub voce* Ireby, without any remark or elucidation. Enquiry as to the position of this latter camp, from those most likely to know, led to no result. The Ordnance Maps, even the 25 inch one, seemed to be dumb, and guided by West alone, I set out on the quest and was rewarded by very soon discovering this forgotten site on the left hand side of the road from Bewaldeth to Torpenhow, which I would therefore regard as in the main shewing so much of the old Roman road from Keswick to Old Carlisle. The indications exist about a mile and a quarter from Bewaldeth and about 300 yards past the point where the road to Bothel diverges to the left.

I proceed to describe the site from notes written on the spot :

This camp, which is about 150 yards in length by 140 in breadth, is situated on a plateau and has well developed ramparts and deep ditches somewhat irregularly preserved with rising land to the north, Binsey and its outlyers to the east, Caer-mot to the north-west, the central reach of Bassenthwaite visible at about four miles distance to the south, with Catscope over it on the one side and Skiddaw on the other, excluding any views of Derwent-water and of Castle Hill near Keswick, or Castle Rock at the

the foot of Borrowdale; Wythop Fells bound the horizon in continuation of Catscope; over and to the right of Bassenthwaite foot part of Embleton Vale is seen with the opening of Wythop dale, through which is said to have run a Roman road to Keswick, and on which, evidencing its antiquity, stands Wythop Hall, originally the seat of a branch of the Lucys, but later of the Lowthers, to Hugh of which name a license to crenellate this mansion was granted in 1319; the long range of the Hay separating Embleton Valley from its neighbour of Isel forms a prominent feature in the landscape, but the latter valley is hidden by a piece of rising ground about 300 yards to the west of the encampment which forms an excellent shelter, and which I have since found is named Camp Hill on the six-inch ordnance map; the southern peak of Caermot is distant about half a mile from the camp to the north-west, and I need not further allude to the wide prospect from its summit.

I am afraid this description may have seemed tedious and unnecessary, but I have been desirous to show with what care and forethought this site was chosen, being sheltered on the east, north, and west, and not only open but possessing an extensive prospect to the south. The commanding eminence of Caermot on which was situate the minor encampment rendered it not only perfectly secure from any sudden attack, but enabled it to be a focus from which assistance could be despatched to any point within range of view, threatened or assaulted. With special reference to the unfavourable remarks made by West or his contributor upon the site, I would simply state, that being, as it is, upon a plateau, though a slight one, it is true the drainage runs every way from it, but especially at the south-eastern corner where the rivulet called Black Beck affords a constant supply of water and of necessity a means of drainage.

I ought also to state that from the summit of Caermot

a small earthwork called a camp on the Ordnance map, is visible about a mile to the east.

The camp that I have described is situated in the parish of Torpenhow, about half a mile west of the boundary of Ireby parish, but I believe that this is the camp to which allusion seems to be made in Holland's translation of Camden; and which is also mentioned in Blome's *Britannia*, published in 1673, page 72, where it is stated "many Roman Statues, Altars, and Inscriptions, are here oft dug up, sufficiently showing its antiquity." That it is situated just outside the parish of Ireby in which both Camden and Blome really place it, is not of much importance, for we find the old authors describing the Muncaster Camp as situate on Esk Meals or the sand blown hills on the left, whereas we have seen it is certainly on the right bank of that river. The Camp, too, called Ellenborough, is situated about a mile north of that village, which itself stands in Dearham parish whilst the camp is in that of Cross-cannonby.

In my paper on Muncaster Camp I avoided all speculation as to what might be its ancient name, and I would on the present occasion desire, even in alluding to that subject, to be extremely cautious; Camden has not scrupled to suppose that this camp was the *Arbeia* of the *Notitia*, and taking the resemblance of nomenclature alone, it does seem remarkable that we should have a Roman Camp of *Arbeia* corresponding to Ireby; another of *Morbium* closely akin in sound to *Moresby*; a third of *Ellenborough*, the first part of which name is identical with the first of *Olenacum*; and a fourth *Derventio*, which, though the modern name of *Papcastle* has supplanted the old one, presents a most significant resemblance to the river *Derwent* on which it stands. The Roman name for the *Solway*, *Ituna*, certainly means the estuary of the *Eden*, and the *Brovonacis* of the 2nd *Iter*, the *Brocavo* of the

the 5th, and the Braboniaco of the Notitia, all point to Brougham.

The Roman names as a rule would, we may naturally suppose, be their mode of pronouncing the ancient one with a Latin affix ; the places would continue to be known by the ancient name amongst the natives, and to this survival what more natural than that their Teutonic or Scandinavian successors should append one of their own affixes " Ham " or " By " ?

ART. IX.—*Kendal Parish Church Registers.* By G. E. MOSER, Esq.

Read at Kendal, December 11, 1876.

THE Kendal Parish Church Registers are unfortunately wanting in those instances of peculiar entries of ceremonials and parochial occurrences, which not uncommonly abound in the records of many parishes throughout the country, affording entertainment to the antiquarian, and subject matter for a paper of this character. The storms, rebellions, and plagues, which have from time to time visited and troubled a parish, increasing its average rate of mortality, as well as other extraordinary circumstances, which have led to the increase or decrease of its local population, are in the Kendal registers unnoticed as matters extraneous to the purpose for which they were intended, and the few words necessary to describe the solemnization of a church rite, as applying to a particular parishioner, are briefly and laconically referred to. On a perusal, page by page, of the regular columns of entries, one is reminded of the hint which a doctor gave to his patient when listening to an account of his symptoms, "Now, if you please, let your words be few and savory:" as one passes over the various names from Cicely (in all its forms) to Sibbel and from John to Thomasin, with an occasional "Guy" as a reminder that one is perusing documents which were written about the time of the great conspiracy, one is inclined to close the book exclaiming "Ex nihilo nihil fit." How it is that these books have been so regularly kept I cannot say, unless it may be accounted for by the fact that the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, being the rectors and patrons of the living, their vicar has always been a man who has kept the books with classical phraseology and mathematical precision. With whatever care in phraseology, however, the entries

have been made, the custody of the books themselves has not in olden times met with a corresponding attention, (although at the present day the case is quite the reverse). It is unfortunately a fact that between the years 1558 and 1679, a period of 121 years, the registers for 58 years (nearly half the period) are entirely wanting, and that amidst the entries existing during these years there are frequent notes to the following or a like effect:—"The rest of the entries for this year are wanting." The worst feature is, that out of these 121 years the whole register book between 1631 and 1679 (a period of 48 years) is missing. Whether this book shared the fate of the register book at South Otterington, and was devoted to the "utilitarian purpose of singeing a goose" or was made up into curl papers at a barber's shop, I cannot say. Some wag remarked that the lost register might have found its way into a lawyer's office, and never been returned. This remark, though made in joke, might be further from a very possible truth. In whatever way, however, the register has disappeared, it is difficult to exaggerate the trouble and inconvenience that might arise through its loss. It is by means of such records as these that many titles to estates and peerages are in a great measure substantiated. The lost book, moreover, contained entries of events that occurred at the very time when the greatest confusion and difficulty always arises in tracing families, and when registers, and any evidence of family relationship, are of the greatest service: the gap is so great that in tracing back a pedigree a portion of the stem with collateral branches is almost surely lost, and the difficulty of tacking together the family tree is almost insuperable, if not impossible, unless other good and conclusive evidence can be obtained. The legislature, from almost the very commencement of parochial registers, passed a law that these documents should be kept in a sure coffer, with two locks and keys, and subsequent statutes have made stringent provision

provisions for their safe custody; but, notwithstanding these provisions, the laws in this respect have been, and in many places are, most grievously and shamefully violated; and antiquarians and others have in vain lifted up their voices against the manner in which parochial muniments are preserved. How is it that the Society of Friends have always kept their registers in such beautiful order, so much so that the legislature has made special exceptions in their favour, and yet, in the Church, notwithstanding legislative enactments, the custody of registers is often so very loose?

I would here remark that if any one should wish to obtain information as to the contents of the missing register book, a few of the Bishop's Transcripts for the period comprised may be found in a mouldy and chaotic heap of documents, which is now lying on the floor of a room in the Archdeaconry of Lancaster, where they came along with other important ecclesiastical documents relating to the Archdeaconry, from the vestry of the parish church at Lancaster, having been transmitted there with the assistance of a cart and pitchfork from the Archdeaconry Court at Richmond on the creation of the diocese at Ripon. Many of the bonds and other papers in this heap are half moulded away with the damp, and whether the remaining documents will ever be cared for and preserved it is not for me to say, neither can I say whether the civil or ecclesiastical or any other authority is supposed to have any jurisdiction concerning them. I am told that it would take a person three weeks to sort them. I do trust that those who feel the importance of preserving these documents will not allow them to remain in the state that they are in. I most humbly apologise for having taken up so much time on this head, but I could not let the opportunity slip, of bringing a matter, upon which I feel so warmly, before a Society who will, I am sure, so thoroughly sympathise with my feelings, and whose expressed disapprobation will be brought so much better to bear on public opinion, than any thing that I could do or say.

The

The registers are as follows :

1st Book, 1558, copy, paper, good condition.

to

2nd Book, 1591, original, paper, fair condition.

to

3rd Book, 1606, copied in engrossing hand, parchment, excellent state of preservation.

to
1631.

Gap to 1679, as already pointed out, but there are churchwardens' books for this period, which show the [names of persons who wereburied in woollen, which might be of some assistance in tracing burials at this time.

4th Book, 1679, copy, paper.

5th Book, 1713, parchment, copied annually.

6th Book, 1732, parchment, copy.

7th Book, 1752, parchment, copy (containing copy of sentence of consecration of the old St. George's Church).

From 1754 until the present time, the marriages are kept in the form now in use, in pursuance of George II.

8th Book, 1769, paper, copied neatly.

to

1789, paper, copied.

9th Book, 1790, paper, copied, original memorandum, both still in existence.

10th Book, 1804, paper, copy.

By an Act in 1813, the registers were ordered to be kept in regular forms, and we find the Kendal registers kept in good order from that date until the present day. Having considered the registers (perhaps too minutely) as they now exist, I shall pass on to objects of interest appearing on them. The parish of Kendal is a very large one, and includes many townships, and until Lord Blandford's Act the various solemnizations of rites, if they did not take place in the Parish Church, were transmitted from the various chapelries, and copied into the Kendal registry. The point that has attracted my attention the most, in perusing the registers, is the antiquity of some of the Christian names, the most unusual of which are to be found in the entries of baptisms, marriages, and burials of persons resident in the valley of Kentmere, and some of which are still in use in that valley. These names appear to be of Celtic, Teutonic, or old German origin. I append

a few examples. "Gisslett, the son of William Cowperthwaite, of Kentmere, christened vii. Nov. 1576." This name is the same as Grislet, and female Griselda, and is derived from old German, "gries" a stone. It occurs in the registers in feminine form as "Gisly." "Disbury, ye daughter of Ewan Gilpin, of Kentmere, christened X day March, 1576." In this entry there are two old names. The former I cannot explain. Ewan is the same as the Scotch Eoghan, pronounced Yohan, and indiscriminately pronounced Ewan and Hugh. It is derived from Og, young and divine, and signifies a warrior. In the registers we find Johanna *alias* Jennett. Thus, "Johanna *alias* Jennett, ye daughter of Roger Ayrey, of Kentmere, VII. July, 1561." "Gillian, the daughter of Anthony Duckett, of Lambrigg, born May, 1576." This word Gillian is another form of Julian, Juliana, and Gill, from St. Juliana, the martyr. "Gawan Helme, of Witherslack, 3rd May, 1576." This word Gawan is extant in Kentmere to this day as a Christian name. It is a Celtic word, and signifies "Hawk of battle." The old Celtic Uter, and its feminine Ute, signifying "rich," is occasionally met with, both in the masculine and feminine, as is also the Celtic word Perceval, or Parcvall, which is said to be derived from the Arabic *Parse* or *Parschful*, the hero of an Eastern tale of the wonderful cup, whence arose the mysterious allegory of the Holy Grail. The word Norman, which is now by no means an uncommon one, is found in 1585, in its original form Nordman, "Nordman, the son of Adam Robinson, of Kentmere, VII. April, 1558." Although the word Nordman is still used in Norse to signify Northman, it is clearly derived from "Niord," who was god of the sea, and equal to Odin. This word was in use in France and England at the time of the Conquest, 1581. "Nov. 21, Ninian Harrison, of Sleddal, and Thomas Jackson married." The word Ninian is derived from St. Ninian, a prince of Cumbrian birth, who built the first stone church between the Forth and the Clyde. Other names, such as Gervas, the Teu-

tonic

tonic for eagerness for war; Urbin, Latin for belonging to a town; and Bartle, son of furrows, are of occasional occurrence, also Theafilis, "beloved of God." Besides these names, I find others, such as Keyther, Lrangwell, &c., which I cannot explain. The name Cicely is spelt in a dozen different ways, and is, as well as Randall, Guy, Giles, Sibbel, of very common occurrence in the early registers. The fine old name of Mary seldom occurs in the sixteenth century. Possibly the conduct of the Queen of that name, or the effects of the Reformation, rendered the name for a time unpopular—in fact it was not formerly so frequently selected as in the present day. The name of Randall was used in common with Ralph—Rondolf signifying housewulf. There are thirty-eight Randolfs in Domesday Book. The Hebrew names do not seem to have been much introduced into the registers in early times, but the first page in which I found two occurring, sensibly reminded me of the early history of man, "Adam, the son of Thomas Wade, of Skelsmergh (chr) June, 1581." "July 6th, Eden, daughter of John Lickbarrow of Sleddall." Further on, we have "Emanuel, son of Mr. Israel Wath, of Highgate, surgeon, Oct., 1583." The only cases in which the register keeper appears to have gone out of the usual stereotype form of expression are those where from the fact of a pauper being unable to pay the burial fees, his unfortunate helpless condition is referred to. Thus:—"And one man child brought up in the town which no man could show who ought him buried." "A poor woman called Black Meg, of the Highgate." "A poor crippel whose name none of Hutton could tell." "A poor lass of Hutton." "A poore child which dyed upon the Kirkland, which came out of Lancashire." "Michael Robby, a poore vagrant stranger." "Richard Peill, a poor children, a vagabond person." And lastly: "Nov., 1619, William, which God sent us, a poore ladd who dyed at Jefferey Crosbie's, Highgate." There are a few instance where people are described as slain, but only one where I saw the

the cause of death assigned :—" January, 1610, Thomas Borwick, of Grayrigg, slain with a mill." On one of the tombs in the Parish Church occurs a memorial of a late vicar of Kendal (Mr. Ralph Tyrer). It runs as follows:—

London bred me,
Westminster fed me,
" My sister wed me."

The last line has by some been explained to mean that the deceased was never married, but lived quietly as a bachelor with his sister (who kept his house). An entry of the birth of a son of Mr. and Mrs. Tyrer will, however, show that this idea is incorrect; and the more likely theory is that the reverend gentleman, being much engaged in scholastic and parochial matters, was unable to devote sufficient time to the art of wooing, which was effectually carried out with success, by his sister, on his behalf. Reference has been made in a former paper read before this Society to the act of Parliament 30 Car. II., cap. 3, which, in order to encourage the wool trade, imposed a penalty where persons were buried in linen instead of woollen. By this act it was left for vicars to see, not only that the requirements of the act were carried out in the parish church-yard, but also, as the act describes, "in other common burial places within the parish." Hence it is that reference is frequently made in parish registers to the burial of nonconformists, their friends having filed the necessary affidavit to the effect that the deceased was buried in woollen. The word "spinster" never occurs in the registers until the commencement of the eighteenth century; the words therefore used to signify the female unmarried state being invariably "single woman." There is just one instance I have found where a god-parent is named, viz., "Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Lowder and Jane Warriner, of the Forest, Edward Shepherd, god-father." The registers contain entries of the names of many persons who have made their mark in the world, and
excellent

excellent accounts of these local celebrities will be found in a book entitled "The Annals of Kendal," written by Mr. Cornelius Nicholson. I shall, therefore, only refer to one person of whom the town may be proud, and of whom we have at present no account. I allude to Thomas Hunter, the son of William Hunter, of Kendal, and whose baptismal registry appears in one record. He matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in July, 1734, at the age of 22. On leaving college he went to be schoolmaster at Blackburn, where he married and had issue. He became vicar of Garstang in 1750, and vicar of Weaverham, in Cheshire, in 1755, where he died in 1777, having in 1771 taken his diploma of B.A. He wrote "Moral Discourses on Providence," "Observations on Tacitus," and "A Sketch of the Philosophic Character of the late Viscount Bolinbroke." I am indebted to Colonel Fishwick, of Rochdale, for this information.

The books of the churchwardens contain a good deal of information, some of which may be valuable, and some is undoubtedly interesting to the antiquarian. They contain accounts showing the amounts received from church rates, from payments for graves, and for the use of the pall, and the amounts paid for church expenses. There are some interesting allusions to Sir Joseph Cradock, the great Archdeacon of Richmond, whose jurisdiction was very extensive, and whose powers were almost equal to episcopal. The Archdeaconry of Richmond included a great portion of the West Riding of York, it included the deanery of Cope-land and other parts of Cumberland, a part of Westmorland, and extended southward, including Furness, to the Ribble, below Preston, the southern boundary of the district of Amounderness, where it joined the great diocese of Lichfield. The Archdeacon was his own ordinary, he held his courts of corrections, and marriage bonds were more frequently given to "Venerabili viro domino Josepho Cradock, Militi, Legum Doctori" (the Archdeacon of Richmond,)

mond,) than to "Reverendo in Christo patri domino Johani Divina permissione Cestriensi Episcopo," (the Bishop of Chester). His visits to Kendal, where he sentenced offenders from his chair of state erected in the High Quire, were to be looked forward to with awe and reverence, yet we find him colloquially referred to in the churchwardens' books, as we now allude to the jovial squire, Sir Roger de Coverley, in the present day. "Paid for bente to Strawe in the High Quire against Sir Joseph came." "Paid to the Churchwardens, which they laid out when they delivered their presentments to Sir Joseph Cradock." "Paid for washing and sweeping the Church against Sir Joseph's coming to sitt his Court of Correction, which was the 7 July, 1664." "At the peremptory day, being the 18th day of October, 1664, the general meeting of the Churchwardens, whose names are under written doth order that Geo. Wilkinson shall keep the clock and chimes in better order, and shall keep swine out of the churchyard and whip the dogs out of the church in time of divine service and sermon, and remove the dung-hill and the stable door which opens into the churchyard, before the next peremptory day, and reform all abuses belonging to his office, or else the Churchwardens will make complaint so that it shall be referred to the ordinary." In the year 1664, we find the censer in use in this church. "Paid to John Webster's brother for varnishing a new censer for church use." It appears that in olden times the Kendal church had certain workshops and out-buildings connected with it, and a staff of occasional workmen who could roughcast, build, spin, repair, and in fact do anything that was necessary for the use of the church and its services. Amongst other things it possessed a bell-house which was let out (when not required for church purposes) to one of the parishioners. This house was used for repairs of the bells and clock. These repairs were constant and more frequent than would be tolerated in the present day, and there are numerous interesting items showing the

articles repaired, and how the work was performed. Respecting the bell-house we have the following entry:—"Hugh Forth behind for this whole years' rent of the bell-house." The spinning of ropes and splicing of the same kept several hands at times employed, as will be gathered from the following entry:—

	s.	d.
Paid for 10qr. of hemp for a new rope to the great clock plume	2	6
Paid Wm. Smith's wife for swinging the hemp and turning hinder crooke	2	0
Paid Wm. Smith for making the said rope ...	2	0
Paid George Wilkinson for his help to make it ...	0	6
Paid for drink in time of the said work, and for one to help to twine, 6d.... ..	1	6
Total ...	8	6

of which payment for drink exhausted about twelve per cent of the cost. It is a curious fact that no work, however trifling, could be carried on without recourse to intoxicating beverages, and the items on this head sometimes equalled twenty per cent of the total cost of the work. I give an example:—

	d.
Paid for mending George Wilkinson's pitchfork which was broken	8
Paid for drink in service of the same work	2

It appears that the youths of the 17th century were as mischievous as those of the present day, for, we find from the churchwardens' books, that not only was a "sure coffer" required for the purpose of keeping the bell-ropes out of the boys' way, but a man was specially hired to protect them. The following entry frequently occurs:—

	s.	d.
Paid for keeping the bell-ropes locked up from jangling of boys... ..	2	6

The frequent coats of whitewash that were put on this large church form no inconsiderable portion of the church incidental expenses, and I am sure we may congratulate ourselves that we live in an age when the sciences of architecture

architecture and church embellishment are more considered than they were in some of the periods through which these accounts have passed. I shall close these accounts with one more allusion. On the 26th of April, 1666, it was resolved by unanimous consent of the churchwardens of Kendal, that the payment for vermin heads should be at the whole charge of the parish, and that the same heads should be delivered to the churchwardens. The first sum was paid to Isaac Hudson for a raven's head; and from the various entries, I find that the following fees were paid:—

	s.	d.
For one wild cat	0	4
For one raven's head	0	2
For one fox's head	1	0
For one foulmart	0	2
For one cleanmart	0	4
For one brook head or badger	0	6

There is one churchwardens' book missing, namely, between the years 1731 and 1777.*

At the commencement of this paper, I endeavoured to plead, as an excuse for its poverty, the want of matter of antiquarian interest in the registers, but I feel that had these records been placed in abler hands a much more interesting and instructive paper might have been written. I have, however, treated of such information directly bearing on the subject in hand as the parochial records appeared to me to afford. I feel that I have spoken somewhat harshly of the way in which some parish registers are kept, and in which the ecclesiastical documents relating to the Archdeaconry of Richmond are preserved, but this must be taken as an *ex parte* statement by one, who would (if better care were bestowed upon the custody of such documents) have all to gain and nothing to lose, and no doubt much might be said on the other side. More-

* Since this paper was read, this book has come to light amongst a number of other old books in possession of the Corporation of Kendal, and the set is now complete.

over, it should be remembered that many registers of parishes and documents at episcopal registries are well preserved and in good order. In suggesting any improvement, therefore, I do not hint as a remedy (as some do) that registers should be taken from the custody of ecclesiastics, and placed in the hands of civilians, but merely that complete attested copy transcripts of all registers prior to the year 1837 should (where they do not exist) be made and placed (as was originally intended) in the Episcopal Registries; so that these transcripts (if properly kept) should be a cheque against loss or fraud in the original registers; and so that in the Episcopal Registry, containing the whole of the parochial registers in the diocese (save during the years I have mentioned), any British subject might, by instituting a general search among the transcripts, be enabled to obtain required information, instead of being compelled to wander from parish to parish, in search of any required entry, where the exact parish registry containing it is unknown, thereby subjecting himself to heavy expenditure and labour, with much loss of time, which would have been to a great extent obviated, could he have adopted the course I have suggested.

On the conclusion of Mr. Moser's paper a discussion took place, and Mr. R. S. FERGUSON, the editor of the Society's "Transactions," said that he felt much indebted to Mr. Moser for his paper. They had already had similar papers from other parishes, and they hoped eventually to have papers on all the parishes in the two counties. He hoped, too, that now attention had been directed to the state of the documents at Lancaster, some improvement might be effected. If the Bishop of Carlisle had anything to do with the matter, the Society might be sure* his Lordship's best endeavours would be directed to getting their condition rectified. With regard to the allu-

* During the last Session of Parliament, 1876, the Bishop of Carlisle moved the addition of a clause to the Ecclesiastical Fees and Offices Bill, which would have gone far to rectify the matter complained of. The Bill did not pass, but may do so in 1877.

sion to swine, he had found in some documents relating to a Cumberland church an order that no swine should be allowed in the churchyard unless they had rings in their noses. The entry about the censer was curious, and of course if the censer was used in post-Reformation times it was a very interesting circumstance.

Mr. G. F. BRAITHWAITE hoped that if anything could be done for the preservation of the ancient documents which had been mentioned, it would not be neglected. It was very gratifying to know what great care was generally bestowed upon such documents in our day, and also to see the manner in which parish churches and parish churchyards were kept now, as compared with some sixty or seventy years ago. He believed it was not seventy years since the parish churchyard of Kendal was open as a play place, and that access to the church was to be gained by boys who wanted to play at hide-and-seek in and around it: the consequence was that some very interesting monuments were defaced, and written over with the names of boys who attended the Grammar School.

Dr. SIMPSON added his testimony to the indebtedness of the Society to Mr. Moser for having given them such a contribution as they had heard, seeing that the Society was endeavouring to gather together a series of papers relating to the various parishes in their jurisdiction, whereby they would be able to show what real distinctions there had been between one place and another. Much of what they had heard might be found in almost any parish church of any consequence in the neighbourhood, as there was great laxity shown in the keeping of registers during the latter part of the 17th century. One special matter had been mentioned—that of a book being lost, which would be about the time when there were considerable changes in the occupancy of vicarages in this, and other parts of the country. This was in 1662, and perhaps the vicar that had been brought back before 1664 would have some object in what he did, as the vicarage may have been previously occupied by people that he would have no great love for—Nonconformists. He had noticed something of this in his own church. At the time the vicars were driven away, and their places taken by Nonconformists, the registers were not kept in regular order. Births for the time being were never entered, and the death of the vicar of the parish was the only entry for some years. As a rule he was afraid they would find that the regular registers in the parish churches did not begin much earlier than they did in the parish church of Kendal. Mr. Moser had noticed that the first book was a copy, and he believed that that had been a general custom. Notes were made of different events, and then they were afterwards copied into a book, so they found

found entries, page after page, in the same handwriting, written with the same pen and the same ink. Mention had been made of peculiar names, and he thought that political events of the time might have an influence in this respect. The name of Mary occurred very seldom at one time, and as it had generally been a favourite name, they might enquire whether the character of the Queen known as "Bloody Mary" contributed to this. It would also be interesting to ask what effect Puritanism had in the country. These were some of the observations that had occurred to him, but he would rather call their attention to another thing that had been referred to—the account books of the various parishes. He had heard it mentioned that at one time a bull could not be slaughtered without being baited, under a fine of 6s. 8d., which was not at all peculiar to this neighbourhood. It was not done merely for the amusement of the people, but because it was thought that the meat was the better of it, similarly perhaps to the idea that with roast hare it could be told whether the hare had been coursed or shot. He held in his hand a page or two of accounts, from which he would only read one or two extracts, but which might have some bearing upon what had been mentioned about the love of drink in Kendal. Probably in times gone by Kendal was as greatly famed for its ale as in the present day, and no doubt ale and beer were used in some considerable measure among workmen. But they must bear in mind that some of the ale that the churchwardens paid for was drunk by the workmen as well as themselves. He remembered, when a boy, being struck at seeing a man who was overlooking some work drink three times to once for the workmen, but he explained it by saying that he was as good as three of those men. He found from the paper in his hand that apparently enormous sums had been sometimes expended in providing Communion wine. No doubt there was a time when Kendal included all the chapelries around, and the cost of wine for all these will be included. Thus he found set down the sum of £6, and again £9, and again £11 for Communion wine, and opposite one of these items was the remark, "That is exclusive of wine used at Easter." Easter wine, he should explain, was at one time given by the vicar—he did so himself, and what they got in return were the Easter dues. It also appeared that there were some similar expenses incurred in the borrowing of money, and he had met in a register with one item which was rather remarkable. Mr. Moser had mentioned the preparations that had to be made for the visit of an Archdeacon. He found that on one occasion the churchwardens had ordered a bottle of sack, to be placed in the vestry on the visit of the Bishop. There was a collection of documents relating to the parish church and the old vicarage which he would like to see in
print

print, as he believed they contained accounts of various vicars and incumbents being ejected from their livings at the time of the time of the Revolution, going into details to show that for one reason or another they had to leave their livings to make room for nonconformists, till the time when they in their turn were also ejected. It might be that when some vicar came back to the church he thought it desirable to purge some of the articles in use, and so the censer come to be varnished.

ART. X.—*An attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland, and Westmorland ; with remarks on Agricola's line of March, and on the importance of the camp at Old Carlisle, and on the 10th Iter of Antoninus.* By R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., & LL.M. Read at Kendal, December 11, 1876.

THE Roman Rule in England lasted for about 350 years. If we reckon from Agricola in A.D. 78 to Honorius in A.D. 410, a period of time about three times as long as that during which we have born Empire in India.

Firm as was the Roman hold on Britain while it lasted, it has left behind it little but the ruins of its towns, and of its camps, the traces of its magnificent and well planned roads, and the debris of its luxuries, and of its wants. To the Romans we, in the north, probably owe the establishment of the three great cattle fairs of Stagshawbank, of Brough Hill, and of Rosley, but no vestige of the Roman tongue can be found in the English language, except what is known to come through other channels. The Roman Wall itself, (as has been said),

“Is a monument of ages which have utterly passed away : a monument which might almost be said to have been already an antiquity when the first Englishman gazed on it in wonder. Whatever part the great Wall played in history, in days when strife within this island was still a strife between Celt and Roman, it has played no part since English history began ; it has not ever, like many meaner works, served as a political boundary. It might be hazardous to say that it has never at any time formed the boundary of shire, or kingdom ; but it has certainly not served as such for any great time, or through any great part of its length. The wall is a monument of a past, which has utterly vanished, a monument of the fortunes of those who came before us, in the possession of the land which is now ours.” *Saturday Review. Oct. 16th, 1875.*

But if the Roman Wall was so early played out, and made a mere piece of antiquity for Englishmen to wonder at, it has been quite otherwise with that great network of roads

ring I give to my Eleanor Allisson forty pounds & all my Bed and table Linen I give to my servt Mary Ismay Forty shillings I give to my sister Musgrave my Mother's Picture I give my sister Pattinson my Father's Picture I give my sister Cath: Orfeur all my china and the furniture of my own room My will is yt my body be opened by Jas Douglass Esqre of Carlisle and I give to the said Jas Douglass Ten pounds for his trouble And to the rest & residue & residue of my Goods & chattels & personal Estate whatsoever I give and bequeath the same to my Executor in trust nevertheless for my three sisters Bridget Musgrave Catherine Orfeur & Margtt Pattinson for their use herein after mentioned that is to say my Will & mind is that the sd residue of my goods & chattels & personal Estate be as soon as may be after my decease turn'd into money & vested in ye public Funds or plac'd out upon good Land Security in ye name and at ye discretion of my said Executor & out of ye interest arising therefrom I will yt ye sum of Forty shillings be paid yearly & every year to Marg. Orfeur during her natural life & yt ye remainder of ye Interest be equally divided between my sd. sister Musgrave & Cath: Orfeur every year And as to ye money so plac'd out in Fund or upon Land Security my Will is that ye same shall go to the longest liver or survivor of my three sisters above named Bridget Musgrave Cath: Orfeur & Margt Pattinson And lastly I do nominate and appoint Richd Briscoe of Lamplugh Esq in ye County of Cumberland Executor of this my Will and do hereby revoke and annull all former Wills by me any time heretofore made and I do declare this to be my last and only Will In Witness whereof I have set my hand & seal this 31st of 8ber 1744

ELEANOR ORFEUR

L.S. *

Witness

Mary Twentyman
Mary Rooke

sworn

Proved at Carlisle May 14 1746 by Richard Brisco Esquire of Lamplugh the sole Executor and Bond given for the due performance by him and George Railton of the City of Carlisle before J. Farish Surrogate

EXTRACTS FROM THE PLUMLAND REGISTER.

- 1669 Bridgett the daughter of William Orfeur Esq & Elizabeth his wife bapt.
Aug. 11.
,, Bridgett Orfeur of High Close buried Mar. 22.
1681 Willm Orfeur Esq buried July 29.
1705 William ye Son of Charles Orfeur Esq & Jane his wife was born ye 8th of
December & was baptized ye 18th of ye same month.
1706 William ye son of Charles Orfeur Esq & Jane his wife was buried April ye
23. Affi p Mr Nevinson of Torpenhow.

* Seal in red wax; Shield bearing a cross with a mullet in the first quarter.

- 1707 Eleanor the daughter of Charles Orfeur Esq & Jane his wife was born the 20 of gbr. & baptized the 27th of the same month.
- 1722 Jan. 3. Mr Ralph Musgrave & Mrs Bridgett Orfeur married.
- 1725 Feb. 19. Charles Orfeur Esq buried.
- 1744 Jan. 7. Eleanor Daugr of Mr Orfeur late of Highclose bur. She lived at Wigton & Dyed there also.
- 1773 Dec. 7. Mrs. Ann Yates widow of the Revd Francis Yates LL.B. of Gargrave in Yorkshire & Daughter of the late Charles Orfeur of High Close Esq aged 77 bur.
- 1775 Dec 12 Mrs Catherine Orfeur Daughter of the late Charles Orfeur of High Close aged 73 buried.

EXTRACT FROM THE HARRINGTON REGISTER.

- 1721 Revd Thomas Orfeur Rector of Harrington buried June ye 11th.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CROSS CANNONBY REGISTER.

- Charles Orpheur Esqr & Mrs Jane Senhouse married the 27th day of August 1695.
Ann the daughter of Charles Orpheur Esqr baptized the 1st day of September 1696.
Mr. John Eaglesfield & Mrs Catherine Orpheur married the 29th day of June 1697.
- Charles son of Charles Orfeur Esqr baptized the 14th day of November 1697.
Charles son of Charles Orfeur Esqr buried the 21st day of January 1697.
Bridget the daughter of Charles Orfeur Esqr baptized the 14th day of December 1698.
- Phœbe the daughter of Chas Orfeur Esqr baptized the 4th day of January 1699.
Phœbe the daughter of Chas Orfeur Esqr buried the 11th day of April 1701.
Catherine the daughter of Chas Orfeur Esqr baptized the 18th day of May 1701.
Margaret the daughter of Chas Orfeur Esqr baptized the 24th day of May 1702.
Madam Jane Wife of Chas Orfeur Esqr buried December the 29th 1720.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ASKHAM REGISTER.

- 1651 July the 10th day was Willm the son of Tho Sandford esquier Baptized Willm Orfeur Esqr & Sir Willm Carlton Knight Godfathers.
- 1736 Mr. Lancelot Pattenson Retr of Ousby and Mrs Margaret Orfeur of Askham Hall Married March the 28th.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ASPATRIA REGISTER.

- 1734 29 Maii Elizabeth fil Thomæ Orfeur de Aspatria baptised.
- 1736 27 Jany Mary daughter of Thomas Orfeur of Aspaticke bap.
- 1738 March 6 Charles son of Thomas Orfeur of Aspaticke bap.





Size 1/31

Hic jacet
GULIELMUS a CAROLO
ORFEUR de HIGHCLOSE
Armigero &
LANA Uxore ejus
Ille filius & hæres GUL.
ORFEUR Arm. & ELIS. a
D^o CAR. HOWARD *Equite*
&
D^o ELISABETHA a
Comite de Hume
Ille filia RICHARDI
LAMPLUGH
Armig.
&
FRANCISCAE a D^o CHRI
STOPHERO LOWTHER
Baronetto
APRIL 20 1706

D. P. Miller, Lithog.

Size 1/9

Cookson & Co. Lith.

- 1740 febr. 19 Richard son of Thomas Orfeur of Aspatricke bapt.
 1741 18th 7 br. Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Orfeur of Aspatria buried.
 1741 7 br. 25th Charles son of Thomas Orfeur of Aspatria buried.
 1742 11th. febr Hylton the son of Thomas Orfeur Aspatria baptized.
 1743 March 7. Sarah Orfeur of Aspatricke buried.
 1744 17th Jany Catherine daughter of Thoms Orfeur Aspatricke bapt.
 1775 Dec. 19 Richard son of Elizabeth Orfeur of Aspatria aged 35 buried.
 1777 Mary Orfeur aged 40 married John Wilkinson yeoman aged 63.
 1784 Mary Wilkinson aged 47 married Joseph Tyndal aged 54.
 1793 March 30 Elizabeth Orfer Widow aged 84 buried.

EXTRACTS FROM THE BROMFIELD REGISTER.

- 1674 Decembr 22. Bridget of Mr. Francis Orpheur of Bromfield baptized.
 1676 June 15. William of Mr. Francis Orfeur of Bromfield bapt.
 1682 Decemb. 18. Susannah of Mr. Francis Orphyr of Bromfield bapt.
 1684 February 26 Elizabeth of Mr. Francis Orfeur of Bromfield bapt.
 1686 Decemb 16 Edward of Mr Francis Orfeur of Bromfield bapt.
 1705 April 28. Mr. William Orfeur of Bromfield buried.
 1728 March 5 Susan of Mr Orfeur of Brumfield buried.
 " " 23 Mrs Orfeur of Bromfield buried.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ALLHALLOWS REGISTER.

- 1719 October the 14th Married George Harrison and Mary Orfeur.
 1721 January the 24 Buried the son of Cuthbert Orfeur.

Copy of a letter from the Revd. James Bush, Curate of Plumbland.

Plumbland, Cockermonth 4 May 1842.

Sir,

I beg to inform you that a tombstone grown over with moss has just been decyphered in this Churchyard, near the Chancel Door. The Moss has been picked out with a Pen knife, and the following words can be not only felt but seen.*

The Register book says —

- 1706 William ye son of Charles Orfeur Esqr & Jane his wife was buried April ye 23d Aff pro Mr. Nevinson of Torpenhow.

These confirm one another, the death on the 20th & burial on the 23rd April.

In the sincere hope that the above may be of use to you,

I am, Sir,

John Orfeur Esqr
Norwich.

Your faithful Servant,
JAMES BUSH.

*Here followed a copy of the inscription, which, after 35 years more exposure, I have been enabled to verify in nearly every letter, and on the opposite page give a lithographed fac simile on a scale of one-ninth. The monument, which, it will be seen, is of the altar form and quite plain, has been removed since the rebuilding of the church to a new position in the churchyard, under the south wall of the Chancel.

Monument

*Monument in the churchyard of Cross Cannonby under the
Western front of the Church.*

This monument is of the altar form with 2 pannels on each side separated by a baluster in the middle, having another at each end: on the eastern end of the monument is an hour glass, and on the western a death's head and cross bones. The top slab appears to have been renewed, perhaps about the commencement of this century, but the inscription was probably copied literally, and is as follows:

Here lies ye body of Jane
Orfeur Daughter to Richard
Lamplugh of Ribton Esqr: who
by her first Husband John Sen
house of Nether Hall Esqr: had 2
Sons: John and Richard: both died
in their Infancy: Six daughters,
Mary, Jane, Frances, Grace, Isabel,
& Elizabeth all now living.
By her second Husband
Charles Orfeur of High-close
Esqr: 2 Sons: Charles and William who
died in their Infancy: Six Daughters
Anne, Bridget, Pheby, who died
young) Catherine, Margaret, &
Eleanor: all now living
She was one of ye best of
Wives & tenderest of Mothers
Departed this life ye 26th of De
cember 1720. & much lamented
by all who knew her.

Qualis erat Dies illa Supremus indicabit

Extract from a letter of Joseph & Mary Tyndal 6 Ffebr 1803.

Nephew Thomas

We look long to hear from you and hath seen Josh Dodd and his Daughter Betty lately who are both well as we are at present they both are uneasy to hear from you as well as us so we all of us desire you will write the first opportunity & give us particular account in what situation of life you are all in we mean your brother as well as your own family

From yr Affectionate Uncle & Aunt

JOS & MARY TYNDAL

Aspatria

6 feby 1803

Addressed

Mr. Thos Orfeur
Fighting Cock Row
Yarmouth
Norfolk



roads which the Romans made on this Island, for I believe that until the four-in-hand mail, and the yellow post chaise were superseded by the iron horse, the main arteries of traffic, followed by those mails and post chaises, were identical, or almost so, with those routes along which the Roman armies marched; take, for instance, the Watling Street, or the Ermyn Street; or, to take a local instance, the old posting road from York to Carlisle, which is almost identical with the 2nd Iter of Antoninus. I believe more, that a great number of our cross country roads are laid on Roman bottoms and follow Roman lines; until 1750 the packhorse traffic between Carlisle and Newcastle followed the old Roman road, then known as the Carelgate, or Stonegate. The packhorse traffic from Kendal, north, went over High Street, an undoubted Roman road. Only the other day I was shown a road by which, from time immemorable up to the days of steam, Scotch cattle were driven across the Solway and then to Rosley Fair; it was an old Roman road. The very frequency of the use of these roads has obscured their origin, and we rarely dream that they go further back than parish vestries, or rating acts.

What I have to say to you to-day is rather many-headed, I have something to say to you

- (1) Of how Agricola conquered Britain;
- (2) Of what route he took on leaving Wales; [land;
- (3) Of the Roman roads in Cumberland & Westmor-
- (4) Of the stations on the Roman Wall;
- (5) Of a place called Old Carlisle; and
- (6) Of the much debated 10th Iter of Antoninus.

I shall not go into the details of the Roman Conquest of Britain. Prior to A.D. 78, the Romans had established themselves, more or less precariously, in the southern parts of the island.

The real conqueror of Britain was Agricola, who came from Rome to take the chief command in Britain, in A.D. 78, and held it until 84, during which time he reduced all

Britain up to the Friths of Forth and Clyde to the condition of a Roman province. His first proceeding was to put to the sword the Ordovices or inhabitants of North Wales, who had been troublesome; he then reduced to entire submission the Isle of Mona, *i.e.* Anglesey: this he did by fording the strait, which separates the island from the mainland. The winter of 78-79 he spent in quarters among the Ordovices; in correcting many abuses connected with requisitions of corn and other supplies, which pressed hard upon the Britons, and seemed to have been learned by the Roman officials in the school of Verres. Thus having pacified and secured his rear, Agricola pushed his conquests northwards. When the warm weather of 79 came, he drew together his forces again, and started off from North Wales on a second campaign, and this time to the northwards. Where he went, the 20th chapter of his life by Tacitus tells us in the words "*astuaria ac silvas ipse pratentare,*" words that can only apply to the estuaries of Lancashire and of Cumberland, to the estuaries of the Dee, of the Mersey, of the Ribble, to the sands of Cartmel and of Ulverstone, and of the Solway Frith; we know that the country bordering on these estuaries was well and thickly wooded even so late as the time of Charles II.* The use of the word *astuaria* shows that Agricola crossed the rivers just mentioned as near the sea as possible, and we think that he proceeded north by the coast of Cumberland, and by a road and chain of forts which will be discussed in detail presently. This we fancy he did that he might be supported by his fleet, and might also avoid the trackless woods and wild mountains of the interior; † indeed the passes into Cumberland and Westmorland from the south are few and hard to force, defended, as they would be, by swarms of Britons,

* Sandford's MSS. of history Cumberland.

† Mr. Jackson agrees with me, *vide supra*, pp. 9-16.

‡ The Tebay gorge is put forward as Agricola's line of March: no military man would ever march an army up such a trap.

who

who would have every advantage of shelter and knowledge of the country. At the end of this year's campaign, he encircled the territory by a chain of forts, "*multae civitates * * et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae.*" Tacitus, in his account of the third campaign, defines for us the limits of the second year's conquests. "*Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit,*" showing that in the second year Agricola did not get beyond the Brigantes, whose communities inhabited Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham, and who were well known to the Romans, having been in Yorkshire defeated and subdued by Petilius Cerealis. Thus Agricola, in his second campaign, marched round the Cumberland coast, subduing the country up to the Solway and the Tyne, and establishing the chain of forts which stretched round the Cumbrian coast, and from the Solway to the Tyne, and whose ruins still excite curiosity and admiration.

In his third year, Agricola marched as far as the Frith of Tay, and in his fourth year (A.D. 81), he drew a line of forts from the Frith of Forth, to the Frith of Clyde, while in the following two years he made further use of his fleet, and campaigned north of his upper line of forts, north of which line, however, the Romans never made any permanent conquests.* Thus much for what history records; let us now proceed to

* We have before stated, that in our opinion, Agricola, on his coast march round Cumberland, had a fleet on his flank. But a passage in Tacitus' life of Agricola, cap. 25, will be cited against this view. Speaking of his sixth campaign, Tacitus writes "*portus classe exploravit quae ab Agricola primum assumpta in partem virium.*" This passage however, does not seem to mean that he *then* first, *i.e.* in the sixth campaign, employed a fleet, and an army in a combined operation, but that he was the first general to do so. He certainly had no fleet in his first campaign, for he could not *have dragged* it overland when he marched against the Ordovices, but we fancy he was too good a general to start a coast march without a fleet accompanying him on his seaward flank. Does not the passage mean that Agricola *then*, (if the *then* is insisted on) first used his fleet as part of his forces, by disembarking the sailors, and using them as soldiers, instead of confining them to duty on shipboard. Was not Agricola the first general to employ a naval brigade on land? General Roy, in his *Military Antiquities* p. 16, writes, "A.D. 83, the fleet from the beginning had co-operated with the land forces, and on this occasion being accompanied with the army, the whole made a glorious appearance, the same camp often containing the horse, foot, and marines intermixed and rejoicing in common."

A SURVEY OF ROMAN CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND.

We shall be best able to appreciate the grasp with which the Romans held the districts, now called Cumberland and Westmorland, by endeavouring to obtain a clear notion of the roads they made and the stations they occupied in that district. These roads and stations are, for the determination of their positions, so dependent upon one another that we must consider them both together, and for that purpose we must turn to the accustomed means of information, namely the Itinerary or roadbook of Antoninus, to that of Richard of Cirencester, whose authenticity is doubtful, and to the Notitia Imperii; the first of which is generally assigned to a date prior to A.D. 320, and the last to about A.D. 400.

From the first and second "*Itinera*" of Antoninus we learn that from Eboracum (York) a great road went north, which after passing through Isurium or Isubrigantium, (Aldborough) and Cataractorium (Catterick in Yorkshire) split into two roads, an eastern and a western one. With the eastern one we have nothing to do, except, for clearer comprehension, to say that it ran up to the Wall of Hadrian by Vinovia, (Binchester) whence a branch went to what is now South Shields, while the main portion continued on by Vindomora, (or Ebchester), and Corstopitum, (or Corbridge), crossed the Wall and passed on into Scotland. The western branch went through Cumberland, and after leaving Cataractorium the stations and distances, as given in the Itinerary of Antoninus are, (but put for our convenience in reverse order), as follows :

Stations.	Roman Miles.	Identified as.
Cataracto, or Cataractorium } Lavatræ... ... 13 ... Verteræ 14 ... Brovonacæ 13 ... Voreda 13 ... Luguvallum ... 14 ... Castra Exploratorum 12 ... Blatum Bulgium 12 ...		Catterick in Yorkshire Bowes Brough Kirkby Thore Old Penrith, or Plumpton Wall Carlisle Netherby Middleby near Birrenswark.

The

The fifth Iter of Antoninus gives the same route, but makes only one stage between Verteræ and Luguwallum, instead of two, and that at Brocavium or Brougham. Camden was inclined to place *Castra Exploratorum* at Old Carlisle near Wigton, and *Blatum Bulgium* at Bowness, but though there is a main Roman road from Carlisle to Old Carlisle, none such appears to have existed from Old Carlisle to Bowness, which last place could be more directly reached from Carlisle by the Roman road along the Wall, and is only 12 miles English from Carlisle by that way, while to go round by Old Carlisle would just more than double that distance. Camden also considered Old Penrith or Plumpton Wall, to be *Petriana*, and Horsley considered it to be the *Bremetenracum* of the *Notitia*, but all antiquarians are, I think, now agreed on allocating the stations of the second Iter as just given, (vide Mr. Hodgson Hinde, in the *Archæological Journal*, September, 1859; Dr. Bruce, in his "Roman Wall," and in the "*Lapidarium Septentrionale*"; Mr. Wright, in "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon.") Indeed no one doubts that *Eboracum* is York, and *Bœda* tells expressly that *Luguwallum* is Carlisle: given these two fixed points, the rest follow as matter of course, and this Iter follows the natural passage from the great plain of York, by the pass of Stanemoor, down the valley of the Eden into the Cumberland plain, and thence to Carlisle. This great road ran from York over Stainmoor by Bowes, Brough, Brougham, Old Penrith, Carlisle, and Netherby, coinciding in the main, with the present high road through those places. The command of all the garrisons in Cumberland, and on the Wall, was held at the time of the *Notitia Imperii* (circa 400 A.D.) by the *Dux Britanniarum*, who resided at York, at which place many of the Emperors held their court; it was in fact the capital of Northern Britain, and hence the road over Stanemoor through Cumberland must have been one of great strategic importance.

This.

This great military road was crossed at Brovonacæ, or Kirkby Thore, by another which, branching from the Roman road between Manchester and Kendal, at Breintonacæ (Overborough, in Lancashire), passed through the Tebay gorge, where is a camp at Low Borrow Bridge, and over Crosby Ravensworth Fell to Kirkby Thore. North of this station it ran through the parish of Alston in Cumberland, through an angle of Northumberland, and running along the Wall for some way, re-entered Cumberland, and ran past the Roman station at Bewcastle into Scotland. Much of this road can be traced, particularly in the Tebay gorge, and in the parish of Crosby Ravensworth. After Kirkby Thore, it proceeded over Newbiggin Moor to Kirkland; and on the grouse ground and the sheep walks of Ousby Fell, Melmerby Fell, and Hartside, its causeway can be traced for miles, running to the Roman Wall at Magna, or Caervoram and thence along it to Amboglanna, or Birdoswald, and thence to Bewcastle. It is known as the Maiden Way, *i.e.* Mai-dun, the great ridge, having been raised two or three feet above the adjacent ground, (see the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," p. 391).

From strategic and historical reasons we should expect to find another great road through Cumberland, older than, and more or less superseded by those we have just mentioned.* Agricola, in A.D. 79, advanced from the Isle of Anglesey into Scotland by the western coast, crossing the estuaries, and, Roman-like, securing his retreat by the formation of a good road, guarded at frequent intervals by fortified posts. During this advance he kept close to the sea, partly we suppose that he might be supported by his fleet, partly to avoid the trackless woods, and wild mountains of the interior. This Roman road starts from Lancaster, crosses the Lancaster branch of the Morecambe estuary to Pigeon Cote Lane, near Wyke in Cartmel; passes Flookburgh, where part of this Roman road still remains;

* See the early part of this paper.

thence

thence crosses the Ulverston estuary and goes by Mountbarrow and Lindal to Dalton, near to the second of which places its pavement was long ago discovered, (vide Stockdale's "Annales Caermoelesenses" p. 241; also West's "Furness" p. 8; Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. I., p. 533, for the Roman road, leading through Furness to Duddon Sands). Thence the road would cross the Duddon Sands and enter Cumberland somewhere near Millom. From Millom it would run by Bootle and Ravenglass to the great camp at Moresby. Thence to the great camp at Ellenborough, and thence by Allonby to Bowness, and along the wall to Luguvallum, the first place where Agricola could ford the Eden, for then the tide ran much higher up the Eden than it does at present. We have shown the traces yet remaining of this road before it entered Cumberland; we must now show some proof of it in Cumberland. We pick it up between Whitbeck and Bootle: it is known as the High Street, says Hutchinson, "as lying on an old Roman road," (vide Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. I. p. 556). Denton further says of Bootle, "next to Whitbeck in the "comon high street towards the west is Butle"; the very names "high street" and "common street" (stratum a causeway) generally denote an old Roman road. In Selker's Bay near Bootle, a legend says that some Roman galleys lie sunk, vide White's "Lays and Legends of the Lake Country," and not far off is an encampment called Eskmeals, where Roman coins and altars have been found, (Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. I. p. 561). Muncaster in its name would seem to indicate a Roman camp. Ravenglass is said to have been the Ravonia of the Cosmography of Ravenna, (vide Wright's "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," p. 464)"; and Camden says Roman inscriptions have been found there.

North of this, the road was probably close to the sea shore, going inland at the promontory of St. Bees Head.*

* The portion south of St. Bees is difficult to make out. There seems to have been a double coast road here; one close to the shore, another a little inland, possibly a little later in date than the first.

At

At Egremont, Roman stones have been observed in the masonry of the castle (vide Jefferson's "Allerdale-above-Derwent," p. 32, 33). At Moresby, and again at Ellenborough, and from Ellenborough coastwise to Bowness, all antiquarians are agreed that there has been a road, and even a wall; and also a small camp at Mowbray, near Allonby, (see Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," p. 362, 366, and Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. II. p. 408. Whelan's "Cumberland," 236). Camden writes "That from hence (St. Bees Head) the shore drawing itself backe, little by little, as it appeareth by the heaps of rubbish, it hath been fortified all along by the Romans, wheresoever there was easie landing;" he further states that from Workington many suppose a wall to have run for four miles along the coast. Further traces of this great Roman road are to be found in the raised road in the Parish of Holme Cultram, known as Causeway Head, which points directly to Bowness, though the estuaries of Waver and Wampool now intervene. These estuaries appear to have been solid ground occupied by the town of Skinburness until the sea broke in, in the 14th century. Roman remains have been frequently found near Skinburness (vide Whelan's "Cumberland," p. 247) and from an altar found there, Dr. Bruce conjectures that the Romans had a camp at Skinburness, (vide Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society, Vol. I. p. 40). Between Skinburness and Bowness is a large camp, at a place called Campfield. From Bowness to Carlisle a Roman road ran along the Wall, and was there, no doubt, long before the Wall, dating from the march of Agricola. From Carlisle the Roman road ran along the Wall into Northumberland.

Thus we get a Roman road running round the district now known as the county of Cumberland, from Duddon Sands on the south-west, to the boundaries of Northumberland on the north-east. Now this, before entering
Cumberland,

Cumberland, was a road by no means suitable for the march of troops, and passage of baggage, being only open over the great estuaries at certain hours, and those variable ones, puzzling, no doubt, to the Romans, who were accustomed to a tideless sea. When possession of the country was obtained, they sought a safer road, and found it by Kendal, Ambleside, and Keswick, and thus the coast road by the sands, Whitbeck, and Bootle, would then become of secondary importance. The new route would seem to be the 10th Iter of Antoninus, which we now give.*

	Roman Miles.			
Mancunium	Manchester†
Coccium	...	17	...	Ribchester
Bremetonacæ	...	27	...	Overborough, in Lancaster
Galacum	...	19	...	Kendal
Alone	...	12	...	Ambleside
Galava...	...	17	...	Keswick
Glanoventa	...	18	...	Old Carlisle.

The localities of Galacum, Alone, Galava, and Glanoventa have been much disputed, but antiquarians seem now disposed to put the first three of them at Kendal, Ambleside, and Keswick; and Glanoventa, at one of the coast towns, (vide Wright, "the Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon" p. 139, also Godwin's "Archæological Handbook"). We hope to put Glanoventa at Old Carlisle, as we shall try to prove a few pages later on. Old Carlisle was a place of vast importance, the centre of a circle of camps, and hence likely to have been the terminus of a road, important

* Many local authorities insist that the 10th Iter went up the Tebay gorge, and they put Galacum or Alone at Low Borrow Bridge. In that case they must make the Iter terminate at Whitley Castle, which, as Dr. Bruce in the Lapidarium says, is a very unlikely place to be the terminus of a great road. I hope to show in this paper that Glanoventa, (and Glannibanta, which I take to be one and the same, and to be Old Carlisle), is from its importance as a strategical position, a very likely place to be the terminus of a great road.

† From Manchester a Roman road went to Chester, where a Roman legion was quartered for a long time, but was removed prior to the date of the Notitia, though it was there at the date of the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the 10th Iter as given by me would be its line of communication with Old Carlisle, and the military stations on the Wall.

enough to figure among the Itinera of Antoninus. In Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. II. p. 400, it is stated that the foundations of Roman buildings at Old Carlisle extend over many acres. The distances on the tenth Iter, as given, are hard to fit into their places, but many antiquarians consider them as corrupt, a figure being so apt to get misplaced, or omitted by a copyist. For the exact line taken by this Roman road, we refer our readers to Nicholson's "Kendal," (partly cited afterwards) and to West's "Guide to the Lakes." The identification of Bremetonacæ with Overborough is the subject of a very valuable and sound treatise by the Rev. Richard Rauthmell, under the title of "Antiquitates Bremetonacenses," published 1746.

Thus we get, beside the Maiden way, two main Roman roads through Cumberland. The earlier one, which originally went round the sea coast, and which was deviated for convenience by Késwick to Old Carlisle, and is the 10th Iter of Antoninus. The second, the great road from Carlisle to York, the 2nd Iter of Antoninus, and more modern than the 10th Iter, which it would supersede in importance when York became the capital of Northern Britain; while the removal of the Roman legion from Chester at some period between the date of the Itinerary and the Notitia, would render the 10th Iter useless in a military point of view: its camps would be deprived of their garrisons, and the camps on the Wall would be handed over to the commander at York, and form the "Item per lineam Valli" section of his command. I take it that the general at Chester, while a legion was there, commanded *all* the camps on the Wall, as far as the Tyne, and I think so because I think that Agricola marched from Chester, and founded all those camps, retaining Chester as his head quarters. Returning to the 2nd Iter, and to the question of its being later in date than what I consider to be the 10th Iter, General Roy, in his magnificent work on the "Military Antiquities" of the Romans in Britain, p. 72, 74, proves that the
three

three great camps, which defended the 2nd Iter, viz., that of Ray Cross on Stanemoor, that on Crackenthorpe moor in Westmorland, and that at Birrenswark in Scotland, present methods of fortification, which were not introduced until long after the time of Agricola.

General Roy has traced in Scotland the vast temporary camps occupied by Agricola's army. One may be asked to point out these vast camps on the line of his coast march round Cumberland. The attentive reader of General Roy's work will see that this cannot be done, in districts which the Romans occupied for a length of time. The sites of the temporary camps became the sites of permanent camps, much smaller indeed, but whose suburbs, growing for two or three centuries, would soon wipe out entrenchments made for the occupation of a night or two. Still there can be small doubt that the sites of the camps now straggling along the coast, and from the Solway to the Tyne were the sites where Agricola rested on his march.

Having pointed out the main Roman roads in Cumberland, we must now fill up the outline by tracing the cross roads, and placing as far as possible the stations, whose names we learn from the *Notitia Imperii*.

A well marked Roman road, called Plumpton Low Street, runs almost parallel with the 2nd Iter, from Penrith to Carlisle, but on the west of the Petteril; this was probably an old British road, improved and used by the Romans prior to the making of the 2nd Iter, and was probably the track by which they first opened out the inland route to Carlisle. Great part of this road is still used as a road, but where it is not, it can be traced through the fields. For information as to this road, I am indebted to Mr. Lees, of Wreay.

A large and well-known Roman station exists near the Red Dial, Wigton, at a place called Old Carlisle: we have already spoken of it, and with it we will begin, as some of the cross roads leading to and from it are well in evidence.

The

The high road from Carlisle through Thursby leads almost direct to this station, and runs along the old Roman road, which, in the time of Horsley, was very large and wide, leading directly to Carlisle and the Wall. The road on the other side, leading to the station at Ellenborough, was also until lately distinct; it is described as running southward "along the present turnpike road, nearly to Waver Bridge, then along the high grounds behind Waver Bank farm, north of Priestcroft colliery, where, as it crosses the road to Crookdale, it may be still seen; then over Leesrig pasture, and Oughterside Moor, where I have been informed traces of it are visible." (Vide "the Picts or Romano—British Wall," p. 7. Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," p. 360). A little to the south-east of this road lies a camp near Whitehall; hence it seems probable that a road ran from Waver Bridge past this camp direct to the Roman station at Papcastle, and the extreme straightness of the present turnpike road may lead us to conclude that it follows the line of the Roman Road.

Dr. West, in his valuable Guide to the Lakes, gives us the following description of Caermot on the road between Keswick and Wigton:—

"Caermot is a green high crowned hill, and on its skirt, just by the road side, are the manifest vestiges of a square encampment inclosed with a double foss, extending from east to west 120 paces, and from south to north, 100 paces. It is divided into several cantonments, and the road from Keswick to Old Carlisle has crossed it at right angles. Part of the agger is visible where it issues from the north side of the camp, till where it fell in with the present road. It is distant about ten miles from Keswick, as much from Old Carlisle, and is about two miles west of Ireby. On the northern extremity of the said hill of Caermot, are the remains of a beacon, and near it the vestiges of a square encampment. This camp is in full view of Bowness and Old Carlisle."

From the existence of the camp, and its position, we may conclude that a road ran past it from Old Carlisle to the station at Keswick, branching off from the Ellenborough
and

and Papcastle roads, and running to the head of Bassenthwaite Lake, and thence to Keswick.

In Lyson's "Cumberland," p. cxlvii., mention is made of a Roman road which ran from Old Carlisle to Plumpton wall by Broadfields. This is probable, as Roman works once existed on Broadfield Common, and Camden considered Rose Castle to have been a Roman station. Mr. Lees has traced this road, and makes it run into the 2d Iter at Causeway House. The works on Broadfield Common, and the camp, which must have existed at Muncaster, would be points on the western Roman road from Carlisle to Penrith.

A Roman road led from Old Carlisle to Bowness, passing Kirkbride Church, which stands in a Roman Camp.

Mr. Mackenzie Walcott states, in his "Guide to the Lakes," p. 102, that a Roman road did lead from Old Carlisle to Drumburgh, and that traces of it are visible at Low Moor. There is a long straight piece of road through Aikton, which if produced both ways would lead from Old Carlisle to Drumburgh, and which seems an old Roman road. There are earthworks at Down Hall, near this road, which may have been Roman, though afterwards the site of a medieval castle. Another Roman road went from Old Carlisle to Burgh, passing a camp at Foldsteads, where an altar has been found.—Other roads probably led to Holm Cultram, or Skinburness.

Let us take a map and draw on it these roads radiating from Old Carlisle, and we shall see its importance as a strategic point. Troops stationed here could in a very few hours be at any point menaced by the enemy, from Carlisle along the Wall to St. Bees Head. Did the enemy land south of that point, the garrison of Keswick would move south to intercept them, and be replaced at Keswick by a reserve from Old Carlisle, while the Old Carlisle garrison could be replaced from several points as necessary. By the use of beacons and semaphores their movements could

could be carried out with great celerity. Further it was in direct communication with the Roman legion at Chester, by what I consider the 10th Iter.

If we move ourselves by the Roman road from Old Carlisle to Keswick, we shall find we are at another great strategic point, also on the 10th Iter, and in communication with Chester, and also a place where many roads join, and where Roman remains are abundant, (*Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, Vol. I. p. 220). Let us turn to the accurate West for information on the subject; in his "Guide to the Lakes," p. 145, he tells us that in consequence of Camden's silence as to Keswick, and in consequence of a mistake made by Horsley as to Keswick, a regular survey was made of the military or Roman roads, and those from Papcastle, Ellenborough, Moresby, Ambleside, and Plumpton, were found to coincide at Keswick. Mr. West, no mere guide book writer, but a Roman Catholic clergyman and scholar, writes in 1780, and when the survey of which he writes was made, many traces of the old Roman roads must have been left, which inclosures and the plough have now obliterated. One road he describes for us with an accuracy and minuteness that makes one wish he had deemed it worth while to be as communicative about the others. That road is the one from Plumpton Wall to Keswick. He says,

"Upon Hutton Moor, and on the north side of the great road may be traced the path of the Roman way that leads from Old Penrith, or Plumpton Wall, in a line almost due west to Keswick. Upon the moor are the traces of a large encampment that the road traverses. And a little beyond the eighth mile post on the left at Whitbarrow, are stray vestiges of a square encampment. The Roman road beyond that, is met with in the enclosed fields of Whitbarrow, and is known by the farmers from the opposition they met with in ploughing across it. After that, it is found entire on the common, called Greystoke low-moor; and lately they have formed a new road on the agger of it. It proceeds in a right line to Greystoke town, when it makes a flexure to the left, and continues in a line to Blencow; it is then found in a ploughed field, about 200 yards to the north of Little Blencowe,
pointing

pointing at Coach-gate; from thence it passes on the north side of Kell-barrow, and through Cow-close, and was discovered on making the new turnpike road from Penrith to Cockermouth, which it crossed near the toll gate. From thence it stretches over Whitrigg in a right line, is visible on the edge of the wood at Fairbank, and in the lane called Low Street. From thence it points through enclosed land, to the south end of the station, called Plumpton wall and Old Penrith. It crossed the brook Petteril at Torpenholme."

From Whitbarrow, Mr. West, p. 150, makes a Roman road run down by a fort on Soulby Fell to the fort at Dunmallet, and communicates with the well known Roman road, the High Street, leading from Ambleside to Penrith and Brougham. From Whitbarrow camp, known as Stone Carron, an ancient, *i.e.* Roman road, ran between Mell Fells to the head of Gowbarrow Park, and vestiges of it were visible when Jefferson's "Leath Ward" was writ, vide that book, p. 386. It probably continued to Ambleside, Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. I. p. 412.

Mr. West's Roman road from Moresby to Keswick must have joined the Ellenborough road at Papcastle. Dr. Stukely asserts that he had seen vestiges of it.

Traces of a Roman road are to be found in Borrowdale, Hutchinson's "Cumberland," 2 Vol. p. 164, 176, 208, and there would be a road to it from Keswick; see West's "Guide to the Lakes," p. 123, 143.

In the south-west of the County of Cumberland, we find a Roman road from Ambleside over Hardknott, past an enclosed fort, and running down to Ravenglass or Bootle. This road, the road from Keswick over Borrowdale would probably join.

A Roman road ran from Egremont to Papcastle, which would be thus another great converging station. This road was traced by the Rev. James Fullerton, see Lyson's "Cumberland," cxxxvii. The Roman road from Ellenborough to Papcastle was traced by the late Mr. Dykes of Dovenby Hall, (vide Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, Vol. 1, p. 167).

East

East of the 2nd Iter of Antoninus, Old Penrith must have had some communication eastward to the Maiden Way, and probably another to Brampton. A Roman fort is in the parish of Kirkland, near the Maiden Way, and is known as the "Hanging Gardens of Mark Antony."

The necessity for this apparently intricate mesh work of roads and forts, west of the 2nd Iter of Antoninus arises from the Roman position being out-flanked. Their front was to Scotland, along Hadrian's Wall : on their left flank, the western districts of Scotland threatened down as far as St. Bees Head, while Ireland took up the line where Scotland ceased. Thus, the Romans were bound to refuse their left flank, as it is called in terms of military art, and to fortify and garrison strongly the district thus menaced. From their great camps at Old Carlisle, Papcastle, and Keswick, large reinforcements, moving on the inner and therefore shorter lines, could rapidly arrive at any menaced part on the coast, while the Keswick garrison closed the passes of Borrowdale and of Dunmail Raise, the only passes leading south. The way in which all the stations mutually supported, and could readily supply each other with reinforcements, is very wonderful, and indicates military talent of a high order. The position was worthy of the importance the Romans attached to it ; even while Chester was occupied as a military station, a successful invasion of West Cumberland would have driven the defeated Romans across their lines of communication, the 2nd and 10th Itinera of Antoninus, and the Maiden Way ; by it they would have been severed from their bases of operation at Chester and York, and compelled to change their front, leaving the garrisons on the west part of Hadrian's Wall blockaded in their stations. This the Romans were too military a nation to risk, and hence the tenacious and iron grasp which they closed on Cumberland.

The traveller, who visits the sites of the Roman forts in Cumberland and Westmorland, will notice their well
chosen

chosen positions ; how one fort commands a view of its neighbour, or if, for some reason or other, it is in a low position, a beacon stands on some near and elevated spot. By semaphores in the day, and by fires at night, the intelligence of a hostile expedition would easily be flashed across the country, and troops in motion, perhaps even before the Scottish or Irish keels had touched the Cumbrian coast.

We have, in thus setting out the Roman roads in Cumberland made mention of all, or almost all, the Roman stations, known to have existed in that county ; the harder task of giving to them their ancient names has proved a puzzle which the most eminent antiquarians have failed to solve. In the earlier days of Romanic English archæology antiquarians endeavoured to assign to each station its name from the *Notitia Imperii* rather by guess work than on any systematic plan. Gordon, in his *Itinerary*, above a century since, was the first to attempt to fix the sites of the *Notitia* stations on correct principles. Where a station produced inscriptions by the same cohort as the *Notitia* mentions, he concluded that the station was rightly named. Horsley added new proofs to those of Gordon, and out of the twelve stations from *Segedunum* to *Amboglanna*, eight have yielded up inscriptions of this kind. (See Hodgson's "*Northumberland*," Vol. iii. pt. 2. p. 168.) But this mode of proof fails *in toto* from the moment we set foot in Cumberland ; Dr. Bruce, in that most magnificent work, the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, writes ;—

"In this state of uncertainty, it will be better for us to forbear attempting to give to the camps we meet with, their ancient designations. In due time the key may be found, which without the application of force, will send back the bolt, and make all plain ; till then we must be careful to confess our 'ignorance.'"

The "*Notitia Dignitatum et Administrationum omnium tam civilium quam militarium in partibus Orientis et Occidentis*," the Military and Civil Service List of the Roman Empire, gives us a list of the officers *per lineam Valli*, the names

of their stations, and the troops they commanded. The first twelve stations have been identified by the inscriptions found within their sites: eleven of these twelve are situated in Northumberland; for convenience we give these eleven stations in a tabulated form, showing the allocations that have been made for them.

	Names of Stations.	Rank of Commander.	Garrison.	Modern Name.
1.	Segedunum	Tribunus	Cohors IV. Lingonum	Wallsend
2.	Pons Aflii	Tribunus	Cohors I. Cornoviorum	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
3.	Condercum	Præfectus	Ala I. Asturum	Benwell
4.	Vindobala	Tribunus	Cohors I. Frixagorum	Rutchester
5.	Hunnum	Præfectus	Ala Saviniana	Halton Chesters
6.	Cilurnum	Præfectus	Ala II. Asturum	Walwick Chesters
7.	Procolitia	Tribunus	Cohors I. Batavorum	Carrawburgh
8.	Borcovicus	Tribunus	Cohors I. Tungrorum	Housesteads
9.	Vindolana	Tribunus	Cohors IV. Gallorum	Little Chesters
10.	Æsica	Tribunus	Cohors I. Asturum	Great Chesters
11.	Magna	Tribunus	Cohors II. Dalmatarum	Caerboran

We give the remaining twelve stations in a similar table, but adding to it the various conjectures of antiquarians from the father of English Archæology downwards.

				ALLOCATIONS BY		
Name of Station.	Rank of Commander.	Garrison.				
			CAMDEN.	HORSLEY.	HODGSON.	
12. Amboglanna	Tribunus	Cohors I. <i>Ælia Dacorum</i>	Ambleside	Birdoswald	Birdoswald	
13. Petriana	Præfectus	Ala Petriana	Plumpton Wall	Castlesteads	Castlesteads	
14. Aballaba	Præfectus	Numerus Maurorum <i>Aureliatorum</i>	Appleby	Watch Cross	Stanwix	
15. Congavata	Tribunus	Cohors II. <i>Lingonum</i>	Rose Castle	Stanwix	Burgh	
16. <i>Æxelodunum</i>	Tribunus	Cohors I. <i>Hispaniorum</i>	Hexham	Burgh	Drumburgh	
17. <i>Gabrosentis</i>	Tribunus	Cohors II. <i>Thracum</i>	Gateshead	Drumburgh	Bowness	
18. <i>Tunno celum</i>	Tribunus	Cohors I. <i>Ælia Classica</i>	Tynemouth	Bowness	Tynemouth	
19. <i>Glannibanta</i>	Tribunus	Cohors I. <i>Morinorum</i>	Near Morpeth	Lanchester	Lanchester	
20. <i>Alio or Alionis</i>	Tribunus	Cohors III. <i>Nerviorum</i>	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle	
21. <i>Bremetentracum</i>		Cuneus <i>Armaturarum</i>	Brampton	Brampton, or Plumpton Wall	Brampton, or Plumpton Wall	
22. <i>Olenacum</i>	Præfectus	Ala I. <i>Herculea</i>	Ellenborough	Old Carlisle	Old Carlisle	
23. <i>Virosidum</i>	Tribunus	Cohors VI. <i>Nerviorum</i>	Warwick	Ellenborough	Ellenborough	

ALLOCATIONS BY

	ALLOCATIONS BY					
	WRIGHT.	MAUGHAN.	Mr. MACLAUCHLAN.	Lapidarium Septentrionale.	PROFESSOR HUBNER.	R. S. PEROUSSON
12.	Amboglanna Birdoswald Castlestads	Birdoswald Lanercost Castlestads	Birdoswald Castlestads	Birdoswald ...	Birdoswald ...	Birdoswald Castlestads
13.	Petriana Watch Cross	Castlestads	Brampton	Papcastle	Papcastle	Papcastle
14.	Aballaba Stanwix	Brampton	Watch Cross	Moresby ?	...	Moresby
15.	Congavata Burgh	Watch Cross	Stanwix	Ellenborough	Ellenborough	Ellenborough
16.	Axelodunum Drumburgh	Linstock	Burgh	Moresby ?	...	Malbray
17.	Gabrosentis Bowness	Stanwix	Drumburgh	...	...	Skinburness
18.	Tunnocelum (Doubtful)	Kirkstads	Bowness	...	...	Old Carlisle
19.	Glannibatta Whitley Castle	Burgh	Whitley Castle	...	...	Bowness
20.	Alio, or Alionis Brampton	Boustead Hill	Brampton	...	...	Drumburgh
21.	Bremetenracum Old Carlisle	Drumburgh	Old Carlisle	...	...	Burgh
22.	Olenacum Ellenborough	Bowness	Ellenborough	...	...	Stanwix
23.	Virosidum					

Camden, in making his conjectures was guided only by the resemblances of names, and little trust can be placed upon such guesses as the placing Aballaba at Appleby. Gordon first, and Horsley after him, found the true method, and by it they and Hodgson assigned positions to the first twelve stations *per lineam Valli*, to which all their successors have agreed. The method they employed has until very recently, and with the exception of the well identified Amboglanna, utterly failed in Cumberland; this failure is due to the nature of the country, more amenable to cultivation than the wilds of Northumberland traversed by the Wall, and cultivation is near akin to obliteration of ancient ruins; Cumberland is not frequent in stone quarries, but the ruins of the Roman masonry furnished a ready supply of material to all who wished to build, while a much to be cursed superstition led the Cumbrian peasants to pound and deface the "uncanny" written stones they so frequently found in cultivating their fields, and in building their farmsteads. Thus then, west of Amboglanna, Gordon, and Horsley, and Hodgson could only guess; finding that the first twelve stations *per lineam Valli* follow along the Wall in exact sequence, they concluded this must be so throughout, and to each ruined station they assigned in due sequence its name, differing over this point mainly, that one held, and the other denied, Watchcross to be a station. Horsley and Gordon had five stations, and Hodgson six, for which no places could be found on the Wall itself. These they allocated in supporting stations south of the Wall, in a line from east to west. The late Mr. Maughan, Vicar of Bewcastle, convinced that all the stations must be actually on the Wall itself, called in the aid of etymology, and in several ingenious papers, (Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Vol. I.) worked out his proposition: etymology is but a deceitful guide, and we can hardly put much trust in Mr. Maughan's results. Mr.

MacLauchlin,

MacLauchlin, in his "Memoirs during a survey of the Roman Wall," has also trusted greatly to etymology. The misfortune of the etymological method is that it fits any place. Thus both Mr. Maughan and Mr. MacLauchlin make Axelodunum to mean "a fortress on high ground," and one adjusts it to Watchcross, and the other to Stan-wix; but out of the twenty-three stations *per lineam Valli* this description would fit twenty. So they both make Glannibanta to mean the cliff over or near the valley or plain, an equally comprehensive description, and accordingly both apply it to different places.

In the midst of all this guess work, a light has recently seemed to break in upon us, and the clue it shows, if followed right, may lead to victory.

"Dr. McCaul thinks that the compiler of the Notitia ceases after Amboglanna to give the stations of the Wall in regular order. If the proper order was to be abandoned, this (Amboglanna) seems the fitting place for doing so, as the Maiden Way coming from the south to Magna, and continuing northwards from this station, brings Amboglanna into direct intercourse with the contiguous forts in all directions."

This is from a note by Dr. Bruce, in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*; in the opinion therein expressed, we humbly venture to coincide, but with this qualification that we fancy the compiler of the Notitia intended to give all the stations in a due sequence from east to west. He could not have drawn up the Notitia from personal knowledge, but must have had access to documents in the offices of the Roman Army, answering to our quarter-master and adjutant-generals departments. The general in supreme command of the forces along the Wall then resided at York, but, as in our army, so must he in his, have had subordinates, lieutenant-generals, and inspecting officers, constantly visiting and reporting to him, on the efficiency of the garrisons under his command. Suppose one of these inspectors to have a tour of duty from York up by the
eastern

eastern route, and then along the Wall to Amboglanna, and so to York by the Maiden Way; his report to his chief at York would furnish the compiler with the first twelve stations running from east to west. From the report of another inspector who took the western country,* the compiler would get the western stations, and through mistake might easily invert the list, and put the westernmost station next Amboglanna. If we conceive four inspectors instead of two, or an inspecting tour which doubled upon and crossed itself, we can clearly conceive the compiler inverting the order of some of the stations. That he has done so will presently appear.

In the year 1870 (vide *The Lapidarium Septentrionale* p. 429, and the *Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Vol. I. p. 175), a find of Roman altars was made at Ellenborough, by Mr. Humphrey Senhouse, of Netherhall, seventeen in number, of which thirteen give the names of the commanders of the station, and seven of these were prefects of the first cohort of Spaniards, which the *Notitia* places at Axelodunum. Hence Professor Hübner without hesitation pronounces Ellenborough to be Axelodunum.

Moresby (see the *Lapidarium*) has yielded two altars erected by the second cohort of Lingones, and one by the second cohort of Thacians. The *Notitia* places the second cohort of Lingones at Congavata, and the second of Thacians at Gabrosentis. Thus Moresby may be easily one or the other, more probably Congavata. In two inscriptions found at Papcastle, the word "Aballavensium" occurs and the conclusion is that Papcastle is Aballaba or Aballava. We thus get three stations between St. Bees and Bowness, which have always been looked for between

* The compiler may have got hold of some old report of some inspector, who inspected the western positions from Chester, in the days when a legion was quartered there, and may have thought his tour, started from York, and not from Chester. The long gap between Castlesteads and Stanwix, which has no station but the doubtful one of Watchcross, would be a more likely place to divide two inspectors' tours of duty, than that between Castlesteads and Birdoswald; taking the gap between Castlesteads and Stanwix as the division makes Castlesteads *Petrana*.

Bowness and Birdoswald, a fact which points to the inversion we have just suggested.

Glannibanta we take to be the Glanoventa* of the 10th Iter of Antoninus, which we have taken to terminate there, because there we suppose the Itinerary to come on the system of roads and forts, belonging to the Wall; and we take Glanibanta, or Glanoventa to be Old Carlisle which is just about the exact distance from Keswick that Glanoventa is from Galava in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Iter No. 10. The supposition that Glannibanta and Glanoventa are one and the same place, and that that place is Old Carlisle, fits in well with the history of the Roman conquest of Cumberland. It has been argued in this chapter that Agricola conquered the district by marching round its coast, and forming a great coast road, which was more or less abandoned for a short cut, which avoided the estuaries, and conducted to Old Carlisle, a place of undoubted high military importance, and magnitude, and so likely to be the terminus of a military Iter, of the 10th Iter, as we suppose it; and we suppose that in the earlier Roman days in Britain, when a legion lay in garrison in Chester, Old Carlisle, and not Carlisle (Luguvallum) was the Roman head quarters in Cumberland, which would be only transferred to Luguvallum or Carlisle, when York became the capital of Roman Britain, when the great road from York to Carlisle, (the 2nd Iter of Antoninus), was opened, and when the military connection with Chester was done away with. And in the names of Carlisle and Old Carlisle, there appears to be some traditional confirmation of this theory. That Old Carlisle was an important place is shown by the vastness of the ruins; in the last century they covered many acres: (II. Hutchinson's "Cumberland," p. 400). Stukeley writes of it, "Iter

* After coming to this conclusion, it was gratifying to find that Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography says Glannibanta is merely the Notitia form of Glanoventa.

Boreale" p. 54, "The fairest show of buildings I ever saw."

Tunnocellum, from its marine garrison, must have been a seaport: now Skinburness was once a good harbour prior to the breaking in of the sea, in the 14th century: we have already shown that the Romans had a station there, and we prefer it to Bowness for Tunnocelum, because Bowness is a poor port, and a sailing fleet at Bowness would often be wind bound, when they could easily go to sea from Silloth. Malbray, between Ellenborough and Skinburness, would then be Gabrosentis; Alio, Bowness; Bremetenracum, Drumburgh; Olenacum, Burgh; and Virosidum, Stanwix. Burgh marsh would be grand drilling ground for cavalry for the Ala Herculea, which the Notitia puts at Olenacum. Petriana (see note, p. 87), we would assign to the eastern inspecting district, and leave it at Castlesteads.*

We have thus got six stations not on the Wall, namely, Papcastle, Moresby, Ellenborough, Malbray, Skinburness, and Old Carlisle, but those who read our remarks on the outflanking of the line of defence of the Wall on its left, will see that these stations are as necessary to its defence, as any actually on the Wall, would naturally therefore be under the same general, and so would be *Item per lineam Valli*;—the more so, if that general resided, as we are convinced he originally did, at Chester, and not at York.

The main results of this survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland are, we venture to submit:

(1) The tracing out of Agricola's line of march, and the consequently proving that to Chester, and not to York,

* The following seems a confirmation of the allocations we have ventured to make. The area of all the stations on the Wall is about from 3 to 5½ acres, except Drumburgh, which is but ¼ of an acre. All of them are garrisoned by a cohort of infantry, or a squadron of cavalry, but one which is garrisoned by a "*cuneus armorarum*," viz. Bremetenracum, which we make Drumburgh. Thus our allocations bring the exceptional camp, and the exceptional garrison together. The Notitia does not give the rank of the commander at Bremetenracum: hence we imagine he was of inferior rank, and his command, or "*cuneus*," but a small body.

must we look to understand the Roman system of fortresses in Cumberland and Westmorland and on the Wall.

(2) The proving the importance of Old Carlisle, that it was the Glanoventa of the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the Glannibanta of the Notitia; it was therefore the northern terminus of the 10th Iter, which passed through Kendal, Ambleside and Keswick.

(3) The allocating the western stations *per lineam Valli*; that all our allocations are right we do not assert, but in some of them we have great confidence.

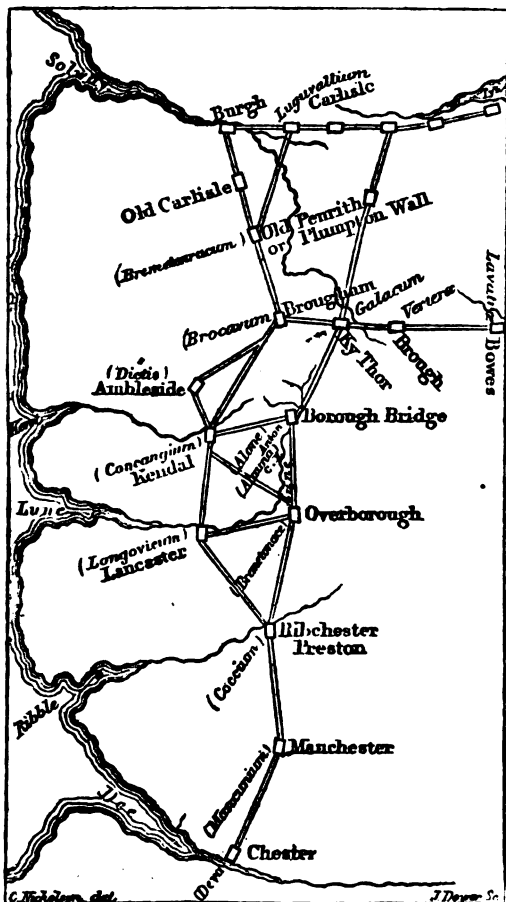
(4) The making of a mere skeleton and tentative map of the Roman roads in the two counties. It is much to be hoped that in a couple of years, or so, this Society may be able to produce a map, on a large scale, of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland; such will require the united labours of several of our members.

In conclusion, I wish to express my thanks to my friend the Rev. Thomas Lees, who in the most unreserved manner placed at my disposal his great knowledge of local Roman roads. To him I am indebted for information as to the western route by the Petteril from Carlisle to Penrith, and for information as to many cross roads, particularly in the Forest of Inglewood, and in the Barony of Greystoke. To Mr. Jackson I am under similar obligations, and it is a matter of gratification to me that he and I, working independently, arrived at the same conclusion as to the route taken by Agricola. I must also express my obligations to Mrs. Senhouse of Netherhall for kindly lending me a copy of the Notitia.

APPENDIX BY THE WRITER.

After the reading of the above paper at Kendal, several questions were put to me about the Roman roads in Westmorland, to which, from want of minute local knowledge, I could not give but halting replies. The following passages from Nicholson's Annals of Kendal, gives accurately the position of these roads, and I cite the passage because

because, in other respects, I must disagree with it. I am indebted to our excellent Secretary, Mr. Wilson, for the loan of the wood block of Mr. Nicholson's diagram. This diagram, however, is most wonderfully distorted, Old Carlisle being put eastward of Kendal and Lancaster, instead of westward. It should be compared with the map given with this paper.



"The Roman roads and chain of camps by which this country was held in subjection are traced on the above diagram. We are not able in this place to do more than give a general description of the routes, north, south, and east, from the station at Kendal.

Going

Going northwards or rather *north-west*, the road leaves the station at the *ford* across the Kent below the foot of Mill Lane, from thence it proceeds by Stane Bank Green and Boundary Bank to Cunswick Scar and *Raderheath*, thence to Dan Hill and Restane. About High Restane the road be-forked, and became two roads, one going by a *Borrens* which lies near the line of Railway, across the *Troutbeck*, over a ford at Troutbeck Bridge, and to the head of Windermere, where the station "*Dictis*" stood. Here was placed a company of Nervian soldiers—"Prefectus numeri Nerviorum Dictensium Dicti." From *Dictis* the road went up the *caasa* (causeway, in polite phraseology) by Ambleside, forded the Stockgill above the Salutation stables, at Hollicar Ford (*Holy Cairn* ford), mounted the hill by Hollicar Lane and Seathwaite; again recrossed the Stockgill near High Groves, and winding out of the valley by *Woundale* into the head of the vale of *Troutbeck*, where it passed over "the Tongue" and up the steep of High Street and Froswic by a path which still bears its original name of "Scot-raik." The other road from Kendal starting at the junction aforesaid, near High Restane, proceeds by another *Borrens* [good lights in a blind road are these names] to Ravenscarth,—originally *Rafen-scaer*—along the edge of Hill Bel (Il Baal), and Froswic, to High Street. At the shoulder of High Street, the two roads from Kendal and Ambleside unite, and thence the road proceeds over the table-land of High Street (where we laid bare the Roman pavement in two or three places, a foot beneath the turf that now covers it); along the ridge of Riggendale (Riggendum) and down by Martindale, skirting for some distance, the river Eamont, to "*Brocavum*" Brougham.

Going northwards, from Kendal to Borough Bridge, traces of the road, actual and nominal, are nearly all lost. But there is an undoubted Roman name in Whinfell, viz. "*Borrens*," which draws our attention in that direction. We incline to the opinion that the road went by the Spital, Laverock Bridge, Meal-Bank, and Patten (*Path-en*, plural in Saxon "paths," or *Padden*, Teut. "to tread,") to *Borrens* aforesaid; thence along what is marked as a bridle road in Hodgson's map of Westmorland, over Whinfell common, and the Hause, to Borough Bridge. From the station "*Alaunæ*," at Borough Bridge, to Kirkby Thor, the road proceeded by Castle How, at Tebay, over Orton Fell, down by Wicker Street (where there are traces of a British town), past Crosby Rafenswath, by *Borrens* and Caster-rig in King's Meaburn, and across the Eden to the Station "*Galacum*" at Kirkby Thor. *Galacum* and *Brocavum* were united by a road which the present turnpike road mainly occupies for the whole distance.

Southward from the Kendal station, the road seems to have gone by Low Barrows Green, and Stainton, (*Stane-ton*); there it bifurcated, one branch proceeding by way of Kirkby Lonsdale to Lower Casterton, where it would join the straight road between Borough Bridge and Overborough; the other branch proceeding from Hincaster, by *Borwic* (*Burgh-wic*), where traces of docks were found, and Carnforth (*Cairn-ford*), to *Longovicum* at Lancaster. The name *Warton*, which is near the line of route, suggests the idea of a battle in that locality."

The readers of my paper will see that I have given to Kendal (*i.e.* Watercrock) and to Ambleside, Roman names wholly different from those given by Mr. Nicholson; in fact north of Coccium (*Ribchester*) we rarely agree, he taking the 10th Iter up the Maiden Way, while I take it by Kendal, Ambleside, and Keswick to Old Carlisle, for
which

which I have already given my reasons.* But I must disapprove that Kendal (*i.e.* Watercrock) is Concangium, and Dictis Ambleside, First of all we have no inscriptions to guide us, and in one of these two allocations the *ignis fatuus* of similarity of sound seems to have misled antiquarians, many of whom, I suspect, have never seen the *Notitia Imperii*, except at second hand, in quotations. That the Cangii lived in Westmorland, and that Concangium was called after them, seems only a guess; Oreilius, the able German editor of Tacitus, places the Cangii in Wales, and there is strong evidence from inscriptions on Roman pigs of lead that the Cangii inhabited a lead producing country.

However, with these arguments I care not to meddle; I take up my position on the *Notitia Imperii*. The 52nd section gives the troops in Britain *Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Comitis litoris Saxonici per Britanniam*; they are stationed at nine fortresses on the coast from Brancester in Norfolk to Portchester in Hants., and omitting the two first, Othona and Dubræ, the others are given in geographical sequence running round the coast. The 63rd section gives the troops *Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum*, who ruled at York; their stations are given in two divisions; first come 12 stations, and then under the separate heading *Item per lineam Valli* come 23 stations, the first 12 of which are positively identified, and run in strict geographical sequence from east to west; I have stated above my views as to the other eleven, and I have no doubt when they are identified, we shall find they are in geographical sequence, perhaps accidentally inverted. I therefore conclude that the *Notitia* always gives military stations in a geographical sequence, and not anyhow. The 12 stations in the first division of section 63 are

Danum, identified as Doncaster
 Morbium,
 Arbeia,
 Dictis,
 Concangium,
 Lavatres, identified as Bowes in Yorkshire
 Veneræ, or Verteræ, identified as Brough
 Brabonicum, identified as Brougham
 Maglouæ
 Magœ
 Longovicum
 Derventio, identified by the aid of the *Itinera*
 as New Malton, in Yorkshire.

* I have mentioned that Messrs. Wright and Godwin agree with me in taking the 10th lter by Kendal, Ambleside, and Keswick; Mr. Percival, in a paper in the first volume of the *Archæologia* takes it by Kendal and the Sands.

Now some people have said that Morbium is Moresby: but the Notitia would hardly jump from Doncaster to Moresby: and I have in my paper shown the probable allocation of Moresby, from inscriptions found there; Morbium however, is identified by Horsley with Temple borough in Yorkshire. And Arbeia, Dictis, and Concangium, when found, will probably turn up in Yorkshire in geographical sequence between Doncaster and Bowes: Mr. Lees suggests that Concangium stood probably either at Greta Bridge, or at that point north of Catterick, near Middleton Tyas, where, from the Roman road leading to the north from York via Piercebridge, another turned off north-west to Bowes.

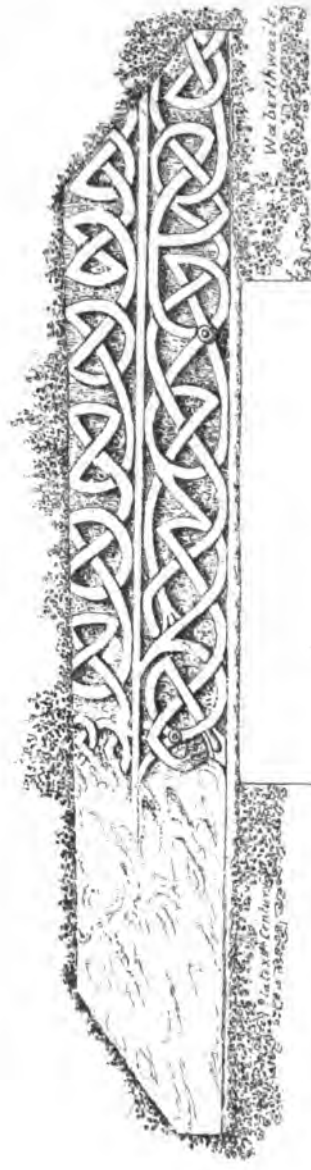
Longovicum, also, must not be looked for at Lancaster, but near Derventio, or New Malton, viz. at Lanchester, while Ad Alaunum is generally allocated to Lancaster, the camp on the Lune.

The fact is local antiquaries have been too zealous, and have put down every Roman camp they hear of as in their own locality, quite forgetting the many great camps in Yorkshire, full as important, and more so than many of ours. I imagine that the stations in the first part of the 63rd section of the Notitia, those I have just given, are the original garrisons under command of the *Dux Britanniarum*; and are to be sought for round York. I imagine that the stations in the second part, those *Item per lineam Valli*, are the garrisons once, with some others, commanded by the general at Chester, and transferred to the *Dux Britanniarum* at York, when Chester was disestablished as a military station; Agricola's campaign north from Chester is the key to allocating these stations.

I have a further reason, which confirms me in my idea that at Chester, and not at York, is the solution of the problem before us, to be found. The attentive reader of the Notitia Imperii will note that in the first part of the 63rd section the troops are mentioned as *numeri*, and as *equites*: in the 2nd part (or *Item per lineam Valli* part) as *cohortes* and *alæ*. Now the terms *cohors* and *ala* are older terms; of Roman military technology, than the term *numerus*, a term of later date, as applied to an organized body of soldiers, than the term *cohors*, which was disused in the time of the Antonines, (Godwin's Archæological Handbook p. 22). This difference in the technology of the two parts of section 63 must mean something. I take it that the words *cohortes* and *alæ* direct us to Agricola and to Chester; *numeri* and *equites* to York, and to Hadrian, or Severus.

I also take it that Roman camps in West Cumberland and Westmorland are more allied to Chester and to Agricola, than to York and anyone there, and that therefore it is a mistake to search for their names in the first part, (or York part) of section 63 of the *Notitia Imperii*.



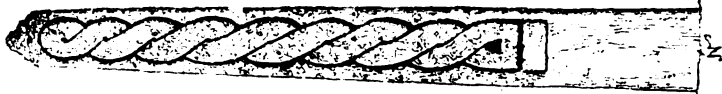


Waldschnecke

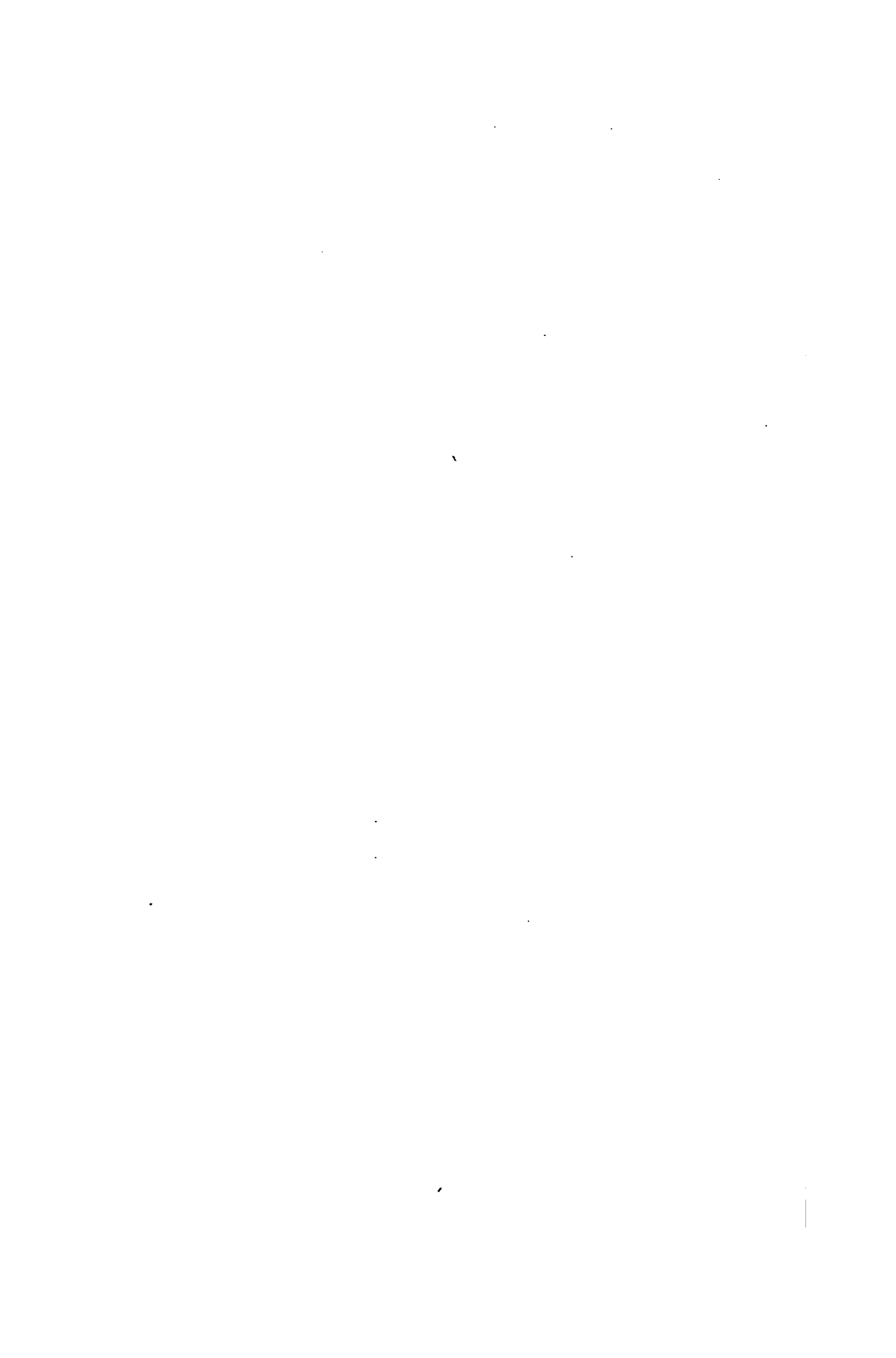
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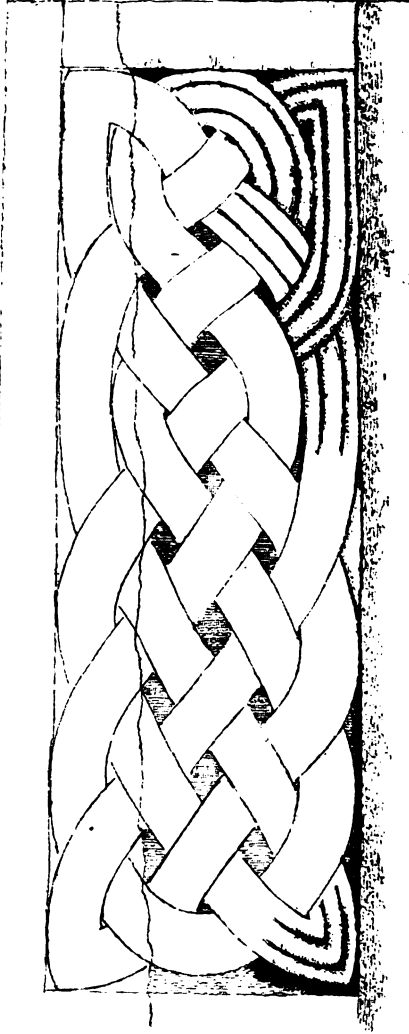
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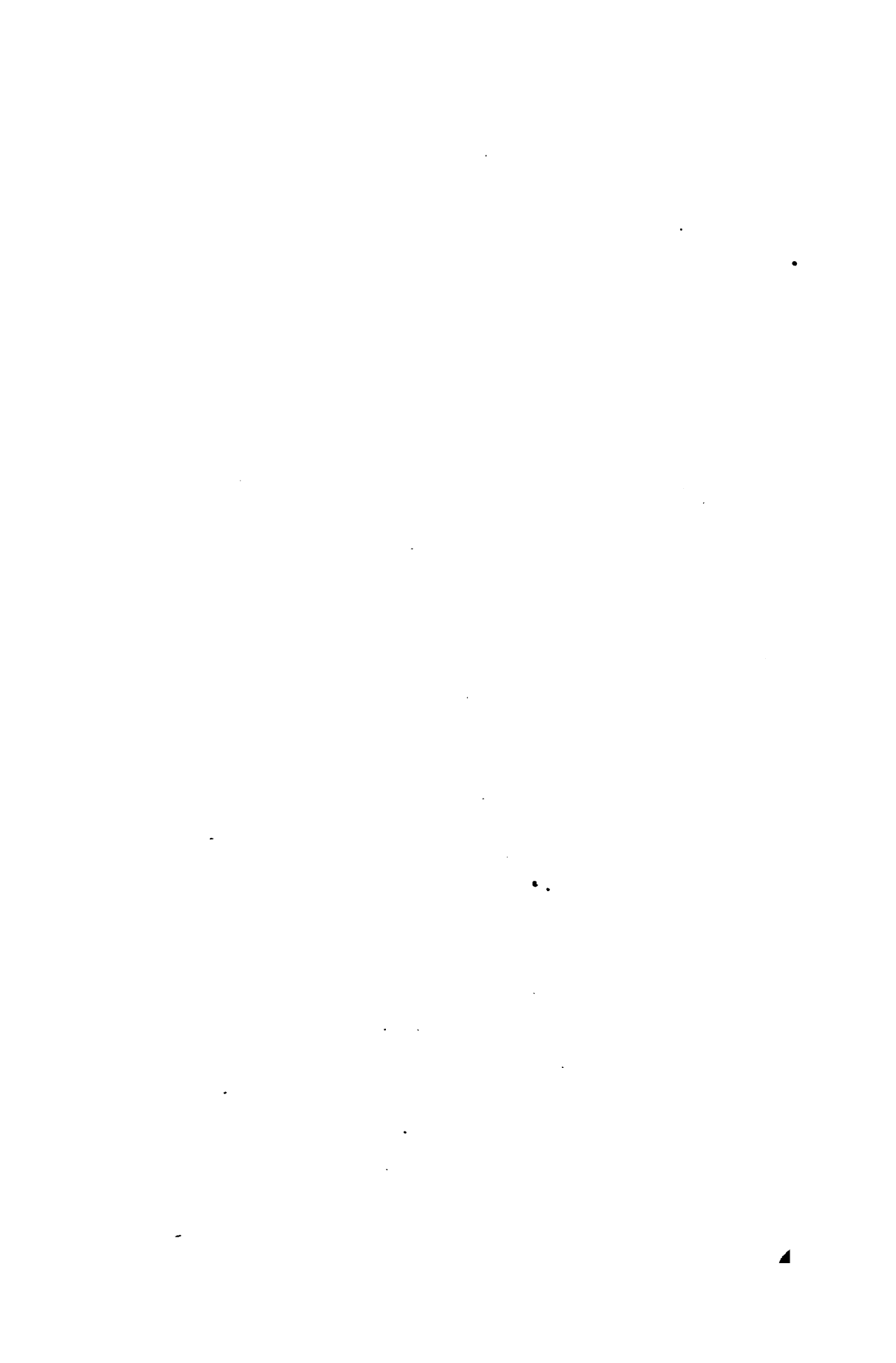
Manchester. { 9th Century }

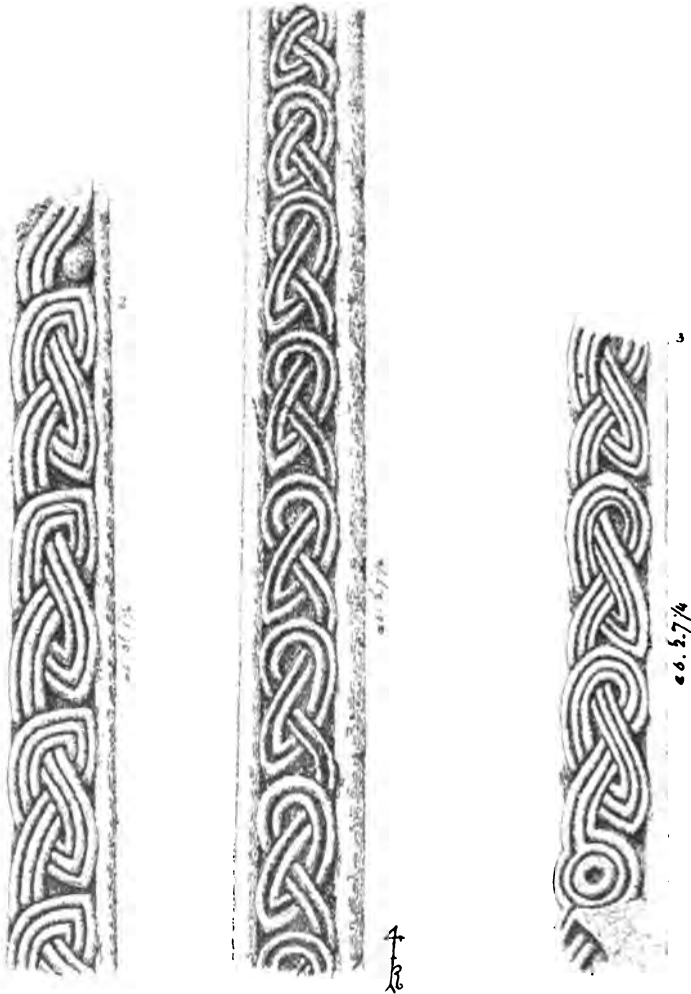




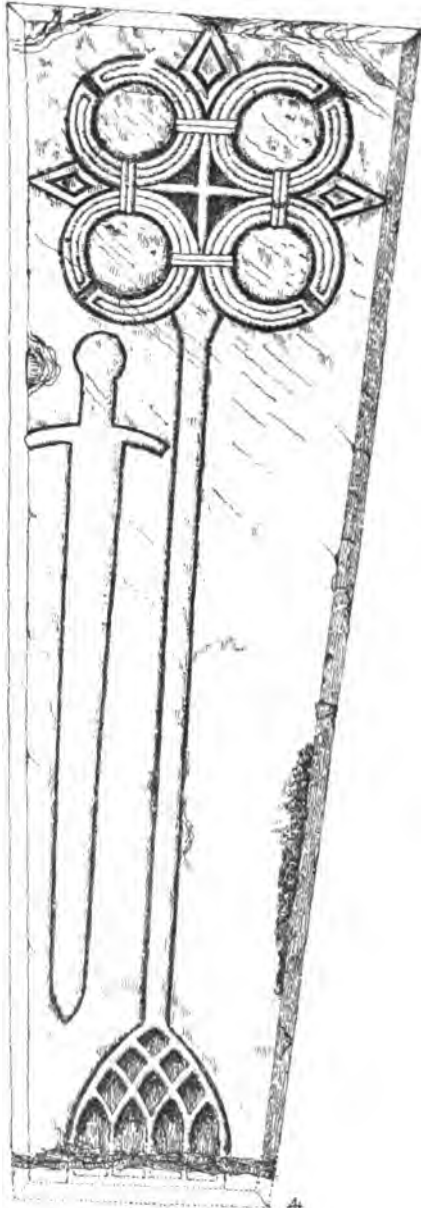
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*Tracing of worn fragment
of Cross at Hale
{ 9th Century }
front of 1 { sides not rectangular }*





*Hale. 6 fragments { 12th century }
 much mutilated & worn
 Eastern ear-shaped Guelliche. English style
 found at Irton, Aycliffe &c.*



*St John's Beckermat.
late 13th Century.*





Fragment of Percy Arms, on a stone panel in y^e Belfry St Bees [16th Century]

XXXV

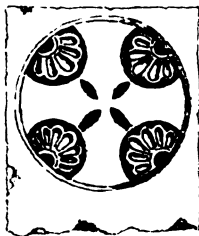


XXXVII



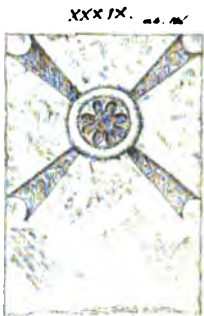
XXXVIII 78

XXXVI
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 Bankers' or Masons' marks.



XXXIV. rev. of XX.

St Bees Fragments



XXXIX. 88. 86

ART. XI.—*A Miscellany of Notes on Fragments in and near St. Bees.* By the REV. CANON KNOWLES, M.A.
Read at Kendal, December 11th, 1876.

I WISH first to complete my illustrated list of fragments belonging to my own Church.*

XXXIV gives a very pretty cross on the reverse of XX, and of the same date. XXXV is a small panel of late 15th century work, or early 16th, bearing the Percy arms, built into the wall of the ringer's loft. XXXVI gives a few mason's marks found in our walls. XXXVII is a fragment of a very early (? 8th century) cross. XXXVIII is part, as I suppose, of an Ante-Norman dial. XXXIX is a very effective cross of about 1200, now built up in my garden wall, but the centre of the sketch is not quite accurate.

Next, I offer a sketch of an interesting sepulchral stone from St. John's, Beckermeth. It is of late 13th century work at the earliest, and has some rarish window-tracery instead of the earlier calvary steps. The dimensions are nearly 6ft. by 2; the relief is but slight; and the centres of the horseshoe circles rise a little to give more emphasis to the main lines.

Lastly, I wish to draw attention to some differences of character in the old interlaced crosses of this neighbourhood, and to submit sketches of fragments at Hale, Muncaster, and Waberthwaite, which may be compared with our Saint Bees remains already published.

A slab-monolith in this freestone county would surely taper a little towards the head, yielding two broad sur-

* Confer, a paper on "Fragments at St. Bees."—Vol. II, Transactions, p. 27.

faces for panel treatment, and two narrow ones for braid-work. The inscription (if any) being mostly on a front panel.

A pillar-monolith will have a square section, like those at Leeds and Collingham. *That* is, I believe, a later elaboration which works the stone from a round into a square, with a cartouche ending to each face, as at St. Bridget's, Beckermeth, and at Gosforth.

Crosses of this character I place, therefore, and not for this reason only, provisionally very low in our series, and date them with 'late XI century.'

At Waberthwaite, besides the cross here figured, which is of unusual size, another of the same school and date has been laid down on the threshold of the church door, but the recovery of it from this degradation is promised.

My sketch is as accurate as the position and state of the great fragment would permit, and I think it will be considered to justify my opinion, that it must have been wrought when the Lindisfarne traditions had fallen into decay, possibly about 1200.

If the fragments at Hale which are, I think, six in number, but have all suffered much from weather and ill usage, be next examined; they shew what I call an ear-shaped guilloche, occurring also on the front of Irton Cross.

Of the interesting fragment at Muncaster, I submit a sketch, for the first time (so far as I know) giving the whole design with anything like accuracy. A distinct trace of Irish work is found on the eastern face, in the sacred triquetra or triangle. On the sides we have the simple braid-twist that, I believe, is found at Irton.

But I desire to draw your attention to the chain pattern on the east face, which is exactly the same, though reversed, as that of the Scandinavian Cross* at Kirk

* And also in two distinct fragments there—v. Cummings, plate II, fig. 3a, 3b, 4a,—and in one in St. John's church-yard, Tynwold. All these are probably of the 11th century.

Michael in Man, and its sister cross at Ballaugh. A ruder pattern of the same kind, but, I think, of later date occurs at Dearham; and a still ruder variety on the round of Gosforth shaft.

The church-yard cross at St. Bees has the triquetra repeated three or four times on that which is now the southern face. It shews a somewhat more free use of the pellet; but, I think, it may probably be assigned to the same middle date—say the end of the 10th, or beginning of the 11th century.

The venerable fragments, numbered III, IV, V, XXXVII in my series, belong to a much earlier style: they are all of a hard white stone, not of red freestone, and shew both a very rude interlacing and a free use of the pellet. The largest was found *under* the west front of our church when the warming chamber was excavated, and the others were, with the great door-impost, found in the Norman walls. They were all clearly brought from the neighbouring ruins of the Irish nunnery, which stood to the north of our church and church-yard, and traces of the road to which have been discovered in digging graves.

I, therefore, offer the following catalogue for correction:

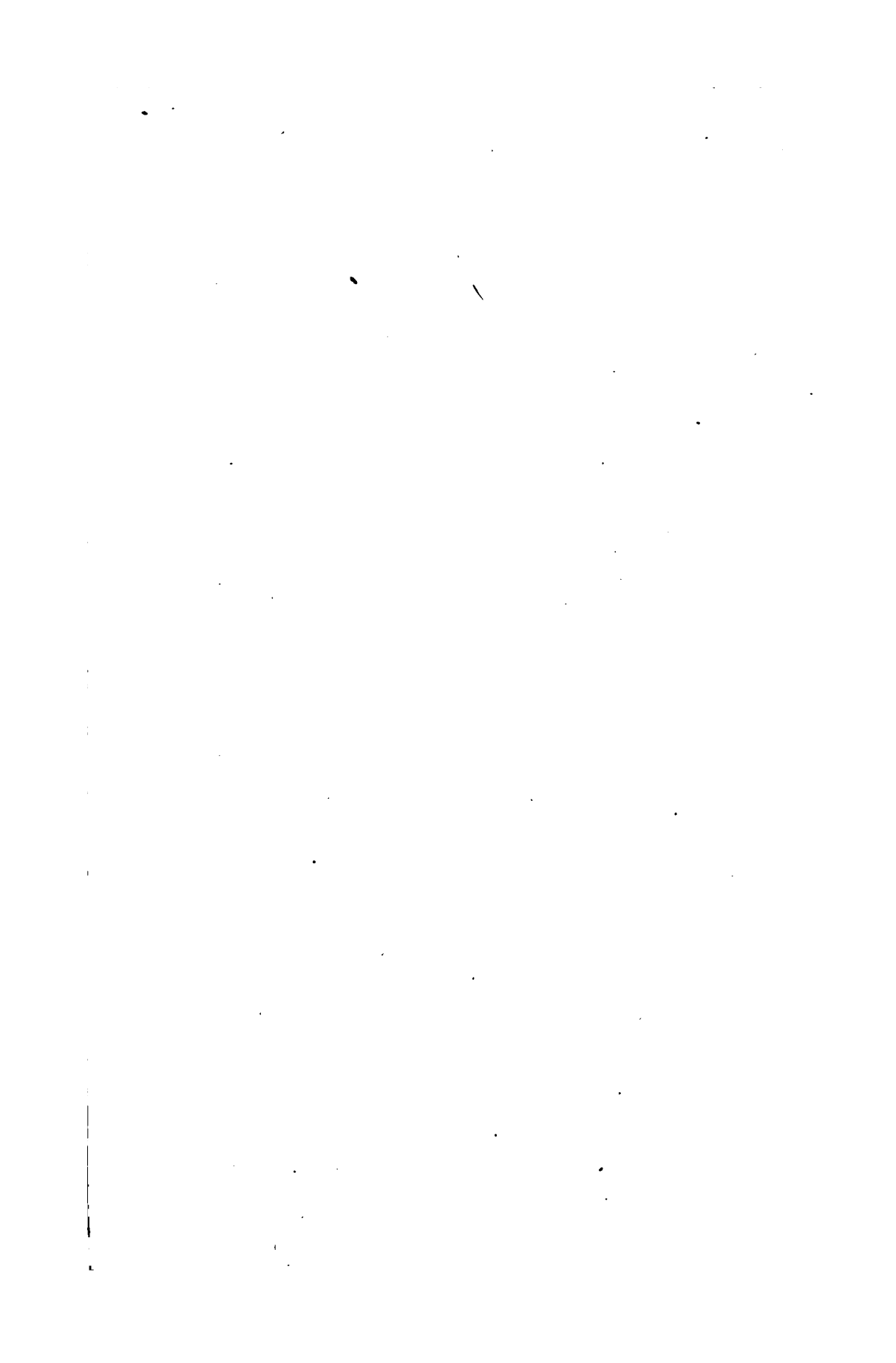
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|----|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | St. Bees (fig. III, IV, V, XXXVII) | 7th or 8th century. |
| 2. | St. Bees (fig II) | late 10th century or 11th. |
| | Hale | |
| | Irton | |
| | Muncaster | |
| 3. | | late 11th century or early 12th. |
| | Beckermet | |
| | Gosforth | |
| 4. | Waberthwaite | 12th century late. |

I claim for the four earliest of our St. Bees fragments, designs directly imported from Ireland, with local workmen to execute them. This claim seems to be supported by the true Irish shape of the door-impost, and by our tradition of

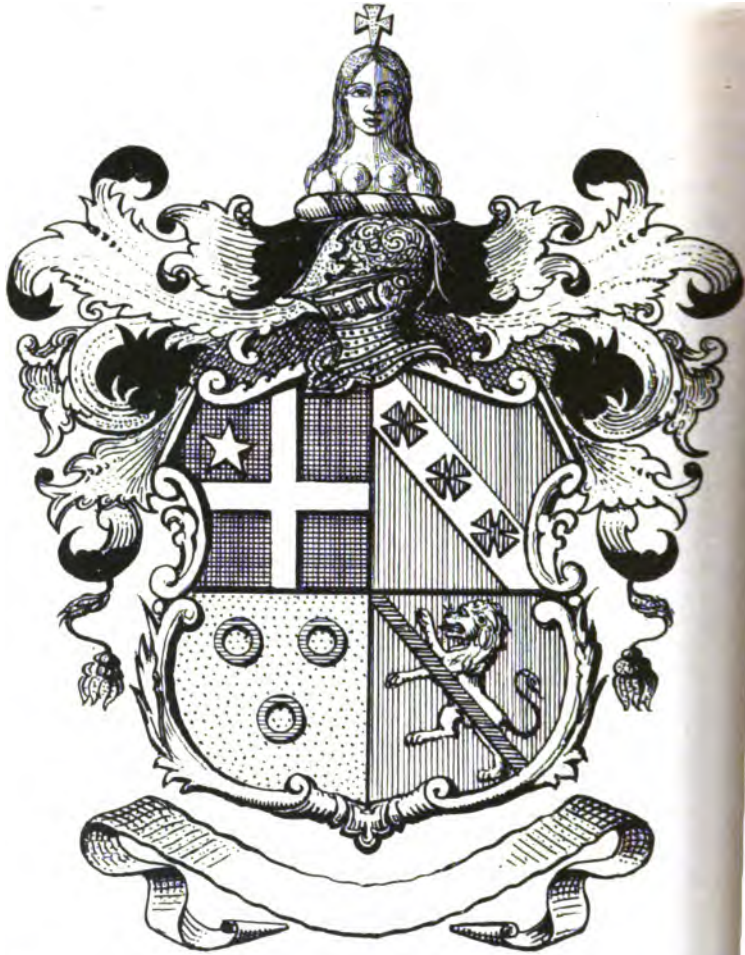
St. Bega. All the others I assign, under correction, to the missionaries from Lindisfarne.

And I wish further to mention a little-known tract by Mr. Gilbert J. French, of Bolton, printed by Charles Simms & Co., of Manchester, 1858, in which he traces the interlaced work of these old crosses to the basket-work of the early inhabitants of these islands, who transferred to stone the wattle-work of their huts.

Let me add, in conclusion, that on a spandril, among Roman fragments found at Bath, in 1790, and figured in Carter's *Ancient Architecture*, plate VIII, we have a distinctly interlaced pattern, probably wrought by some native hand.



Orfeur Arms and Crest.



Orfeur Arms Quarterly. 1st Sable a cross argent, in the first quarter a mullet of the second for Orfeur. 2nd Gules on a bend argent three crosses patée of the first for _____? 3rd Or 3 annulets azure for _____? 4th Gules a lion rampant argent over all a bendlet azure for Tilliol. — Crest, A woman coupéd at the breast all proper, on the head a cross patée fitchée Or (ascribed in Harleian MS. N^o 1536)

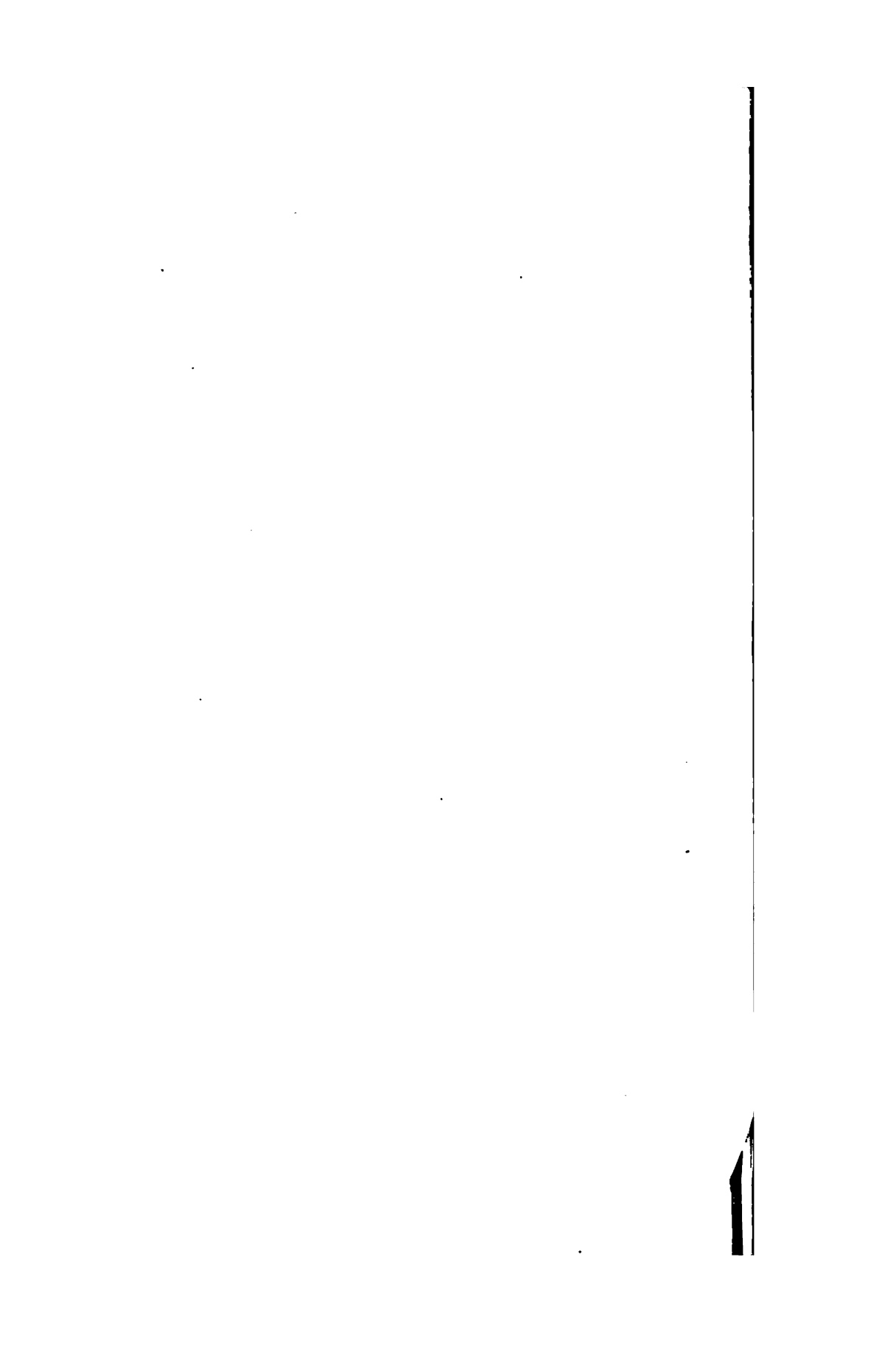
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ART. XII.—*The Orfeurs of High Close, Plumbland.* By

WILLIAM JACKSON, ESQ.

Read at Plumbland, August 30, 1876.

IN investigating the history of the family of Orfeur, we do not find ourselves lost in the mists of antiquity, as we should in the case of the Irtons or the Birkbys, "of that ilk," as our Scotch brethren say when the family and the manor are of the same name. The connection of the Orfeurs with the parish of Plumbland appears to have originated during the reign of Edward II., and we may suppose, judging from the name, that the patriarch of the family was the George Heriot or "Jingling Geordy" of his day.

Not having had an opportunity of making researches into the original records, I have been unable to add much that is new down to the eleventh generation of the pedigree as given by Dugdale, when my additions will begin, and will in one instance, at any rate, prove to be of primary importance.

I purpose throwing my remarks into the form of a chronological commentary on the pedigree given in the large sheet, the accuracy of which, in the main, I shall vouch for by an appendix of proofs from wills, registers, monuments, and other sources.

It is worthy of observation in connection with the name, that one of the most common in the Plumbland Register at an early period was that of Goldsmith, which looks as if some member of the family had anglicised his French surname.

One of the earliest notices we have of the family, independent of Dugdale, is found in the *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium*,

Originalium, 4th Edward III. (1330), where occurs the record of a grant made at that date of two parts of the mediety of the manor of Culgaith, to Isabella, widow of Christopher Moriceby and Richard Orfèvre, until the majority of the heir. Culgaith had been granted to Christopher Moresby for his share in the bold and, it is right to characterize it truly, the treacherous capture of Andrew de Harcla, in the hall of Carlisle Castle. This record of a connection between the Moresbys and the Orfeurs throws a certain though, unfortunately, only a faint light upon the arms of both houses. The arms of Orfeur are sable, a cross argent, in the first quarter a mullet of the second; those of Moresby are argent, a cross sable, in the first quarter a cinquefoil or. Now, clearly, this remarkable similarity, which only by a shade escapes identity, indicates a connection; but whether one adopted the arms of the other with a variation, or both copied from a more important house, I cannot pretend to decide, but I may remark that Culgaith was a principal member of the Barony which had been granted to Fitz Swain, whose history has not yet attracted the attention it merits on several accounts, one being that he was one of the few Saxons who were permitted by the Conqueror not only to retain but largely increase their possessions. I may add that the crest of Crevecœur, a member of which family married a co-heiress of this Barony, was probably the original of that borne by the Musgraves; in their instance, two arms elevated counter embowed grasping an annulet, perhaps a substitution for a heart in that of the Crevecœurs.

I have no comment to offer on the pedigree till we come to the first Richard, most probably the individual who sat as member for Carlisle in the Parliament of 39 Edward III. (1366.)

The marriage of the second Richard accords very well with the probabilities of the Lamplugh pedigree, and that
of

of the third Richard with the possibilities of the pedigree of Lowther of Crookdake, of which, however, very little is known; but I cannot find a Thomas Colvill in the Hayton Castle line at that time, as a parent for Alice, the fourth Richard's bride. The first wife of the fifth Richard was Jane, daughter of Thomas Dykes of Warthole, a marriage confirmed by the Dykes' pedigree, but of this union there was no offspring; and his second wife was Margaret, most likely the daughter of that John Swinburn who rebuilt his mansion house of Huthwaite Hall, and placed an inscription over the entrance which, as it has not been given in the county histories, I subjoin :

John Swynburn
Esquire & Elisabth
his Wyfe did mak
coste of this WORK
in The dais of their LYF
Ano Dni 1581 Ano Reg. 23.

His successor was a William, whose wife was a daughter of Robert Lamplugh of Dovenby Hall, and here, on the authority of the will of Christopher Richmond of Feddon Well, which I have given at page 18 of our second volume, I have added two sons, Cuthbert and Edward, and one daughter, Margaret, the wife of the said Christopher.

Saint George's visitation, combined with the statements in the same will, seem to leave little room for doubt that Jane, the wife of John Brisco of Crofton Hall, was a child of the same marriage.

At this point our information from previously unexplored sources commences, and though on the one hand that information, when derived from wills or registers, is nearly always trust-worthy, yet on the other it is fragmentary and demands great care in its combination.

William Orfeur's will corroborates the statement of Dugdale that he married Mabel Osmotherley, directly so far

far as her christian name is concerned, and indirectly by the appointment of William Osmotherley as one of his supervisors. All the children he mentions except Robert are named in the will, and two additional daughters Anne and Frances; his brother Cuthbert is appointed another supervisor, and this mention of him confirms a conjecture I had previously made. Altogether this will is of considerable interest, but the appended inventory is of primary importance, and its total amount reaches a very large sum indeed for those days. Which brother of William was father of his nephew Cuthbert, who died in the same year 1614, cannot be ascertained, but the latter in his will enumerates his cousins, the children of William, adding Robert thereunto. I am not able to place several of the kinsfolk that he mentions.

Thomas Denton, it appears, as quoted by Lysons, has stated that about this period the manor of Arkleby belonged to a member of the family of Orfeur, and that a daughter of a Charles of that name carried it by marriage to a Mr. Henry Pierson who sold it to Gustavus Thompson in 1702. The parish register of Plumbland bears witness that there were Piersons well connected existing there at that time. I cannot, however, but think that the last owner of the manor of Plumbland was the first Charles of his race, and that his name was introduced from his mother's ancestry. It may be, the main statement that the family held for a period the manor of Arkleby is correct, and that it is simply the Christian name that it is erroneously given.

I know nothing new of the third William who it seems married Bridget Musgrave, except that he is mentioned in his father's will. The name of Bridget will be found to occur more than once hereafter, and is valuable as identifying offshoots of the family subsequent to this period, whose exact position cannot be absolutely fixed.

Passing over the eldest son of this marriage to be dealt with

with presently in greater detail, I would suggest that his brother Cuthbert, called of Arkleby by Dugdale, may be the Cuthbert of Pryor Hall, whose will, dated December 28, 1688, is appended, and who had a son of that name. Possibly also his next brother Francis may have been the Francis who, as we learn from the combined evidence of the will of William Orfeur of Bromfield, dated March 12th, 1704, that of Edward Orfeur of Carlisle, dated June 30, 1718, and the parish register of Bromfield, by his wife Susannah had a family of at least six children. We conclude that the Bromfield family was closely related to Charles of Highclose, from the fact of William of that house appointing the latter trustee to his will, together with Ferdinando Latusthe son of John Latusand Catherine Orfeur, whose identification as another child of William and Bridget may be considered established by the monumental inscription in Millom church, a copy of which is given in Jefferson's *Allerdale Ward* p. 171. Edward, whom I have mentioned above, and whose will is given in the Appendix, was a Notary in Carlisle, a position at that time generally held by a younger scion of one of the county families.

I dare not even attempt to fix the place in the pedigree of the Mary and Cuthbert Orfeur of the Allhallows register. It may not be out of place to remark here, that the prevalence of the name of Cuthbert is accounted for by the parish church of Plumbland being dedicated to that saint, just as Mungo occurs with equal frequency in the parishes of Aspatria and Bromfield, whose patron saint was Mungo otherwise Kentigern.

William, the eldest son of the 13th generation in lineal descent, is certified by Dugdale, who held his visitation at Cockermonth in April 1655, to have been 47 years of age at that time, and to have had two children, William aged 9, and Elizabeth aged 5—there may have been others dead—by Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Charles Howard

of

of Ridsdale, Northumberland. Now, as I propose to go rather elaborately into the various statements with regard to this marriage, I wish to insist at the outset upon the great authority of this *ex cathedra* statement of Dugdale. Burn and Nicolson, and Hutchinson, under the Orfeur heading, give the marriage with Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Charles Howard, but without the appendage of Ridsdale. The late Mr. Henry Howard of Corby, in his most valuable volume "Howard Memorials," identifies the Sir Charles Howard of this pedigree with Sir Charles Howard of Croglin, the fourth son of Sir William Howard (Belted Will), but gives no proof, only referring to Hutchinson. Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland, whose attention to minutiae shows him to be a very prince of genealogists, under his heading of Redesdale has occasion to enter closely into one department of the Howard pedigree, into which we must follow him; but I will quote a remark he makes which shews how doubtful he was as to some of his tentative conclusions:—"Our gleanings on this subject have nothing bright in them, but we subjoin them in the hope that the glimmerings they afford will allow some investigator to grope his way further into this obscure genealogy than we have been able to go." Redesdale had been granted for life to George Hume, Earl of Dunbar in Scotland, and Baron Hume in England, one of the favourites of James I., and had upon his decease lapsed to the crown, but on the marriage of his co-heiress Elizabeth with Theophilus eldest son of Thomas first Earl of Suffolk, and who became Earl in his turn, an absolute grant of this and other Lordships was made to them and their heirs. Theophilus is stated by Dugdale, in his *Baronage* published in 1676, to have had four sons, James, Thomas, George, and Henry, and several daughters, the fifth of whom was Frances, who became the wife of Edward Villiers, and from their union spring the Earls of Jersey and of Clarendon of our day. Collins agrees

agrees as to the number and names of the sons, and Mr. Henry Howard in his "Memorials," and the Rev. F. E. Paget, Rector of Elford, in the lately privately printed volume composed under the auspices of Mrs. Howard, and entitled "The Howards of Ashtead," both follow the older authorities. Hodgson quotes several conveyances by which the Carlisle branch of the Howard family had become connected with the Redesdale property as trustees, and a Charles Howard being named, he is led to believe that he is a Charles Howard of that branch, there being none of that name of the Suffolk stock on record at that exact period. From this Charles he deduces a pedigree, which cannot be controverted, down to William Howard who sold Redesdale to the Earl of Northumberland in 1750. Let it be noted, that in one of the deeds quoted by Hodgson, bearing date July 6, 1657, James the third Earl of Suffolk of the first part, Sir Charles Howard and Elizabeth his wife of the second part, and Edward Villiers and Lady Frances his wife of the third part, and the Earl of Carlisle and Richard Newman and Thomas Lee, then trustees under a deed of July 3, 1657, of the fourth part, conveyed to a trustee for the lives of Sir Charles Howard and his wife and the survivor, remainder to their son in tail, remainder to the Earl of Suffolk in fee.

Does not the position of Charles, between Earl James and his sister the Lady Frances and her husband, attract our attention? Again let it be noted that in Somersham church, Huntingdonshire, there is a tablet with the following inscription:—"Here lieth under this stone the body of William Howard, the third son of Sir Charles Howard of the House of Suffolk, of the age of two years, and deceased June the 29th, 1646." Now Somersham was a royal manor, and Theophilus the second Earl of Suffolk, was Lord High Steward of the same, as was also his son James after him. Somersham was sold under an Act of Parliament in 1649, and Sir Charles's occupation as deputy

of James Earl of Suffolk was gone. Might not Sir Charles of Somersham and Sir Charles of Redesdale be one and the same, and an unrecorded son of Theophilus second Earl? If I did not wish to bring this investigation to an end, I might cite several instances of almost equally remarkable omissions or confusions in the pedigree of the illustrious house of Howard, but I may briefly state that of the four recorded sons of Theophilus which I have named, the most elaborate researches of the family historians, with all the facilities afforded to them, have failed to find any record of the birth or baptism of two, George and Henry.

Mr. John Orfeur of Norwich, so far back as 1841, wrote to the Rev. James Bush, curate of Plumland, to ascertain whether there were any Orfeur monuments in the churchyard there, and the reply, dated 18th January 1841, was "there is no monument in the church, churchyard, or chancel, of any of the name of Orfeur," but on the 4th May 1842, he wrote a letter which, with the accompanying facsimile of the monumental inscription, I give in the proofs.

I think we have here sufficient proof that Charles was a son of Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, and his wife Elizabeth Hume. But in addition, Edmund Sandford in his gossiping manuscript, of which a copy, if not the very original itself, is found in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, has something very pertinent to the subject to lay before us. He describes Plumland as "a faire village and fairer Squires seate called Plumland Hall, the now owner, Monser Gulielmus Orpheur, '300 p. an. estate, late Sheriff of Cumberland, married Madam Howard daughter to Sir Charles Howard, sone to Theophilus late Earle of Suffolk, who came into this country with Right Honble Contes of Carlisle, her cosen, and hath many fine children And a fair church and psonage of 200 p. an." And again in a sort of note, probably an addition at a later period

period to the first composition, "This gallant Monsire Orpheurs great grandmother was a daughter of Sq. Lampley, of Duffenby, and nye of kindred to old Lady Howard of Naward Castle, and coheir to the last Lord Dacres, and great grandmother to the now Right Honble Earle of Carlisle, and this young madam a fair virgin coming with this brave Monsir Orpheur, Late Sheriff of Cumberland, and with all friends consent they married and hath many fine children and fair estate in the north 400lb p. an."

Thanks to the researches of the Rev. Thomas Lees of Wreay, in the Askham register, we may, I think, identify the writer of this with Edmund Sandford of Helton, who was baptised January 10, 1601/2, and was buried May 4, 1681. Now Monsir William's sister Elizabeth married Thomas Sandford the head of the family, cousin to Edmund, and the connection was kept up, for Margaret, the same William's granddaughter, was married from Askham Hall, as is shewn by an extract from the Askham register.

What more reliable authority can we have as to whom Elizabeth the wife of William Orfeur was, than that of his contemporary and connection Edmund Sandford?

Again, a pedigree preserved in the Brooks' collection in the College of Arms, states that William and Elizabeth had eight sons, not giving the names of the three youngest; but another pedigree, also supplied from the Herald's College many years ago, in the possession of the late Mrs. Aglionby and furnished by her to Mr. John Orfeur without any idea of its significance, supplies the omission, and gives the name of the eighth son, the only one we cannot supply from other sources, and that name is Theophilus.

It may seem to some that I have enlarged upon an unimportant point, but the skilled genealogist will not think so.

William the fifth was gathered to his fathers, having been

been predeceased by his wife, his eldest son William, and his youngest son Theophilus, as I gather from the distinct statement of his will as regards his wife, and the omission of any mention of the two sons alluded to, whilst all his other children are named in due order.

The will, beyond the genealogical information, contains little of special interest, except that it records the fact that the Oughterside Royalty was worked by the Lord of that manor at this early period. Unfortunately there is no Inventory attached to it.

The eldest son of this marriage, Charles, the first of his name and the last of his race, who held the old family estate, having greatly impoverished himself, sold it to Sir Wilfred Lawson of Isell in the year 1692, and continued to live at Plumland, probably at High Close as a tenant, for Thoresby made his acquaintance on his visit to Threapland Hall in 1694. In 1695 he married Jane Lamplugh, the widow of John Senhouse of Netherhall, and took up his residence there, where he remained until 1705, then returning to Plumland he died and was buried there in 1725. Jane Lamplugh was very unfortunate, she had two sons and six daughters by each of her husbands, and though all the daughters, except one, lived to mature years the four sons died young. Charles Orfeur sold his estate, and the estate of her first husband was also sold, but fortunately was purchased by his younger brother Humphrey the male heir.

“And Bertram’s right and Bertram’s might
Still meet on Ellengowan’s height.”

The inventory appended to the will of Charles affords matter for interesting comparison with that of his ancestor William, upwards of a century earlier. It is little more than one-third of the amount of the older one, but that may be accounted for by his having little or no land to cultivate, whilst the silver plate is twice the value and a clock has become a household necessity.

I have continued Philip's line down to the present day because I have been favoured with the pedigree, and it has never, so far as I know, appeared in print so perfectly as I am enabled to give it. John became a General Officer, and some confusion has arisen with regard to him. His career was contemporary with, and he fought under, Marlborough and died unmarried. Of James, I know nothing; Thomas was presented by Henry Curwen of Workington to the rectory of Harrington July 10, 1695, and, as I gather from the register of the parish that there was a resident curate there all, or most of, the time of his incumbency, I conclude that he was probably a pluralist, and resided elsewhere. The only mention of him in the Harrington register is that of his burial. Elizabeth married, as is recorded in the pedigree sheet, and descendants of that marriage still exist. I know nothing of Ann.

Of the daughters of Charles and Jane three married, and descendants of Ann and Margaret still flourish, but as they are recorded in the county histories I have not reproduced them on the sheet. The marriage of Bridget with Ralph Musgrave was childless.

The will of Eleanor is appended, but if ever her wish that a tombstone should be placed over her grave and another over her father's was fulfilled, such memorials have long since perished. Her desire that her body might be opened after her decease is a quiet evidence of much physical suffering and a desire to relieve others from the same agonies she had endured. The family portraits she valued so highly are still carefully preserved by the descendants of those to whom they are bequeathed.

In the year 1734, nine years after the death of Charles, the name of Orfeur occurs for the first time in the register of Aspatria, the adjoining parish to Plumbland: it records the baptism of Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Orfeur of Aspatria, and a series of names are continued through successive years, all, except one, according with the old family names, and the exceptional one is Hylton.

With

With regard to the name of Hylton, Dorothy Musgrave the sister of Ralph of that name, Bridget Orfeur's husband, married John Hylton of Hylton Castle, Durham, and whilst Sir Richard Musgrave, Ralph's nephew, married his cousin Ann, one of the coheiresses of the same John Hylton, and died in 1739, the Rev. Sir John Brisco, whose mother was also a Musgrave and who was vicar of Aspatria from 1729 to 1771, married Catherine, the other coheiress, so that it is easy to understand how one so closely connected with the family as Thomas Orfeur undoubtedly was should call a son Hylton.

I must confess, however, that after considerable research I have not been able to ascertain whether he sprang from a brother of Charles, or the Bromfield, or Allhallows line.

The baptisms and burials of the children of Thomas Orfeur go on regularly till the year 1744, when these entries cease, and the name occurs only once more, in an instance to which I will presently allude.

Thomas Orfeur, it is recorded by tradition, went into Scotland, where at least one child was born to him, John; and that this was so, is proved by a letter to his son Thomas, still preserved by his descendants, from his aunt Mary and her second husband Joseph Tyndal. John the son of Thomas, was probably the fifteenth in descent from Thomas the first recorded member of the line.

It will be observed in the list of extracts from the Aspatria register that Elizabeth Orfeur, widow, was buried March 30, 1793, aged 84 years. I suppose her to have been the widow of Thomas Orfeur of Aspatria, and that she was a relative who had sunk into poverty is proved by the recollection of the late Mrs. Aglionby that the descendants of Ann Yates and Margaret Pattenson allowed her a small annuity.

For all the entries on the sheet subsequent to John who married Rebecca Johnson, I am indebted to Mr. John Orfeur of Norwich, who has extracted them mainly from the

the registers at Yarmouth, and it will be seen that while the name of the family, and even their remembrance, have passed away in the country where they occupied for many centuries a position of considerable importance, the almost unrecognized representative, John, has left in the country of his adoption a vigorous offshoot of the old stem which is flourishing like a green bay-tree.

APPENDIX.

The following Wills are all, relating to the family of Orfeur, of which any record is to be found in the Registry of the Probate Court at Carlisle. The originals of the whole exist there, except those of William of 1614, of Thomas of 1614, and of Edward of 1718, in which cases copies only have been preserved.

The Will of William Orfeur of Plumbland 21st September 1612

In the name of God Amen the xxi day of September in Anno Dom. 1612 Annoque Regni dom nri Jacobi Reg. Anglie &c decimo et Scotie xlij. I Willm Orfeur of Plumbland in the countie of Cumberland Esqr* although sicke in bodie yett of A sound whole and pfect remembrance praised be Almightye God And calling to remembrance the Certentie of deth and the uncertaine Hower & tyme of the same and not onelie in discharge of my bounden dutie towards God But also for the better quietnes amongst my Wife and children after my ~~deth~~ depture out of this vaine and transotarie wordle doe ordaine make and declare this my last Will and testament following as well of all my lands tenemts & hereditamts millnes & leases according to the tolleration of the estatute pvided in that behalfe As of all my goods & chattells moveable and unmoveable in manr and forme following* ffirst I bequeath and comend my soule to Almightye God whom I faithfullie

* Hereafter I propose, as is usual in printing old wills, to omit these two clauses, but I do so with some reluctance, because although they are almost always met with in wills of this period, and indeed are very ancient in their origin, yet every testator seems to endeavour to relieve them from mere formality and to throw into them some of his own individuality and the vitality of his own belief. Nothing can be more sublime in its simplicity than the clause in Shakspeare's Will—"First I commend my soul into the hands of God my creator hoping and assuredly believing through the only merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour to be made partaker of life everlasting and my body to the earth whereof it is made."

believe made me to be saved onelie by the death and passion of his sonne Jesus Christ and not by mine owne merits or works and my bodie to be buried wthin the the phe Church of Plumland amongst my apectors where yt shall please my executor & my eldest sonne Item I will and bequeath for and towards the churchstocke of Plumland lvis viiid to make upp the Churchstocke xlb to be paid by mine executor wthin one yeere next after my death Item I will give and bequeth unto my eldest sonne Willm Orfeur and to his Heires for ever my manner Howse of Highclose and all the grounds thereunto belonging used or occupied with the same Plumland mayner in Plumland Plumland Mills and Plumland towne wth all & singular the Appetenances to them or anie of them belonging or appertayneing And also all my estate tylie and interest of Oxholmes. Im I give will bequeath unto the said Willm my sonne in forme aforesaid viz. to him and his heires for ever all my lands tenements & and hereditaments lyeing in Arcleby wth all and singular there Appennncs payeing such suits and services as is due to the chief Lord of the free and alwaies reserving the right of his deare mother Item I give will and bequeth unto the said Mabel my wife for and dureing her naturall life All that my Mansion House or Mannor Howse called Oughterside Hall in Oughterside with one Water Corne Mylne called Oughterside Mylne Together with all and singular my lands tenements and hereditamts meddowes pastures feedings Comons & Comons of pastures Intakes Wastes Washes easements Comodities pfts & appytenances whatsoever in Oughterside aforesaid And alsoe one medowe close called brigghm lyeing neere the Ffyts in Plumland aforesaid for and towards the maintenance & bringing upp all the younger children and they to be at her dispose & plesure And if it please God my said Wife doe die before Mabel my daughter accomplish her full age of xxi yeers Then I give unto Ffrances Orfeur Richard Orfeur my sonnes & Elizabeth Orfeur Mary Orfeur Ffrancs Orfeur & Mabel Orfeur my daughters All my said Lands tenements & hereditaments wth there Appatenances in Oughterside aforesaid Ymediately from & after the death of there said mother untill all my children wch shall happen to live shall Accomplish there full age of xxi yeares for & towards the maintenance of themselves And my Will and Mind further is that in consideracon of my former bequeasts and legacies of my sayd lands and tenements & hereditaments severallie given and bequeathed to my sayd sonne Willm in this my last Will and testament The said Willm Orfeur my sonne shall lowse the mortgage of Plumland Mayns from Richard Fletcher and likewise passe unto the sayed Richard or cause to be payed unto him the somme according to the Covenats between him & me made and agreed upon And also pay or cause to be payed unto the aforesaid Mabel my wife his deare mother other two hundred pounds of like lawful monie Videl at the end of two yeares next after my death the sume of one hundred pounds and wthin one yeare then next following the other, Item I give and bequeath unto my daughter Anne Orfeur for & in consideration of her childs portion two hundred pounds wch in this my last Will is appointed to be paid to her mother by my sonne Willm at the end of two yeares next after my death The Residue of all and singular my goods and chattells Moveable and unmoveable what soever of what kind soever it be not named and unbequeathed I give & bequeath to Mabel my wife whom I make sole executrix of this my sayd last Will and she to pay my debts and see my funerall expenses discharged And of this my said last Will & testament I make supvisors Thomas Lamplugh esq John Briskooe esqr Thomas Ellis gent Mr pson Lamplugh Cuthbert Orfeur my brother Wm Orfeur my sonne & Willm Osmotherly to see the same pformed in all things

things according to the true meaning hereof In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand seale & subscribed my name with my owne hand the day and yeare above written in the psence of these

Thomas Orfeur
John Ellis
Willm Patrickson
John Stamper
& others

The xxviith of October 1614

The sayed Testator the day last above sayd further willed that the agreement formerlie made by him wth Cuthbert his brother on the behalfe of Robert his sonne should be pformed by his executors above named and Willm Orfeur his eldest sonne equallie between them

Witness whereof

Thomas Orfeur

Mem That after the sealing and signing of this Will the sayd Testator did will and appoint that Mabell his wife shoude after his death have and enjoye such pte of his Capitall messuage called Highclose as his supvisors or the more pte of them with the consent of his wife shal be thought convenient until the sayd Willm Orfeur his eldest sonne shall repaire his Capitall messuage of Oughterside in such manner as his said supvisors or the more pte of them shall think the same fit and convenient for her said dwelling

In pscence of us

Thomas Orfeur
John Ellis

Apud Wigdon vij die mensis Februarii anno Dm. 1614 pbat fuit hum Testam &c &c

A true and pfect Inventory of all Chattells goods and Cattolls moveable and unmoveable of William Orfeure of Highclose wtin the pise of Plumland Esq. valued & prized the xij day of November 1614 by the foure men sworne viz Robert Gibson John Richard Chambers & Willm Walker

				lb	s	d
Inpm'is	sheepe	182	-	-	-	xxxij vij
Itm	more 33 sheepe	-	-	-	-	vj xij
Itm	20 stotts	-	-	-	-	xvij
Itm	5 whies	-	-	-	-	vij vj vij
Itm	15 younger neats	-	-	-	-	xi
Itm	9 calves	-	-	-	-	53 4
Itm	7 fatt neats	-	-	-	-	12
Itm	6 oxen	-	-	-	-	xv
Itm	22 Kyne & one bull	-	-	-	-	xxxvj xij iiij
Itm	7 naggs & 2 foales	-	-	-	-	xi
Itm	corne hay and strawe	-	-	-	-	80

P

Itm

		lb	s	d
Itm	husbandrye geare - - - -		53	4
Itm	elde woode - - - -		26	8
Itm	in the pastree one lead 3 fatts 2 troughe & 2 little tables -		30	
Itm	in the brewinghouse wood vessell -		6	8
Itm	in the Kitchine 22 brasse potts -	3		
Itm	2 caldrons 2 pannes one Kettle one dropping panne 3 frying pannes 2 chaffing dishes & 5 pitts -		37	
Itm	one knopp one handle 2 salt pres dishes wooden dublers -		2	
Itm	in the milkehou milk bowles one tubb & a & a fatt		3	
Itm	In the Kitchine 2 bushells of salt -		6	
Itm	lyne - - - -		5	6
Itm	3 frames - - - -		4	
Itm	one iron grayte 3 crookes one mortesse wt pestell tonges fire pore -		20	
Itm	in the haul one table wt a frame one counter one cupboard formes 2 charres 3 buffett stooles one square table & one iron grayte -		30	
Itm	all the armourye & one paire tables -		7	8
Itm	in the parlor one chist - - - -		6	8
Itm	one cupbard - - - -		iiij	iiij
Itm	one chaire - - - -			xvi
Itm	one standing bed wt a truckle bed -		14	
Itm	one table frame and a long buffett stoole		4	
Itm	one little iron graite - - - -			12
Itm	one still - - - -			12
Itm	one paire of tonges - - - -			4
Itm	2 greene carpetts - - - -		2	
Itm	2 carpetts in the haul - - - -			12
Itm	in the butterye 3 barrells 2 stanes one Knapp one Ringe & 3 firkins one spin-g wheele - - - -		9	
Itm	one cupboard one little table - - - -		5	
Itm	the larder house 3 chists - - - -		10	
Itm	one fleshfatt wh flesh - - - -		10	
Itm	2 fatts - - - -		9	8
Itm	one chespatt ? one old chist one table - - - -		3	
Itm	2 barells one eld arke and two loose boards - - - -		6	
Itm	4 sakes - - - -		5	4
Itm	one winding cloathe - - - -		2	8
Itm	8 paire of linne sheets wh 8 pillowers - - - -		53	4
Itm	7 paire of course sheets		14	8

Itm

THE ORFEURS OF HIGHCLOSE.

115

		lb	s	d
Itm	4 line table cloathes & 2 course table cloathes - -		14	
Itm	3 dozen of table napkins - -		12	
Itm	10 featherbeds wt boalsters and pillowes - - -	5		
Itm	one bed coveringe of dov - - -		26	8
Itm	3 other bedd coverings - - -		20	
Itm	one greene rugg - - -		26	8
Itm	14 coverletts - - -	3	10	
Itm	8 paire of blanketts - - -		32	
Itm	11 cushions whereof 3 is of needle worke 2 of satten 6 of carpett - - -		40	
Itm	7 other cushions of carpett - - -		13	
Itm	silver playte - - -	10		
Itm	6 candlestickes - - -		9	
Itm	3 pewter flagons & one bottle - - -		20	
Itm	2 pewter salts & 2 hopps - - -		4	
Itm	2 wooden cannes - - -			8
Itm	2 chamber potts - - -		8	
Itm	2 basons & 2 ewers - - -		13	4
Itm	7 dozen of pewter vessell & 8 odd dishes - - -	vj	6	8
Itm	one table wt a frame & covering 3 long buffetts - - -		15	
Itm	6 little buffetts - - -		6	
Itm	one cupboard wt covering 2 little tables 3 buffetts - - -		20	
Itm	2 chaires - - -		10	
Itm	in the greene chamber one posted bedd wt teaster & curtaines & one truckle bedd - - -		53	4
Itm	3 trunckes - - -		15	
Itm	one chaire - - -		2	
Itm	one paire of reed curtaines - - -		5	
Itm	his apparell & Ryding gear - - -	16		
Itm	in the partition chamber & in the closett one posted bed 2 chists one table wt a cupboard - - -		34	
Itm	in the crosse chamber one truckle bed one chaire a Trunck one little table In the highe chamber one posted bedd wt teaster & curtaines two little truckle beds - - -		13	
Itm	one presse - - -		20	
Itm	one great chiste wt a chaire - - -		20	
Itm	one brandrith & a paire tongs - - -			12
Itm	wool - - -		16	
Itm	butter - - -		10	

Itm

		lb	s	d
Itm	4 sping-g wheeles	-	-	4
Itm	10 cheeses	-	-	5
Itm	certain casemts of glasse	-	-	4
Itm	in the buttery loft 2 beds one eld chaire & one eld chist	-	-	13
Itm	wheat sown & avher	-	-	5
Itm	7 swyne	-	-	52
Itm	20 geese	-	-	22
Itm	10 duckes	-	-	10
Itm	the lease of oxeholmes	-	-	ij
	Suma totalis	336	5	6

Debts wch was owing unto Willm Orfeur				
Esq aforesaid deceased				
Inpmis	Richard Chambers	-	-	8
Itm	John Plaskett	-	-	6
Itm	Edward Akeshaw	-	-	ij
Itm	Willm Morrison	-	-	10
	Suma debitorm	18	10	

The Will of Thomas Orfeur of Plumland November 17 1614.

In the name of God Amen the xvijth day of November 1614 I Thomas Orfeure of the parish of Plumland in the County of Cumberland gent being sick &c do make this my last Will, &c &c and my will is that my bodie shall be buried whin the parish church of Plumland above said Itm I give and bequeath unto my cozens of Highclose, Francis Orfeur, Richard Orfeur. Robart Orfeur, Anne Orfeur, Elizabeth Orfeur, Mary Orfeur, Francis Orfeur, and Mabell Orfeur two whies one stirke one nagg all the cropp of hay and corne wch is at my house at Ffitts Provided that my Ffunerall charges shal be taken and deducted out of the foresaid legacies Itm I give and bequeeth all the Right Interest and title of tenant right of my tenement at the fitts aforesaid to my brother John Orfeur Itm whereas Mrs Jane Brisco of Crofton is owinge unto me xxiiib as appeares by two severall bonds I give and forgive unto the said Jane Brisco xlb thereof Itm I farther give out of the Remainder of the foresaid som of xxijlb to every one of the children of John Brisco of Crofton Esq xs to every one of the children of Cuthbart Orfeur of Arcleby gent xs to every one of the children of Elizabeth my cosen Pallada his wife xs and to Margaret Orfeur of Crofton xs lastly all the rest of my goods not bequeathed alreadye I give and bequethe unto Cuthbart Musgrave of the Holme Coltram gent and the said Cuthbart I appoint Executor of this my last Will and testament and further I desire John Brisco of Crofton Esq and Cuthbart Orfeur gent my kinsmen to take panes as supravisors to see the pforminge of all things accordinge to this my will and testament In the psence of John Younghusband and Thomas Tinkler als Goldsmithe wth others

Apud Carlioll xiiijto die mensis Januarii Anno Dno 1614 probat fuit hum testam
&c &c

The

The Will of William Orfeur of High Close April 13 1681.

In the name of God Amen I Willm Orfeur of Highclose in the pish of Plumbland in the County of Cumbland Esqre sicke &c doe make this my last Will and testament in manner and forme following first I give and bequeath my Soule &c and my Body to be buried in Christian buriall in the pish church of Plumbland aforesaid as neare as Conveniently cann be where my late and Deare wife was buried And as for my worldly goods the Lord hath endowed me withall I dispose of them as followeth first I give and bequeath unto Elizabeth Orfeur my Daughter the best horse that I shall have att the day of my death and my silver cupp with two eares Itm I give and bequeath twenty shillings to Sr Wilfred Lawson to buy him a mourning ring withall. Itm I give and bequeath to my cozen Roger Brisco and my cozen Henry Eaglesfield each of them Tenn shillings to buy each of them a mourning Ring with all Itm I give and bequeath to be putt forward towards the maintenance of the poore within the parish of Plumland the sum of twenty shillings Itm I give and bequeath unto my said daughter Elizabeth one press and one round table standing now in her chamber and my best Truncke and one silver salt with my coate of armes upon it and my best looking Glass Itm I give and bequeath unto Charles Orfeur my eldest son my Gold ring upon my finger my silver signet my clocke in the Dyneing roome all my husbandry geare whatsoever and all loose wood about my house and all manner of geare belonging to my colliery at Outersyde and one cubboard standing in the parlor where he lyeth desiring that he will take care of his brothers and sisters and especially of his brother Thomas and that he will carefully educate him and secure what shall fall to his share untill he be fitt and capable for a trade And as for all the rest of my Goods and chattells and cattell moveable and unmoveable my debts legacys and funerall expenses first discharged I give and bequeath unto Edward Orfeur Philipp Orfeur John Orfeur James Orfeur Thomas Orfeur my sonnes and Elizabeth Orfeur and Ann Orfeur my Daughters who I make Executors of this my last Will and Testament desiring that my cozen Roger Brisco and Henry Eaglesfield they be supvsors of this my last Will and Testament that my Goods after my decease be fairly apprised by Apprizors to be appoynted by the said Supvissrs and that if any difference doe happen to arise (wch I wish may not) that it may be desyded by the said Supvissrs without any further dispute to be had amongst my said children

In Witnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale this thirteenth day of April in the year of onr Lord God one thousand six hundred eighty and one

WILLIAM ORFEUR

L.S. *

Published and sealed in the presence of us

Roger Brisco Hen Eaglesfield

John — Notary Public

Apud Carliol xxij die Octobr Anno Dom. 1681 probat fuit humod testam ac Administraco bonor dict. defunct. comiss fuit Elizabethæ Orfeur & Edwardo Orfeur executoribus in dict testamento &c &c

* (The seal in red wax is a shield bearing a cross with a mullet in the first quarter, surmounted by an esquire's helmet, having as a crest a female couped at the breast, on her head a cross pattee fitchée)

The

The Will of Cuthbert Orfeur of Pryor Hall December 28 1688

In the name of God Amen I Cuthbert Orfeur of Pryor Hall in the County of Cumberland gent &c doe make this my last Will & Testamnt in manner & forme following First &c Item give and bequeath to my son Cuthbert my messuage & Tenemt wth all and singular the Appurtenances att Pryor Hall aforesaid holden of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle by ye paymt of ye yearly Rent of xxs & ye same messuage & Tenemt to hold to him the said Cuthbert my son his Executors & Assignes for ever Item I give and bequeath to my son Thomas five pounds to be payed to him att three years end after my decease & he to give Cuthbert a general release of all his right to all or any pte of my reall or psonall estate The rest of all my goods and chattells my just Debts & funerall expenses discharged I give & bequeath unto my said son Cuthbert Orfeur whom I make my Executor of this my last Will & Testamnt In witness whereof I have putt my hand & seal this Twenty eight day of December One Thousand six hundred eighty & eight

Witnesses hereof

Geo Relfe
William Harrison
Lan Relfe

CUTHBERT ORFEUR

Apud Wigton 21mo Junii Anno Dom. 1692 prob. fuit &c

A true and pfect Inventory of all ye goods & chattells of Cuthbert Orfeur of Pryor Hall Gent appraised ye 16th day of 1692

Impr. his Apparell	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	00	00
Bedding	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10	00
Linnen &c	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	00	00
Bedsteads Arkes Chists &c	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	00
horses & cows &c	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	00	00
Corne & Hay	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	10	00
Sacks &c	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	05	00
Husbandry Gear	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	04	06
Tables frames pewter & brass	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	08	04
Troughs	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	8	02
							<u>14</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>

Apprisors

Lancelot Relfe

The Will of William Orfeur of Brumfield March 12. 1704.

In the name of God Amen I William Orfeure of Brumfield in the Countie of Cumberland Gentleman &c Do make and ordaine this my last Will and Testament in manner and Form following First &c. And as for the Worldly Estate wherewith it hath pleased God to blesse me I give and dispose as followeth I give and devise all my Messuages Lands Tenements and Hereditaments in the parish of Brumfield

or

or elsewhere unto Charles Orfeure of Netherhall Esq. the Reverend John Procter of Brumfield Clerk and Ferdinando Latus of Cockermonth Esq and their heirs And all my Right Title interest and Equity of Redemption therein upon the special Trust and Confidence that they and their heirs or the Survivor of them and his Heirs do sell the same for the payment of my Debts and Legacies and ~~Funeral expences~~ and the overplus to be equally divided between my two Brothers Francis Orfeure and Edward Orfeure and my two sisters Mary Orfeure and Susan Orfeure nevertheless it is my Will and Mind that if either of my said Brothers Shall Redeem my Estate within two years after my Death and also faithfully discharge all my Debts and Legacies within the said two years that then such Bror shall have my Messuages Lands and Tenements hereinbefore devised to him and His heirs he paying to each of his Brothers and Sisters five pounds apiece excepting my sister Bridget Threlkeld to whom I give ten pounds and in default of such Redemption within the time aforesaid and paying and dischargeing my debts and Legacies as aforesaid that then my sd Messuages Lands and Tenements be sold by my Trustees aforesaid upon the Trusts aforesaid I give to my Mother my Gold Signet Ring I give to Mrs Ann Proctor daughter of the sd Mr Proctor my Silver cup I give to ye poor of the parish of Brumfield Fifty Shillings to be distributed at the discretion of the said Mr Procter I give to each of my said Three Trustees ten shillings to buy each of them A Ring And I do make my dear and loving Mother Executrix of this my Will and would have my Funeral Expenses discharged out of my Goods and Chattells and the residue of my Goods and Chattells to goe towards payment of my Debts In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & Seal the twelfth day of March In the yeare of our Lord God One Thousand Seaven hundred and Four.

WILLIAM ORFEUR

L.S. *

Signed Sealed and
Published in the psence
of us

Tho. Grainger
Cuthbert Grainger
John Twentyman

Apud Wigton 16mo die mensis Octobris (1705) Probat fuit humod. Testum. ac Adco bonor com fuit Extr. in eod &c

The Will of Edward Orfeur of Carlisle June 30th, 1718.

In the name of God Amen I Edward Orfeur of ye City of Carlile Gentleman do make and ordain this my last Will & Testamt in manner & Form following As I have always lived (tho' not so worthiely as I shd) a true member of ye Ch. of England so thro' Gods Grace I hope to die thro' the merits of my Bless'd Saviour

* Exactly the same as in the Will of William Orfeur 1681.

into whose hands I commend my soul & my Body to be buried at ye Discretion of my Executrs hereafter named As to my worldlie Goods I dispose of them in this manner 1st I bequeath to my affectionate Mother Mrs Susanna Orfeur ten pounds to be paid by my Executrs Six months after my Desease with also ye Interest of all ye other Goods and Chatts I'm possess'd of till her Decease
 2dly The Rest of my Goods and Chattells funerall Expenses excepted I leave to my sister Brigget Threlkeld & Sister Mary Orfeur (on condition yt they bury me in ye prish Ch. of St Marys Carlile pay my Debts and Legacies & yt at my Funal a Sermon be preachd by Mr. Whittingdale on Eccles. ii. 9. And do hereby revoking all former Wills constitute & appoint them joynt Executors of this my last Will & Testamnt As witnessse my hand & seal this 30th Day of June Anno Dom. 1718

Published in the psence of

Geo. Knowles
 Wm. Hodgson
 Chr. Whittingdale

Apud Carlili Quinto die mensis Julii Anno Dni. 1718 Pbat fuit humod Testamnt &c &c

Endorsed Will of Edward Orfeur Nory Pub. Carlisle 1718

A true and perfect Inventory of all the goods and Chattells of Mr Edward Orfeur late deceased taken and appraised the 5th July 1718 by Mr Henry Hall and Mr Peter Gibson apprisors

Imprs His purse and aparell lining			
and woolen	.	.	05 00 00
Books Boxes and papers	.	.	01 05 00
One watch and scales wth keys and chaine	.	.	03 10 00
In Bonds and Nots	.	.	54 09 00
Stamps	.	.	7 19 6
			72 3 6
In all	.	.	72 3 6

Ap. Peter Gibson jura t

The Bond is given by John Threlkeld of Kaber parochie de Kirbe in com Cumb and Bridget Threlkeld his wife

The Will of Charles Orfeur of Plumbland February 5 1725/6

In the name of God Amen I Charles Orfeur of Plumbland in the county of Cumberland Esqre being weak of Body but of sound and perfect minde and memory praise be therefore given to Almighty God Doe make and ordaine this my present last Will and testament in manner and form following that is to say first and principally I comend my soul &c my body I comitt to the earth to be decently and privately Buried without inviteing of any to my funeral save the adjoining neighbouring

bearing Inhabitants according to the discretion of my Executrixes hereafter named And as touching the disposition of all such Temporall Estate as it hath pleased Almighty God to bestow upon me I give and dispose thereof as followeth first I will that my Debts Legacies and funeral expenses shall be paid and discharged Itm I give unto my daughter Ellenor my picture

all the rest and residue of my personal Estate Goods and Chattels of what kinde soever I doe hereby give and Bequeath unto my loveing Daughters hereafter named viz Anne Orfeur Spinster Bridgett Musgrave wife of Ralph Musgrave Gent Catherine Orfeur Spinster Margrett Orfeur Spinster and Ellenor Orfeur Spinster who I hereby make and ordaine full and sole Executrixes of this my last Will and Testament But whereas the within named Ralph Musgrave hath heretofore had and recovered of me the said Charles Orfeur the just sum of fifty pounds of lawful Brittish money in part of the fortune or marriage Portion with Bridgett Musgrave my daughter aforesd now wife of the said Ralph Musgrave aforesaid my will now is and I doe hereby declare direct and order that the said sume of fifty pounds soe by me paid as aforesd upon an equall division of the Effects by me the said Charles Orfeur left as aforesd shall be reputed and taken as a proportion part or share soe farr as it doth extend, due to the said Bridgett Musgrave by vertue of her being joint Executrix in this my present last Will and testament and she the said Bridgett Musgrave my said Daughter to make an abatement of her share in the said Executrixship to the value of the said sume of fifty pounds And to the end that this my last Will and testament may be duly observed I doe hereby nominate constitute and appoint Collonell John Orfeur my brother John Fletcher of Clay Hall Esq the Reverend Mr. Thomas Nevinson Vicar of the parish of Turpenhow and Elizabeth Senhous Spinster my much esteemed friends Trustees therein earnestly desiring them and every of them to take the care and charge upon them to see that this my last Will and testament be duly performed according to the true intent and meaning thereof, and I desire my body may be buried in the parish church of Plumbland aforesaid And I doe hereby revoke dissannul and make void all former and other Wills and testaments by me heretofore made either by word or in writing In Witness whereof I the said Charles Orfeur to this my last Will and Testament have hereunto sett my hand and seale this fifth day of february anno Dominy 1725:6

CH. ORFEUR

L.S.

Signed sealed and published
in the presence of
Robert Farish jurt.
Mry Smith jurt.
John Sharpe

Apud Carloli octavo die mensis Junii anno Dom 1726 Probat. fuit humod testamenti virtute commissionis Ac Adco Bonor com. fuit Annæ Orfeur nunc uxori prdx Franci Yates cler Bridgettæ ux Radulphi Musgrave . . . Reservata

* Signature of Testator very feeble. Seal exactly the same as in Will of William Orfeur 1681.

potate . . . Eleanoræ Orfeur jam in ejus minoritate existend dum ad plen etat
sua . . tunc . . personis Eleanoræ Orfeur Impub com fuit John Fletcher As.

An Inventory of the Goods & Chattels of Charles Orfeur Esq late of the Parish
of Plumland in the County of Cumberland Dece'd Apprized by John Hodgson
John Ardell, Anthony Dowson & John Chambers March the 21st 1725.

Imps	His Horse Purse Apparell & Riding Gear	-	10	10	0
Itm	Goods in the Parlour Chamber	-	5	0	0
	Goods in the old Room above Stairs	-	5	10	0
	Bedsteads & Bedding	-	30	0	0
	Clock	-	2	10	0
	Tankard Spoons and other Plate	-	21	0	0
	Goods in the Parlour	-	3	10	0
	Pewther Brass & other Goods in the Kitchin	-	20	0	0
	Goods in the Dairy	-	3	0	0
	Brewing Vessels & other Goods in the Brewhouse old Room & Cellar	-	5	0	0
	Three Mares Two Cows & Husbandry Gear	-	12	0	0
			<u>£118 10 0</u>		

Apprs

John Hodgson jurat
John Ardell jurat
Anthony Dowson jurat
John Chambers jurat

A Bond is given by Fr. Yates, Ra. Musgrave, Catharine Orfeur, John Fletcher &
John Chambers of Parsonby yeoman, for the proper execution and a second Bond
is given by John Fletcher, Ra. Musgrave and Fr. Yates that John Fletcher will take
proper care of Eleanor Orfeur till she is of age or married.

The Will of Eleanor Orfeur of Wigton 31 October 1744

In the name of God Amen I Eleanor Orfeur of Wigton in the county of Cumber-
land do make and ordain this my last Will and testament in maner and form
following I desire my body may be buried in Plumland church yard near ye
grave of my Brother Wm. Orfeur Also I desire my Trustee to putt one Tomb
Stone over my grave and another over that of my Dear Father after my just debts
and funeral Expenses are paid Also I give to my sister Musgrave and sister
Catherine Orfeur the sum of sixty pounds out of which sum I desire my Funeral
Expenses may be paid I give to my brother and sister Pattinson each Ten
Pounds I give to my sister Stevenson one Guinea I give to my sister Elizabeth
Senhouse one Lockett ring I give to my neice Jane Yates Two Guineas I give
to Richd Briscoe of Lamplugh Esqr the sum of Ten Pounds I give to ye Revd
Wm. Briscoe five pounds I give to Mrs Cath Sandford one Guinea I give to Mrs
Ann Coats one Guinea I give to Miss Julian Robinson my necklace and Ear
ring

PART II., Vol. III., for 1877-8.

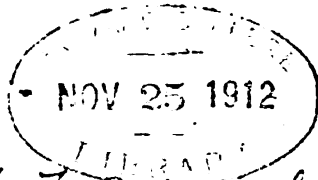
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORELAND
ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY.

FOUNDED 1866.

EDITED BY R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE MEMBERS ONLY.

1878.
PRINTED BY T. WILSON, HIGHGATE STREET.



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ART. XIII.—*The Curfew Bell in Cumberland and Westmorland.* By MISS POWLEY, Langwathby, Penrith.

Read at Gilsland, June 21st, 1877.

WE have repeatedly read in London papers that the sound of the curfew has ceased in England, but that is one of the mistakes persons fall into from ignorance of other than their own experience. It has indeed been discontinued in metropolitan churches, and those of some large towns where incessant noise rendered it less distinguishable or desirable, in later years. At Stratford-on-Avon, last year, a party proposed its abolition, and in civic council gained a majority of one over the supporters of the curfew and its old associations. A desperate feud was the result—war to the knife, it was said; but the decree was reversed, and, after a year's silence, now again "The curfew tolls the knell of parting day," as in Shakspeare's time, to the delight of those who wish to keep up the remaining associations with him; and would that it were as easy to restore his mulberry tree, or to scrape off the whitewash with which Malone covered his bust! After this restoration *it* was commented on as "the single instance of the ringing of the curfew now in England." But, in reality, in numerous quiet towns, and some very stirring ones, it has never ceased to be rung nightly since its institution. Where the population is not a migratory one, a custom so old has such manifold associations with the past history and events of the place, and with the lives of their forefathers there, that it is not likely to be given up, generally, for any saving to be thereby effected, or any belief of the people in strangers' suggestions as to its deleterious effect on the brain. Though its sound be not so musical as that of Moore's "Evening Bells," or as the carrillons of the

Continental towns, and now of some of those in England, the curfew has its own charm of old and tender remembrance. With early, healthy, English life it is linked in beneficent association of home, peace, order, and security; and in the silence which succeeds its last strokes—usually giving one for each day in the month, which might all of old time be very useful as information—there seems a special solemnity.

From very early times there appears to have been an idea of safety connected with bells. Beside the wide-spread Romish superstition of their power against evil spirits, which the Council in the reign of Edward VI. combated so effectually by removing from many churches the bells dedicated to saints, and leaving only one to be rung for service, they had other claims to regard. There are on record many instances of life having been saved, when benighted travellers, at the sound of the familiar bell, recognized their locality, and regained their home, after being utterly lost amid the swamps and fogs of yore. In a work, "*Church Bells of Leicestershire*," I see mentioned two bequests for this service, to be performed for ever, from such grateful remembrance, and I hear of similar instances elsewhere. From these and the lights of science on the subject, we see through the haze of superstition, touching unconsciously the truth, how the wisdom of our forefathers is justified in having such nightly ringing from fixed places, and also in hanging bells of powerful sound over the heads of their horses, in the long and perilous journeys over fell and dale, and through such fogs and storms as the pack-horse gangs were long exposed to. It is demonstrated by Professor Tyndall that neither rain, hail, snow, nor fog is a damper of sound. When the method of signalling by sound along the shores and coasts was falling into disrepute, it was shown by unerring tests that the clearness or density of the air has no power of limiting or extending the range of sound. At sea, in a fog which the
most

most powerful magnetic lights cannot pierce, the sound of a bell can be distinctly heard.

At Penrith, in this county, the curfew is rung nightly, and at Kirkby Stephen, in Westmorland; also at the old church of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. I have enquired for it of friends elsewhere, and one tells me he heard the sound of the curfew from the cathedral at Durham, in June, 1876, and adds, in reference to the custom by the poets, that Milton's lines should not be forgotten,—

"Over some wide-watered shore,
Swinging slow with sullen roar;"

which is said to have been written at Shotover Hill, near Oxford, probably when the river was flooded, and exactly describes the sound of Great Tom, the Oxford curfew, which gave 101 strokes at half-past nine. Another heard the curfew in August, 1876, at Shrewsbury, and has no reason to think it left off at Great St. Mary's, Cambridge, nor at Richmond in Yorkshire; and a third says there may be numerous curfews heard in the south and midland counties. In the work above-mentioned, "*Church Bells of Leicestershire*," it is said that the curfew is rung every night at eight o'clock at St. Martin's, and was at St. Mary's, in the same town, till 1865. At Loughborough, Lutterworth, Barton-on-Soar, and Bottesford, it is still to be heard every night at eight o'clock; and at Blaby, Belgrave, Burbage, Hinckley, Kegworth, Lockington, Melton Mowbray, Sheepshed, Sheppy Magna, and Libstone, during the winter months, every night at eight. This, for one county, gives pretty good proof of the survival of the curfew,—but Leicestershire is called the county of bells.

Among the old churches of the north there seems to have been considerable variation as to the local and ordinary name of the curfew. I have heard of it at Penrith, as it clanged out, winter and summer, as the "eight o'clock bell." Some years ago, when old local words became of
more

more interest, it was communicated by the late Mrs. Brown, that in her childhood it was popularly named "t Taggy bell;" and she remembered old persons saying to children that, if they were out after it rung, "Taggy would get them." Mr. Sullivan, then in Penrith, among others heard this, and in his letters to the *Kendal Mercury*, afterwards published as "Cumberland and Westmorland, Ancient and Modern," gave as explanation to this word, "tœkke," to cover, Danish; and thus connected with *couvre feu* (curfew). This has been quoted by Mr. Ferguson and others, on Sullivan's authority; yet the interpretation always seems to me open to many objections. First, it is an incomplete and a clumsy compound; the element of fire is not represented in it. With all his Celtic leanings, Mr. Sullivan could not deny the predominant influence in the dialect. "Tœkke," v. a., means only to cover, thatch, or "Tœkke" s., a roof, cover, and always a material and permanent one. If it was to mean covering-bell or extinguisher, it should have been "tækking" bell, according to Danish or Cumbrian analogy. It is, moreover, usual for us to harden the consonants in words which we share with northern counties, as in *hœg*, Danish, our hawk; *bœg*, Dan., our book; *stæg*, Dan., our stake, and many other instances, rather than to soften *k* into *g*. The first roofs being of straw, or *lyng*, or soft grass, this word remained with such, for the most part; though "tyle thatcher" occurs in some old Yorkshire records, this was doubtless soon modified to *tyler*, as *slater*, when other materials became common for roofs. "As wet as thack" is a proverbial north-country expression, and refers to the necessity of having the straw or grass in a state sufficiently moist to make it easily settle in its place. A brook which flows through the town of Penrith is named *Thackabeck*, possibly because it is covered over in its passage under some streets.

There is, however, another Danish word, "Taage,"
mist,

mist, gloom, to which this name, and the manner of its use, in the two old towns (Penrith and Kirkby Stephen), where only it is known, seem with more probability to point, as appealing to the vague terrors of the night, which not to childhood alone might once have been formidable, and powerful in repressing night wanderers. In a Danish poem on Will o' the Wisp, it is said—

" Han lo ad Taage, lo ad Slud,
Og cold Natte Vinde."

He laughed at the mist (or darkness), laughed at the sleet, and at the cold night wind. "At gaae i Taaget" is a figurative Danish expression applied to one lost in a fog, as we say, or mentally dense. There are in several English counties dialect words which seem allied to this; as "thaggy," Yorkshire, misty, dark. "Tharky," in some southern county; and we have "daggy," "danky," or "donky," and other words for drizzling rain, or fog, with the common change to *d* from *t*.

It is well known that long before the Norman Conquest a bell was used to be rung, to cause the extinction of fires in towns, not only in England and Denmark, but in many Continental countries where houses were of wood or of combustible materials. But through the Conqueror's edict in 1068, the practice acquired new authority, and through his language its new name of curfew—in the south, at least. In the north, we know this after reading history, but better and more practically as identical with the eight o'clock bell of Penrith, after our acquaintance with Gray's "Elegy" and some of Mrs. Hemans' poems. It does not seem likely that a translation of curfew should have reached or been adopted into "the vulgar tongue," in a district where the Norman never set foot; and where all his influence has not yet changed the popular name of Penrith Fell into Inglewood Forest. That seems to us quite a lately-acquired piece of book-knowledge.

I have not heard of curfew as a term in general use in any of the old northern towns. At Newcastle-on-Tyne, Brockett says the name and object of the ringing is well known, as in other places, to a great number of the inhabitants; but yet, when it rings at eight, on nights before fairs, from the old church of St. Nicholas, he says it is called the "Thieves' and Rievers' bell," and considered an invitation to such characters. The name of Nicholas, the patron saint of mariners, to whom so many churches in sea ports are dedicated, might have something to do with that; as he, somehow, in a very proper way, and for their reformation, I believe, became also the patron of thieves and vagabonds; and so his name is associated with theirs in many old writers, and in Scott's works, as "St. Nicholas' Clerks." In the name "Rievers' bell" the idea seems predominant of robbery and spoliation in the darkness, as well it might be there of old. In that of "Taggy bell" of Penrith, there seems rather a simple appeal to the terrors of children against the personification of "the power that walketh in darkness;" as often foolish persons still speak of the Boggle, or the Bo-man, to frighten or restrain them. Charles Lamb says that the dread of darkness predominates in the sinless period of infancy; and Darwin and others think that, perhaps from some conformation of the brain affected by long ages of mental action, resulting from the necessity of constant watchfulness against brute and human enemies, in the dark especially, these mental terrors may be inherited from our gloom-fearing savage ancestors. The "Neifelheim" (place of torment) of Northern mythology was a pit of mist and damp, and sorrowful wading among reptiles; and in the early days of the Northmen in England there must have been great dread and discomfort in districts with such a rainfall as ours, with such abundant streams and undrained lands, with their dense fogs, and exaggerated mists, and misleading lights. Surely these may have some association with,
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or influence on, the name "Taggy bell," if it is a Danish word, which analogy does not forbid the probability of—though nothing more positive may be said—and if so, as Bell of the Gloaming, the Mist, or the Darkness, it is a more natural as well as a more powerful and poetical term, than if it is considered merely as that for the Norman extinguisher.

Many authorities prove the antiquity of the eight o'clock bell before the institution of the Norman curfew in England. Though this was rigidly observed by the extinction of all fires and candles in William's reign, in that of Henry I. the edict was repealed or modified, so far that lamps were restored at court, after the ringing of the curfew. In the reign of Richard I., in London, it was enacted of persons wandering by night, "it is forbidden that any be so daring as to be found wandering about the streets of the city after the curfew rings out at St. Martin's Le Grand, or St. Saviours, on pain of being proscuted." In a late article on East London, by Rev. Harry Jones, is mentioned the ringing of the curfew at St. George's not long ago.

Mr. Ornsby said that bells were rung in his parish, and in some adjoining, at six o'clock in the evening, and that could scarcely be called curfew. They were rung also at six in the morning and at noon, the latter being called the angelus bell. He was not aware of any other place except Yorkshire where such ringing of bells took place. Dr. Simpson said there was great variety in the time of ringing the bells. Early morning bells were often rung to give intimation to labourers that it was time to rise and go to work. At six o'clock the bell might be rung to intimate that the day's work was ended. He should like to see a list of the places where the eight o'clock bell is still rung. He would like to have better proof, and he was not so convinced as to swear to it, but in all probability Curfew did exist before William the Conqueror's time. Mr. Ornsby said that the six o'clock bell was more likely rung to call people to prayers.

Note by the Editor. At Roccliffe, near Carlisle, an eight o'clock bell is rung under the name of the "Curfew Bell," but this custom dates back only some thirty years, to the rebuilding of the Church.

ART. XIV.—*On the Remains of a Stockade recently found in Carlisle.* BY R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.

Read at Gilsland, June 21st, 1877.

MOST of the members of this Society will be aware that very extensive building operations, necessitating deep excavations, have for some time past been in progress within the area once enclosed by the Norman Walls of the city of Carlisle. Two such excavations especially commended themselves to me, and probably to others also, as likely mines of antiquarian wealth; the one, the site of the Bush Hotel, whose vicinity has for years yielded up quantities of Roman "finds;" the other, Bank Street, which has always proved rich in bones, being the site, as is believed, of the burial ground of the Grey Friars: here, when the ground was some months ago cleared, was found a portion of a very heavy mediæval sepulchral slab,* while at the west end, where stands the Bank, was found, close to the surface, the skeleton of a horse, a relic no doubt of the White Hart stables, and below that again many human bones.

Knowing this much, I watched both these excavations with interest and anxiety.

I shall first describe the Bush site and find:—

(1) The Bush Hotel stood at the edge of a plateau, which, behind or west of the Bush, formed a very steep declivity, well known as the Bush Brow, midway on which stood the Norman West Curtain Wall of Carlisle, with the city ditch below it. Steep as is this declivity, as we

* The stone was found utilised as a foundation stone in the cellar of the White Lion; it was the foot of an incised grave slab of very great weight and thickness; it showed the bottom of a very large cross, standing on degrees, or steps, and four letters which read ETAR. I am told a smaller, and complete one, without letters, was afterwards found.

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know it, its lower portion must have once been steeper, for there is there from 20 to 30 feet of made, or artificial soil. More than fifty years ago, when the gaol was building, Mr. C. Hodgson, brother of Hodgson, the Northumberland historian, took a section of this declivity on an east and west line, a few yards south of the Bush Brow. This section was published in the 2nd volume of the *Archæologia Æliana*. Mr. C. Hodgson describes the made soil as "a light blue clay, which is very uncommonly found in the neighbourhood of Carlisle; the clay of that district being all of a red colour, and such as is usually met with in new red sand formations. * * * Several fragments of red earthenware, being ornaments in bas relief, were found in the stratum of rubbish." This was precisely the character of the soil under the Bush. The artificial soil was about 12 feet or more in depth, and was full of fragments of red Roman pottery, of the kind termed Samian, some of which bore the potters stamp, "Advocisi" and "Advocisus" was no doubt its manufacturer. About six feet below the surface two small vases were found, one only of which was preserved; it is made of coarse red sandy clay, and is no doubt a local production of Roman date.

Some 10 feet below the surface was found the top of a stockade running diagonally across the site for about 30 feet, from N.W. to S.E. This stockade consisted of three rows of oak posts, each row a foot apart, and each stake a foot apart, set quincunx fashion thus :

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        *      *      *      *      *
    *      *      *      *      *      *
  
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or the stakes of the middle row, opposite the interstices of the outer rows, so that, as the excavators observed, a man could not come straight through them.

A few feet outside or west of the stockade, was a tank
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of oak, planked with oak slabs. A perfect examination could not be made of this, as the superjacent earth was not removed from it; and no bottom could be found to it by prodding with a rod. It was about two feet across one way. It is very singular that a similar oak tank was found by Mr. C. Hodgson, in the gaol: it is described in the *Archæologia Æliana* as "composed of square oak frames, covered on the outside with riven oak boards. This tank was about 7 feet deep." It was full of black sludge intermixed with stones and other rubbish. A pitcher was found within it, at about 15 feet below the surface: Mr. C. Hodgson does not give the depth of the top of the tank below the surface. The tank opened the other day contained sludge and stones, much resembling that described by Mr. C. Hodgson, who ascribes his tank and the pitcher found in it to the times of the very first Roman settlers in this country, which he infers "from a very great quantity of Roman earthenware and other antiquities which were found all over parts about the tank." This very sensible inference is of great importance, when we come to consider the date of the stockade.

The works of the new viaduct have opened out a section, from the Bush, in an east and west line parallel to that taken by Mr. C. Hodgson, but about 15 feet to its north, and with very similar results as to the depth of the made soil. Some coins and pottery were discovered; and a cotta head of a female; also, at a depth of 10 feet, a Roman road running north and south, and paved with stones set in hydraulic mortar. This road was outside the Norman Curtain Wall.

(2) At the Bank Street excavations the first things brought up by the spade, were a couple or so of skulls, and then Roman pottery and coins began to appear; a vase and a lamp or two being got by Mr. Carrick, and a brass fibula by Mr. Fisher. Mr. Cory will presently describe to the Society certain metal objects found here.*

* See his paper immediately following this.

Some of the Samian ware was highly ornate with hunting scenes. At six feet below the surface was found the top of a stockade of identically the same character as that found on the Bush site, the three rows of oak posts set quincunx fashion. The posts here were dug out, and are about 4 feet long, and 6 inches by 4 inches thick, pointed at both ends. There was a long strip of stockade disclosed, running north and south, and apparently continuing each way under the unexcavated soil north and south. From the centre of this a cross piece ran at right angles to the east.

The upper part of this stockade showed traces of fire, but the lower portions were as fresh, and as sharp at the angles, as if just cut by the axe.

Mr. Carrick, who visited the Bank Street stockade with me, recollects that many years ago, when a sewer was put in Citadel Row, a precisely similiar stockade was found there. Mr. Cartmell tells me that similar piling was found running across Castle Street, when Messrs. Carr's shops there were built.

These stockades must, from their similarity, be all part of one design, one fortification, and the question is to determine what that is.

The supposition that they were piles to support a building may be dismissed at once. In the first place, any Roman or Mediæval building of sufficient importance to require piling as a foundation would have had walls at least four feet thick, and this piling is but two feet across. Secondly, the tops of the piles are pointed, and not cut flat across, as they would be to support foundation stones. Thirdly, they occur in sites where there would be no necessity for piles, as the natural and solid ground, very solid, is little below the tops of the stockade.

With regard to date; the stockades cannot be Norman, or later, driven into the Roman strata. At the Bush site the Roman stratum extends four to six feet above the top
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of the stockade: in Bank Street the Roman stratum is level with, and perhaps a little over, the stockade tops. They must then be early Roman at the latest.

I do not believe them to be pre-Roman, for the following reasons. There is no evidence that the site of Carlisle was, prior to the Roman invasion, a British town. On the contrary, the evidence is rather the other way, for when, in 1859, an extensive collection of local antiquities was collected together under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Mr. Franks, Mr. Tucker, and Mr. Albert Way, in classifying the curiosities brought together, were unable to identify any found in Carlisle as belonging to the "Antiquities of the Earlier Period," although several objects both of stone and bronze were submitted to them from other parts of Cumberland. In their second class, that of Roman and Romano-British objects, Carlisle proved rich, and to that class may be assigned many discoveries of ancient pottery made in Carlisle since the visit of the Institute to that city. Moreover, of the nine towns assigned by Ptolemy to the Brigantes, seven were east of the chain of hills that runs through the district occupied by that tribe, and no case can be made out for placing either of the two remaining in Cumberland: one, Galagum or Galgacum, has been allocated in Westmorland, and the other, Rigodunum, in Lancashire. No doubt some wretched wigwams the British had at Carlisle, probably on the Castle Hill, both as the highest ground and as convenient to the Eden, on whose salmon they would to a great degree subsist. But there was no collection of Britons at Carlisle to stretch from the Castle Hill to the present Court Houses, where one portion of the stockade we are considering was found. The sharpness and angularity of the lower parts of the stakes taken out in Bank Street indicate, also, that they were cut by workmen possessed of better tools than the Britons were likely to have. Mr. Cory will presently exhibit a
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very remarkable iron trenching tool, found with the Bank Street stockade.

I therefore assign these stockades to the early days of the Roman occupation. The burnt tops of the Bank Street stockade may record some attack by the Britons, or only an accidental fire.

It has been doubted whether Carlisle was girt by a stone wall or not in the time of the Roman occupation. It is very doubtful whether it was a military post or not; it certainly had no garrison at the time that the *Notitia* was compiled, (about 400 A.D.) but depended entirely for its defence on the great wall of Hadrian to the north, and the adjacent station at Stanwix (see Mr. Hodgson Hinde, *The Archæological Journal*, September, 1859, p. 218). On the other hand there is a passage in Mr. Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, which goes to shew that the Norman Walls of Carlisle stood on the foundations of an older Roman Wall. Mr. Hodgson writes thus of Carlisle: "That it was strongly fortified in the Roman age is plain from the fact that much of the city wall was built upon old ramparts, as appeared not many years since, by several centurial stones still remaining there in their original positions. I make this assertion, I must own, on no very strong evidence—only that of a note without date or reference in my own handwriting in a copy of *Nicolson and Burns' Cumberland*, but I think from information given to me by the late Mr. G. A. Dickson, of Newcastle, who was a skilful and zealous antiquary."—Hodgson's *Northumberland*, Pt. II., Vol. III., pp. 219-20. The odd thing is that no one else has ever seen these stones. Mr. Hodgson nowhere says he saw them, nor does his brother Mr. C. Hodgson mention them in his many communications to the *Archæologia Æliana* about Roman antiquities in Carlisle; nor does Mr. G. A. Dickson, who frequently made communications to the *Archæologia Æliana* about Cumberland and Carlisle in connection with
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Roman antiquities. I have searched vainly for them: the portions of the wall now remaining are full of Roman stones, evidently not in their original positions. In a stone wall of Roman date round Carlisle I do not believe. But did it exist, it would be later than this stockade. I may add that the section given in the *Archæologia Æliana* shows that the foundations of the West Wall of Carlisle are in the Roman deposit, some height above the natural soil. If these foundations are Roman they must be late Roman.

The conclusion then, that I arrive at, is that the Romans in the early days of their occupancy fortified Carlisle with a stockade of oak posts, which included a less area than the Norman wall afterwards took in. As times grew quieter they neglected this stockade, and Roman rubbish accumulated against it; and a Roman villa, (its hypocaust was found half a century ago under the present gaol,) was built outside the useless stockade by some citizen of wealth.

I have just a word or two to say about the tanks; the one found by Mr. C. Hodgson, and the one now found are precisely similar, and appear to have been rubbish holes. They are outside the stockade, which, in the case of so orderly a people as the Romans, is natural. Similar ones have been found elsewhere, see Article III. in this volume, and also Wright's "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," p. 215, 3rd Edition. Mr. Wright says such are always found outside Roman towns, and are places for personal easement.

ART. XV.—*On certain objects of metal recently found in Carlisle.* BY J. A. CORY, ESQ.

Read at Gilsland, June 21st, 1877.

I have been requested to say a few words this evening about some specimens of Roman metal work lately found in Carlisle, which I think are worthy of attention, and by the kind permission of their owners, I am enabled to lay them before you. The first, which belongs to Mr. Wheatley, was found in the Eden, near Carlisle; it is the bust of a young woman, (maybe a goddess, for they are much alike I believe); it is cut off exactly like a modern doll's head, but it has been rebated as though the rest of the body, or a plate had been attached to it; there is also a projection with a rivet above as if something else had been fixed to it, as undoubtedly there has been, for in its present state it would be useless as a box, which it evidently was intended for, as on the top of the head are the remains of a hinge by which a lid was formerly attached; on each side of the head is a loop; by passing a pin through the loops the lid would be securely fastened, or through these loops chains might have been passed. It is an excellent specimen of bronze casting, the face is pleasing in expression and well modelled, the drapery is buttoned with a fibula over the left shoulder, while the right bosom is left bare, the hair is cut straight across the forehead in a fashion which prevailed not long ago with young ladies, while the back hair is left rather wild. As a work of art it is evidently too good for a later date than the time of Caracalla 217, and I should be inclined to place the time of its execution about the middle of the second century, in the time of Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius; its size is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high by $3\frac{3}{8}$ wide.

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The three small articles of jewellery have been lent by Mr. Fisher, of Bank Street, they were found in the recent excavations in Bank Street, two of them are brooches, one is of bronze, the other appears to be of much debased gold; the bronze one has lost the spring, which in the other still remains. The method of fastening them is the same as that adopted in the now called safety pins. The other ornament appears to have been a portion of a clasp, but I am quite open to receive any other opinion as to its former use. They are all of late Roman date; a coin of Constantine was found not many yards from them. Another very interesting object, and one, as far as I know, quite unique, has been kindly lent me by Mr. Court: it was found amongst the top of the piles of the stockade in Bank Street, of which Mr. Ferguson has given us a description. On one side is a griffin with wings extended, its paws standing out, its ears very much like bats' ears erect, and its mane or crest running up and forming the midrib of an acanthus leaf. On the back, for it is wrought on both sides, is a dolphin, whose curved body forms a loop through which the fore finger may be thrust and the object carried about; above this dolphin's tail is a socket in which something is intended to be held; at the bottom is a square dowel for inserting in a stand; the object is evidently intended to be carried about at pleasure or to be placed in a fixed stand. I presume it to have been intended to hold a lamp, possibly a candle. I place it before you to form your own conjectures if you think mine unsatisfactory; the workmanship is excellent, the design is artistic, the manner in which the acanthus leaf is divided, the raffling of the leaf as it is technically called, and the manner in which the veins are placed, denotes rather a late date, and I should suppose it to have been executed about the time of Dioclesian, at the end of the third century; its size is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{7}{8}$.

To one other metal relic I shall call your attention, it is
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iron tool being much like a stubbing axe— a pick at one end, and is fashioned like a spade or sharp edge on the other. It had a remnant of a wooden handle in the socket when found. It must have been a valuable tool for using in stiff clay, or amongst roots, or very hard ground ; considering it is iron, it has been wonderfully preserved ; it was likewise found near the stockade, and lent me by Mr. Fisher.

Near the new embankment, a silver denarius of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, was found ; it was much corroded and a part broken off. She died in the year 137. Although not a work of metal, I wish to shew you a fragment of Samian ware, it is a lion head spout of a flat vessel, it is curious from the manner in which it has been worn away ; the execution is good, it was likewise found near the stockade.

ART. XVI.—*The Shire or County Tolls, belonging to the City of Carlisle.* By WILLIAM NANSON, B.A.

Read at Gilsland, June 21st, 1877.

THERE is at Gilsland, near the Cumberland end of the bridge which crosses the Poltross Burn, the boundary between the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, a toll-board which informs the passers-by that certain tolls are payable to the city of Carlisle, for horses, cattle, and sheep brought into or taken out of the county of Cumberland for sale. This toll, belonging to the Corporation of Carlisle, is collected at the boundaries of the county, and is known by the name of the shire or county toll. It is now payable only on horses, cattle, and sheep, but formerly extended to goods and merchandise, as well as live stock, as appears by the following list of tolls, which takes us back to a time when the carrying trade in the north of England was conducted by means of pack-horses. The toll was to be paid for all cattle bought in the county and carried or driven out of the same to any other place, or that have passed or do pass out of the said county to any other place to be sold; and for all goods carried in packs or otherwise on horseback or men's backs into or out of the county to be sold, if the same were above the value of 6½d., after the following rates, that is to say—

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For every bull, ox, cow, or steer	1
For every horse	2
For every score of sheep	2
For every horse-load of any commodities which came out of Scotland or Ireland, at the coming into the said county	4
And at going out thereof	1
For every fardell on horsebacks or men's backs, being less than a pack	1
And for all goods passing out of the said county for Scot- land, being less than a pack	4
You	

You will observe that there is no mention of carts or waggons, for the list was drawn up before the military way was made, and when the only road from Newcastle to Carlisle was by the old packhorse road called the "Stane-gate." You will also observe that special mention is made of goods coming into the county from Scotland or Ireland, and passing out of the county into Scotland. The list is not at all clear, and it is difficult to say whether there was a toll on English goods or not. If there was, as seems probable, it has not been collected for many years. Scotchmen were, it is said, always charged with a double toll both on entering the city of Carlisle and county of Cumberland, and the Corporation were formerly possessed of a toll which was always, whilst it existed, called the "Scotch toll." This Scotch toll was abolished by the sixth article of the Act of Union, which directed generally

"That all parts of the United Kingdom for ever, from and after the Union, shall have the same allowances, encouragements, and draw-backs, and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations of trade, and liable to the same customs and duties on import and export,"

and particularly,

"That from and after the Union, no Scots cattle carried into England shall be liable to any other duties either on public or private accounts, than those duties to which the cattle of England are or shall be liable within the said Kingdom."

The citizens of Carlisle lost a considerable part of their revenue by the abolition of the Scotch toll, and they presented a petition to the House of Commons praying for compensation. Their petition was successful, and an Act of Parliament passed in the fifth year of Queen Anne's reign which authorised the raising of money for various purposes, directed it to be applied, amongst other things,

"For enabling her Majesty to make a recompense, not exceeding 2641*l.* to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of the city of Carlisle for such tolls as they are to be deprived of by the 6th article

article of the said Treaty of Union, which recompense is to go to and for the same purposes to which the said tolls ought to have been applied."

The Corporation subsequently procured a license from the crown to hold lands in mortmain, and invest the money in the purchase of land. From the same Act of Parliament we get information of another toll levied within the county of Cumberland, for a further purpose to which the money raised under the Act was to be applied, was,

"For enabling her Majesty to make a recompense, not exceeding 5000*l.* to Joseph Musgrave, Thomas Musgrave, and George Musgrave, sons of Sir Christopher Musgrave, Baronet, deceased, in full discharge of all tolls in Westmorland and Cumberland, that were granted to Sir Philip Musgrave by Charles II., and which are specified in the grants of James II. and King William III., to the late Sir Christopher Musgrave."

What was the precise nature of these tolls I have not as yet been able to discover, but it is quite certain that they were something different from the shire toll, because we know that the citizens of Carlisle and the Musgraves were both collecting their tolls at the same time.* The original grant I have not seen, but I have been shown a copy of the petition of the Musgraves for compensation, in which they speak of "the taking off the *duties* of Scotch cattle," which looks as if the tolls were of the nature of customs. It seems also that the greatest portion was collected at the port of Whitehaven, which confirms this supposition. As to the Scotch toll of the citizens of Carlisle, it was generally let to farm separately, and not as a part of the shire toll, and it was collected at several places along the border by men who were called "waiters."

* *Note by the Editor.* William Christian was collector of the tolls in the time of Charles II., probably for the Corporation; he and Sir Philip Musgrave were always at loggerheads about the tolls, and Christian got Sir Philip arrested as he was going to attend a meeting of Deputy Lieutenants. In the Record Office is a strongly worded complaint by Sir Philip of this indignity.—See my *Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s.*, pp 14, 417. These tolls were the subject of much correspondence between Sir Philip Musgrave and Sir Joseph Williamson, from which I hope Mr. Nanson will find additional information on this interesting subject.

And

And now how are we to account for the fact that the citizens of Carlisle have the right of taking toll, outside the liberties of their city, at the boundary of the county of Cumberland? The explanation of the matter is to be found in a writ of Henry III. to the sheriff of Cumberland, dated the 29th September, in the fifth year of his reign (A.D. 1221), and preserved in the Chancery Fine Rolls. This writ is a most important document, not only because it distinctly mentions the shire toll by name, and is probably the only early document which does mention it, but also because it contains most valuable information respecting the early municipal history of Carlisle. It begins by reciting that an inquisition had been made by the King's command, whereby it was found that the citizens of Carlisle had formerly held their city of the sheriff of Cumberland at a yearly rent of £52, and that, together with the city, the citizens were accustomed to have two mills which were under the city, and a certain fishery in Eden, and the toll of the shire (*theolonium comitatus*) to make the ferm or rent of the city. It then states that the king has granted to the citizens their city with the appurtenances to farm during his pleasure at a yearly rent of £60, to be paid by the citizens at the Exchequer, half-yearly at Easter and Michaelmas, and commands the sheriff to cause the citizens to have full seisin of the city, together with the mills, and fishery, and toll, to enable them to pay the yearly rent of £60. This is briefly what is contained in the writ, and as it gives us the date of a transaction which is an important point in the history of Carlisle, an explanation of what took place, although necessarily rather technical, may not be without interest.

The sheriff to whom the writ is addressed was in every county the officer who represented the King, and whose business it was to collect whatever was due to him. Twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas, the sheriff went up to the Court at Westminster to render an account of the revenue

revenue of his shire to the Barons of the Exchequer, who sat at their counting-table, once covered by the well-known chequered cloth, and received the money from the sheriff. There were many different items which the sheriff had to account for, as the revenue was derived from various sources; but the first item was always the "firma comitatus," the ferm of the shire. It included all the ancient claims which the King, as the head of the nation, had upon owners of land in the kingdom, to enable him to keep up his royal state, and to support his retinue when he travelled through the country. These offerings were before the Conquest frequently made in kind, and corn and cattle were brought to the Treasury as the tribute of the various shires; but under the Norman Kings this share of the produce of the land was commuted for a money payment. Besides this ancient source of revenue the king, as king, was possessed of large estates, which formed the royal demesne or crown lands. The revenue derived from the demesne land in the county was included in the former part of the "firma comitatus." The sheriff had also to account for many items not included in the ferm of the shire which may be classed under the head of feudal income. These consisted of the rents and services due to the king from the tenants of manors which were in his hands, and of aids, reliefs, and other feudal incidents which the crown exacted from the holder of fiefs. The feudal incidents varied in amount in different years, but the "firma comitatus," was a fixed sum, supposed to represent the average income derived from the county, and for this sum the sheriff was bound to account. All that he collected over and above the amount he was allowed to appropriate to his own use; when it fell short he had to make up the difference out of his own purse. It is easy to see that such a system left the door open for a good deal of extortion on the part of the sheriff.

Let us now look at the position of the city of Carlisle
under

under this system. Situate in the southern part of the old Strathclyde, which was conquered by William Rufus, and the city having been restored and fortified by him, Carlisle became a royal city, a part of the demesne of the crown. Many English towns belonged to lay lords and some to ecclesiastical, but the citizens of Carlisle were tenants of the king, and held their land and houses within the city of him. The consequence of this was that the rents they had to pay for their burgages, and all other profits derived from the town, were collected by the sheriff as the financial officer of the crown, and he accounted for them to the Exchequer as part of the "firma comitatus." The earlier rolls containing the sheriff's accounts do not furnish us with the proportion paid by Carlisle as a town of the royal demesne, but merely state that the sheriff paid so much for the ferm of the shire, without specifying the items. The City was under the jurisdiction of the sheriff, who exercised the same superintendence within its walls as he did over the county. He collected from the citizens the rents of their burgage tenements and he watched over their Courts of Justice, and took the fees paid by the suitors for the crown. Such a system, as the town grew in wealth and importance, became a great burthen. The sheriff wanted to get as much money from the county as he could, and money was most easily rung from the rich burghers. As early as the reign of Henry II. they had formed themselves into a merchant guild, and probably in that reign, after Carlisle had been surrendered by Malcolm, and finally annexed to the kingdom of England, the first step was taken towards separating the city from the county, and securing it against the exactions of the sheriff. The writ tells us that quite early in the reign of Henry III. the proportion payable to the sheriff as a contribution of Carlisle to the ferm of the county of Cumberland had been settled at a fixed sum, and therefore it seems probable that this was done under Henry II., when the citizens obtained their

their first charter and liberty to form a free merchant guild. This guild or brotherhood of the leading citizens probably prevailed upon the sheriff to let them rent from him the profits of the city at a fixed sum. The sheriff was saved the trouble of collecting, and the citizens levied the amount of the rents proportionately amongst themselves, thus getting rid of foreign interference. The sum of £52 which the citizens paid yearly to the sheriff, besides the rent of the city, or *firma burgi*, as it was called (just as the rent of the county paid by the sheriff was called *firma comitatus*), included the rents of two mills, a fishery in Eden, and the shire toll. The king, as lord of the city, was entitled to require that all citizens should grind their corn at his mills. The citizens now rented the mills from the sheriff and compelled all the people living in the town to grind their corn at them. They also took the fishery, which they probably found means to make more profitable than the sheriff could, and they were allowed to collect the shire toll. From these three sources they probably made enough to pay the *firma burgi*, and in later times they made a great deal more. Still, the city was only a part of the county under the jurisdiction of the sheriff, who was yet able to exercise his power to the annoyance of the citizens if he was so disposed. The next step, therefore, towards municipal freedom was to take the collection of the *firma burgi* out of the hands of the sheriff altogether, and to make the citizens accountable directly to the crown. And this is just what the writ effected. The sheriff had, before the date of the writ, held the city under the king. Now he is directed to hand it over with the mills, fishery, and toll to the citizens, and they hold it of the king at £60 a-year, during his pleasure. The arrangement does not seem to have been binding on the king. It is certain that long after this time the city was again in the hands of the sheriff, who had probably offered a higher rent than the citizens

citizens, and it was not until the ninth year of Edward II. that the city was permanently granted to the citizens at a perpetual, or fee-farm, rent of £80 a-year. This continued to be paid until the first year of Edward IV., who reduced the fee-farm rent to £40, on account of the impoverished and ruined state in which the city was left after the Wars of the Roses, and that sum of £40 is still paid out of the city fund every year to Lord Lonsdale, as the grantee of the crown.

It seems, then, that the shire toll, before the citizens got it, belonged to the king, and was either collected or let out by the sheriff, and accounted for by him in the *firma comitatus*. The toll may have had its origin in a duty or custom, imposed by the king on exports and imports, but most likely it was a charge made for the privilege of passing through the royal manors and the great forest of Cumberland which extended at one time from Carlisle to Penrith, and if so, it may well be as old as the conquest by William Rufus. When only a small portion of the country was enclosed, and when the roads where for the most part the tracks of old Roman roads across the moorlands, droves of cattle wandered through the country, going by slow stages from place to place, and finding pasture by the way as they do now in Australia. It was not unreasonable that the owner of the land should demand something for allowing them to pass, and for the grass which the cattle consumed, and in such a payment as this the toll probably originated. The Corporation used to let the shire toll to persons who sometimes may have employed collectors of their own, as is done now, but who more often sub-let the toll at particular places on the boundary to persons living there, and who being on the spot could more easily collect it. These were sometimes the keepers of wayside inns where the drovers stopped to refresh. In an action respecting the shire toll, tried in the last century, one Lucy Slater was a witness. She was the wife of the landlord of an inn at Eamont Bridge,

Bridge, perhaps the one adorned with a sign board on which a kilted warrior is shaking hands with a man in a peaceful southern costume, and underneath the motto, "Welcome into Cumberland," and which in recent times happened to be kept by a man of the name of Westmorland. Lucy Slater deposed that toll was demanded at Eamont Bridge at a penny per score of cattle, but that they were not very exact in counting nor in receiving toll for the odd cattle above an even score; that she and her husband paid £40 a-year for the tolls at Eamont Bridge, which they were induced to take because they found a benefit from it in selling liquors; that when the drovers drank freely they were more favourable in counting the cattle; that the drovers always paid the toll very well if her husband or any man attended, but if she only attended, or there were none but women, they often disputed and would evade paying if they could. It seems that the collectors had at times a good deal of difficulty with the drovers, and sometimes, when it was worth while, they seized a cow or a sheep as a distress, a proceeding which was apt to lead to litigation. The old Corporation of Carlisle, however, don't seem to have troubled their heads about free trade or political economy, and whenever their right to their tolls was seriously attacked they were ready to fight for them. In the reign of Charles II. in 1674, at which time the lead mines on Alston Moor began to flourish, they had a dispute with Sir Francis Radcliffe, who was lord of the manor of Alston, and his tenants, because they refused to pay toll at Alston Moor. To enforce their right the Corporation exhibited a bill in Exchequer against Sir Francis. An issue was directed to be tried at York assizes to determine whether the Corporation had a right to take toll in the manor of Alston, and a verdict was found in favour of their right. In the first year of James II., 1685, another bill was exhibited against Sir Francis Radcliffe and others, by Timothy Haddock, the lessee of the tolls. The point in
dispute

dispute seems to have been whether lead ore was liable to pay toll, and whether goods and merchandise coming to the county by sea were also liable. Various issues were raised, and there were several trials at assizes, and hearings before the Court of Exchequer at Westminster, in which Haddock was successful, but the defendants fought hard, and after about ten years of constant litigation they appealed to the House of Lords, which straightway ordered a new trial. This seems to have been too much for poor Timothy Haddock, for he died before the new trial took place, and though there was a talk of reviving the case as late as 1717, it seems after all that it never got decided. In 1761 the Corporation were again obliged to contest their right to the shire toll, and after a hard fight they succeeded in getting a verdict at York assizes, in the summer of 1774, upon which it was decreed that the right of the Corporation to the toll on cattle should be established, and the defendants had to pay the costs; after this the toll does not seem to have ever been very seriously disputed. It was not of course possible to be continually watching the boundaries of the county at all places, and it only paid to collect the toll on the great roads. It is curious, however, to observe that some of the places are not on the present main thoroughfares, but were on what were called drift roads, tracks which were soft and grassy, and well suited for driving cattle along, and which the drovers passed at times when they might be looked for on their way to and from the great fairs. One of these places, called Hudforth, is a ford on the river Eamont, not far from where it joins the Eden, and it is said that many more cattle crossed the boundary here than at Eamont Bridge by the high road, because the roads leading to and from Hudford were soft. Another spot at which the toll was collected was Millrig, near Culgaith, and not far from Hudford, only on the other side of the Eden valley, which seems to have been a great route for cattle going south, especially at the time of Brough Hill

Hill fair. They could go either by the right or left bank of the river, and, besides getting a soft road, they saved the angle made by the high road, which, instead of going straight from Carlisle to Appleby, up the Eden valley, is carried through Penrith, following the course of the great Roman road, which Mr. R. S. Ferguson identifies as the 2nd Iter. Other well-known places were Pooley Bridge, Dud-don Bridge, Cockley Bridge, and Dunmail Raise or Raise Gap as it was called. Toll was also collected at Long Marton, which seems puzzling at first, because it is in Westmorland, and some few miles from the boundary. The reason no doubt was because Long Marton is situate on the Maiden Way. This ancient highway was, before the making of railways, a great drift road for cattle coming into England from Scotland by way of Bewcastle. At that place, if not before, they joined the Maiden Way, and followed its course across Spadeadam Waste and the Gils-land Fells and on from Burdoswald to Alston parish, and then across the wild regions of the Pennine range down to Kirkland, and into Westmorland, where, after crossing Newbiggin Moor, the first village they would come to would be Long Marton. There was no place actually on the boundary where the collector could have lived, except as a hermit, and so he had to take the toll at Long Marton, either before the cattle entered Cumberland or after they had left it. There is not, as far as I know, any toll in all England similar to the shire toll, and the curious fact of its belonging to Carlisle, and its being at any rate older than the beginning of the 13th century, make it to the antiquarian a venerable and interesting impost, though it may be regarded in a different light by political economists and cattle drovers.

Mr. Atkinson observed that the people of Westmorland had never paid tolls on cattle going from Westmorland into Cumberland until four or five years ago, and now it was being refused.—Mr. Cartmell
said

said that the reason was the Corporation of Carlisle let their tolls, and the collector did not waste money by collecting what was not worth the trouble, as but few cattle went from Westmorland into Cumberland, compared with those going the other way. Westmorland people had, perhaps, been sharp enough to take their cattle by roads not watched, but they had no exemption that he ever heard of.—Dr. Simpson suggested that perhaps the toll was granted to the people of Cumberland on account of the damage they suffered at the hands of the Scots, and they must look for its origin earlier than Henry II.—Mr. W. Nanson said that in all probability the toll originated because the king had so much land in Cumberland. People passing through used his roads and ate his grass, and in its origin the toll was more likely for the benefit of the king than of the shire.

The following communication from Cornelius Nicholson, Esq., F.G.S., F.S.A., was laid before the Society, at Furness. The two tolls, the Cumberland toll and the Highgate toll, are, in Mr. Nanson's opinion, identical in kind, but different in degree:—

On Customary and Prescriptive Tolls,—in illustration of the "Shire Tolls" in Cumberland.

Mr. Nanson read, at the Archæological Society, at Gilsland, an interesting paper on the *Shire Toll*, collected for the passage of horses, cattle, and sheep, at the northern boundary of the county of Cumberland. And though he has evidently made a searching enquiry into the subject he has not been able to trace the date of its origin, nor its royal or subject founder. And, he adds, in conclusion, "there is not, as far as he knows, any toll in England similar to this shire toll." So, in the discussion that followed, it was observed that Mr. A. E. Freeman (the historian, I presume?) had stated "that it was one of the most peculiar things he had met with."

We have a case almost exactly similar, at Highgate, on the north side of London, and I regret to add that the date of *this* prescriptive toll is involved in almost as much uncertainty as the shire toll in Cumberland. Mr. Nanson conjectures that, in the last-named case, "it was most likely a charge made for the privilege of passing through the royal manors in the great forest of Cumberland, (? Inglewood.) So, in this other instance in the south. It was a toll imposed by the then Bishop of London, the owner of the forest of Middlesex,* for so

* The Bishops of London, before the Reformation, were quite as powerful, if not more powerful, than kings.—*St. Dunstan*, for an example, who, like Guy of Warwick, was a kingmaker.

much

much of the native forest as still remains goes to this day by the name of *The Bishop's Wood*. Norden, in his "Speculum Britannæ," says, "The ancient highwaie from Clerkenwell northwards was refused of wayfaring men and carriers by reason of the deepness and dirtie passage in the winter season. In regarde whereof it was agreed between the Bishop of London and the Countrie that a newe waie shoulde be laide forth through the said Bishop's Park, for which new waie all carriers, packmen, and such like travellers yealde a certain tole, which is now farmed at £40 per ann." [A tremendous rent at that time—1593.] Camden, in his "Britannia," noticing this road, (styled elsewhere "a *causeway*,") says, "it must have been opened upwards of 500 years." That carries the origin to a *very* remote antiquity. Of one thing, I think, there can be no doubt, namely, that the adoption of this "newe waie" over Highgate hill gave the name to Highgate, which is composed of two purely Saxon words, *heah-gate*. Further, this toll is not leviable on carriages or on equestrians, but on lead-horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs. The charge is 1d. for a horse or cow, and 4d. for a score of cows. There was, within living memory, a *gate* at Highgate, fixed to the public-house called "Gate-house"; the bar now consists of a pole swung across the road; but the toll-collector is not in constant attendance day and night, and the toll is chiefly made at the time of Barnett-fair, which is, or rather which was, a time of great traffic. The bar is *only* put across the road at that time.

At the Highgate petty sessions, I and my brother magistrates have had frequent summonses to adjudicate arising from squabbles and scuffles between the toll-collector and obstinate passengers, and we have been appealed to by the lessee of the toll to support him in what he calls his *lawful* duty. We say that we have jurisdiction only on a charge of assault, *pure et simple*. I am not aware that the legal right to levy and collect the toll has ever come before any court, or received judicial sanction. Mr. Nanson is better authority than I can pretend to be on the legal question; my simple lay opinion is against its legality, and still more against its equity, for this road at Highgate is now a parochial highway, kept in repair by the parish authorities. If then, the tax be for upholding the road, surely the bishop or his lessee has lost his title if he ever had one.

ART. XVII.—*Over Denton Church.* BY CHARLES J. FERGUSON.

Read at that place, June 21st, 1877.

THE church at Over Denton is built of stones taken evidently from the Roman wall, and is remarkable among the churches in Cumberland in retaining so much of its original form and character untouched,—presenting a curious example of what was the early type of church in this diocese. From a germ, such as this, were developed, by gradual additions and alterations, most of the churches of the diocese; the general process being, first, the lengthening, in Norman times, of short Norman chancels, as at Dacre and Torpenhow; then the widening of the nave by the addition of aisles, as at Ormside, Dacre, Torpenhow, and Gilcruix; the lengthening of the nave by the addition of a tower, of which many instances may be given; the increasing the size of the windows, as the use of glass became more general; the rebuilding, on a larger scale, of some part of the building; the addition of aisles, transepts, and, finally, of the modern sash window; Over Denton church, therefore, is peculiarly interesting in having little or no history, and in thus illustrating a first step in the church building of this diocese.

The church consists of a chancel, nave, and belfry,—the chancel being only 11 feet wide and 12 feet long. The original chancel arch remains. The window to the east end is a modern insertion, that to the south an insertion of the thirteenth century. The nave possesses two doorways, the principal one to the south is square-headed, the lintel being supported on two quaintly wrought corbels; that to the north is now built up, and was probably originally used for processional purposes. A little to the
east

east of it, one of the original Norman windows still remains, a rounded-headed slit, only a few inches wide, made before the general use of glass, and kept with good reason as small as possible. The two windows to the south are modern insertions, occupying no doubt the position of the originals. The west wall and belfry are also modern, erected on the old foundations. The roofs are in great decay, and, in fact, are only kept up by props.

A very large stone in the chancel covers, to judge from the sound, a vaulting, but no record or tradition exists about it.

The history of this church presents some curious points, not the least of which is the doubt once entertained as to whether this church and its parish were in the diocese of Durham or of Carlisle. Bishop Nicolson, in his account of the diocese of Carlisle (1703), under the head of Denton, writes, "There's another church at Upper or Over Denton, which is said to be in the diocese of Durham." The bishop caused enquiry to be made at Durham, and it turned out that in a Roll of Livings, belonging to the diocese of Durham, and made in 1498, was, "Ecclesia de Denton in Gillesland:" further, it appeared that in 1507 a synod was held by the Dean and Chapter of Durham, "Sede Vacante," and among the clerks that were cited were "Rector de Knaresdale et Rector de Denton in Gyllysland." Other instances were found by Mr. Rowel, who searched the Durham records under directions from Dr. Smith, prebendary there. Dr. Smith writes to Bishop Nicolson that Mr. Rowel "believes no notice has been taken of it, nor any exercise of jurisdiction claimed, for nigh a hundred years, and if your L.P. will take it, none will oppose you from hence."*

The extremely small value of the living was probably the reason of its being an ecclesiastical waif and stray.

* See *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle*, by Bishop Nicolson, published 1877, pp. 3, 4.

Since Bishop Nicolson's time it has, so far as I know, been always considered part of the Diocese of Carlisle. But if we turn to the chartulary of the Priory of Lanercost, we shall find rather more information on the matter than could be found by Bishop Nicolson's correspondents in the Durham records. We find that the Priory of Lanercost obtained from Hugh Pudsey, bishop of Durham from 1153 to 1194, the appropriation to themselves of the church of Old or Over Denton, which had been given to them by Robert de Vallibus, and Robert the son of Anketill. Bishop Pudsey confirmed the appropriation on condition that the canons of Lanercost were to appoint a vicar to serve the church, who was to receive his provisions from the canons and to pay them half a mark yearly. This charter is printed in both Hutchinson (vol. I. p. 144) and in Burns and Nicolson (vol. II., p. 209), and seems positive proof that in the twelfth century Over Denton was in the diocese of Durham. That this was not an intrusion by the Bishop of Durham into the diocese of Carlisle, in assertion of some old rights traced down from St. Cuthbert, is shown by the chartulary containing similar appropriations, (but made by the Bishop of Carlisle, to Lanercost or to Wetheral,) of all the neighbouring churches, including that of Nether Denton, which was appropriated by the Bishop of Carlisle jointly to Lanercost and Wetheral.

If we turn to John Denton's History of Cumberland we shall find the solution: he says, (writing circa 1600,) "Over Denton is in Northumberland and Nether Denton is in Cumberland, but both are in the barony of Gilsland." The fact is that this little angle between the Poltross brook and the river Irthing was, up to 1600, or later, part, or considered part, of the county of Northumberland and of the diocese of Durham; and the county boundary must formerly, instead of running down the Poltross to the river Irthing, have left the Poltross at the angle that that brook makes near Temon, and run thence direct to the Irthing by the

line dividing the parish of Over Denton and Nether Denton. In fact Over Denton has been a debateable land between Cumberland and Northumberland; an expression which is perhaps hardly correct, for when we cross the Poltross we enter the district of Tindale, a franchise of its own, which only became part of Northumberland in 1495, under an Act of Parliament passed for the purpose of making it gildable and parcel of the county of Northumberland.

The confirmation by Bishop Pudsey states the church to have been given to the canons of Lanercost by Robert de Vallibus, and by Robert son of Anketell. Robert de Vallibus was the Baron of Gilsland, parcel of which Denton was. Robert, son of Anketill, was husband of Sigreda, or Sireth, co-heiress of the unbroken manor of Denton, and who got Over Denton for her share.*

In the long run this gift of De Vallibus and of Robert of Anketill, and the confirmation of Bishop Pudsey worked ill to the church of Over Denton. So long as the Priory of Lanercost lasted, the scanty stipend paid to an incumbent of Over Denton was sufficient for the wants of one who had in addition his "victus" from the foundation, and who could in old age retire there, or be pensioned out of the Priory revenues. But on the dissolution of the Priory the parishes of Lanercost, Farlam, and Over Denton came to fearful woe.

The late Mr. Mounsey, of Castletown, wrote of these parishes thus:—

"Every acre of land, every dwelling, and erection within them, belonging to the church, all tithes, and all pecuniary dues were seized by the Crown. Some portion of land near the Abbey yet remains so, having been granted to Sir Thomas Dacre and his heirs male, and having fallen in again to the crown on failure of such.† The remainder was granted in fee without

* The Chartulary of Lanercost, cited by G. G. Mounsey in his tract on Gilsland.

† This portion was a few years ago sold by the Crown to the trustees of the Earl of Carlisle, who thereon *voluntarily* expended a large sum in the reparation of the old Priory.

stipulation,

stipulation, or expressed condition for the grantees to provide for the parochial cures. It was not to be expected that they would voluntarily do so, but surely it ought to have been specially enjoined."

Owing to this conduct of the part of the Crown, the whole yearly amount paid by the grantee of the church property in Over Denton was just twenty shillings. The state of things in Farlam and Lanercost was little better. From 1786 to 1845 these three livings were held together by the Rev. George Gillbanks, who held alternate services at Farlam and Lanercost, and left Over Denton church to be occasionally used for a funeral; baptisms there may or may not have been at Over Denton church, but the font is a watering trough in a neighbouring farmyard.

The very burial ground has been alienated by grantees of the church lands, and was but lately restored by the Howards, who purchased the church lands from the Tweddalls, who purchased from the Dacres.

Mr. Mounsey says:—

"To think of the once flourishing establishment at Lanercost holding, as it were, under its wings, the appropriate churches of the surrounding parishes, maintaining within its walls an educated body of clergy for the celebration of divine worship, and sending forth its priests to sabbath services, and the parochial cures of the neighbourhood with assiduity and regularity; and then to contrast with that mental picture of the former time the vast realities of the state of things which ensued upon the abolition of the monastery; it almost induces a question whether the boasted Reformation of the English Church was productive of good or evil to the people. Most assuredly in these parts, and down to a not distant period of time, the result was degradation of the status of the clergy with its certain consequence—a lapse into something like heathenism amongst their flocks."

In the churchyard are five remarkable monuments, four erect and one prostrate on the ground; one of these is to the memory of Margaret Carrick, otherwise Margaret Teasdale,

Teasdale, Meg of Mumps Ha,' Tib. Mumps the landlady
of Guy Mannering.

Here lieth the Body
of Margaret
Teasdale of Mumps
Hall who died May
the 5 1777 aged 98
years.

What I was once some may relate
What I am now is each one's fate
What I shall be none can explain
Till he that called call again

The other monuments commemorate sundry of Meg's relations. Mumps Ha', that is, Mumper's or Beggar's Hall, stood by the bridge over the Poltross, near the railway station, but has been pulled down.

Outside of the churchyard at Over Denton stands an old peel tower of small dimensions, said to have been the vicarage. It is now used as byre and barn. It can never have been a very choice place of residence, but probably only afforded an occasional shelter to some canon of Lanercost, who did the duty here.

On the conclusion of Mr. Ferguson's paper, Mr. William Nanson observed that, in the absence of any detail, it seemed impossible to fix with certainty the date of the church, but the peculiar form of the door and the rude character of the chancel arch had hitherto led him to look upon it as an example of that primitive English Romanesque generally called Saxon. He did not know of any Saxon work in Cumberland, but it would be in the recollection of some members that at Morland, in Westmorland, the open windows in the church tower were furnished with midwall shafts, one of the characteristics of the earliest English architecture so noticeable at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow. Along the valley of the Tyne there was a remarkable series of churches, the towers of which probably dated from a time prior to the Conquest, or were built, at any rate, before the Norman Romanesque had reached these parts. It was after visiting the Tyne-side churches of Bywell and Corbridge that he had last seen Over Denton, and he had then been much struck by the similarity of the chancel arch here to the arch under the tower at Corbridge.

The

The Rev. A. Wright, Vicar of Over Denton, then read the following notes:

Historical investigation concerning Over Denton Ancient Parish Church.

THE Church and Parish of Over Denton are of a very early date. Immediately after the foundation of the Priory of Lanercost in A.D. 1169, by Robert de Vallibus, Baron of Gilsland and Lord Paramount, the rectory and right of presentation of the existing and endowed church of Over Denton, were given by Robert the son of Anketil, (with the consent of the Lord Paramount,) to the prior and canons of Lanercost.

The antiquity of the parish is implied in the terms of the deed of appropriation*, by Hugh Pudsey,† Bishop of Durham. The church is there designated "Ecclesiam de Veteri Denton." The intention of this designation might be to distinguish, in a well recognized form, between Over and Nether Denton.

Hutchinson speaks of the two Dentons as having formerly been one parish. In Vol I., p. 144, he says:—"The parish of Denton lies in the utmost north-east limits of Gilsland, and is now divided into Nether Denton and Over Denton. In strictness they are two parishes." This statement is inaccurate in two points; first, as regards the situation of Denton, and, secondly, that the two Dentons ever formed one parish. There does not appear to be any evidence that they ever formed one parish, and, on the contrary, it is a fact that, although so near, they are not even adjoining parishes. A

* Carta H. Die Gratia Dunelm Episcopi de Ecclesia de Veteri Denton super presentationibus Roberti de Vallibus et Roberti filii de Asketilli.

H. Dei Gratia Dauelmensis episcopus omnibus clencis totius episcopatus sui salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse et concessisse, et presenti Carta confirmasse priori et canonicis de Lance (Lanercost) ad presentationem Roberti de Vallibus et Roberti filii Asketilli Ecclesiam de Veteri Denton tenendam. Ita quod ipsi canonici presentatbunt nobis et successoribus nostris, quotris ipsa Ecclesia vacaverit, perpetuam vicarium qui predicta Ecclesia deserviat, et nobis et successoribus nostris Episcopales consuetudines reddat qui etiam victum præcipiat a predictis canonicis annuam pensionum tantum marice persolvat nisi eis nos vel successoribus nostri ex nostra auctoritate juxta ipsius Ecclesie augmentum et facultatem plus precipere concesserimus. Quos tamen in vita Guerri quem primum recipimus ullatenus fieri volumus. Quare volumus ut predicti canonici memoratum ecclesiam teneant libere et quiete sicut eam tenendam concessimus Salvis in omnibus episcopalibus consuetudinibus nostris. His testibus Willielmo Archidiacono Summo Camerario Magistro Ricardo de Coldingham Willielmo de Hovedona Willielmo filo Archiepiscopi et alsii.

† Hugh de Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, was called also Hugh de Puteaco. He was treasurer of York, and at the age of 25, on the 20th January, A.D. 1153, he was elected Bishop of Durham. He was a nephew of King Stephen, through whose favour he was chosen to be a Bishop. His election was in the last year of King Stephen.

detached portion of Lanercost separates the two at Chapelburn, and from the time of Hugh (Pudsey), Bishop of Durham, that is, the latter part of the twelfth century, until so recent a date as A.D. 1774, Over Denton was never under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Carlisle. It was actually an ancient parish in a different diocese.

That the parish is a very ancient one, may be inferred also from local evidence.

Not far from the church, on the west side, and near the road leading to the Mains Farm, there is the reputed site of a Saxon village. As the see of Hexham was formed in A.D. 678, and the last Bishop of Hexham was expelled by the Danes in A.D. 821, it is probable that the pious labours of Christian teachers from Hexham caused a church to be erected at Over Denton for the benefit of the Saxon inhabitants. If so, the foundation of the church would probably date from the eighth century, and, if from that date, then the first church at Over Denton would be of wood, and probably of oak.

In the immediate vicinity of the church there are evidences of the great antiquity of the parish. The curious old Border Peel yet remains to tell of the state of society in past ages. This venerable relic of the past is locally and traditionally known as the "The Vicarage." Near it, and just outside the churchyard, there are traces of the foundations of many buildings. The existing building is certainly a Border Peel, and it may have been the vicarage, or part of the vicarage. It is now a byre and a barn.

The deed of appropriation of Hugh (Pudsey), Bishop of Durham, directed that the incumbent should be a perpetual vicar, and that out of the ancient endowment at the time of Robert the son of Asketil, the vicar was to have his maintenance, "qui etiam victum præcipiat," and that the vicar should pay an annual pension of half a mark* to the prior and canons of Lanercost.

In the taxation of Pope Nicolas in A.D. 1292, under the head of Durham diocese, Denton in Gilsland is valued at £5, and the pension therein of the prior and canons of Lanercost at ten shillings; and in the schedule of procurations payable in the deanery of Corbridge and

* In A.D. 1292, at the taxation of Pope Nicolas, Over Denton was valued at £5. This was a good endowment at that period. In A.D. 1226, a Justice of Common Pleas had £20, and in A.D. 1229, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench received £50 per annum. In A.D. 1298, the yearly pay of a curate in a poor poor parish was five marks. The English mark was in A.D. 1194 worth thirteen shillings and fourpence (13/4). The parson of Over Denton would, therefore, be "passing rich" on his £5 a-year. In A.D. 1287, Peter, Bishop of Exeter, in a synod of Exeter, decreed:—"That in every parochial church the perpetual vicarage should be endowed with at least five marks per annum, that he may in some measure keep hospitality, and, in case he grow old, sickly, or impotent, may be thereby sustained."

diocese of Durham, the charge on Denton in Gilsland is two shillings and sixpence, and on the pension of the prior and canons of Lanercost therein threepence. These are in the same proportion as the values given in the taxation in A.D. 1292.

In a taxation in A.D. 1318, Over Denton was returned as of no value, being thoroughly destroyed and pulled down,—“*Vastata et penitus destructa.*” And in the same taxation there is a note on the pension of the Priory of Lanercost in the church of Over Denton, and some others,—“*Nullæ sunt hiis diebus propter destructionem.*” It is probable that from that period the church and parish were abandoned, and that episcopal jurisdiction then ceased.

In the valuation of Henry VIII, when “the eagles were gathered together,” and ecclesiastical property was so well looked after, Over Denton was not mentioned.

That Over Denton was not altogether overlooked by people in authority is proved by a grant made in A.D. 1562, by Queen Elizabeth, to Cecilia Pickerell, of the rectory of Over Denton, and right of patronage of the same, lately belonging to the monastery of Lanercost. Cecilia Pickerell did not appear to set much value on that “mark of royal favour,” for she immediately, by a deed of conveyance, transferred the rectory and patronage to Edmund Downing.

Over Denton next appears in the possession of the Dacres of Lanercost. By a lease dated 28 November 1566,* Christopher Dacre, of Lanercost, grants to Nicolas Twydell, of Denton, the advowson, rectory, and patronage of Over Denton . . . together with all those his glebe lands, tithes, oblations . . . *Proffitts*, and emoluments to the said rectory or advowson belonging or appertaining, to hold for twenty-one years at the rent of forty shillings.

In A.D. 1632, Thomas Tweddle, of Willowford, in Over Denton, conveyed the property to Lord William Howard, in whose family it now remains.

In 1702, Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, visited the churches of his diocese, and while at Nether Denton, Mr. Pearson, the rector, said “There’s another Church at Over or Upper Denton which is said to be in the diocese of Durham;” and Mr Pearson gave the bishop the local gossip of the age concerning the deserted church of Over Denton. “The glebe lands there, as Mr. P. hinted to me, were lately consigned to Mr. Blenkinsopp, as a godsbairn gift.” Bishop Nicolson then communicated with the Bishop of Durham and was informed that “little or nothing was known of Over Denton; that there was

* The original lease is the property of the Rev. William Dacre, the representative of Christopher Dacre.

mention of it in the old registers, but there had been no exercise of jurisdiction over it for 100 years past at least; and that if the Bishop of Carlisle would take it none would interfere."

In A.D. 1715, a provision of £1 per annum for four quarterly sermons, and two shillings for communion wine, was made.

In A.D. 1770, the first portion of the small modern endowment was provided, and in A.D. 1772 and 1774 further sums were obtained, making altogether £800. These were from Queen Anne's bounty and the Countess of Gower's benefaction. The augmented value of the benefice by the purchase and sale of land is now £50 per annum.

The first exercise of jurisdiction by the Bishop of Carlisle was in A.D. 1774, when William Townley was licensed curate.

In A.D. 1786, George Gillbanks was licensed perpetual curate.

In A.D. 1845, Isaac Dodgson was appointed to Over Denton and Lanercost.

In A.D. 1858, Over Denton was annexed to Gilsland, and in 1859 Charles Kipling became perpetual curate.

In A.D. 1865, Reginald Remington was appointed, and on his resignation in A.D. 1867, the present vicar succeeded him.

ART. XVIII.—*The Romans in Westmorland.* BY CORNELIUS NICHOLSON, F.G.S., F.S.A.

Read at Gilsland, June 21st, 1877.

MR. R. S. FERGUSON, of Carlisle, has printed a paper among the publications of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, in which he joins issue with me on three questions of interest, namely : —

1st.—As to the line of the Tenth Iter of Antonine.

2nd.—As to the route of Agricola's march northwards in A.D. 79.

3rd.—As to the name of the Roman Station at Kendal.

Let me commence by saying that I esteem Mr. Ferguson "a foeman worthy of my steel." He is an archæologist of great assiduity, from whom, before now, I have derived considerable gratification on other topics; and who has now, in this last essay, accumulated and collated a number of interesting particulars connected with Roman Cumberland, but signally with West Cumberland. It is permitted to archæologists to differ in opinion, and nothing but good proceeds from it, if acrimony be absent; for iron sharpeneth iron, and truth proceeds out of discussion. There is just one personal remark that I feel bound to make, and let me get rid of it *ab initio*. Mr. Ferguson has borrowed and reprinted the block of my rough diagram of the roads and chain of forts from Chester to the Eden, which he characterises by saying, "it is *most wonderfully distorted*, Old Carlisle being put eastward of Kendal and Lancaster, instead of westward." Mr. Ferguson has great susceptibility about Old Carlisle, as will be shown by-and-bye. But it does seem a pity to have spoiled his paper by such a piece of puerile criticism. My diagram is simply what it was named. It was not intended for a map, laid down by survey.

vey. Rather a few strokes to indicate, generally, the roads and stations. Still, let any one compare the two prints, touching all three places named, and it will be found that the deviations east and west are two trivial for comment, even if my *diagram* had had any pretensions to a map.

First.—With regard to the Tenth Iter of Antonine. I sought, by a personal survey, to fix this, and thereby solve a difficult problem in connection with the station Alone (Alaunæ), at Borrow Bridge, making the Iter traverse the valley of the Lune, from Overborough (Burrow Hall), over Crosby Fell, to Kirkby Thor, where it joined at right angles the second Iter of Antonine. Mr. Ferguson, on the other hand, contends that it ran from Overborough, by Kendal and Keswick to Old Carlisle. It is pretty evident that he does this to enhance the significance of his pet station, Old Carlisle, “a place of undoubted high military importance, so likely to be the terminus of a military Iter.” Another reason for his preference of this route is,—having predetermined to displace *Concangium* at Kendal, he can plant an Antonine station in its stead, and so conduct the Iter to its terminus, *Glanovolta*. But is Mr. Ferguson right in placing *Glanovolta* there? The brothers Lysons quote Horsley (and never neglect an opportunity of quoting him) as their authority for placing either *Olenacum* or *Virosidium*—Notitia Stations—at Old Carlisle; and Mr. Ferguson himself, oblivious for a moment, gives, in another place, this high testimony in favour of *Horsley*, that “he had found the true method of naming the stations!” *Horsley*, then, who had “found the true method,” is against Mr. Ferguson at Old Carlisle, as he is also against him at Kendal. But the grand defect of his theory, if it be not something more,—an insuperable objection,—is the non-identification of the road between Ambleside and Keswick. If there be a limb wanting here, his fabric topples to the ground. It is true that there was a *tradition* of a Roman road from Ambleside, over Dunmail-raise

raise to Keswick, but who has ever seen it, or any traces of it? And who has ever described it? Wordsworth, I think, refers to it in a line of poetry, a sentimental allusion to a legendary object,—parallel meet for Geoffrey of Monmouth's *myth* King Dunmail and his Raise (burial mound). Hodgson, in his "History of Westmorland," is the only one I can find who makes serious mention of it. He says, "the road from the station at Waterhead branched off at Ambleside, one way to Keswick, the other into Patterdale." (p. 219.) But all this is evidently hearsay. He could not have examined the ground, else he would never have mentioned Patterdale. I have carefully traced and actually paced the road from the station at Ambleside, by Woundale, over High Street ("Annals of Kendal," p. 7), and I have as carefully sought *in vain* for any traces or evidences of a military Roman way by Grasmere and Wythburn to Keswick. In other instances we find the existence of Roman roads by agger, pavement, or relics; or lacking these, by the presence of Roman names, such as causeway (caasay), gate, street, borrens, *vicus*, &c. Between Ambleside and Keswick these evidences, as far as I have been able to discover, are all absent! As a matter of fact, then, I commend, here, my simple diagram in preference to Mr. Ferguson's illuminated map.

I need not repeat my description of the Tenth Iter along the Lune. It will be found in the Appendix to "the Annals" at full length. I shall only add to that description two observations. That this road is planned on the first principles of Roman engineering. *Fosbrooke* says that "the first important rule of a Roman road was, that it should *not deviate* from a straight line." The Iter by the Lune, as I have elsewhere said, is "straight as a sun-beam," whereas the route by Kendal and Keswick is zig-zag as forked lightning. Further, I observe that the road is neither doubtful nor insignificant. It was not a vicinal,
but

but a great military road. I have proved this by admeasurements at several places, and moreover it was constructed with pains and labour, as a work of great importance. It was, in fact, for centuries a great artery of communication, and the station at Borough Bridge, as I have proved by unquestionable evidence, was a *permanently occupied* station (vide "Annals," p. 390).

Second.—With regard to Agricola's march through Westmorland in his campaign of A.D. 79. It is almost needless to say that this question has no necessary connection with the previous one—the determination of Antonine's Tenth Iter.* It is, besides, almost purely a matter of opinion, and not of fact. I have assumed that Agricola marched with his legions through the Lune valley in his first expedition against the western Brigantes, dwellers in Westmorland and Cumberland. Mr. Ferguson maintains, on the other hand, that he went round by the shores of Morecambe Bay and shores of the Solway, to be "conducted to Old Carlisle." Pre-eminent Old Carlisle is here already the cynosure of Roman eyes. Like Minerva, born *cap-a-pie*; or like Richard III., born with all his teeth, Old Carlisle sprang into existence fully armed, and attained "undoubted high military importance" in the hour of its birth! † Mr. Ferguson conceives that "that no military man would ever march an army by the Tebay gorge." Dr. Whittaker on the contrary says "it is easy, pleasant, sheltered, and rectilinear." What was the road by Tebay made for, then, if not for armies? The Romans did not amuse themselves by the construction of useless works. The prominent reason, however, given for Agricola's choice of the *coast* line is "that he might be supported by his fleet." But surely it ought to be shown that he had a fleet at that time. I must here remark

* I suppose these campaigns of Agricola took place at least 100 or 150 years before the compilation of Antonine's Iters, whoever were the compilers.

† I do not doubt the importance of the station, Old Carlisle, at a later period of the occupation of the country.

that

that this theory of the coast line, whatever its value, originated with Rauthmel, author of the "Antiquitates Bre-metonacensis." It is neither better nor worse for that; but the fact should not be concealed. The verisimilitude, in argument and language both, between Ferguson, pp. 66-67, and Rauthmel, pp. 33-34, leaves no doubt on this point. Perhaps Mr. Ferguson agrees with Dr. Whittaker, in his estimate of Rauthmel, that "his imagination often got the better of his judgment,"—and for that reason the old pioneer is ignored. Now, as to the fleet. Rauthmel is innocent enough to deplore the want of a fleet. Quoting *Tacitus*, he shows that Agricola had no fleet in the year preceding, when he was fighting the Ordovices in Wales and Cheshire, and that there is no mention of a fleet in *Tacitus* till two years after, when Agricola had reached the estuary of the Forth and Tay. Mr. Ferguson follows Rauthmel, as his shadow, in his quotations from *Tacitus*, and follows him also without any acknowledgement, in his assumption (a *gratuitous assumption*), that the general phraseology, "æsturia ac silvas ipse prætentare" can "apply ONLY to the estuaries of the Dee, the Mersey, the Ribble, and the sands of Cartmel and Ulverstone." One noticeable deviation from Rauthmel there is—Mr. Ferguson omits the *Lune*. It does not "fit in" with his programme.* But every local name, here, should be omitted, if Tacitus may be allowed to tell his story, after the events, in his own way, unless his general reference, "æsturia," &c., can be identified with these localities, and directly with the military operations of A.D. 79. Without this, Tacitus' language just quoted may apply to the estuaries of the Solway or the Clyde, on the west coast; or to the Forth

* Rauthmel is so entirely possessed with these estuarial exploits that, after resisting Agricola for a while at Overborough, he makes him march forwards by going backwards along the left bank of the river to the south of Lancaster, "esturia," &c,—a distance of some 12 miles,—to swim across the stream or streams as he had the year before "swam over the Mersey,"—all this, by inference, he does, rather than pass the Lune, as he could have done, with facility, anywhere about Kirkby Lonsdale. The idea is supremely ridiculous.

or Tay, on the east coast; and coincidentally apply to Agricola's operations in the next two years. About the Tay there can be no dispute, in the campaign, A.D. 82. But fleet, or no fleet, in Morecambe Bay, and without maritime artillery, can it be esteemed good generalship to lead an expeditionary army, famous for scaling mountains (High-street and Stainmore to wit), moving it along the lowest ground in the district, close by the shores of indented bays, crossing all the rivers *by swimming them*, at their greatest width, (*) whilst a vigilant enemy, crowding the overlooking heights, was ready to come down on the invader like an avalanche? Of all the native Britons, the Brigantes were known to be the most brave and warlike; and of those who comprised the nation, the dwellers in the mountains—as of all peoples in all parts—were the most courageous. Is it conceivable, then, I say, that Agricola, the greatest genius of his day, with this knowledge of his foe, should imperil his army, as he is here supposed? Buonaparte once espied the allied army, commanded by Wellington, on a littoral plain, and starting on his saddle, exclaimed, "Now I have caught him. I will drive him like a leopard into the sea." From that position, it is said, by great agility, Wellington only narrowly escaped.

Third.—As to the name of the station at Kendal. If I have carried the reader along with me, little need be said in defence of my placing *Concangium* at Kendal, endorsing the opinion of the best antiquaries on the subject. Mr. Ferguson puts *Galacum* here. He is bound to displace *Concangium* because it is a *Notitia* station, and *Galacum* "fits in," he says with his theory of Antonine's Tenth *Iter*. Now, why does he disapprove *Concangium*? Firstly, "because we have no inscriptions to guide us," and secondly, because he dislikes and disbelieves *etymologies*.

* Meteorologists know that these rivers were broader and deeper 2000 years ago than now.

It is quite true that we have no inscriptions in support of Concangium; but then *he* lacks them, too, in support of Galacum, so we stand on equal ground here. But if etymologies are forbidden, and inscriptions are *non est*, there is nothing left but vague conjectures. I dismiss his expressions of belief in the "geographical sequence" of the Notitia stations, *per lineam valli*, with the judgment of Lysons, who says that this is an "obscure and disputed phrase." If Lysons could make nothing of it, Mr. Ferguson and I may well despair. Let me quote all that my opponent finds to "disapprove Concangium:" "that the cangii lived in Westmorland, and that Concangium was called after them, *seems only a guess*. Oreilius, the able German editor of Tacitus, places the cangii in Wales, and there is strong evidence from inscriptions on Roman pigs of lead, that the cangii inhabited a lead producing country." Nothing is more probable than that cangii were in Wales. There are farmers in Westmorland and farmers in Wales too. I have shewn in "The Annals," p. 5, quoting Mr. Whittaker and Baxter, that the cangii were the herdsmen of the day. They were not a nation, but a class, and were found in parts of the country "most fit for pasturage." So, the fertile vale of the Kent attracted and supported the cangii. They were, as I have elsewhere contended, the *head* or *chief* cattle retainers of the western Brigantes. Con and can, I say, are pleonasm, both alike signifying *chief*, ergo, the Con-cangii were the principle herdsmen in this part of the country. Con is the original of the river Kent, the *chief* of the rivers Kent, Mint, and Sprint. If Agricola himself can be supposed to have given name to the stations he established, Concangium is the name he would have selected, for, as I have argued,—in reference to the designation "Alaunæ," as soon as he had subdued the native Britons (quoting Tacitus) "he allured them with the sweetness of peace;"—conciliated their prejudices, appropriated the names of their topical deities,

(Alone

(Alone and Lancaster to wit) and—supposing philology added to his other great gifts,—gratified, (as he would be sure to be gratify)—the tribes located here by styling the stronghold of the district *Concangium*. But Mr. Ferguson introduces another element—a new factor—into the argument,—that of lead mining. Where there is lead, says he, there are the *cangii*. He never dreamt of my being able to comply with this peculiar condition. He was not aware, it seems, that there are numerous exposed veins of lead in the “brotherhood of mountains” above Kendal. Lead has formerly been worked in several places in the neighbourhood. Hodgson, who published his account of Westmorland, as a volume of the beauties of England and Wales, about 50 years ago, says, “a small quantity of this metal (lead) is annually procured in the hills above Staveley.” The place indicated is Staveley Head, and Mr. W. Whitwell informs me that he has seen traces of old (abandoned) lead workings between Gilpin Bridge and Winster. I, therefore, on this ground claim Mr. Ferguson’s suffrage in favour of *Con-cangii*, at Kendal; for this fact, by which he hoped to overthrow my theory, goes, as far as it can go, to confirm it:

“I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word.”

Merchant of Venice.

To crown all, I will cite the authorities on whom I rely for the determination of the station *Concangium*,—Dr. Burn, Stukeley, Horsley, Dr. Whittaker, (who was a number of antiquaries rolled into one) Bishop Gibson, Richard Gough, Thomas Hodgson, John Just, John Gough Nicholls. Where can my opponent produce an equal number of equally accredited authorities in favour of *Galacum*?

Finally.—If we are right in placing *Concangium* here, it follows as a consequence not to be gainsayed, that Mr. Ferguson is *wrong* in taking the Tenth Iter of Antonine by way of Kendal and Keswick.

ART. XIX.—*Two Border Fortresses. Tryermain and Askerton Castles.* BY R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Read at those places, June 22nd, 1877.

TRYERMAIN.

IN the Chartulary of Lanercost, which is a record of the title deeds belonging to the Priory of Lanercost, there is a document, known as the "Verdict of the ancients," (veredictum antiquorum,) touching Tryermain Chapel, which gives us an authentic account of the possessors of Tryermain before this country became part of England, and the De Vaux became barons of Gilsland. No doubt some question had arisen as to the rights of the Priory of Lanercost in the chapelry of Tryermain, and the question was submitted to a jury of the oldest men in the neighbourhood who would know the most about it. This is what the sages said:—

"Gilmore, filius Gilandi, qui erat dominus de Treverman et de Torcrossoc, fecit primum unam capellam de virgis apud Treverman, et procuravit divina in ea celebrari (Dom. Edelwano Episcopo concedente), Enoc tunc persona de Walton, pro quadam parte terre que nunc vocatur Kirkland, unde sacerdos et clericus suus possent sustentari, ad ministrandum et serviendum in predicta capella. Et Gillemor, dominus de Treverman, admisit ad illam capellam serviendum Gillemor, capellanum consanguineum suum, qui primum hospitabatur in terra predicta et ipsam herbergare fecit multo tempore ante adventum Huberti de Vallibus in Cumberland. Et Daniel, sacerdos successor Gillemor, ministravit dicte capelle, et habuit dictam capellam cum omni pastura de Treverman adhuc tempore Enoc persona. Post Daniel fuit Estinus sacerdos et ministravit ibi tempore Thome persone de Walton post fundacionem de Lanercost. In diebus vero illorum omnes homines de Treverman ibi habuerunt plenarie divina servicia sua preter baptismum et sepulturam usque dictus Thomas reddidit se. Et postquam dictus Thomas reddidit se canonicis apud Lanercost dom., Rd. de Vallibus contulit ecclesiam illam de Walton cum capella de Treverman domui de Lanercost quam fundavit. Prior

et Conventus fecerunt servire illam capellam quandoque per *Canonicos suos* et quandoque per *seculares*, et omnes homines de Treverman preceperant omnia sacramenta sua ecclesiastica apud Lanercost, oblationes et decimas omnimodas ibi reddentes, et omnia alia facientes que contingunt parochianis facere ecclesie sue matri.

This document is full of interesting matter. First we learn the names of two of the Celtic lords of Tryermain before the arrival of the Normans, viz:—Gilemore, *i.e.*, Gille-Mohr, or the big Gille, or Giles, and Gilander, Gille-an-deary, or the red Gille, or Giles, and that big Giles built a chapel of wickerwork, and endowed it with land, and placed his cousin, another big Giles, as chaplain there. The bishop Edelwan, would be Athelwald, first bishop of Carlisle,* who died in 1155.

The possessions of big Giles must have passed to Hubert de Vallibus by the grant to him by Henry II. of all the land held by Giles, the son of Bueth, (of whom we shall hear more at Bewcastle,) for in 1169 Robert de Vallibus, son and heir of Hubert, endowed the priory of Lanercost with great possessions, including the church of Walton and the chapel of Tryermain. Of that wickerwork chapel no traces now remain: its very site is unknown, though a Chapel Hill on Torcrossoc has been said to be its site.† It is, however, mentioned once or twice

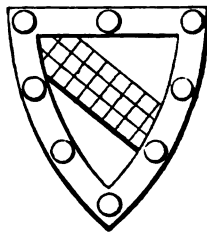
* The late Mr. Mounsey, in a tract on Gillesland, published in —, makes the bishop to be Egelwyn, Bishop of Durham from 1056 to 1069. Now Lanercost was founded in 1169 and the incumbencies of three chaplains at Tryermain, could not have gone back from 1169 to 1069. Mr. Mounsey has clearly made his calculations backwards from 1116, the date so often erroneously assigned as the foundation of Lanercost.

† The Dodsworth collection (*Duchetiana*, p. 263) contains the grant of Tryermain to Roland de Vaux.

Ego Rob'tus de Vallibus, filius Ranulfi, dedi Rolando fratri meo, pro homagio et servitio suo, totam villam de Trevermain cum pertinentiis. Test. Riccardo de Levington, Ada filio Odardi; Roberto de Feritate; Eudone de Carleolo; Roberto fil. W'mi; Waltero de Windesore; Alano de Hastings; Rob: de Dentona; Jo fr'e ejus.

Sigillum Rob'ti-de Vallibus.

(In dorso sigilli) a man on horseback.



more

more in the Chartulary of Lanercost, and, from the deeds there catalogued, we gather the names of the Norman owners of the lordship of Tryermain. Robert de Vallibus was succeeded as baron of Gilsland by his brother Ralph, and Ralph's second son Roland became lord of Tryermain. To Roland, succeeded Alexander, his son, and to Alexander, Ranulph his son, all lords of Tryermain, and all benefactors of Lanercost by grants of house-bote, hay-bote, and turbary, and common of pasture in the lordship of Tryermain; a succession of Vauxes followed at Tryermain, mostly named Roland, but dying out in the reign of Edward IV.

Jane, daughter and sole heir of the last Sir Roland Vaux of Tryermain, married Sir Richard Salkeld of Corby, and her effigy may to day be seen in Wetheral church, side by side with that of her husband. Sir Richard and Lady Jane had six daughters, and two of them, Margaret and Katherine, inherited Tryermain. Margaret married a Blenkinsop, and Katherine married in succession a Salkeld of Whitehall, a Curwen, and a Duket, (see Duchetiana, p. 137,) and they are mentioned in a deed in the Dodsworth collection, under date 1510, as having a dispute with Thomas Lord Dacre about Tryermain. These two ladies also inherited Corby.

The Salkelds of Whitehall sold their moiety of Corby to the Howards, in 1624, who had previously purchased the Blenkinsop moiety in 1606. Probably the moieties of Tryermain were acquired by the Howards at the same time.

To the earlier of these Vauxes of Tryermain, we may attribute the erection of the castle, whose scanty remains we now visit. It is built of stones taken from that most convenient quarry, the Roman wall. It was a total ruin in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and is thus described in an inquisition, taken in the 31st of that Queen, of the possessions of Leonard Dacre.

“ Memorad.

“Memorad. The scite of the said manner of Tradermayne, was sometimes a fair castle called Tradermayne castle, a house of great strength and of good receipt; it stood and was built opposite to the coasts of Scotland and Tyndell, and about vj miles distant from Lydderesedell, and was a very convenient place for both annoying of the enemy and defending the country thereabouts, but now the said castle is utterly decayed.”

When we recollect that this site is close to the Maiden Way, we shall easily understand its convenience for the two purposes.

In 1832, great portions of the ruins fell, and the material was employed in the erection of farm buildings. A writer, who saw it before that date, describes it an “oblong quadrangle, turreted at the eastern and western extremities and moated round. The principal entrance was underneath a massive archway in the western turret.”

Until I had seen Bewcastle I did not understand this description, but I think I can show you the western turret and gateway. When we see Bewcastle, I think I shall be able to show a turret there, from which we may conceive that this castle was a quadrangle, with square turrets or towers standing against its eastern and western ends.

ASKERTON CASTLE.

Camden tells us that Askerton Castle was built by the Dacres, as an outpost for the defence of the barony of Gilsland. Godwin (see the English Archæologist's Handbook) does not mention it in his list of royal licenses to crenellate, or fortify, which he brings down to the year 1478 (19 E.W.). We may, therefore, conclude that it was not built until a later date than that year. But Mr. Godwin says that it was occupied by Thomas Lord Dacre, who was lord of the barony from 1485 to 1525 (*i.e.*, from
1,

I, H. VII., to 17, H. VIII). His authority for the statement he does not give, but it may be found in the two letters T.D. on a stone in the front of the south-west tower. We shall hardly go wrong, if we assume Thomas Lord Dacre to have built Askerton Castle in the reign of Henry the VII., or early part of the reign of Henry VIII. Tryermain Castle would probably at that time be dropping into decay, and the new castle at Askerton would be intended to give that protection to the barony of Gilsland which Tryermain had ceased, or was ceasing to afford.

In the inquisition taken in the 31st of Queen Elizabeth (or 1589), and mentioned a page or two back, Askerton Castle is described as

"At this present in verie great decaie. If the same were in good repair it a house of verie good receite, and of convenient strength against any common or suddaine assailinge by the Scots, and is about ij miles distant from the castle of Bewcastle."

A manuscript tract in the British Museum, dated 1590, published in the *Scottish Archæologia*, gives us some information as to Askerton Castle. Under the heading of "Gilsland," we read :

"Upon the east side of Eden lyeth the barony of Gilsland under the government of a Steward who ought to be at Askerton Castle. In his charge is all the safety of that Barony, without either help of warden or other; for that it lyeth somewhat farre of, or as by itself (except the little Lordship of Corby, under the government of Geo. Salkeld, Esq.) This castle since the Rebellion is sore spoyled, and ever since worse governed. In him is the like safetie of the county for Cumberland ward as the Steward of Bourgh for Allendale warde."

The tract gives the names of the officers of the west wardenry of England. Lord Scroope appears as warden, while Tho. Carleton, Esq. is his deputy warden, and constable, and also lord serjeant of Gilsland. The name of Thomas Carleton, junior," with the date "1576," is on a chimney-piece in the castle. This date is prior to that of the inquisition I have quoted from, and it would seem that
at

at the date of the tract Thomas Carleton preferred some other quarters to Askerton Castle.

I do not know that Askerton Castle has any other history. With the union of the two countries its utility as a fortress ceased. Once again from its towers did a watcher see a Scottish army invade England ; but that army, instead of marching by Askerton to Brampton, as the watcher and many others expected, marched by Longtown to Carlisle. Recorded on the lead of the tower you will find, "Geo. Taylor, 9 Novr. The Day the Rebels crossed the Border." Geo Taylor was apparently no partisan of Prince Charlie.

The building itself is one of great interest. It occupies three sides of a quadrangle, of which the fourth, or the east side, is completed by a curtain wall, which has been much modernised. There are towers at the south-west and south-east angles. It has been suggested, (and I myself at first thought so,) that a third, and larger tower once stood at the north-west angle. Indeed, a few steps of a staircase are now shown, and said to have given access to the upper part of this supposed tower. However, this is erroneous ; examination of the internal walls of the west side of the quadrangle show them to be but thin and modern. The supposed remains of a tower at the north-west angle are part of a larger hall which once occupied the western side of the quadrangle, having a three-light window in its northern end. The fine massive, original roof of the hall is still in its place. This hall has once been battlemented, and the remains of a staircase, just alluded to, gave access to the battlement walk.

The towers at the south-west and south-east angles are very curiously placed : they are not so broad as the main building which connects them : the eastern one is set so as to range exactly with its front, and the western one so as to range exactly with its back ; the recesses thus formed are corbelled across the angles, and in the corbelling are the shoots of several garderobes.

The

The building connecting these towers is much cut up by modern partitions : the doorway and ground-floor windows are probably modern, and the floor levels have been altered, but the massive roof remains. The interiors of the towers have been dismantled. They have once formed two small rooms, with fire-places and windows, and with garderobes, whose shoots lead through the corbelling just mentioned.

The northern side of the quadrangle is now a stable with hayloft over it ; the hayloft has fire-places and windows, and would be the barrack room where the men-at-arms would live over their horses.

The design of the plan of the whole building is obvious ; a quadrangle, in which the whole garrison, horses, and all, could be contained ; the gates shut, and a short siege stood, until rescue from Naworth or Carlisle was forthcoming.

There is nothing to show that any peel or building existed prior to the erection of the present building by Thomas Dacre, and I believe none existed.

ART. XX. — *An attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland, continued.* By R. S. FERGUSON, F.S.A.

Read at Furness Abbey, August, 16th, 1877.

IT will probably be expected that I should take some notice of a paper read at our Gilsland meeting under the title of "The Romans in Westmorland; a rejoinder to Mr. R. S. Ferguson,"—and I cannot help regretting that its author has, by imputing to me predeterminations, and motives, and pets, existing only in his own mind, lowered the discussion below the tone that should be observed in the Transactions of a Society such as this, and below the calmness with which the allocation of Roman stations might well be considered.

The writer of that paper correctly says that I join issue with him on three questions of interest, viz. —

1. As to the line of the Tenth Iter of Antoninus.
2. As to the route of Agricola's march northwards in A.D. 79.
3. As to the name of the Roman station at Kendal.

I will deal with the last question first. My opponent says that Watercrock, near Kendal, is Concangium.

Now all that we know about Concangium is, that it is one of the miscellaneous stations of the Notitia; these stations have been fully discussed in a paper entitled "An Examination of Horsley's Allocations of the Miscellaneous Notitia Stations in the North of England," by the late John Hodgson Hinde, published in the fourth volume of the *Archæologia Æliana*, old series. In this paper I read (and I had not seen this paper until after my paper, the subject of this attack, was in print), "The services of Horsley, in ascertaining the true order of the 'Stationes
per

per lineam valli,' cannot be too highly estimated; but the same encomium is scarcely to be awarded to his allocation of the miscellaneous stations. As regards the latter, indeed, his efforts have been injurious, inasmuch as succeeding writers have been induced by the weight of his authority to accept his conclusions instead of investigating the subject for themselves."

I cannot help thinking that this last remark applies to my opponent; in his *Annals of Kendal*, p. 16, he says, "all reputed antiquaries concur in holding it (Watercrock) to be Concangium," and he concludes his rejoinder to me by a list of antiquaries, who, he asserts, agree in that opinion. I am bound to say that, when I find a writer saying "all reputed antiquaries" think so and so, I always feel convinced that that writer has not applied his own mind to the subject under discussion. I will, however, give my opponent a fair challenge; can he find any living antiquary of repute who believes Watercrock to be Concangium? I warrant he cannot.

To return to Mr. Hodgson Hinde, he quotes from Horsley, Horsley's own rule as to the allocations of the Notitia stations. It is this:—

"The author of the Notitia appears manifestly to have set down all those places together in his account which are near to one another and seem to proceed in some order. Thus in the *Stationes per lineam valli*, he proceeds from east to west, right along the line of the wall. This makes it probable that some such order is preserved in the other set (the miscellaneous stations which precede it)."

I need not give Mr. Hodgson Hinde's arguments deduced from this rule; they are almost identical with those advanced by me on pp. 93-94 of my paper (written when I had not seen Mr. Hodgson Hinde's paper): to them I refer my reader: with them my opponent does not attempt to close.

The conclusion at which I arrived was that Arbeia,
z Dictis,

Dictis, and Concangium must be looked for in Yorkshire, between Doncaster and Bowes; Mr. Hodgson Hinde comes to a similar conclusion. He adds, writing of the Watercrock-Concangium theory, "but it must be conceded that this last allocation (*i.e.* Concangium at Watercrock) was made originally by Camden,* and was probably the cause of Horsley's placing the other two stations on this side (the east) of the island. Camden's sole inducement was a fancied construction of the name of the river on which Kendal stands, the Kent, or as he writes it, the Can, in Concangium, a piece of etymological evidence, which might be received in corroboration of a conclusion otherwise probable, but totally inadequate as independent testimony."†

I must now deal with my opponent's arguments in favour of Watercrock being Concangium, for to do him justice he has, after following blindly "the reputed antiquaries" who tell him Watercrock is Concangium, an argument in favour of that theory which I am sure is all his own; indeed, he claims it as his own, (*Annals of Kendal*, p. 16,) and expresses his surprise that no one of the reputed antiquaries had thought of it. It is this:—

Somewhere in a writer called Baxter he finds a statement that "the Cangi were not a distinct nation seated in one place, but such of the different nations as were employed in pasturage, in feeding the flocks, and herds of the respective tribes." Where did Baxter get this state-

* Camden recanted his opinion. In Gibson's edition of his works, 1722, Camden himself says, "Once, indeed, I was of opinion that it, Watercrock, was the old Roman station Concangium, but time has informed me better," and Bishop Gibson, his editor, thinks, taking the *Notitia* as his authority, and Concangii being mentioned therein next before Lavatræ, or Bowes, "it is most probable to be sought for nearer the wall."

† There is in the case of Watercrock no independent testimony; the inscribed stones found there tell us nothing as to its Roman name.

The late Mr. Phillips, the eminent geologist, in his history of Yorkshire, by a precisely similar train of reasoning to that adopted by Mr. Hinde, places Concangium in Yorkshire. See also Hodgson's *Northumberland* Pt. II., Vol. III. p. 126, where Hodgson suggest that Horsley's allocations are wrong, as they do not follow some consecutive order.

ment from? Not from Tacitus certainly; and until I am furnished with a better authority than Baxter, I shall be bold enough to take Tacitus as my guide, and not Baxter. The words of Tacitus are (Ann. xii., 32) "Ductus in Cangos exercitus," or, as some read them, "Ductus inde Cangos exercitus." He speaks of them as of any other nation, and it is clear from his text that the Cangis were a nation situated next to the Ordovices. Camden (in an earlier edition), Gibson, Gough, and the author of the index to the Monum. Hist. Brit. place the Cangis in Somersetshire, but Camden (in a subsequent edition), Latham (in Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Geo.), J. G. Oreilius, the learned editor of Tacitus, and Dr. MacCaul, in his "Britanno-Roman Inscriptions," all consider the Cangis as a distinct nation, and place them in North Wales, *i.e.*, Flintshire, Cheshire, and Denbighshire, well known lead-producing districts. The Cangis are same as the Ceangis; whose name appear on certain pigs of lead, for which see MacCaul's "Britanno-Roman Inscriptions," pp. 32-36, and "Hubner's Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," vol. VII., p. 222.

However, my opponent, having found his herdsmen, (in Baxter and not in Tacitus,) proceeds to locate them in the "fertile vale of Kent;" he says, "they were the heads or chief cattle retainers of the western Brigantes. Con and can, I say, are pleonasm, both alike signifying *chief*, ergo, the Con-cangis were the principal herdsmen in this part of the country. Con is the original of the river Kent, the *chief* of the rivers Kent, Mint, and Sprint." I have no doubt this is all my opponent's own argument, and I make him a present of it, and also of his funny notion that Agricola tried to please the natives by calling a camp Concangium. I may add that it is very improbable that the same root from the same dialect, or language, should be repeated twice in the same word.

To sum up, I conceive I have shewn (see pp. 93-94) that
Concangium

Concangium must be in Yorkshire, and that, therefore, Watercrock in Westmorland cannot be Concangium. Mr. Hodgson Hinde and Mr. Phillips have both proved the same in a manner beyond my abilities. I conceive that I have also, by reference to Tacitus in preference to Baxter, destroyed the notion of the Cangi being herdsmen, and shewn them to be a distinct nation, settled in a particular place. In short, I have left my opponent nothing to go on but the jingle between Kendal and Concangium. If Mr. Nicholson likes to call that jingle etymology, I would remind him that his friends the Messrs. Lysons, say, "etymology is the weakest ground on which a theorist can stand."—Lysons' Cumberland, p. 130.

2. With regard to Agricola's march, I need not repeat my observations; they are to be found in the current volume of our Transactions, but I would call to my opponent's notice the able article of Mr. Jackson, printed on p. 9 of our current volume. I have, however, a few words to say in reply to my opponent's remarks on my paper under this head. I never said a word as to Agricola's marching round by Morecambe Bay and the shores of the Solway to be "conducted to Old Carlisle," and the words "conducted to old Carlisle" which my opponent puts in inverted commas as a quotation from my paper, apply not to Agricola's line of march, but to a subsequent deviation from his line of march. Nor have I omitted to acknowledge my obligations to Rauthmel, (see p. 74,) but I consulted Tacitus, (not Baxter,) before I consulted Rauthmel, and my views of the question of whether Agricola had with him a fleet or not are stated in my paper, (p. 67,) and on that very important point I differ from Rauthmel, and so can hardly be said to follow him as a shadow; nor do I omit the Lune, as my opponent charges me with doing. I mention the Morecambe estuary, and I imagine the Lune discharges its waters into that estuary, somewhere between Fleetwood and Walney, between which points runs also the
great

great river Kent, Can, or Con, the chief of the rivers Kent, Mint, and Sprint, to all which noble streams I will apologise, if my opponent wishes, for omitting their names. Nor did I ever suggest that Agricola's or his army crossed these mighty streams or any estuaries by "swimming," as my opponent says I do.

Had he read me with any care he would have seen that I speak of marching across at low tide (p. 73). I have a little right to complain that in these cases my opponent has consulted his imagination, or Baxter, for what I wrote, and has not consulted my paper.

I do claim my opponent as the advocate of my views of the dangers of the Tebay gorge: he expatiates on the dangers of the sea route, with an avalanche of Brigantes on the heights above, ready to drop on the Romans. A small sum in multiplication will shew the dangers of the Tebay gorge to be just twice those of the sea coast route. There would, in the Tebay gorge, be two avalanches of Brigantes, one on either side, ready to drop on the Romans. "The easy, pleasant, sheltered, and rectilinear road," spoken of by Whittaker, was not then made, nor could it be made until the Brigantes, right and left, were subdued.*

One word more, and I dismiss this branch of the subject. My opponent says the words "*æstuaria ac silvas ipse pretereant*," may apply to the Solway, the Clyde, the Forth, or the Tay. If he refers to Tacitus he will find these words apply to the second year's campaign,—that of A.D. 79. "*Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit*," thus limiting the former phrase to the Brigantes, who did not dwell near either the Clyde, Forth or Tay, but south of the Solway.

Lastly, with regard to the much vexed question of the Tenth Iter.

* On the Tebay Gorge, and its dangers, see Mr. Jackson, p. 11 of this volume.

On it I have referred to the Annals of Kendal, and I find on p. 384, the author of that book says, "I shall take no notice of Antonine's table of distances from one station to another, and on p. 384 he says "I presume only to transpose Galacum and Alone." Having disregarded both the distances between the stations, and the sequence in which they come, I do not see what Mr. Nicholson has left to guide him but his free fancy. One cannot put much faith in a theory which is founded on the throwing overboard of all the facts. One difficulty Mr. Nicholson does not attempt to grapple with. He puts Galava at Whitley Castle, and then puts the next station Glanoventa, vaguely, "on the wall." This alone is fatal to his theory; the stations on the Wall in that vicinity are all well known, and their names ascertained from inscriptions, and not one of them is "Glanoventa."

I think I may now retaliate my opponent's remarks about a "pet station." Borough Bridge seems his. In order to find it a name he transposes the order of the stations, as given in the Itinerary, and he next fits it with a garrison of some 2800 men!! The area of the Borough Bridge station is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres; I take the data from the Annals of Kendal. Segedunum on the Roman Wall is about the same size; I take the data from the Duke's Survey. The Notitia tells us the size of the garrison at Segedunum; it was a cohort, or about 480 men; that would be the garrison of Borough Bridge.

My opponent, rightly enough, puts down Borough Bridge as a stationary camp, but he then proceeds to calculate its garrison on the rules for camps occupied only for a night or two, where the men were packed close and marched off before they had thoroughly soiled the ground.

My opponent, besides the existence of his own theory, has an objection to my theory as to the 10th Iter. To that objection I answer that it does not follow that there is no Roman road between Ambleside and Keswick, because my opponent has been unable to find it.

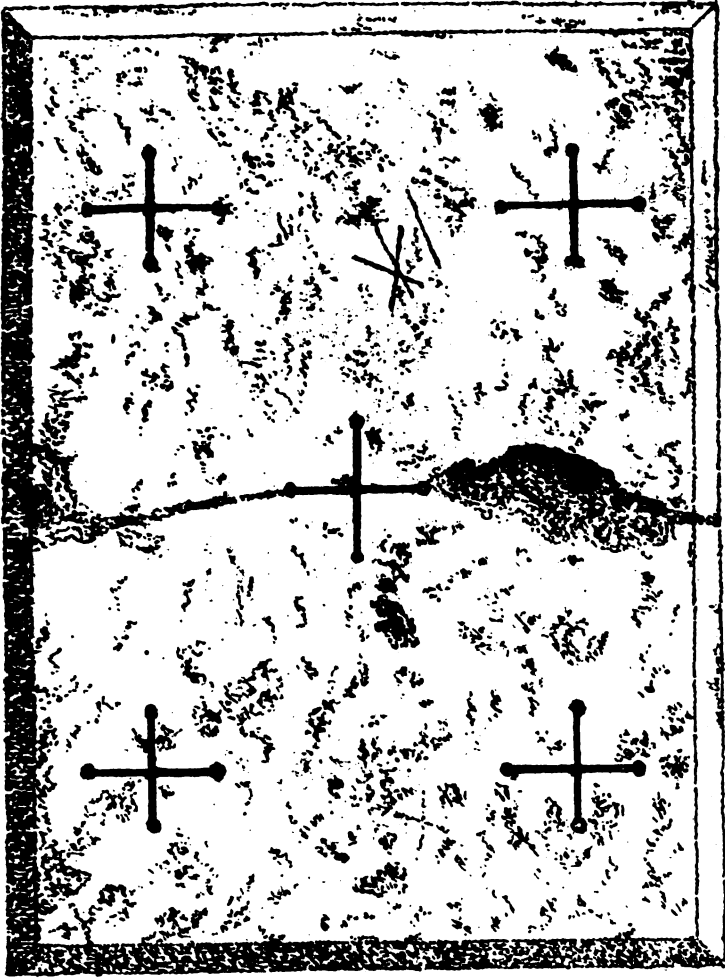
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The fact of there having been a Roman camp at each of those places makes it certain there would be a road connecting them. In the last century a regular survey was made of the Roman roads in the vicinity of Keswick, and one was found connecting that place with Ambleside (see West's Guide to the Lakes, 8th edition, p. 147). Dr. Bruce entertains no doubt as to its existence, and marks it on the map given in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*. Professor Hubner has no doubt of it, and marks it on the map given with the seventh volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. However, evidence of the kind asked for by my opponent, is I am told, not wanting; and my informant will at no distant date communicate it to this Society.

The question has been put to me; as you say Watercrock is not Concangium, what do you say it is? I say it is one or other of the stations on the Tenth Iter. I have suggested it is Galacum, so does Professor Hubner; and so does Mr. Wright in his "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," and the late Mr. Godwin, in his *Archæological Handbook*. My readers must recollect that my original paper was headed "An attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland." In it I endeavoured to avoid being dogmatic, and, as to many things therein, time will perhaps teach me better,—but hardly that Watercrock is Concangium.

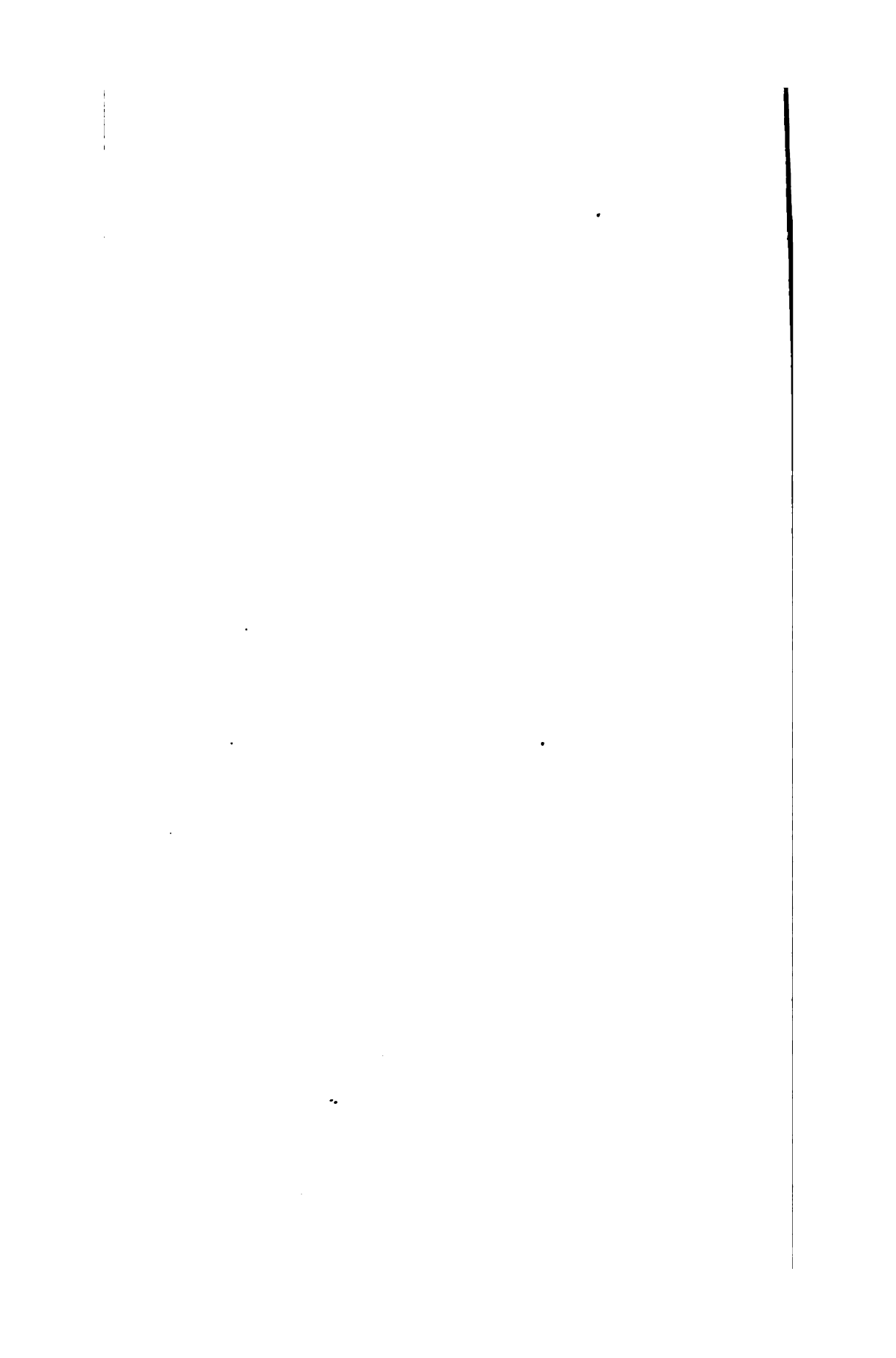
ART. XXI.—*On the probable use of certain Stones found in the Ruins of Calder and Furness.* BY THE REV. T. LEBES.
Read at Furness Abbey, August 16th, 1877.

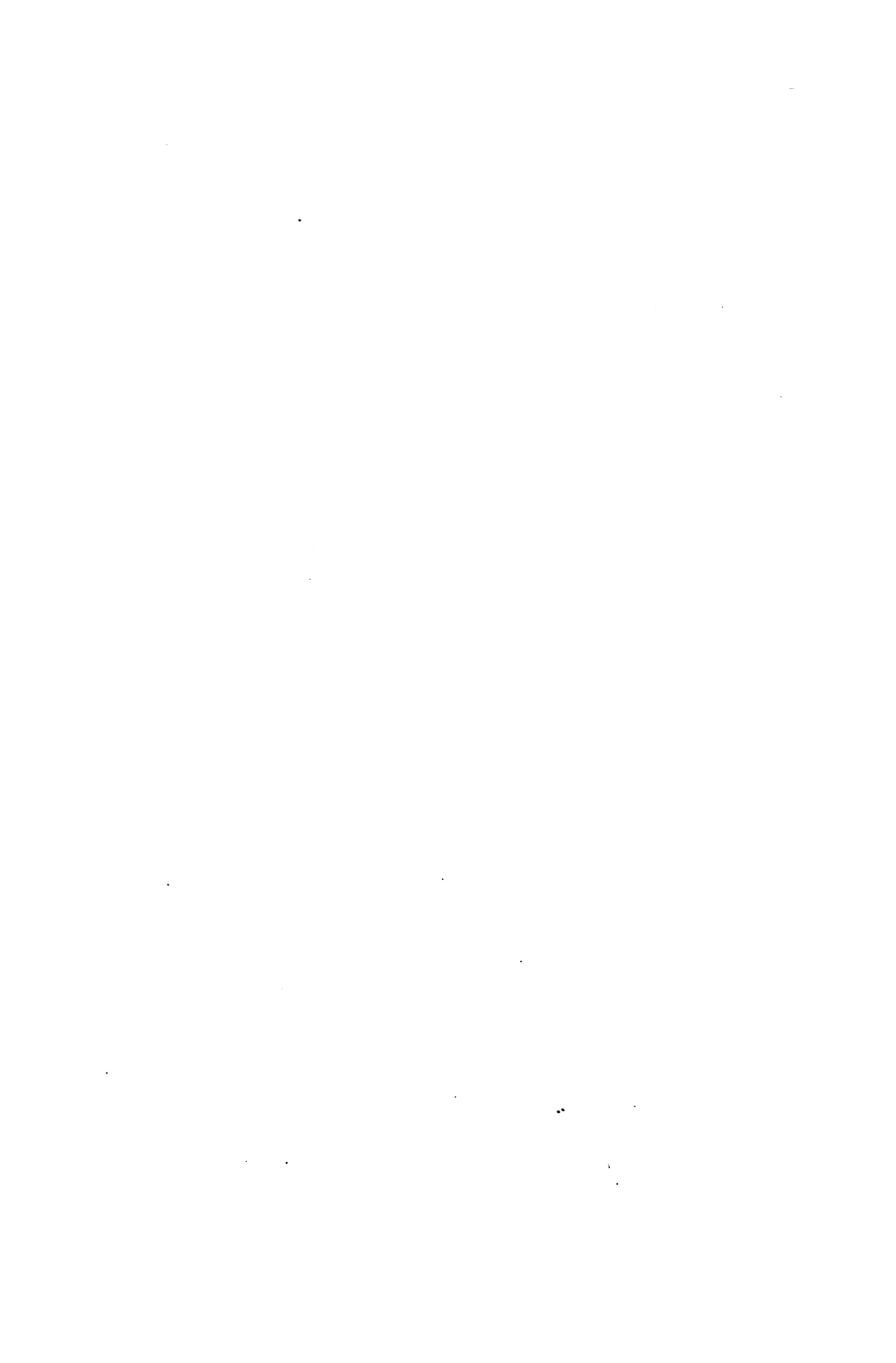
AT the visit of this Society to Calder Abbey in 1872, among other relics then stored in the cloister at the south side was exhibited an oblong slab of fine red sandstone, $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and three-quarters inch thick; the upper edge terminated by a bevel half-an-inch wide, and the surface ornamented with five incised crosses bourdonees placed one at each corner, and one in the centre. Some member of our party suggested that it had been used as a pavement tile in the sacrarium; but there seemed to me no doubt that it was a super altar, or portable altar, and subsequent search into the subject has convinced me that the opinion I then expressed was correct. The crosses were used as emblems of our Saviour's five sacred wounds, and anciently placed on all altar slabs fixed or portable. It is, perhaps, worth while pointing out that in this example the particular form is the cross bourdonee, so named, Planche says, from its "terminating in single knobs or pomels, like the bourdon, or pilgrim's staff;" and the same form of cross is used in an early example of the Arms of Jerusalem, as a christian kingdom. Thus the form of these crosses throws our thoughts back to the times of the Crusades, when the prelates and priests who accompanied those expeditions would carry with them portable altars for the administration of the Eucharist to the church's warriors. In 1873, Mr. Charles Ferguson discovered a portion of another super altar built into a wall at the parsonage at Lanercost. This fragment contains three of the crosses, and is therefore rather more than half the size of the original slab, which must have been

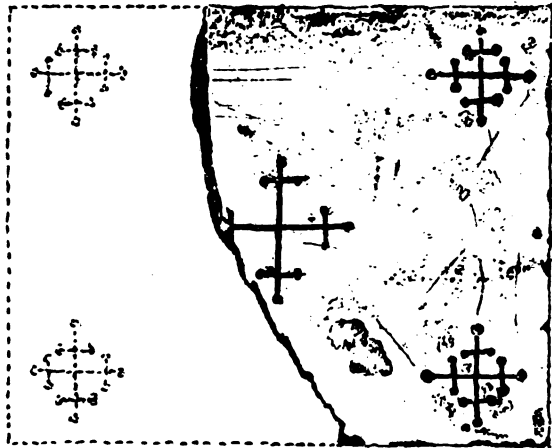


*Super-altar, Altare viaticum.
Calder Abbey
1/4 size. one inch thick. Crosses not exact.
fractured.*

4
R







super altar,

Lanercost Priory

1/4 size

11½ inches long, and 9 inches wide. In this case, instead of crosses bourdonees, we have cross-crosslets bourdonees. The use of the "bourdon" would seem to suggest that both these slabs had been used as *portable* altars.

Such slabs bore various names, indicative of various uses; but, whether used as a super-altar or a portable one, each slab must be of sufficient size to hold the chalice and paten. Thus the super-altar was so called from its being placed on a wooden or other altar to supply any deficiency in the consecration; and it formed the cover or lid of the "sepulchre" or cavity in which the relics were contained. Used in this way it was called the "seal" of the altar; and Durandus tells us in case it got accidentally broken or moved the altar must be reconsecrated. When used as a "seal" this covering-stone would be on the same level as the surface of the altar. The steep bevel around the top of the Calder stone militates therefore against its use as a "seal," but is quite consistent with its being a portable altar. "Altare gestatorium, portabile, portatile, itinerarium, viaticum," are also other names which imply their use as portable altars. The Ἀντιμύσειον in the Greek church serves the same purpose. Such were in requisition at celebrations of mass away from the church altar, in oratories, private chapels, or journeys, and at the communion of the sick. Bede, in his Ecclesiastical History, Bk. v., c. 10, makes mention of two priests of the English nation, named from the colour of their hair, Black Hewald and White Hewald, who, after a long sojourn in Ireland, about A.D. 690, went as missionaries to the Anglo-Saxons; and states that they took with them "sacred vessels, and a consecrated slab for an altar." Ælfric, in his canons, A.D. 994 prohibits celebrations in unconsecrated buildings—"except it be in the army; then let a tent be had to this only, and a hallowed altar, and on that let the ministration of the mass song be accomplished." This last quotation I owe to Scudamore's "Notitia Eucharistica,"

appendix, section v., where much curious information on this subject is gathered together. The materials of which these portable altars were constructed were often very costly, as jasper, ebony, marble, and ivory. Dr. Rock possesses one made of serpentine, supported on silver pillars, and otherwise richly ornamented. The consecrated slab, to prevent its fracture, was framed, and sometimes completely encased in precious metal. The one found in St. Cuthbert's coffin is of oak, covered with silver, but for a description of that most interesting relic I must refer you to Raine's "St. Cuthbert," pp. 199-202. The materials, however, were not invariably of a costly nature. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims (845-882), allowed the use of marble, black stone, or slate slabs, "de marmore vel nigrâ petrâ aut litio, honestissimo." (Capital Ann. xii. ciii. p. 732.) One made of two pieces of wood, fastened with silver nails, and bearing the inscription, "Alme Trinitati, agie Sophie, Sancte Maria," was found on the breast of Acca, Bishop of Hexham, when his tomb was opened about A.D. 1000.

A special license was required to enable a priest or layman to possess one. Many such licenses occur in the registers of the bishops of Durham, and when a priest was buried his portable altar, chalice, paten, and corporax cloth were placed in his coffin.* It is owing, I conclude, to its having been thus concealed that the Calder stone escaped the iconoclasm of the Reformation, when stone altars were marked out as special objects for destruction. The wooden frame, in which it would be set originally, had most probably rotted away before its exhumation. The nobleman disposed of his altars among his other treasures. Katherine, Lady Hastings; daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, (whose first husband, William Bonville, Lord Harrington, had property in the west of Cumberland,) in her will dated 22nd November, 1503, leaves her

* Reginald of Durham, speaking of St. Cuthbert says:—"Preterea habet secum in sepulcro altare argenteum et corporalia, calicem aureum cum patena."

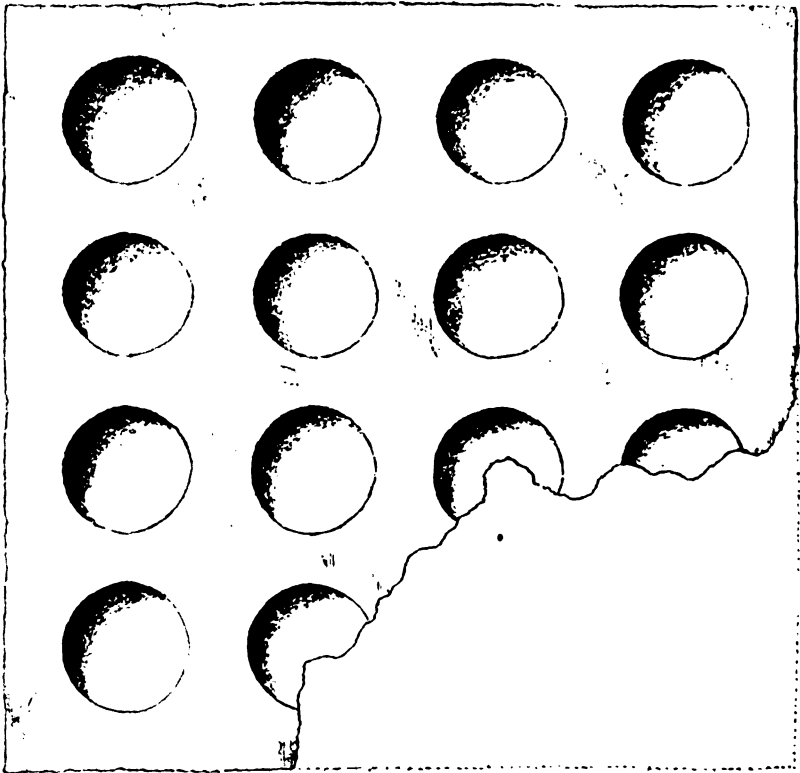
sons Richard and William, "two super-altars, oon of white (probably marble or ivory), to Richard, and oon of jet to William," (Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. II., p. 454.) The benediction of a portable altar was always performed by a bishop with license from the Pope. The "*Benedictio Lapidis Portabilis*" will be found on pp. 124-132 of the "*York Pontifical*," recently published by the Surtees Society. The rubrics of this service contain some very curious particulars, and the subject is thus referred to in "*Becon's Catechism*," p. 297.—"and this their altar and 'superaltare' likewise must be consecrate, have prints and characters made thereon, washed with wine, oil, and water, be covered with a cloth of hair, and be garnished with fine white linen cloths and other costly apparel; or else whatsoever was done thereon was counted vain and unprofitable." Archbishop Grindal, in his "*Injunctions*," A.D. 1571, orders churchwardens, "that the altar stones be broken, defaced, and bestowed to some common use." The Lanercost altar would, probably, be broken in consequence of this injunction.

The relics of saints were necessary, Durandus tells us, to the consecration of a fixed altar, and were inclosed, as I have before mentioned, within it, but they were not necessary to a travelling or portable one. In speaking of cases where reconsecration might be required, he says, "Sixthly, a travelling altar, if the stone be removed from the wood in which it is inserted, which in some sort representeth its seal, and be replaced again in the same, or in other wood, some think should be reconsecrated, but others only reconciled. But although it be often, by the command of the bishop, transferred from place to place, and carried on a journey (on which account it is called a portable or travelling altar), yet it is not reconsecrated in consequence of this, nor yet reconciled." Neale and Webb's "*Durandus*," p. 129. That magnificent M.S. the *Pontifical of Clifford*, Bishop of London, 1406-1436,
in

in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has, at the commencement of the office for the "Consecratio Altaris Portabilis"—(I quote Dr. Henderson, editor of the York Pontifical)—"a drawing of the Bishop standing in front of an altar, attended by two acolytes in albs, bearing one a censer, the other a reliquary. On the altar are lying the small altars to be consecrated, square in form, with five small crosses on each." On "VI. Id. Jun" (*i.e.* May 27th) 1447, Pope Nicholas V., then in the first year of his pontificate, granted a brief to John Kempe, Archbishop of York, to make concession of ten super-altars to certain eminent men. Between the years 1448—1451 the Archbishop granted nine of these altars, and no concession seems to have been made of the tenth. The object of the grant is thus stated in Kempe's letter to Hugo Wyllughby, Armiger, who received the first of these stones, "ut altare portabile cum debitâ reverentiâ et honore possis habere, super quo in locis ad hoc contingentibus et honestis possis per proprium aut alium sacerdotem in tuâ et familiarum tuorum domesticorum præsentia missam et alia divina officia sine juris alieni præjudicio celebrari facere." "York Pontifical," p. 387.

As I have remarked above, the first altar was granted to Hugh Wyllughby, and I would now point out that the second was given to "Thomas Syngitton, Armiger." This last surname, I presume, is our modern "Singleton." If it be so, I wish you to observe these very remarkable facts that, as recorded by his grave-stone, a "Robertus de Wilughby" was formerly abbot of Calder, and that the name Singleton is connected with Drigg and Bootle. So that it is not quite beyond the bounds of probability that this altar may be one of those granted by Archbishop Kempe.

II. On the same occasion another stone attracted our attention, and various conjectures were hazarded as to the purpose for which it was originally intended. This was a
slab



1 10 1/2

Sketch of
Cresset-stone at Calder Abbey
1877

Cavities 2 1/2" deep
stone 4 1/2" thick

slab of new red sandstone $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $21\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick.

Though somewhat mutilated, it shewed clearly that when perfect it had sixteen circular, cup-shaped cavities, each $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in depth, scooped out of the level surface in four rows of four each. For a long time this stone was a complete enigma both to myself and to all the gentlemen whom I consulted about it, but the following passages in the "description or briefe declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites, and customs" of the monastical church of Durham, written in 1593, (Surtees Society, vol. XV.,) entirely solves my doubts.

"Also there is standing in the south pillar of the Quire doore of the Lanthorne, in a corner of the said pillar, a four-squared STONN, which hath been finely wrought, in every square a large fine Image, whereon did stand a four-square stone above that, which had twelve cressetts wrought in that stone, which was filled with tallow, and everye night one of them was lighted, when the day was gone, and did burn to give light to the monks at midnight, when they came to mattens." p. 19.

The second quotation I take from the description of the monks' dormitory:—

"In either end of the said Dorter, was a four-square stone, wherein was a dozen cressets wrought in either stone, being ever filled and supplied with the cooke as they needed, to give light to the monks and novices when they rose to their mattins at midnight, and for their other necessarye uses." p. 72.

Among the antiquities exhibited at a meeting of the Archæological Institute on July 7, 1865, was a drawing, contributed by the Rev. Frank Newington through Mr. Thomas Bond, of a stone similar to, but smaller than, the one which forms our present subject. It was found in the south wall of a small chapel on the north side of the chancel

chancel of Wool church, Dorset, and had most probably been brought, like many other stones used in that fabric, from the neighbouring Cistercian abbey of Bindon. It is a block of coarse Purbeck marble, 10 inches long, 8 inches broad, and 5 inches high. "On one face there are four cup-shaped cavities, each 3 inches in diameter and in depth; the surface of these cups is blackened, as if by unctuous matter burnt in them. It has been supposed that they may have been used as cressets, or lamps." (Journal of Archæol. Inst. vol XXII.) After referring to the stone in Durham dormitory, the report goes on to say, "We are, however, indebted to Canon Rock for the suggestion that the cavities in the stone found at Wool were intended to hold the three *ampullæ* for the holy oils, and the vessel for the salt used at baptism." It seems to me that the statement of the cups "being blackened as if by unctuous matter burnt in them," is decidedly in favour of the cresset-stone theory. I am informed, too, that a flat round stone, rather over two feet across, with seven holes scooped out on the top, about two inches in diameter, was found some years ago near the font of an old church in Cornwall. This is most probably another example.

III. The discovery of the forementioned stones at Calder prompted me to search for similar relics among the ruins of Furness, and my search was not unrewarded. Lying in the hospitium there a stone was pointed out to me by the guide, which he stated had proved food for conjecture to many previous visitors. It takes the form of a flat block of squared red sandstone, 14 inches long, 12 inches broad, and 5 inches thick. The upper edge is surrounded by a bevel $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width, and presents to our view five circular cavities, viz:—one large centre one 5 inches in diameter and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in depth; two of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches each in diameter and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in depth; and two of 3 inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in depth. The two last-named holes are flat-bottomed, and the three other and larger holes cup-shaped,

shaped, or hemispherical in form. It has been suggested that this has been the capital of a cluster of five pillars, the said pillars having been inserted in the holes. But this cannot have been the case, the round bottoms of three of the holes and the varied diameters forbid it. It seems to me that there can be no reason to doubt that this stone was probably used as a stand in which to place the three *ampullæ* containing the oils for the unction of the sick and catechumens, and chrism. These would occupy the hemispherical holes; and the flat-bottomed ones would hold either the cruets containing the wine and water for the ablution after mass, or the vessels containing the salt and ashes used in the preparation of holy water, and water used in benedictions.

The following passage from Durandus would seem to suggest a slightly different appropriation of these holes:—
 “Although, therefore, the spirit and water would suffice for the perfect operation of baptism and the consecration of a church, yet the holy Fathers who have made this constitution wished to satisfy us not only in those particulars which pertain to the efficacy of the sacraments, but in those also which relate to its greater sanctification. On this account they have added *salt, wine, oil, ashes, and chrism*. (For Philip, when he baptised the eunuch, had neither oil nor chrism.) Therefore, not one of these ingredients ought to be wanting, and they ought all to be mixed together, because the people of God, which is the church, is neither sanctified nor released from sin without the union of these qualities.”

Usually, the holy oils and chrism were contained in a chrismatory of costly materials and skilful workmanship, but among the Cistercian monks, who were noted for the plainness both of their buildings and “instrumenta,” a plain red sandstone stock might well take the place of the more magnificent chrismatory of other orders. The holy oils and chrism were always kept locked up in a locker, or almetry,
 near

near the high altar, and this block of stone would serve as a stand in which to place them, and prevent them from being upset or damaged by the other articles in the same cupboard. The "Fardle of Facions," printed in 1555, contains the following passage apropos of this subject:—"Upon the right hand of the highe aluter . . . there should be an almorie, either cutte into the walle, or framed upon it, in the whiche they woulde have the sacrament of the Lord's Bodye, the holy oyle for the sick, and chris-matorie, always to be locked." (Neale and Webb's Translation of Durandus on Symbolism, p. cxxxv.)

These three relics, differing as they do in form and the uses to which they were respectively applied, yet possess the one common characteristic that they are all constructed of the very plainest and commonest materials available for the purpose. Extreme simplicity was aimed at by the Cistercians, not only in their mode of life, but in all its adjuncts. Their monasteries were unadorned by carvings or representations of saints; the crucifix only was allowed. Their chasubles were of fustian, napkins of coarse cloth, crosses of wood, and the only article of precious metal was the chalice. This rule, as these "instrumenta" show us, was carried out here in its strictness, and this is further manifested by the fact that the jambs, capitals, and shafts of the abbeys of Calder and Furness are all constructed of the red sandstone of the country, instead of the more precious marbles used in the houses of other orders. Difficulty of transportation does not account for this, for both abbeys are within easy distance of the sea, and it would be as easy to bring here granite, marble, or Caen stone, as to convey them over the fens to Crowland or Ely.

I may, perhaps, be here allowed to mention, by way of a digression, a Cistercian custom which seems to me to contain the germ of a very curious, but repulsive, death-bed superstition prevailing to my certain knowledge within the

the last 20 years in Cumberland, and which, I am informed, is found also in Sussex, Surrey, and Cheshire. When a Cistercian monk lay a-dying, after extreme unction and the viaticum, when his end drew very near, blessed ashes were spread in the form of a cross on the floor of the infirmary; over these, with straw between, a serge cloth was extended. On this the dying monk was placed, and the community, summoned by the bell, knelt round their departing brother, and recited the seven penitential psalms. The Cumbrian custom I refer to is this—When a man's dying moments were unusually protracted, some one of the onlookers would suggest that the bed contained game-feathers which in some occult way prevented the extinction of the vital spark. The patient's friends would then spread a straw mattress on the floor, and lay him thereon, and so help, as they intended in a spirit of kindness, the transit of the soul. At the present time "*live feathers*" (*i.e.*, feathers plucked from living birds or gathered in the fields) are said to produce the same effect, and the obnoxious *bed* is removed from underneath the dying man, who is thus left lying on the "caff bed."

During the ages when the religious orders were most popular, laymen sometimes purchased the privilege of affiliation to some order that they might have the benefit supposed to be conferred by wearing at death the garb of a monk. One thus affiliated would be treated in extremis in the same way as a brother of the order. Thus the custom would spread outside the walls of the monasteries, and when the suppression of the religious orders removed the real reason of the practice, the excuse for its continuance was found in some more ancient heathen superstition.

In concluding, I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Jackson and Canon Knowles for their kindly aid in procuring me particulars both of the altar and cresset stones. To the latter I am particularly indebted for his very careful drawings of both the Calder stones, and for

200 STONES FOUND AT CALDER AND FURNESS.

information of which I have gladly availed myself. I also beg to tender my thanks to the Rev. A. G. Loftie, of St. Bridget's, Beckermet, for the permission, so kindly accorded, to exhibit on this occasion the Calder portable altar.

ART. XXII.—*A Monk of Furness.* BY THE REV. T. LEES.

Read at Furness, August 16, 1877.

TO the labours of the Benedictines in their *Scriptoria* the world owes nearly all that it now possesses of classical and patristic lore. To the Cistercian order, an off-shoot of the Benedictines, England owes in a very great measure the rise of its woollen trade. The time devoted by the Benedictines to *learned*, the Cistercians spent in *manual* labour, and more especially in the breeding and tending of sheep. Hence the sites of Cistercian abbeys were not chosen for beauty or shelter of situation, but for their suitability towards the rearing of their numerous flocks. Dr. Pauli has pointed out these facts in his most interesting essay on "Monks and Mendicant Friars," and then goes on to say, "In England, no less than in France and Germany, the severity and simplicity of their rule may be traced in the very ruins of their monastic buildings. Even the chronicles which were compiled in Cistercian monasteries have a dry matter-of-fact style about them, while the Benedictines wrote, even at that early period: with elegance, although certainly with much less attention to truth." The justness of the learned Doctor's first remark, my paper on "Certain Stones at Calder and Furness" fully proves; and I now wish to bring before you a very singular exception to the truth contained in his second. Jocelin, a monk of Furness, who flourished during the latter half of the twelfth and the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and who is supposed by Tanner to have been a Welshman, was a noted Hagiologist, and produced lives of St. Mungo, or Kentigern, St. Patrick, St. Waltheof, and other saints; and most wonderful

derful legends he managed to put together, the substratum of fact in each life being ingeniously hidden under a marvellous superstructure of fiction. Jocelin also wrote, Stowe states in his "Survey of London," a treatise "De Britonum Episcopis." Jocelin's life of St. Kentigern has been edited, along with a biography of St. Ninian, by the late lamented Bishop Forbes, in the fifth volume of "The Historians of Scotland;" and the late Dr. Stevenson, Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh, printed for private distribution, in 1872, "The Legends and Commemorative Celebrations of St. Kentigern, his friends and disciples: translated from the Aberdeen Breviary and the Arbutnot Missal." To these two valuable additions to mediæval literature I beg to acknowledge my obligation for the substance of this paper. In his "Prologue" Jocelin tells us that he undertook the compilation of the life of Kentigern at the request of his namesake, Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow; and that he had wandered through the streets and lanes of the city, according to the bishop's command, seeking the saint's recorded life, "if, perchance, such might, be found, which, with greater authority, with more evident truth, and with more cultivated style, might be composed, than that which the Church useth;" and, as the result of his search, he found a "little volume written in the Scotic dialect, filled from end to end with solecisms, but containing at greater length the life and acts of the holy Bishop." Discontented with the barbarous language and the heresy contained in this book, he set to work to produce from the old materials, with sundry additions, a new biography; and, "So far as I might, and by thy command, season, (he says) what had been composed in a barbarous way, with Roman salt." One of Jocelin's stories took such hold on the popular mind, that to this day its pictured memorial forms a portion of the seals both of the See and City of Glasgow. In the arms of both, a fish figures holding a ring in its mouth:
and

and this device is known to have formed a portion of the armorial ensigns of Glasgow ever since A.D. 1325. The story runs thus:—Rederech, King of Glasgow, tired out with hunting, retreated with one of his soldiers for repose to a shady place on the banks of the Clyde. The soldier fell asleep, and then Rederech discovered on his finger a ring he had given to Languoreth his queen. Controlling his jealous anger for the time, the king plucked off the ring without rousing the sleeper, and flung it into the river. Then returning home he commanded his queen to produce the ring. She, in her fear and perplexity, betook herself to Bishop Kentigern, and on her repentance, he commanded a man to go with a hook down to the river, and bring the first fish he caught. This was done, and the fish (pike or salmon is a disputed point) being gutted, the ring was found in its entrails, and the queen thus delivered from her dilemma. In the Sequence to the Mass of St. Kentigern in the Arbuthnot Missal, this circumstance is thus commemorated:—

“*Mæcha moerens confortatur,
Regi reconciliatur,
Dum in fluctu qui jactatur
Piscis profert annulum.*”

Now this story of the recovery of a ring by means of a fish is at least 900 years older than the times of Kentigern, and probably had existed nearly 2,000 years before Jocelin thought proper to embed it in his book. As some of us must remember, Herodotus tells it of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos; and the Talmudists relate a similar story of King Solomon. The French have it in their charming tale, “The Fair One with the Golden Locks,” and it is found in the old Provençal Romance of “Magelone.” The Yorkshire man sings it in the ballad of “The Fish and the Ring, or the Cruel Knight and the Fortunate Farmer’s daughter.” Peter Damian tells it of Arnulph, the grandfather of Charlemagne.

Charlemagne. But the question is, whence did Jocelin get it? Was it a folk-lore tale common in his day? It is not likely that he derived it from Herodotus or the Talmud, for his knowledge, like that of the rest of the world at the end of the 12th century, of Greek would be "nil," and of Hebrew, if possible, even less. For a long time this question puzzled me, till at last I came on what I believe is the true solution; *i.e.* that he had read it, probably within the walls of Furness, in the works of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, who tells, in chapter 8 of the xxii book of his "De Civitate Dei," the story of the relief of a man from poverty by thus finding a ring, and ascribes the merit of the man's deliverance to the "Twenty Martyrs of Hippo." Bishop Forbes observes that Joceline "appears to have been very familiar with the Magna Moralia of St. Gregory the great." About 1185, Jocelin undertook a life of St. Patrick at the request of Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh, Bishop Malachias, and John de Courcy; but, says the Rev. S. B. Gould, in his preface to the life of that saint, "it is of little historical value compared with the earlier and more authentic sources of information, which it not unfrequently contradicts on the authority of some idle legend." In writing the life of St. Waltheof, Jocelin dealt with matters nearer his own time and connected with his own Order. Waltheof's mother Maude, grandniece of the Conqueror, after the death of her first husband, Simon of Senlis, was married to David, King of Scotland: and Waltheof spent his early life in the Scottish Court. Afterwards he became a Canon-regular, and was elected prior of Kirkham in Yorkshire; and Jocelin relates a miraculous vision which happened to him there, on the authority of Jordan, a fellow monk of Furness. Influenced by Ælred, Abbot of Rievaulx, Waltheof took the Cistercian habit and became eventually, A.D. 1147, Abbot of Melrose. One of Jocelin's anecdotes of St. Waltheof which I give from the Rev. S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," as
it

it brings us back to our own district, will, I hope, be deemed a suitable termination to this short account of one whose labours, both of brain and body, were, nearly 700 years ago, accomplished within these sacred precincts. "Master Everard, first Abbey of Holme Cultram, told me that one day as he was travelling with this man of God, a horsefly sat on Waltheof's neck or hand, and he kept on flapping it away with his sleeves, but the fly incessantly returned. At last, giving a more violent slap, he killed it. Then clambering down from his horse, Waltheof flung himself prostrate by the dead fly, before the Abbot, and confessed his sin in having killed a creature of God, which he was unable to restore to life again. The Abbot smiled, and gave him a very light penance. But he lamented more for the murder of the gadfly than many do for effusion of human blood."

ART. XXIII.—*Extracts from the Cottonian MSS. relating to the Border Service.* Communicated by SIR G. DUCKETT, BART.

Read at Furness Abbey, August 16th, 1877.

WHATEVER relates to the ancient border contests, as affecting Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, cannot fail to interest the present generations of these northern parts, who will still be able to recognize their own name, although many have passed away, among the annexed list of some who formed the leaders in those eventful times.

The ensuing extracts are from two MS. volumes in the Cottonian Library of the British Museum, (Caligula, B. II. and III.), being transactions between Scotland and England in the time of Henry the VIII, and containing, chiefly, correspondence relating to the Borders in the early parts of the 16th century. They record the names of the Cumberland and Westmorland gentry from about 1512 to 1537, and furnish lists of those among them who were selected as leaders under the Deputy-Warden of the Marches, and the pensions (or yearly stipend) which each received for his services. The Border service was one of considerable importance, and of a very harassing kind in repelling the inroads and forays of the Scots, and further details concerning it can be sought in "Ridpath's Border History," but the time-honoured names which figure in the list of those who took part in the contests of that period are well deserving of notice and remembrance, and as such they are submitted to the members of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society.

We may simply observe that the names of the pensioners on the east and middle Marches chiefly comprise the names of Northumberland landowners.

"The

"The names of the pensioners wt ther fees upon the west m'chies
of England for anempst Scotland" (anno 1526).

"The West M'chies"

	li	s	d
Sir William Musgrave, Knight	-	x	
Sir John Lowther, Knight	-	x	
Thomas Sandford, Esquier	-	x	
Sir John Lamplew, Knight	-	x	
Sir James Laburn, Knight	-	x	
Sir Jeffrey Myddelton, Knight	-	x	
Sir Robert Bellingham, Knight	-	x	
Edward Aglionbye	-	x	
Richard Dokett (Duckett), gentyman	-	x	
Sir Thomas Curwen, Knight	-	x	
John Musgrave, gentyman	-	x	
Walter Strickland, Esquier	-	x	
Thomas Daker, gentyman	-	xiiij	vi viij
Cristofer Crakenthropp, esquier	-	vj	xiiij iiij
John Warcopp, esquier	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Launcelott Lancastre, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Gilbert Wharton, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Hew Machell, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
John Lighe, esquier	-	vj	xiiij iiij
John Skelton, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Thomas Dykes, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
John Twaytes, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Cuthbert Hutton, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Thomas Blanderhasset, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
(Blennerhasset)	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Cristofer Thirkell, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Mugge Musgraue, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Richerd Englefeld, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Alexander Appulbye, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Robert boyst, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
John Preston, gentyman	-	vi	xiiij iiij
Thomas Clyfford, the bastard	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Cristofer Wharton, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
Thomas Dalson, gentyman	-	vj	xiiij iiij
John Skelton, of Branthayte, gentyman	vj	xiiij	iiij

[Cott. MS. Calig. B. II. fo. 263^b.]

208 EXTRACTS RELATING TO BORDER SERVICE.

NAMES OF DEPUTY WARDENS AND PENSIONERS ON THE EAST AND MIDDLE
MARCHES, AND A DEVICE FOR THE SAFE KEEPING OF THE WEST
MARCHES.

[Cotton MS. Caligula, B. III., pp. 203-4-5.]

The Names of the Deputie Wardens and pencioners of thest and
myddle Marches for anempt Scotland.

Too Sr William Evers knight, depute of theft m'ches anempt Scotland		-	cc m'kes		
			li	s.	d.
To	Sr Roger Graye	-	xx		
To	Sr Reginold Carnaby	-	xx		
To	Sr Robert Ellerker	-	xx		
To	Thomas Graye	-	xx		
To	Thomas fforster	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	Rauffe Elderton	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	John Carr	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	Thomas Heyboorne	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	Richard ffowberye	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	Edward Musthaus	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	John Seffie	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	Thomas Holboorne	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	Leonell greye	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	Thomas Carre	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	William Strudder	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	George ffenwycke	-	x		

To Sr John Withrington Deputie Warden of the myddle Marches		-	cc m'kes		
			li	s.	d.
To	the Lorde Ogle	-	L		
To	Sr Cuthberth Ratclyffe	-	xx		
To	Sr John de Laverr	-	xx		
To	Sr William Ogle	-	xx		
To	Robert Colyngwood	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	John Ogle of Kyrklaye	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	George Ogle	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	John Horseley	-	xiiij	vj	viiij
To	John Ogle	-	xiiij	vj	viiij

To

EXTRACTS RELATING TO BORDER SERVICE. 209

To John Wythryngton, as Leader and keper of Ryddesdale	-	xl m'kes
To Sr Reginolde Carneby, leader and keper of Tyndale	- -	xl m'kes
To John Haulle of Otterbury	-	xl <i>i</i>

DEVICE FOR THE SAFE KEEPING OF THE WEST MARCHES.

A Divise for the sure keping of the kynges
westm'ches for anempst Scotland

In primis, Sr Thomas Wentworthe to bee capitaine
of the Towne and Castle of Carlisle (Carlisle), and
to be continuallie resident their vpon his office, hav-
ing a yearlie ffee for the same. } c m'kes

It' to have under hime xx horsemen soldiers, and
evy of theme a yearlie ffee of xx nobles; S'ma to'lis } cc m'ks

It' [the saide Sr Thoms Wentworthe, as well for
his heye agaynste wynter, and for his horse grasse in
som', to have in ferme certain groundes of the kynges,
lying wt'oute the walles of Carlisle, called Brode
Medow, Sawcerie, the Sawcerye stones, and the
awyfte close, whiche severall Closes bee of the
yearlie rente of vij*l* viij*d* by the yere

Itm to have in ferme aswell for the provision
of his howse and vitailing of the said citie and
Castell of Carlisle, as also provinder of his horses
the tythe of Hoghton, Etterbye, Botherby, Penrethe,
and Langerbye, whiche be aboute the rent of xl*l* by
the yere.

Itm for iij porters of Clavigers vnder hime evy
of theme having the yearly ffee of xxv*s* viij*d*; Suma } iiij*l*
to'lis

The saide porters ffees to bee paide yerlie of the
kynges landes called Quenes hames, Englewood,
and Elleswhere, beyng now lettynge to the Warden of
of the saide m'ches

Second,

210 EXTRACTS RELATING TO BORDER SERVICE.

Second, Sr Thomas Wharton to be depute Warden }
 and continuallie resident vpon his office, and to } cc m'kea
 have a yerlie fee to be paide by thandes of the
 Sh'rife of Cumberland.

It. the saide Wharton to have foure comission's }
 vnder hime, withe the yerlie fee of vii st for ev'y } xxiij
 of theme to be paide owte of thestchequer.

Itm the saide Depute Warden for his better
 fur'ture, and for to have the mene of that Country
 in a more redines at all tymes whene neade shalbe
 or require, to have the Stuerdshipps.

of the bysshoppe of Carlisle,
 the Prior of Carlisle,
 of thabbott of Holme,
 of the prior of Wetherall.

Itm the saide depute Warden to have in farme }
 the Kynges landes called Quenes hames, in Engle- }
 wodd, and other their abouts.

Third, the gentlemen whose names follow shalbe
 assistent to the said Depute Wården, and have
 suche yerlie fees as ensuythe.

	li	s.	d.
ffirst Sr William Musgrave	-	-	x
Sr John Lether (Lowther)	-	-	x
Thoms Sandford	-	-	x
Sr John Lamplew	-	-	x
Sr John Lakurne (Laburne?)	-	-	x
Sr Geoffrey Mydleton	-	-	x
Sr Richard Bellyngham (Bellingham)	-	-	x
Edward Aigloby	-	-	x
Richard Dukett (Duckett)	-	-	x
Christopher Crathenthorpe	-	-	vj xiiij iiij
John Warcoppe	-	-	vj xiiij iiij
Thomas Daker	-	-	xiiij vi iiij
Lancelott Lancaster	-	-	vj xiiij iiij
Gylbert Wharton	-	-	vj xiiij iiij
Hughe Machell	-	-	vj xiiij iiij

John

EXTRACTS RELATING TO BORDER SERVICE. 211

	li	s.	d.
John Lyghe - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
John Skelton - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Thomas Dykes - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
John Thwaytes - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Cutbert Hutton - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Thomas Blanderhasset (Blennerhasset)	vj	xij	iiij
Christofer Thirkell - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Mug Musgrave . - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Ric Englefelde - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Alexander Appelbye - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Robert Boyst - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
John Preston - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Thomas Clyfford the basterd - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Sr Thomas Curwyn knighte (Curwen) -	x		
John a Musgrave - - - -	x		
Walter Strykland - - - -	x		
Christopher Wharton - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Thomas Dalson - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
John Skelton of Branthayte - - - -	vj	xij	iiij
Sir George Lawson for his ffee for the } payment of these somes - }	xx		

COUNCIL AND HOUSEHOLD OF THE WARDEN OF THE MARCHES.

The Lorde President of the diett, wt the diettes
of the Counseillers and of their seru'ntes, lymyted
to have fedyng whan thei shall be present in his
howsehold. } viij*cs*

To the byshoppe of Landaf for his charges } gevyng continuall attendance - }	xx		
To Sr Thomas Tempest - - - -	lxvj	xij	iiij
To Sr Raffe Elleker - - - -	lxvj	xij	iiij
To Sr Marmaduke Constable - - - -	xx		
To Robert Bowes - - - -	lxvj	xij	iiij
To William Bapthroppe - - - -	l		
To Roberte Chaloner - - - -	l		
To Richard Bellices (Bellasis) . - - -	xx		
To John Wedall - - - -	xxxiiij	vj	viij
To a Messenger - - - -	vj	xij	viij
Thomas ffaireffax - - - -	xx		

The

212 EXTRACTS RELATING TO BORDER SERVICE.

The names of all the gentlemen wt'in the schyer of Cumberland*

Sr Xpof Dacre knight	p Thomas Blenrassat Ar
Sr Edward Musg'ue knight	p Xpof Threlkeld
p Sr Thomas Curwen knight	Wyllm Porter Ar
Absent Sr John Hudelston knight	John Vaux of Caterlen gent
p Sr John Lowther knight	Lancelott Saulkeld gent
Absent Sr Wyllm Musg'ue knight	Richerd Bewley gent
p Sr John Lamplewgh knight	Richard Barwynt gent seke
p John Leygh esquier	John Rybton, elder gent
Thomas Saulkeld Ar	John Rybton yong' gent
	John Swynburne, elder gent
p seke Mugs Musg'ue Ar	Robert Lampleigh gent
	John Swynburne yong' gent
Xpof. Curwen	Alexander Heygham gent
John Irton Ar	Richard Orfeur gent
p Cuthbert Hutton Ar	Edmund Curwen gent seke
p Rycherd Eglysfeld Ar	Robert Carlill gent
p John Twaytes Ar	Richerd Blencow gent
p John Skelton of Army- thwaytes Ar	Richerd Hutton gent
p John Skelton of Branth- waytes Ar	Anthony Heigham gent
p Edward Eglanby	Willm Osmoderley gent
Wyllm Hutton	Robert Eles gent
	Thomas Senog gent
John Denton of Cardew Ar	Antony Curwen gent
John Curwen Ar	Xpof. Threlkeld gent
p Xpof. Wharton Ar	John Hutton of Penreth gent
Robert Curwen Ar	Thomas Herryngton gent
p Thomes Dalston Ar	Roger Sandes gent
p Robert Brestough Ar	Xpof. Leighe gent
John Lampleigh Ar	Willm Skelton gent
Wyllm Pykeryng Ar	John Vaux of Vlton
p Thomas Dykes Ar	Willm Vaux gent
John Denton of Kerleth Ar	John Musgrave p
p Thomas Dacre	
p Alex Appelbye gent	John Staneley
Ambrosse Machell gent	Wyllm Sandes
John Crakeplace	John Thomson
Cuthberth Musg'e gent	Richerd Tollson

* The names having "p" before them are probably "Pensioners."

Richard Blenrasset gent	Gawen Radclyffe
John Saulkeld of Pdyshow gent	Robert Vaux of Coldbeke
John Blenrasset gent	John Wyllmson thelder
John Senog gent	Charles Raybankes
Wyllm Leighe gent	Myles Halton
Richerd Browne of Carlyll gent	John Hewar
Richerd Myers gent	John Toppyng
seke Thomas Bewley	Rycherd Wynder
Edward Laithes gent	Symond Brestowghe
John Wodhall of Vlloke	Jamys Stanwyckes
George Myers gent	Wyllm Cowdall
John Sawkeld of thormyerhed	Roger Saulkeld
John Hutton of medlestowghe	John Hutton of Skelton
Thomas Carlton	John Posulwhaites
John Boost	Wyllm Walker of fytt
Rychard Andeholme	Richerd Dacres gent
Barth'lmew Lowther	Anthony Barker
John Suthake	John Alanbye
Thomas Huddylstone gent	Thomas Saulkeld
John Askew	Antony Blencow
John Yrton	James Hutton
Gyles Talboys	
John Collynson	

(Cott. MS., Calig. B. III. fo. 193b-194.)

The names of all the gentelmen wt'in the schyer of Westm'land.

p Sr Geffra Mydylton kt	p Gylbert Wharton swyer
p James Laborn k	Thomas Warcope swyer
p Whaltr Strekeland sqwyer	Ambrosse Machell
Edward Mydylton gent	Thomas Banbrig gent
James Wharde gent	Absent Thomas Byrkbyt kt
p John Pryston sqwyer	p Thomas Clifford bastert
Nycoles Thornborrow sqwyer	Edward Mans swyer
Antony Flemyng sqwyer	George Mans gent
Robert Phylipson gent	Wyllm Sandesford
Wyllm Carus gent	Maister Pybberyngland
Watt Cham gent	p Robert Balyngnam knyght
Henry Shaw gent	p Ryc Dukket swyer
Robert Hylton gent	Antony Duket gent

Wyllm

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	Wyllm Helton gent	John Dawney gent
	Robert Pullen gent	Wyllm Gylpyng gent
p	John Wharcope sqwyer	Henry Feld gent
	James Pekryng sqwy	Ric Redmayne swyer
seke	Lancelot Warcope gent	John Spenly gent
	Roland Blande gent absent	Thomas Blenkinsop swyer
	Ryc Sawkeld of schap gent	Jonn Hebton swyer
	Ryc Ryge gent	Henry Barton gent
	Thomas Jacson balyff	Robert Warcope gent
	ffor my lady Curwen	John Twayttes of gilt gent
	Ryc Saulkeld of stanegarth gent	Lancelott Wherton
seke	Thomas Dudlay swyer	Edmund Bradlay gent
	Thomas Wyber gent	Ryc Saulkeld
	Thomas Saulkeld gent	Nycholes Lancaster gent
seke	Robert Clyborne swyer	Thomas Salwkeld swyer
p	Lancelott Lancaster swyer	
p	Thomas Sandforthe	
	Xpof. Brugham gent	
	Thomas Cleburne swyer	
p	Xpof. Cracanthrop swyer	
p	Hew Machell swyer	
absent	Thomas Ros swyer	
	John Smyth gent	
	Lancelot Lowther	

(Cotton MS. Caligula B. III. fo. 192).

ART. XXIV.—*Bewcastle*. By WM. NANSON, B.A.

Read at that place, June 22nd, 1877.

THE Roman station occupied the level surface of a natural plateau of about six acres in extent. As is often seen to be the case with Roman camps, it overlooks a stream, now called the Kirkbeck, which washes the southern and steepest side, and in this respect its position may be compared with that of Old Penrith and Old Carlisle, and was the result of deliberate choice and not of accident. The station does not appear to have been a square, after the usual manner of a Roman camp, but adapted itself to the shape of the eminence on which it stood.* On every side the ground slopes down and forms a natural rampart, but the declivity is far steeper on the south than on the other sides, and the northern front is the weakest of all. Upon the west there is what appears to be a road leading up from the Kirkbeck to a point where you may be able to trace the site of the western gate. This road would branch off from the Maiden Way, which seems to have crossed the valley a little above the station. Large as the station is it has yielded up only eight inscribed stones, at least Dr. Bruce could find no more for insertion in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, a fact which he accounts for by supposing that they were used up in the building of the church and castle. Of these, four are lost, one is at Lazonby Hall, and three are recorded in the *Lapidarium* as being at Bewcastle. None of them throw any light upon the history, or record the ancient name of Bewcastle.

* "The station at Bewcastle has been placed on the nearly level surface of an irregularly-shaped eminence; its form being hexagonal, but its sides are unequal. Their respective lengths are as follows:—south-west side, 108 yards; south, 78 yards; south-east, 95 yards; north-east, 125 yards; north, 146 yards; and north-west, 83 yards." Mr. Maughan, in *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XI., p. 125.

Various conjectures have been made as to the Roman name of the station, but they are mere conjectures, and in the absence of anything like certainty I shall not trouble you with them. The position must have been one of great importance, as on it depended the safety of a large portion of the Maiden Way and the communication with other places further north. During the greater portion of its Roman period it is not unlikely, however, that Bewcastle was a frontier place, an outpost guarding the furthest limits of the empire. The Romans were never able to hold unbroken the northern barrier between the Friths of Forth and Clyde. The building of a second barrier further south by Hadrian was in itself a confession of weakness. It is true that not long afterwards the northern barrier, Agricola's line of forts, was strengthened by Lollius Urbicus, who constructed an earthwork, called, in honour of the reigning Emperor, the wall of Antoninus, and now known as Graham's Dyke: but again the northern tribes broke in, and for long the tide of conquest seems to have ebbed and flowed while Picts and Romans fought for the possession of the land between the two walls. Under Theodosius the failing strength of Rome made a final effort, and the country being again subdued, was formed into a province called Valentia, after the reigning Emperor Valentinian. This, however, was not fifty years before the legions were withdrawn, and the Romans must have held the new province by a very uncertain tenure. In the warfare of those times Bewcastle—which even then was a sort of debatable land—must have played a conspicuous part and borne the brunt of many a fierce assault.

When the Romans left Britain, Bewcastle would become part of a British kingdom until the landing of the Angles under Ida, in the middle of the sixth century, who soon conquered Northumberland, the land between the Humber and the Forth, and drove the Britons before them across the barrier of the Pennine range, thus dividing
what

what is now the south of Scotland and the north of England by a perpendicular line, to the east of which lay the kingdom of Northumberland, and on the west the British or Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde. This kingdom extended from the Frith of Clyde over Galloway and the whole of south-west Scotland, taking in also Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, down to the river Dee, and the city of Chester, where it joined the kingdom of Wales. The history of this British State of Strathclyde, or Cumberland, is very obscure, and it is not necessary to go into it now, but it is worth while observing that so long as it maintained a separate existence and was independent of Northumberland, Bewcastle must have been very near its eastern boundary, and found itself again, in this second period of its history, a frontier place, only that then the boundary no longer ran along the Roman wall from east to west, but north and south, following the course of the range of mountains which is sometimes called the backbone of England, and which was for a time a shelter to the Welsh of Strathclyde against the advancing power of the Angles. It was not long that this barrier withstood the assault, and after the crushing defeat and death of the British Prince Cadwalla, at Heavenfield, near Hexham, Cumberland must have been very quickly overrun. The date of the battle of Heavenfield is 635, and before 670 Bewcastle was an integral part of the Northumbrian kingdom, the burial-place and perhaps the abode of a Northumbrian prince. Before the end of another century the powerful kingdom of Northumberland, three of whose kings, Edwin, Oswald, and Oswin, take rank as Bretwaldas, had become a prey to internal strife, which ended in the Northumbrians making their submission to Egbert, the king of the west Saxons, the eighth and last Bretwalda, whom all the English princes acknowledged as their overlord. We do not hear, however, that he was lord of the Strathclyde Welsh, and if he was not, then the submission
of

of Northumberland cannot have included the submission of Cumberland, and we must assume that during the latter and weaker days of the Northumbrian monarchy, Cumberland had managed to regain its independence. I do not say this with any certainty, because when Strathclyde and Cumberland are mentioned there is always a doubt as to how much of the country between the Clyde and the Dee is included, and therefore it may have been that the only part which did not submit to Egbert was the northern portion, what is now Galloway and the south-west of Scotland. The submission of Northumberland to Egbert was made in 827, and little or nothing is known of Cumberland for another hundred years, till 924. In this year Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred,

“Was chosen for father and for lord by the king of the Scots and the whole nation of the Scots, and Regnald and the son of Eadulf, and those who dwell in Northumbria, as well English as Danes, and Northmen and others, and also the king of the Strathclyde Britons, and all the Strathclyde Britons.”

This is a very brief outline of the history of Cumberland from the departure of the Romans up to what is known as the Commendation of 924, but it is nearly all we know, and in the dearth of all the materials of history the testimony of the well-known Bewcastle monument is not to be despised, even though it furnish us with only one new fact.

I propose briefly to describe the monument, and to tell you the meaning of the inscription, in which I shall follow Professor Stephens of Copenhagen, who has published a magnificent work on Runic monuments, in which he gives a very full account of the one at Bewcastle. The column is formed of one entire block of grey freestone, and its height above the pedestal is $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It was formerly surmounted by a small cross, which is now lost, but which, we may reasonably suppose, was not unlike the cross

cross in Ruthwell churchyard, in Annandale, fragments of which still remain. That there was a cross on the top of the shaft is quite certain, because in Camden's own copy of his *Britannia* was found a slip of paper with the following note upon it: — "I received this morning a stone from my Lord of Arundel, sent him from my lord William. It was the head of a cross at Bewcastle." You see the antiquarians of those days could not let it alone, and where it is now nobody knows. The stone is supposed to have been quarried at a place called Langbar, on White Lyne Common, about five miles to the north, where lies another stone just like it, which was never removed from the quarry.*

Let us look, first of all, at the east side, on which there are no Runes. The ornament consists of a vine sculptured in low relief within a border. It springs from the ground at the bottom of the shaft, and the main stem winds upwards, curving from side to side, and throwing out branches and tendrils bearing conventional foliage and clusters of fruit, while birds and squirrels and grotesque beasts of no known species perch among the branches and devour the fruit. On the west side, near the top, are the remains of the Holy name "Christus." Below is the figure of St. John Baptist, holding in his arms the Agnus Dei. The next figure, from the words, "Jesus Christus," written above the head, we know to be that of our Saviour. His head is encircled with a glory which, you will observe, is larger than that which surrounds the head of the Baptist, and like that of the Agnus Dei. His right hand is lifted in the act of blessing, and his left holds what looks like a scroll. He stands with each of his feet upon the head of a swine, treading down all unclean things, in the same way as He is represented on the cross at Ruthwell. Then fol-

* Mr. Maughan, *Archæological Journal*, Vol XI., p. 134.

mysterious, but it may only mean "pray for his most sinful soul," and be a humble confession of the natural sinfulness of man's nature. Below is the figure of a man in a long robe, with a hood over his head, and perched upon his left wrist a bird, which we therefore take to be a falcon. This figure is supposed to be Alcfrith himself. Immediately below the falcon is, what has been conjectured to be its perch, an upright piece of wood with a cross piece at the top.

We now pass to the south side and begin with the lowest compartment. It is filled with a beautiful design in knot-work ornament, the pattern being repeated twice. Then follows the first line of the inscription, then in the next compartment two interlacing vines, then the second line of the inscription, then more knot-work of a different pattern to the last, then the third line, then what we may call a vine, but which, like all the foliage on the pillar, is entirely conventional, imitating the characteristics of a graceful climbing plant, but bearing flowers and foliage and fruit of various forms all upon the same stem. Not far from the bottom of it you will see a semi-circular space, thought to be a sun-dial. Above this vine, comes the fourth line, and above that more knot-work. The top has been a good deal broken away, and the last part of the inscription can only be guessed at. Professor Stephens translates the whole thus:—

ƿƿRNFƿƿMƿƿ

"In the first year
of the King
of ric (realm) this
Ecgrith."

From what is left he conjectures that there may have been at the top "Lie he in frith," *i.e.*, may Alcfrith lie in peace.

We

We now come lastly to the north side. This also, like the south, has five divisions. Beginning at the bottom are two vines with intertwining branches, and above the name of Alcfrith's queen, Küniburug. Higher up a wonderful



KUNBURUG.

knot-work pattern, and above it the name Kuneswitha, the queen's sister. Then comes a long compartment filled with chequers, upon which there has been a vast amount of learned speculation. Camden thought the chequers came from the arms of De Vaux. Then, when this theory was exploded, the late Mr. Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, inverted it, and suggested that the chequers on the arms of De Vaux were taken from this column. Mr. Maughan, in a note to his tract on Bewcastle, cites instances of chequers in Scythian, Egyptian, Gallic, and Roman art, and from the Book of Kings proves that there were "nets of chequered work" in the Temple of King Solomon. The fact is that chequer-work or diaper is a natural form of ornament, and is here introduced purely as an ornament by the artist, who did not wish to leave the space blank and wanted something different to knots and vines. It is more pleasing to the eye than a plain surface, and for precisely the same reason may be seen in the tympanum of the door at Bromfield Church, in mediæval illuminations, and on the borders of Lowestoft tea-cups. Above this compartment are the words "Myrcna Kūng," and above the next piece of knot-work, "Wulphere," *i.e.*, Wulphere, King of the Mercians. Then follows another vine, and above all, three crosses and the sacred name "Jesus," as if to hallow and to bless the whole.

I must tell you something about the names occurring in the inscription, but first I would direct your attention to the

the great artistic merit of the work, and would ask you to look upon it not only as an historical monument, but as a work of art of a very high order, and infinitely superior both in design and execution to sculpture of much later times, which, until the 13th century, is, in the figures at least, grotesque and puerile as compared to this. The figures are here calm and dignified, the drapery is well executed and graceful, while the foliage is as good as any border in a mediæval missal. Coming now to the history of the monument, there seems no doubt that it is raised to the memory of Alcfrith, and it probably marks his grave. This Alcfrith was a son of Oswiu, king of Northumberland, and during his father's lifetime ruled under him over Deira, the southern part of his dominions. He is known to have been the friend and patron of Wilfrith, to whom he gave the monastery of Ripon. Like Wilfrith, and the men of the rising generation in his day, he was in favour of an alliance in ecclesiastical things with Rome, and was opposed to the Scottish missionaries, the followers of Aiden, who neither shaved their heads nor kept Easter in an orthodox way. Alcfrith is thus connected with that important revolution brought about through Wilfrith's influence, and completed at the synod of Whitby, where Oswiu presided and settled the dispute between the Latin and the Celtic missionaries, by saying that he should not stand opposed to Saint Peter, seeing that he was the door-keeper of heaven, "lest by offending him who keepeth the keys, I should, when I present myself at the gate, find no one to open it to me." To this friendship between Alcfrith and Wilfrith may possibly be due the excellent workmanship of the monument, which seems to have had bestowed upon it, the joint labours of English, Celtic, and Italian artists. We know that Wilfrith, when he returned from Rome, brought with him workmen, who were employed upon his churches at Ripon and at Hexham. At the latter place stones have been found with vines

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sculptured

sculptured on them like those you now see, and which seem to be copied from the Gallixtine catacombs at Rome and the tomb of Galla Placidia at Ravenna. Historically the monument is important as proving that this part of Cumberland was in the seventh century annexed to the Northumbrian kingdom, then near the height of its power. I do not say that we might not have inferred as much from other sources, seeing that about 685 St. Cuthbert was at Carlisle, but no chronicle, not even the testimony of a contemporary, can have greater weight as an authority than this abiding relic in these parts of the Northumbrian rule. The date, too, of the monument is graven on itself, and is the first year of Ecgrith, the brother of Alcfrith, and successor of Oswiu, who began to reign in 670. Alcfrith himself, though he had been king of Deira under his father, did not live to succeed him. The date of his death and its manner are unknown, but it probably took place not long before his sorrowing queen, and her sister, and his brother-in-law the King of Mercia, with the three thegns, the dead king's friends and followers, set up this trophy to his memory. The queen of Alcfrith was the daughter of the fierce heathen Penda, the king of Mercia, the rival of the Northumbrian kings, who had slain in battle Edwin and Oswald, and was himself defeated and slain by Oswiu. Though so often at war the two royal families were closely united by marriage, for after Alcfrith had married Cuneburh, Penda's daughter, her brother Peada came and besought Oswiu to give him his daughter in marriage. But Mercia was still heathen; Peada was told that a Christian princess could not be allowed to wed a Pagan prince, and he was urged to embrace Christianity and be baptized. Then he listened to the preaching of the gospel, and he was so moved that he declared he would willingly become a Christian, even though he should be refused the virgin; and Bede ascribes the merit of his conversion to Alcfrith, his
his

his friend and brother-in-law. "Accordingly," it is said, "he was baptized by Bishop Finan, with all his earls and soldiers and their servants that came along with him, at a noted village belonging to the king called, 'At the Wall.'"

Let us now take up the thread of the history of Cumberland from where we broke off, at the date of the Commendation in 924. At that time Cumberland was ruled by princes of the Scottish royal family, but was still a kingdom independent of Scotland, owing like Scotland a vague and indefinite allegiance to the English King as overlord. In 945, "King Eadmund ravaged all Cumberland, and granted it all to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on condition that he should be his fellow-worker, as well by sea as by land." From that time Cumberland was held as an appanage of the Scottish crown, and the heir apparent of Scotland was Prince of Cumberland, as in later days the heir apparent of England became Prince of Wales. By this grant of Eadmund the northern part of the old kingdom of Cumberland became for ever severed from England and annexed to Scotland. The fortune of the southern position was different, and for long it seemed doubtful whether in the end it would belong to England or to Scotland. Passing on to the Norman Conquest, at which time Cumberland was ruled by the Scottish king, I should just allude perhaps to a story which is told in all the existing county histories, of a grant of Cumberland by William the Conqueror to Ranulf de Meschines, who, it is said, granted Gilsland to Hubert de Vallibus. Hubert, as the story goes, was kept out of his new fief by Gilles Bueth, lord of Bewcastle, whom, therefore, he slew by treachery at Castlesteads, and then in remorse founded Lanercost. I need not, at this present day, discuss before this Society whether the Conqueror made a grant of Cumberland or not. We know he never had possession of it. Camden was the first who dealt in the story of the murder
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of Bueth, and writers in our *Transactions* (Vol. I., p. 95) have done much to upset it *in toto*. But into the history of Gilles, and Bueth his father, whose name survives in Bewcastle (Buethcastle), Boothby (Buethby), Burtholme, (Buetholme), we must enquire a little. In the Chartulary of the Bishopric of Glasgow, Mr. Mounsey* found an Inquisition of the possessions of the church of Glasgow, made in 1118, by order of David, then prince of Cumbria. The return is sworn to by Uchtred, the son of Waldef, Gill, son of Boed, Leysing and Oggo, Cumbrian judges, so that at this time Gilles, the son of Bueth, was a man of high position in Cumberland. It is worthy of special note, too, that he appears in connection with David, the Scottish prince, not as the subject of Henry I., from which we may infer that though William Rufus conquered all the southern parts of Cumberland and founded Carlisle, which was certainly held by his successor as one of the royal towns, still these more northern portions of the modern county had neither been reduced by the king nor his barons, and owed allegiance to prince David and the Crown of Scotland. Throughout the reign of Stephen, David was in full possession of Cumberland, and kept his court at Carlisle, but in 1157, Henry finally annexed it to England, and he by a charter, which is printed in Dugdale, granted to Hubert de Vallibus "*Totam terram quam Gilbertus filius Boet tenuit, die quo fuit vivus et mortuus,*" an expression which shows Gilles Bueth to have kept Bewcastle till his death. Thus, then, it passed to the lords of Gilsland, but yet, though I know not why, it does not seem to have been reckoned a part of that barony: we find it regarded rather as part of the barony of Burgh. It must have formed part of the estates of the family of De Vaux, but perhaps they never were able or did not care to reduce it into possession. Hutchinson, quoting from Denton, says:

* See his "Gillesland."

"It would seem that Gilles Bueth, being dispossessed himself, and he and his posterity forced to settle in Scotland, he made the place too hot for any of Hubert Vaux's posterity, wasting all that part of the country in revenge by frequent inroads on the same."

In this there may be some truth, and we may believe Bewcastle was not a desirable residence, and that not much was to be got for the trouble of reducing such a place. When the De Moultons, lords of Burgh, became by marriage lords of Gilsland also, Denton says they

"Took upon them to summer their cattle in Bewcastle, and made them shields and cabins for their people, dwelling themselves in tents and booths for defence; at which time it was a waste forest ground, and fit for the depasturing of the cattle of the lords of Burgh and their tenants, they having no other pasture for them, because the barony itself was very populous and well inhabited, fitting better for corn and meadow than for pasture. And thereupon it is always found in ancient inquisitions as parcel of that barony, and to be holden of the same. But it is not within the said barony, for the seignories of Liddale and Levington lie between Burgh and it. It became inhabited long before Henry III.'s time, upon the building of that castle which is now there standing. And in Henry III.'s days Richard, Baron of Levington, by his right in Burgh, held these demesne lands, and other lands, rents and services, as parcel of Burgh."

Such is Denton's account of the feudal history of Bewcastle. The Swinburns afterwards held it, and in the time of Edward III. it passed to Sir John Striveling, who obtained it by marriage with Barbara, sister and co-heir of Sir Adam de Swinburne. It then got into the hands of the crown, and was held for the king by a branch of the Musgrave family. A Jack Musgrave was captain of Bewcastle in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1602, Thomas Musgrave fell out with his neighbour at Askerton, Launcelot Carleton, and arrangements were made for a duel between them, but the result of it is not recorded. Another Jack Musgrave was captain of Bewcastle in the time of
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the Commonwealth, and is described by Lilly, the astrologer,* as a "very pestilent fellow," who nevertheless made Jack very drunk, and so got out of him some documents which compromised his friend the then head of the Penningtons. Rushworth (II. 929) says Bewcastle had a garrison of one hundred men placed in it in 1639, which garrison is said to have been withdrawn to Carlisle and the castle dismantled. This very possibly is the end of its military history, though Hutchinson says it was destroyed by the Parliamentary forces in 1641, and tradition makes Oliver Cromwell batter it down himself, but as almost every old castle, in the absence of any other fate, is made an end of by the great Protector, we must, until the authority is found, look upon the story with suspicion. Its last possessors have been the Grahams, to whom it now belongs, the fee having been granted to Sir Richard Graham by Charles I. in consideration of his services.

Many famous stories are told of the exploits and lawlessness of the inhabitants of Bewcastle in its wilder days. They were arrant moss-troopers all of them, and many appear in the lists kept by Lord William Howard of those whom he had either hanged upon the fatal tree at Naworth, or sent to Carlisle, where the officer 'does his work by daylight,' and John Nelson, curate of Bewcastle, and William Patrick, priest of the same, were reported as notorious freebooters. Hobbie Noble, the famous moss-trooper, who acted a distinguished part in the deliverance of Jock o' the Side, and who was betrayed by Sim o' the Maynes, was a Bewcastle man, and lived at a place called Crewe, about three miles north-east of the church, where, I believe, a portion of an old tower still remains.† In life he was a much respected man throughout Liddesdale and Bewcastle, but the Land Sergeant got him, and he

* In Lilly's Autobiography.

† Mr. Maughan says this tower stands on a Roman site. *Archæological Journal*, vol. XI. p. 222.

was hanged at Carlisle—a little matter about a horse.

And now can you bear with me while in conclusion I say a few words about the castle? All that remains is an enclosure of 87 feet square, lying within four great walls, or what is left of them, for on the northern and eastern side they are much broken down. A gateway is built against the western wall. This also forms a square enclosure, for I doubt if it was ever roofed in, and it seems to be an addition. There is hardly a scrap of detail left, so that it is impossible to fix the date with certainty, unless an opinion can be formed from the masonry. Many have looked upon it as an early example of military architecture, and speak of its being a Norman keep.* I do not say that it may not be Edwardian, but what detail there is, and there is really hardly any except in the windows, which may be insertions, is decidedly late, as late I should think as Henry VIII. or Elizabeth, and therefore I suppose that the castle may have been almost entirely rebuilt when Bewcastle came into the hands of the Crown. There is nothing which strikes me as being like Norman work, and had it been a Norman keep we might have expected to find some flat buttresses instead of the huge expanse of dead wall which we have on the south, unbroken in its lower part by an opening of any kind. There is an absence also of all intramural passages or corner staircases with which Norman keeps were generally furnished. The dwelling rooms seem to have been entirely on the upper floors, and were probably built round the outer walls, so as to form a court yard, such as you have seen at Askerton. It seems impossible that the whole interior space can have been fitted with chambers divided by partition walls, for you must bear in mind that the castle here is of great size, and that within its

* Mr. Maughan says, "There is no date known of the erection of this castle, but the cement shows it to be of ancient construction. *Archaeological Journal*, vol. XI. page 126.

four walls you could put the keep of Carlisle. Whatever was the form of the internal buildings they seem to have consisted of a basement and two upper stories ; but only in the topmost of all are found the remains of two windows and two fireplaces. At the doorways you should notice particularly the long holes into which were shot the beams for securing the door, an excellent arrangement by which they were out of the way when not in use and always there when wanted. You find the same at Shank Castle, which seems certainly as late as the sixteenth century ; and both here and there these holes appear to have been made when the walls were first built. Those in the wall of the gateway run right through to the outside. In this part, which, though built on to the main portion, seems to be of the same character, you can just see the projection from the battlements, which, you will observe, is very slight. Inside the outer door to the right hand on entering is a doorway at the foot of a stair, formed in the thickness of the wall leading to a short gallery, which terminates in a garderobe, and has openings towards the interior for the defence of the gateway. The wall at the end of the passage is broken through, and the hole, though not a window at all, is shown as the one through which young Johnstone of Loch Wood saw old Nixon asleep in his arm-chair by the fire, as related in the well-known tale of Nixon's Glow. The walls of the passage and the stairs are still covered with thick whitewash, which certainly seems in places to be blackened by fire, but this might happen in other ways than the smoke from Nixon's glow ; still it would be interesting to know if the castle was ever occupied as a farm house, as has been the fate of most of our border peles.

The church may be dismissed in a few words, for, with the exception of the east end, which has a triple lancet Early English window, all is modern work, and the long tin cases containing the plans of common allotments, which.

which, when I first saw it, were hanging by chains along the front of the gallery, have been taken down. In the graveyard are some old headstones bearing quaint coats of arms, and old rhyming inscriptions; but perhaps the oddest of all is quite a recent one to "Jonathan Telford, of Craggy Ford, who died April 25, 1866, aged 72. Deceased was one of the moor-game shooters in the north of England; in the time of his shooting he bagged 59 grouse at seven double shots."

Note by the Editor.—The wetness of the weather, &c. prevented any discussion upon Mr. Nanson's interesting paper. Dr. Simpson expressed an opinion that the church was worth more attention, and some doubt was expressed about the date of the castle, whether it might not be earlier than Mr. Nanson considered it. Mr. George Howard said that Sir George Dasent was of opinion that Professor Stephens had misread the line of Runes, translated as "Pray for the high sin of his soul." Professor Stephens was indebted to Mr. Maughan for tracings, &c. of the Runes. The Editor is informed that Sir George Dasent assigns these Runes to a different date to that done by Professor Stephens.

ART. XXV.—*Piel Castle*. By WILLIAM HARRISON, Barrow-in-Furness.

Read at Piel Castle, August 17th, 1877.

THE spot upon which we stand, with its grand sea approach, naturally suggests to us the question whether its history dates back to times more ancient than belong to the ruin we have to treat of to-day. I am bound to confess that there are no authentic records beyond the fourteenth century, but it is the rôle of the archæologist occasionally to launch into conjecture. Looking at the evidence of Roman military stations and roads in the district, as well as the Roman road along the ridge of hills known as High Street, we are warranted in concluding that that warlike nation did not content themselves with one or two isolated inroads upon Furness and the fells, but established and maintained a force of soldiers for over two hundred years close by. Looking at the tedious land travel from the south of England, and to the familiarity with ships possessed by the Romans, is it very far fetched to conjecture that their reinforcing or relieving troops reached the district by the water-gate at Piel, and that, could we transport ourselves to that time and stand on this cliff, we might have seen, instead of peaceful ships with the flags of our mercantile marine or yacht clubs flying, galleys full of mail-clad warriors sailing in beneath the eagles and the proud legend *Senatus Populusque Romanus*?

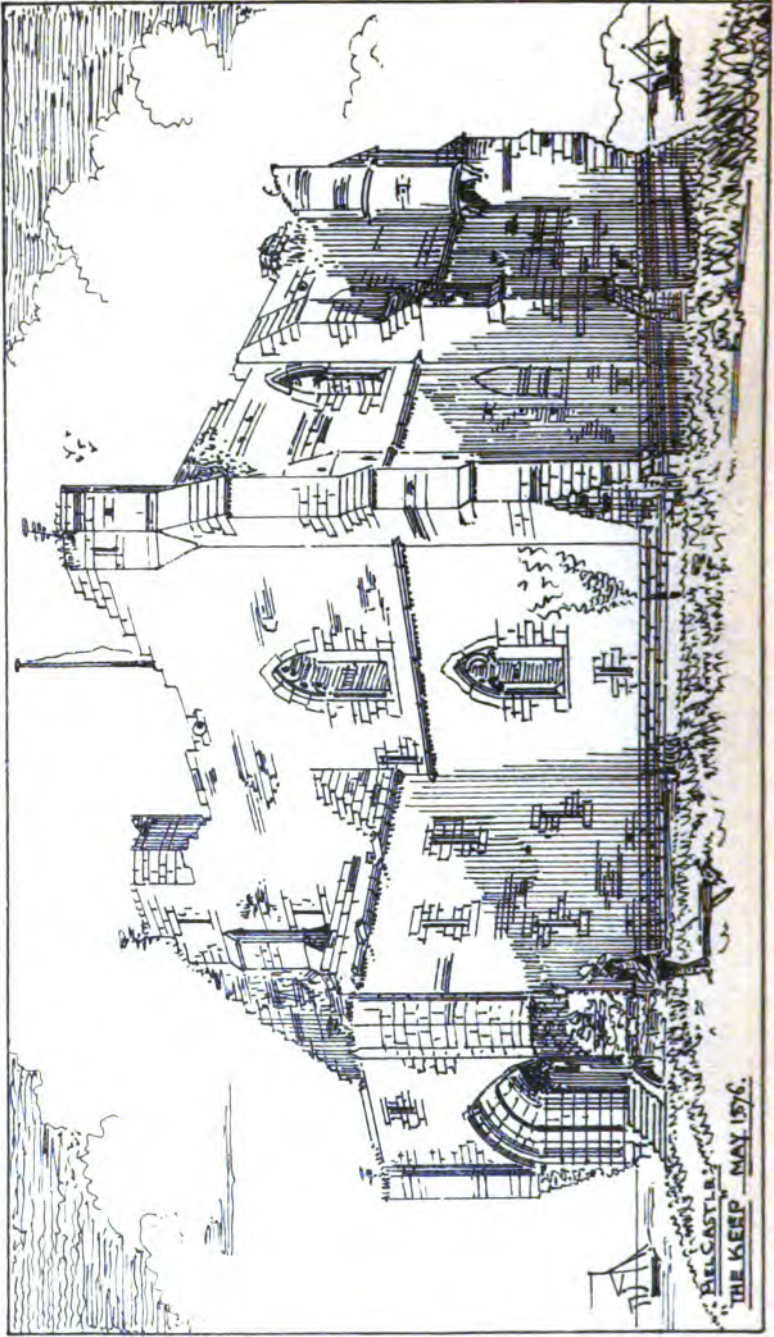
Be that, however, as it may, it is my duty to treat of Piel as it is, a ruined castle (in very good preservation) of the fourteenth century, and most likely of the date of 1327. This is fixed thus. It was, undoubtedly, an outpost from the Abbey of Furness, because we know from the grants of Stephen and others that the whole of the promontory became

became and remained theirs from the year 1100 to the dissolution by Henry VIII., and therefore there could have been no independent baron of a position proportionate to the size of the Castle, or history would have mentioned his name. The Abbey of Furness is well known to be of four distinct ages of architecture, of which the latest is the vaulted room at the south end. Its mouldings, plinths, and other sandstone enrichments correspond with those of Piel Castle, and also the shape of the windows; the style of the architecture is invariably found a correct indication of the age of all castles and monastic remains. This supposition is also consistent from another point of view. The first duty of the monks, after being inducted to their domain, would naturally be the erection of their church, the chapter house, refectory, and cloister, and finally the numerous outbuildings which are still extant. These home cares having been attended to, their energies would then be bestowed upon consolidating their power in that lordly possession over which their pious founder had given them sway. Thus they built Dalton Castle, where the Abbot held his manorial court. The harbour of Piel would also attract their attention. It was the water-gate by which their foes could enter, it was the port through which their imports of foreign food and wine could most easily find admission. The monks were, too, the owners of wreckage, and no doubt whatever revenue could accrue from customs or fishery was theirs by right of their grant. A stronghold here would serve too for a fastness to which they could remove their title deeds and charters, their church plate and secular wealth, and in time of extreme danger might take refuge themselves. This is necessary to recollect when we consider the great strength of what was merely an outpost.

One word as to the topography of the island. It is proved from the recent creeping out of the southern end of Walney adjoining, that a very great change has taken place

place since 1230, and I am inclined to think that at that date the island terminated about Southend farm, where the solid marl ends, and it is not impossible that Piel joined on without the intermediate strait. Bass Pool and Piel Castle, therefore, stood in the fair way into the harbour, alike a friendly beacon to guide friends in, and a grim fortress to keep foes aloof.

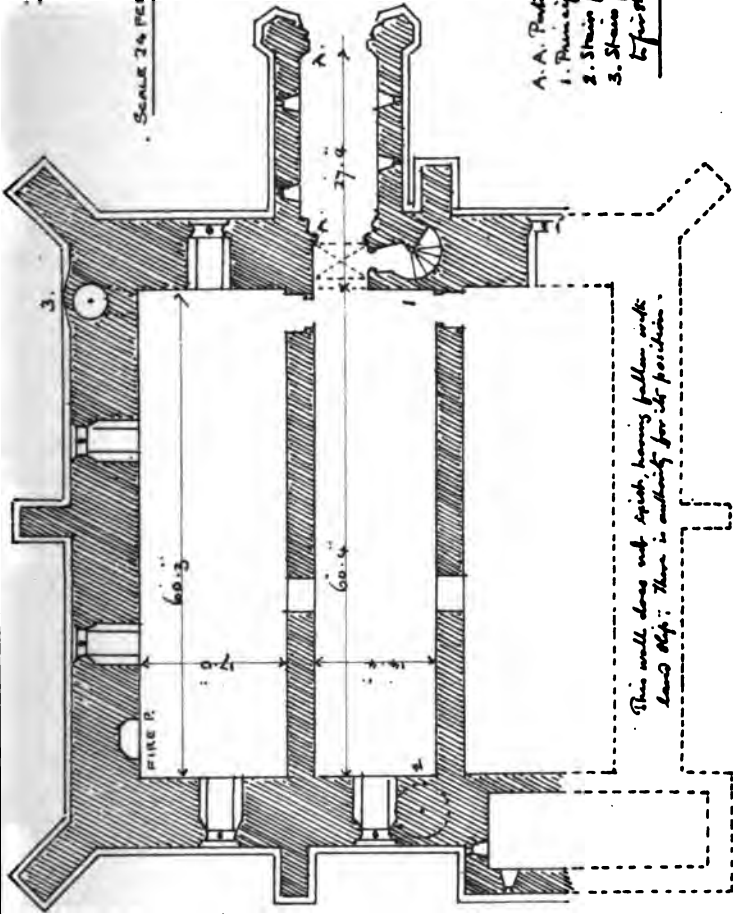
The main characteristics of Norman baronial castles are followed in the design of Piel Castle; it consists of keep, inner and outer baileys. Probably the first entrance was on the side of the New Inn, and I will suppose you standing there, and outside the farthest ditch, which is 20 feet deep and 30 feet wide at the top. At first sight it would appear that this ditch was as usual intended to offer a water barrier outside the walls. This can hardly be so if the formation of the ground outside has undergone no change, because the level at the north-east tower is so much the highest that before it was submerged the north-west angle of the moat must have been overflowing. And yet there have been found both in this and the inner ditch, as well as in a garden just outside the western wall, clear indications of clay puddle laid so as to show that water in considerable quantities was stored, and this could hardly have been for any other purpose. Looking, however, at the ease with which each end of the ditch could have been drained to the sea by besiegers, I am forced to express my belief that, if a wet ditch at all, it must have only been at the north-western tower, and tailed out a short distance either way. The outer entrance has entirely disappeared. In the position where it might have been, on the north wall, are some apparent traces of an inside footing, which might be worth following up, but I confess to a difficulty in the entire absence of the bridge or causeway over the moat. The north-east tower has lost its sea side; it is 14 feet square, and of two stories; it has a wooden floor; and this description will apply
nearly



BELCASTLE, MAY 1876.
THE KEEP

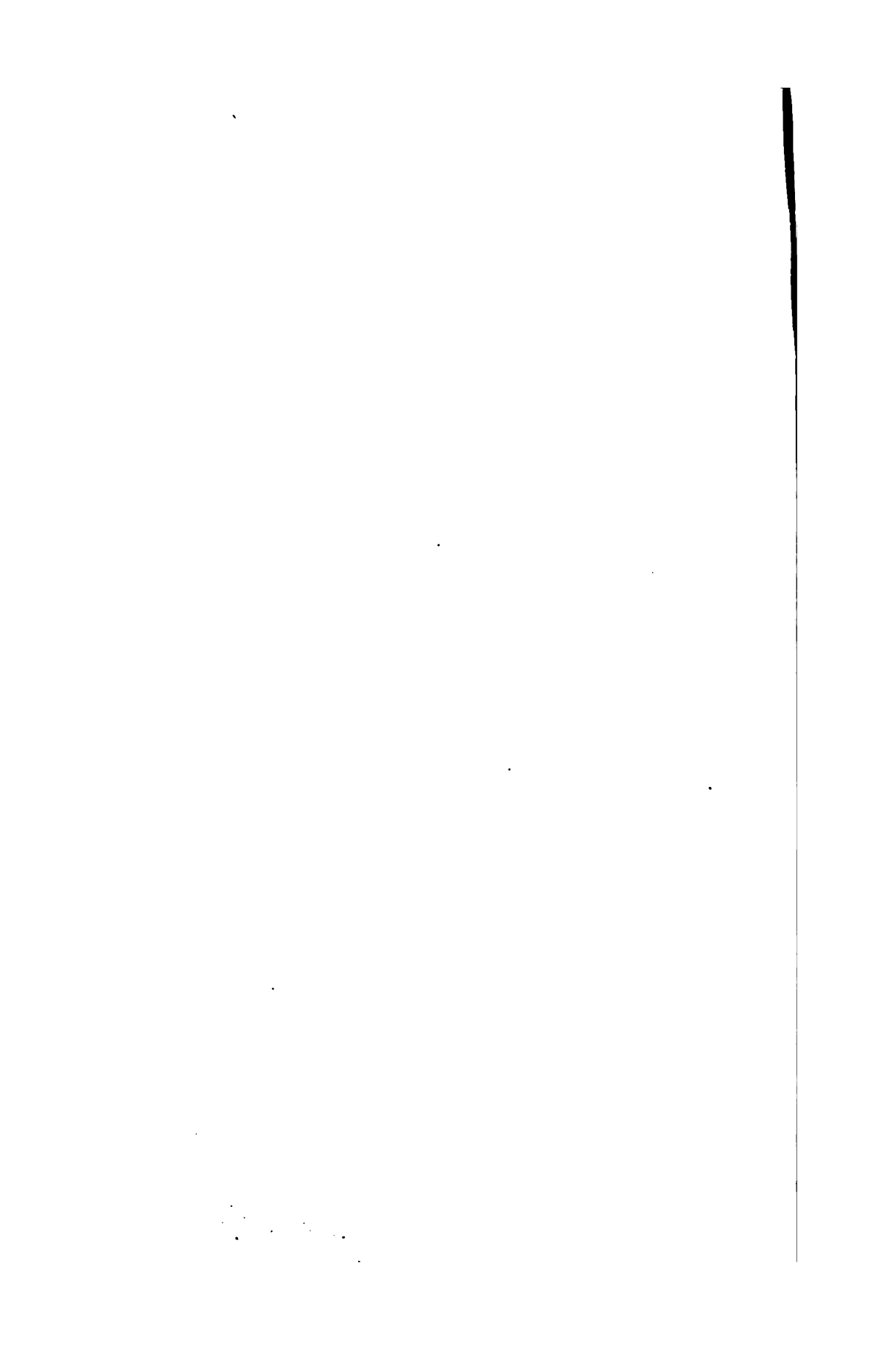
PIEL CASTLE :
PLAN OF KEEP.

SCALE 3/4 FEET TO 1 INCH.



- A. A. Putzulli.
1. Principal Stairs.
 2. Stairs from 1st floor to Parapet.
 3. Stairs from Basement to first floor.

This wall done up with beams fallen with
 last step. There is authority for its position.



nearly to all the outside towers. It has a singular projection into the courtyard, hard by a buttress, which I cannot explain.

Close adjoining, observe, what was undoubtedly the chapel, in which you have an opportunity, through recent excavations, of observing the foundations of the altar and its two steps, together with the bottom of a quatre-foil window, some window tracery, and some small portions of glass and lead from the south window. The drain for the water, used in cleaning the holy vessels, is seen beneath. The chapel is about 34 feet by 15 feet, and could not have held more than half the garrison at one time. At the extreme eastern corner of the chapel notice a buttress bottom, where, in sandstone quoins, you will see the fillet appearing under the plinth, as contrasted with the underneath feather-edge finish of the adjoining string-course of the wall, showing a different and, probably, much more recent style; and, again, the quantities of shells in the mortar, as compared with the very slight admixture in the old part. I am in doubt again about a buttress at the same point, with its top finish quite distinct, and which must have inevitably blocked up a loop hole in the second story. Journeying now west, along the wall, you will see that the ascent to the battlements was by narrow flights of steps let into the wall. The upper floor of the turret was reached from the rampart level, and again another stair lead to the roof, protected by a slight parapet wall. This and most of the ramparts are curved, some outwards and some inwards. The north-western tower seems to have been built by itself; headstones have been left to tie in with the line of the walls afterwards, and these ties not having sufficiently broken joint, and the mortar having set before the adjoining wall was built, the new never adhered and easily broke off. Each tower is apparently open on the upper floor to one of the ramparts.

The walls are about eight feet thick, and, in addition
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to the raised battlements, which may have been pierced for firing or not, afforded ample space for the beat of the sentries. The sandstone copings, which, doubtless, surmounted the walls, have probably assisted in the farms of the neighbourhood, as they would be easily dislodged, for we find they were favourite missiles to fling on the heads of besiegers who ventured too close to the walls. The wall connecting the two western towers has disappeared. The south-western tower is similar to the others.

On leaving it, is seen the last piece of the fortifications of the outer bailey. It leaves the tower diagonally and points in the direction of the corresponding tower on the inner line; this clearly proves the little alteration in the foreshore here, and the connection between the walls of the inner and outer baileys. Recurring to my remarks on a similar appearance at the west, and connecting the two, they are to my mind especially valuable as justifying us in filling up, exactly as we should expect, the remainder of the enclosure seawards with one wall, a very few feet beyond the present cliff.

Crossing the court, we reach the second causeway, the moat, and barbican of the inner bailey. On entering, the socket is visible at the bottom on the right of the doorway, into which was set a shoe to receive the pin of the beam on which swung the drawbridge. The chains from its out-end passed through two of the oilet holes looking out of the second story. Just inside is the groove in which worked the grating or portcullis, its usual position, just showing its teeth on a level with the springing of the doorway.

There may or may not have been an inner ordinary door. In the floor above, lately boarded over, is a fire-place with its flue carried up the wall, and curiously turned out to its front. There is also in the corner one of the five garde-robes remaining; in this case probably combined with a loophole. Many of these loopholes appear, by-the-by, all round the corner towers, so placed that there is no corner where

where a foe could find secure lodgement even if he gained the inside of the walls.

The southern tower of the inner bailey was about 10 feet by 20, and reduced in thickness in the upper story; the return tower is an irregular pentagon, and its lower floor has no light; it was probably used as a place of temporary confinement; and last the eastern tower, on the extreme verge of the cliffs, shows how curiously the builders of this time contrived small passages. This terminates our tour of the fortifications of the outer and inner baileys. Foes would first have to force the outer, then the inner bailey, and would then find themselves in front of the donjon or keep. The entrance of the outer bailey looks north, and that of the inner west.

The keep has an outer portcullis, then a chamber and a second portcullis within, passing under which you have above one of the few instances of vaulting in the whole castle; it is resorted to in two floors to carry the great thickness of the wall. You are now undoubtedly in the guard chamber on the middle story of the building. Had the block been entire, you would have had a room beneath and one above; also three rooms on each side. That immediately underneath, the guard room, would appear to have been reached by a staircase which has disappeared, and was probably a prison and an arm store.

I am doubtful how to distribute the other rooms. Naturally we look to the staircases, and find the main one ascends from the left of the entrance within the guard-room. It is seven feet wide, and, ere ruthless hands had robbed it of its windows, was very handsome. This commanded the top floor, and also the battlements, and a passage ran in the thickness of the wall to the room above the entrance chamber, from which a narrow stair again conducted to the leads of this part. Notice in this passage the contrivance for giving light to the west of the entrance. The second staircase is out of the west chamber to the
third

third story, missing the second, and again there is a small one from the third story to the ramparts. There is a fireplace in each floor of the west block or wing. I conjecture that the ground floor of this west part was the governor's stores and cellar; the second floor devoted to himself and any guests of his own grade; the first floor to soldiers; and the basement to the left is, of course, now impossible to describe. On this theory, the soldiers on guard would command every one entering. They could mount to the room over the porch or its leads, and to the main battlements. The governor, on entering or leaving his apartments by the grand staircase, would be self contained. He was provided with a private stair to the lookout, and, as before mentioned, to the basement, but only one part of it. I have tried to appropriate first one side and then the top floor to the men, keeping the governor below; but on examining the doors from one block to the other and the stairs, I find awkward difficulties in every way but that I suggest.

The three basements, for I speak of the fallen one as if perfect, have occupied an area of 76 feet by 80 feet, and the total height has been 45 feet. There were two centre and four corner turrets beautifully vaulted, or corbelled out from the wall. The slits in the wall of the basement are so slight that they could have only served for ventilation, not light. The windows of the chamber above have been handsome, with a centre mullion and a quatre-foil above; they are all as nearly as possible alike, and remains of the tracery appear still. In the deep recesses have been seats. The whole of the floors have been of board, and the roofs of lead. A curious flue may be seen from the fire-place in the basement of the western block, and two garderobes. Observe the sandstone ashlar to the staircase leading from the third floor of the battlements. It is repeated several times in the building. For narrow walls, the round cobbles did not permit sufficient strength, and square ashlar

ashlar was substituted. If you ascend by the ladder to the corner turret, you will be repaid by the careful work visible in the dressing of the sandstone in the only piece of the battlements remaining—and be enabled to form a very good idea of the effect of the turrets. At the extreme south-east of the keep will be noticed a basement wall 11 feet thick, in which, at the level of the second floor is constructed a narrow chamber which was evidently reached through the room which has succumbed to the waves. Above is a splendid instance of good corbelling out to increase the size of the rooms above. The floors here do not correspond in level with those of the main part of the building. To the second, a few steps must have led down from governor's floor, and access to the third is by his staircase. I should be inclined to call the lower the state prison, the small one above, the private chapel, and the upper, which has been luxuriously lighted, either a guest-room or a ladies' chamber. Outside the building are noble buttresses, enriched with sandstone lavishly, and, could we replace the robbed quoins, the torn down parapets and turrets, and, more important still, reproduce the delicate tracery of the windows, the castle would have been massively grand. It only remains to notice the fallen portions. West's second edition contains a woodcut with this standing. W. Gelderd, who kept the Walney lighthouse ten years before the battle of Waterloo, used to describe it, and I believe it fell in 1820. One block weighs 150 tons, and is proof that we, with our skill, cannot rival the building art of the fourteenth century.

I may say that at the restoration, this castle, with manors, was given to the Duke of Albemarle by Charles II.; through him it has passed by descent to the Duke of Buccleuch. His Grace some time ago gave instructions that the grand staircase and battlements should be restored, and the whole of the walls covered with cement to arrest further decay. How faithfully his wishes have been

carried out by the zeal of his representative Mr. Wadham, advised by Mr. John Harrison as architect, you now see, and I cannot conclude without asking you to join with me in thanking the Duke for the preservation of this fine ruin, not only for the sake of Barrow, but of all antiquaries.

On the conclusion of Major Harrison's very interesting description, some discussion took place; great interest was excited by a curious carving over the gateway to the inner court, representing a female figure in a contorted attitude, with a human head in its hands. Various guesses were hazarded, but Mr. Lees has since conjectured, with great probability, that it is Salome dancing before Herod with the head of John the Baptist, a common subject in mediæval MSS., pictures, &c.

The reparations effected by order of the Duke of Buccleuch were highly approved, and Mr. Wadham, his representative, explained the method that had been adopted, of having no plans or drawings, but of getting the best workmen that could be got, and setting them to imitate the old work before their eyes, wherever it was necessary to replace decaying stone work. Major Harrison was heartily thanked for his interesting descriptive paper, and, in reply to Mr. Jackson of St. Bees, said that he had no doubt the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club, for whom he originally read the paper, would be glad to afford the Cumberland and Westmorland Society the opportunity of publishing it in connection with their proceedings. A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to the Duke of Buccleuch for the great interest he had taken in the preservation of the ruin, and for the great liberality he had displayed in its restoration. Mr. Wadham suitably replied.

ART. XXVI.—*Notes on Archæological Remains in the Lake District.* By J. CLIFTON WARD, F.G.S., of Her Majesty's Geological Survey.

Read at Whitehaven, Dec. 11th, 1877.

WITHOUT pretending to be either archæologist or antiquary, I have thought that the collection of my scattered notes on archæological remains in the Lake District might be of some value to our Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society. The history of these notes is briefly thus:—For eight or nine years it has been my happy lot to roam, hammer in hand, geologically exploring the mountain district. Each mountain summit, and every valley, however secluded, have re-echoed my hammer's ring, therefore, shame would it have been had I failed to observe and chronicle ought of interest that marks the borderland between the ancient and the modern world. My plan has been to note upon the six-inch maps, upon the spot, any pre-historic or more modern remains that I have met with, and I now gather together those scattered notes, mainly in the hope that my archæological and antiquarian brethren will pursue the subject further than I am able to do, and with the further desire of affording a chronicle of interesting remains which year by year tend to decrease in number as cultivation and civilization encroach upon the natural and the savage. With this latter view I have constructed a map to shew the sites of all such archæological remains, and intend to deposit the same within the walls of the Keswick Museum of Natural History. In the construction of this map, (comprising several sheets of the one-inch ordnance survey,) I have marked all certainly prehistoric remains in red, including ancient settlements, tumuli, and stone circles; all round or oval camps and rock fortresses of various and uncertain age, in black, with generally oval form; and all Roman camps or stations in black also, but
with

with a square form. In this way the distribution of the several classes of remains is at once rendered evident to the eye.

In the lists of archæological remains occurring in those parts of the mountain district, or its confines, which are comprised within the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, and part of Lancashire, I have employed a somewhat similar classification, grouping all under the four heads of square camps (Roman), round or oval camps (various age), tumuli and circles (pre-historic), ancient settlements (pre-historic). To these lists I have added the numbers of the six-inch maps in which the remains occur, indicating also the special quarter of the sheet in question. Upon the map, the boundaries of all these six-inch maps are marked out, and the maps duly numbered.

Of the various classes of remains, described or mentioned in the following pages, and chronicled on the map, there are some nine Roman camps or stations, seventeen round or oval camps of various age, sixteen stone circles, about thirty tumuli, and more than forty ancient settlements. I need hardly say how glad I shall be to have the full criticism of the members of the Society upon all the points brought forward.

With regard to the most ancient remains of the district, I have consulted Canon Greenwell upon several subjects, and from his kind replies and his work on British Barrows, just published, I have derived much help and assurance on doubtful points.

In Part III. of this paper I have *generally* abstained from giving much or any opinion of the character or age of the remains described, as far as possible confining myself to a mere statement of facts. The group in which I am inclined to place any remains thus described may be seen at once by referring to the lists (1) and (2.) and the *general* remarks upon the determination and classification of all remains are contained in the last part (IV.) of this paper.

PLATE I.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

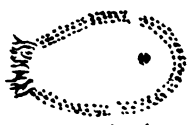


Fig. 4.

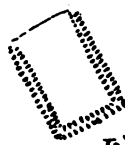


Fig. 5.



Stone Curr

Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

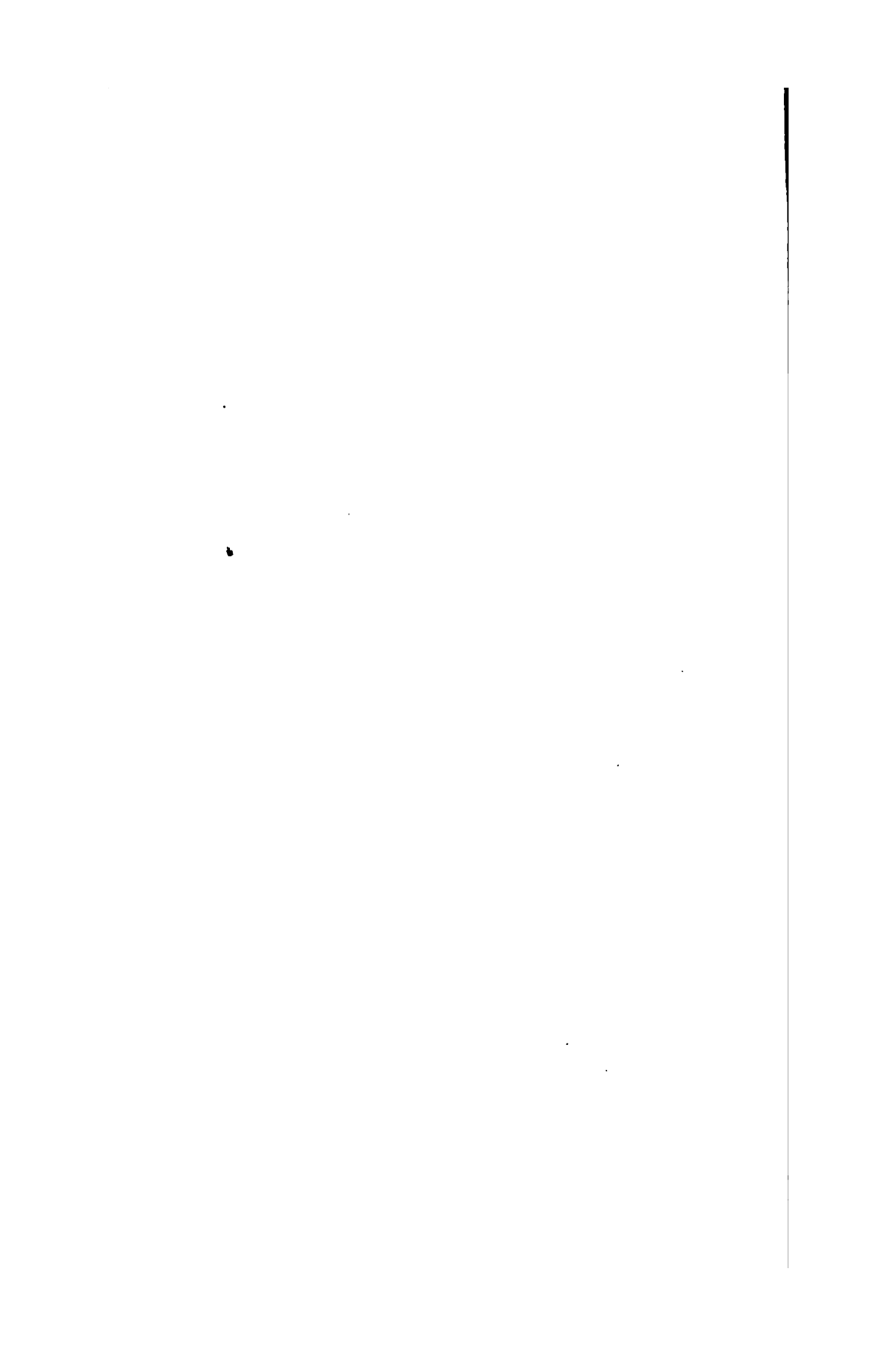


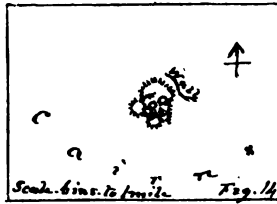
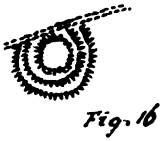
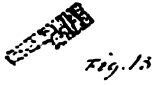
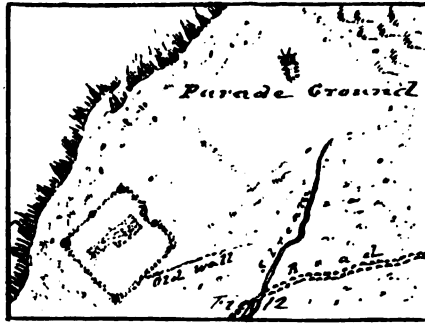
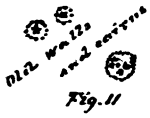
Fig. 9.



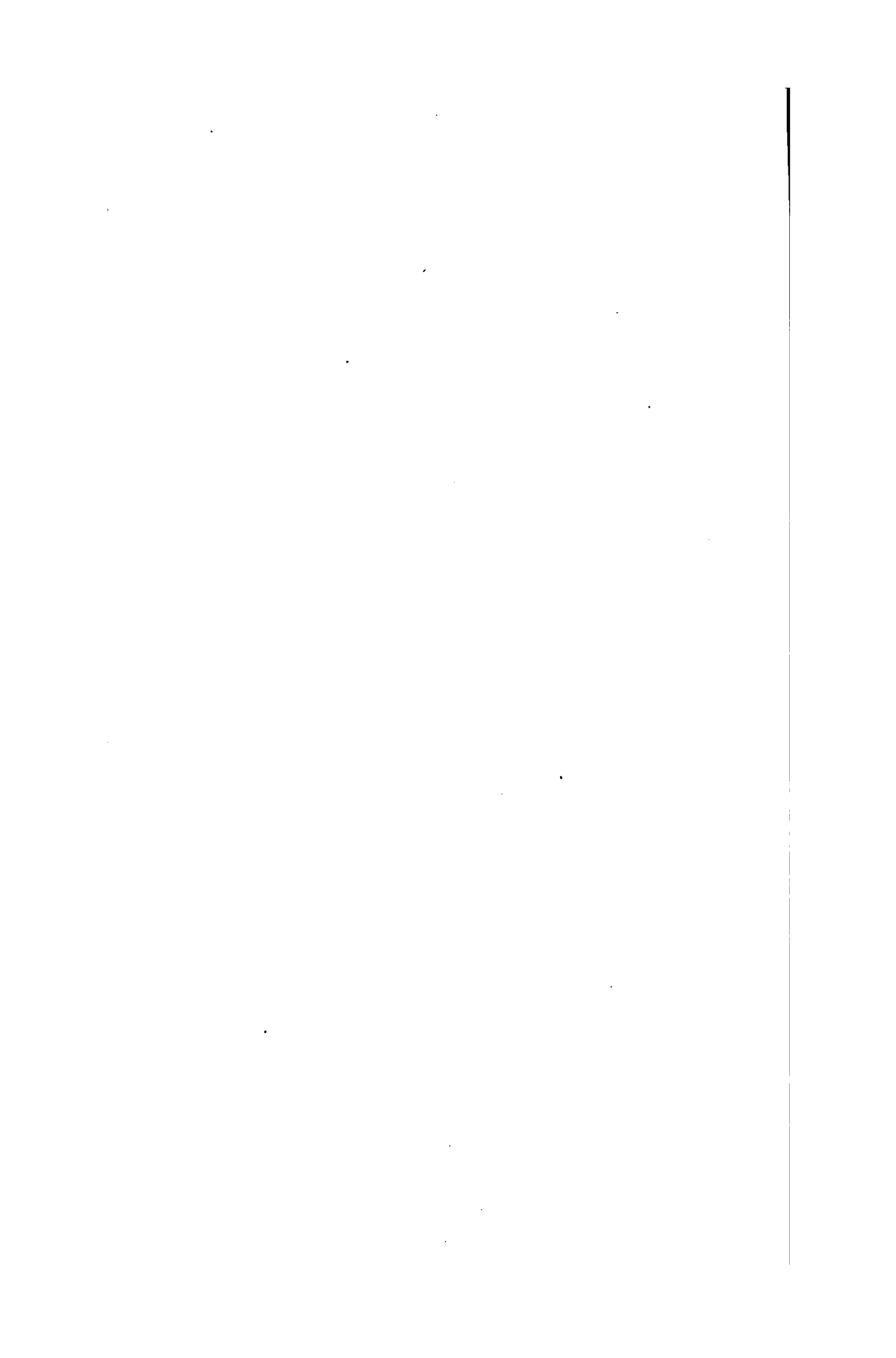
Fig. 10.

Scale - 6 ins. to 1 inch.





Scale - 6 ins. to 1 mile.



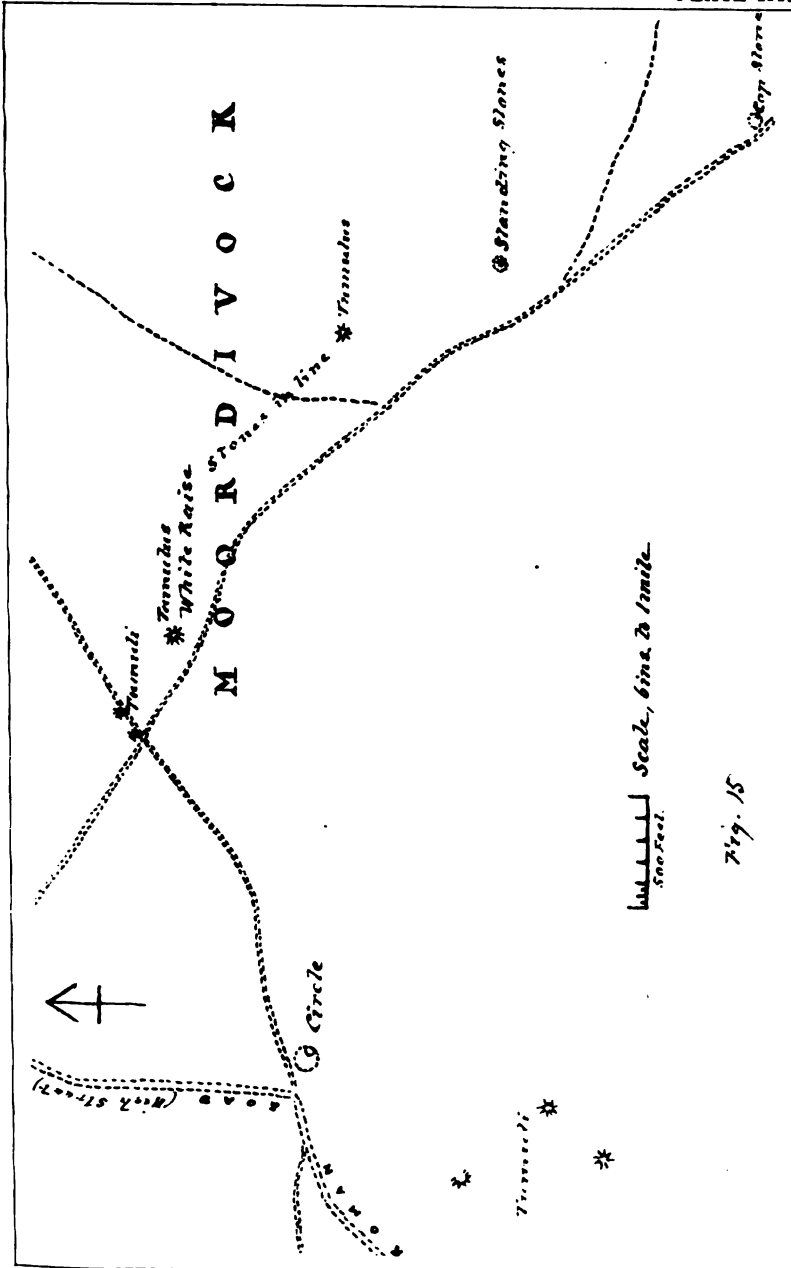
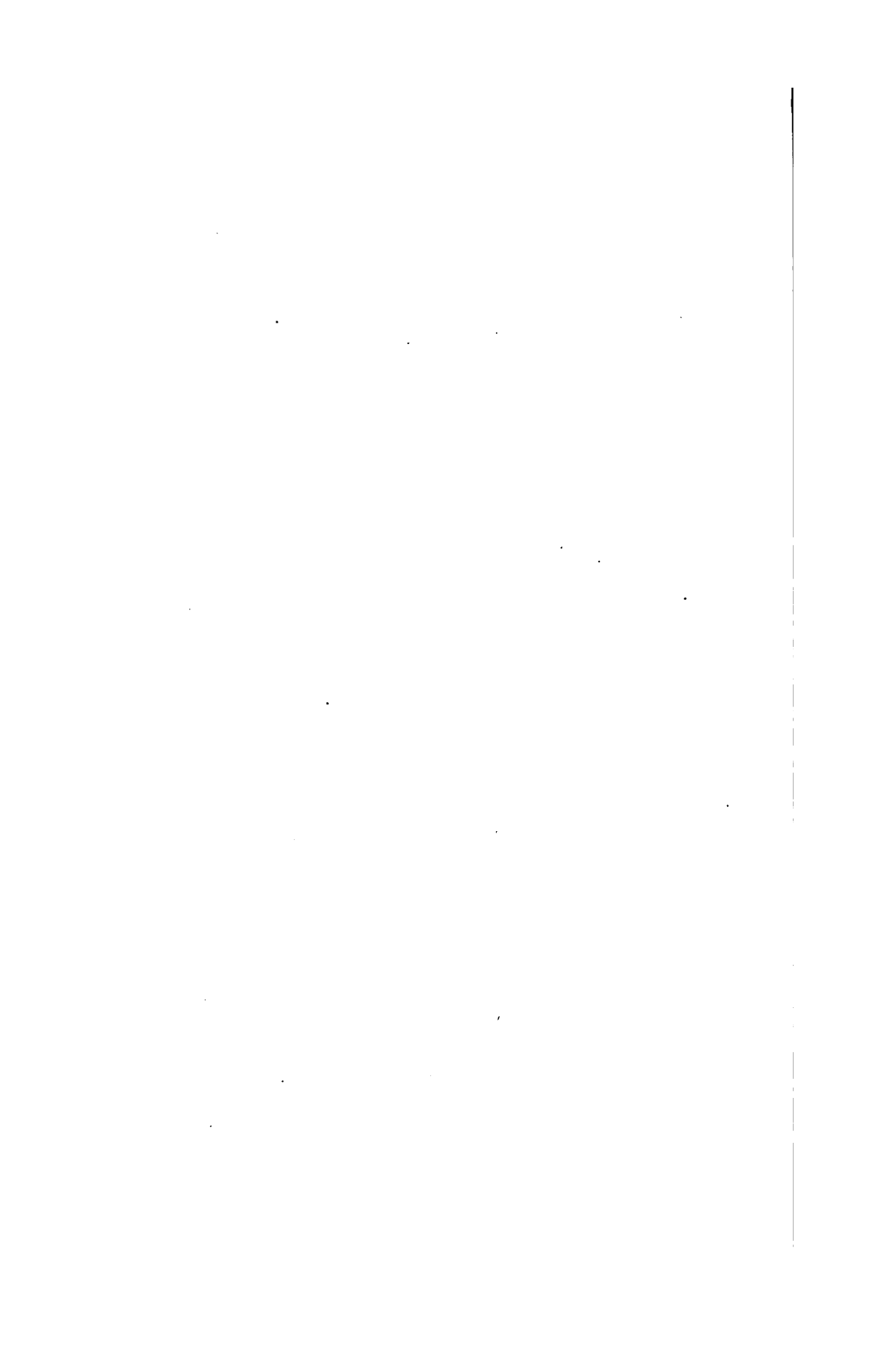


Fig. 15



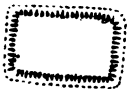
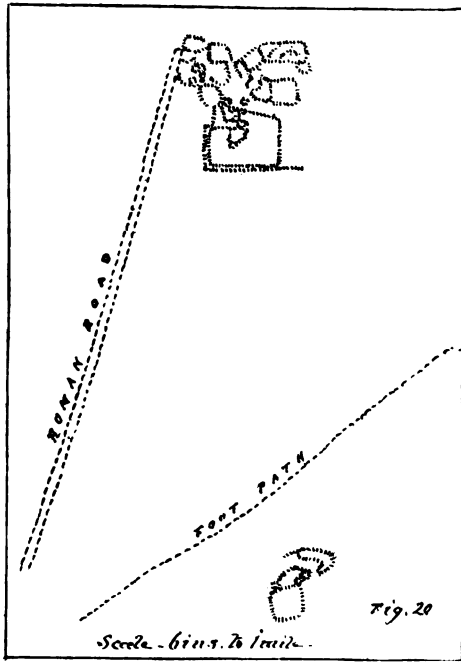
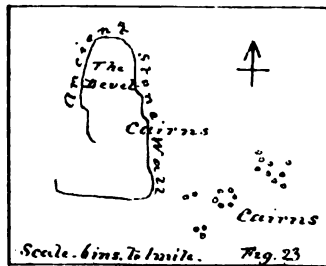


Fig. 21

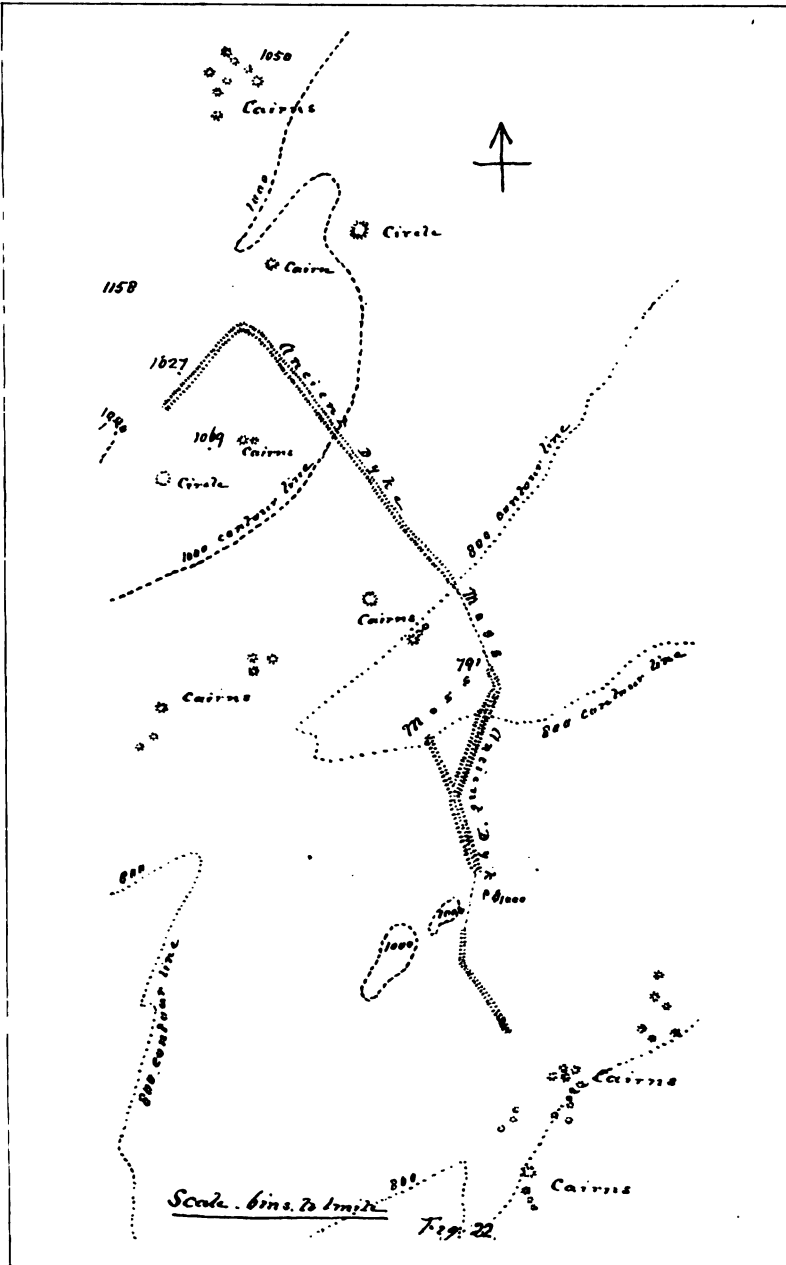
Scale, 6 ins. to 1 mile.

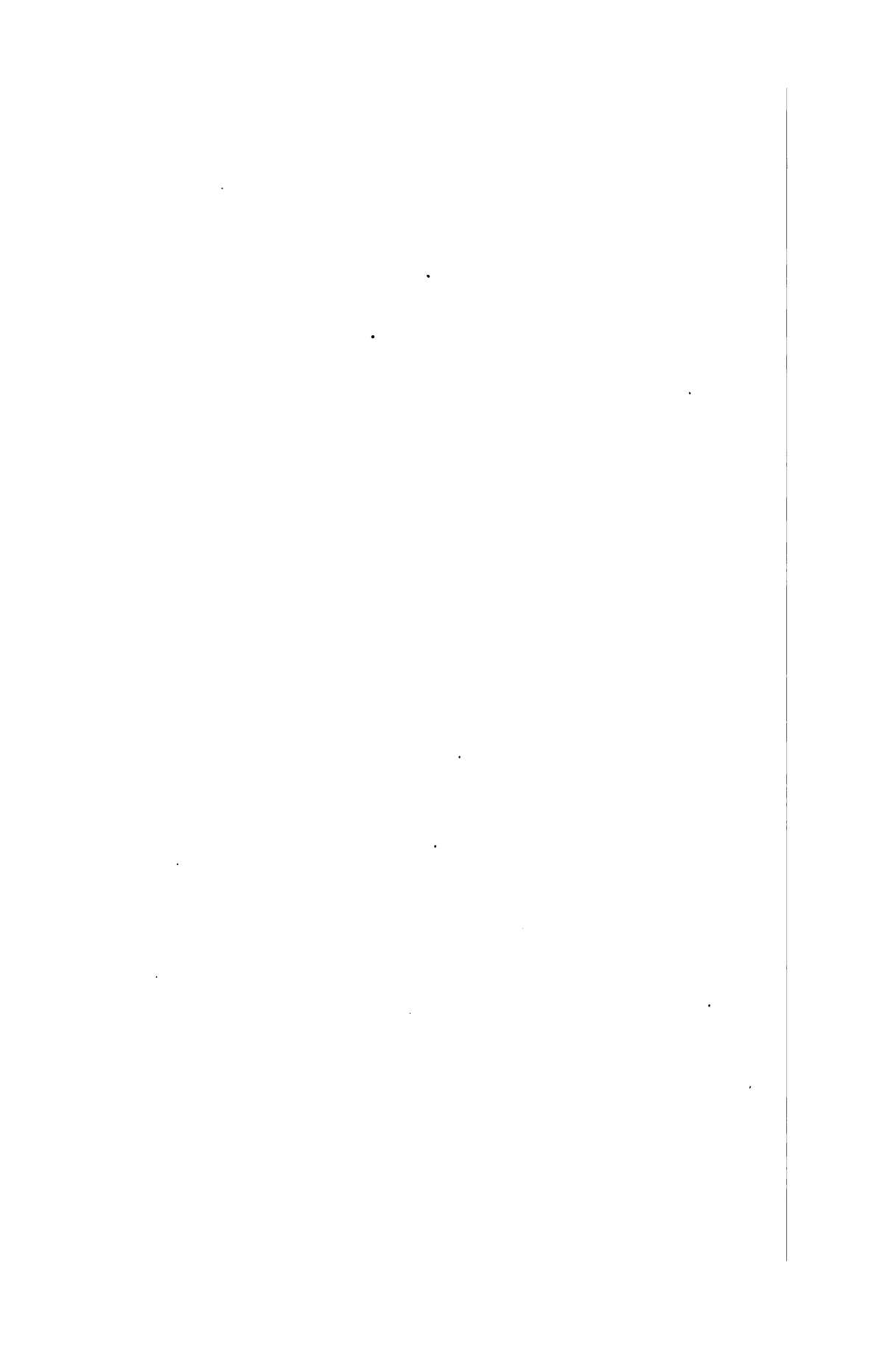


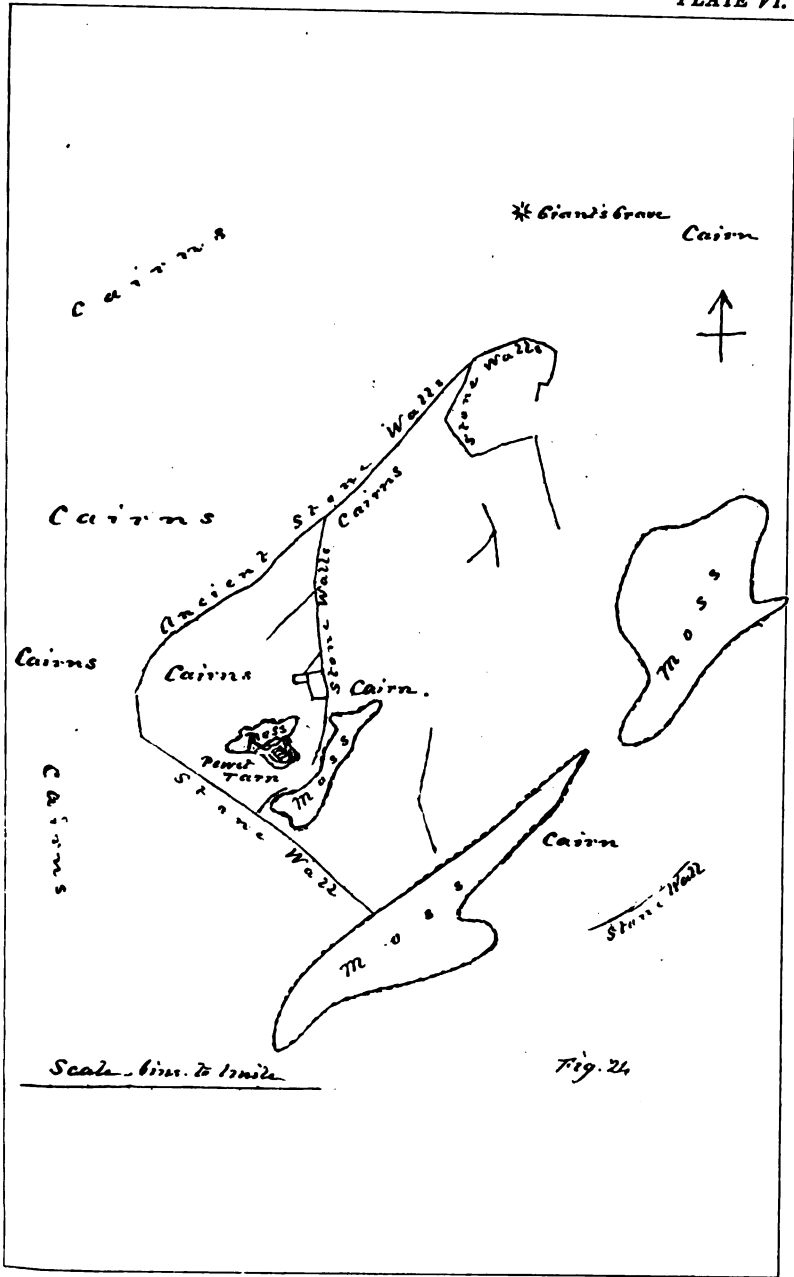
Scale - 6 ins. to 1 mile.

Fig. 23











ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN THE LAKE DISTRICT. 243

(i.) LIST OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS.

CUMBERLAND.

<i>Square Camps (Roman).</i>	<i>Round or Oval Camps (various age)</i>
Caer Mote (below summit) 46N.E.	Caer Mote—The Battery and Beacon - - 46N.E.
Overwater - - - 47S.W.	Snittlegarth - - - "
Hallsteads - - - 40S.E.	1 mile N.E. of Uldale - 47N.W.
Papcastle - - - 54N.E.	Meal Fell (?) - - - 47S.E.
Greystoke (by Summer- ground Gill) - - - 57N.E.	Carrock Fell - - - 48S.W.
Whitbarrow (?) - - - "	Fitz Wood (The Fort) - 54N.E.
In Fell - - - 78N.W.	Embleton (Moat) - - 55N.W.
Hardknot Castle - - 79S.E.	Castle How, Peel Wyke 55N.E.
	Cromwell Holes (The Battery) - - - 58N.W.
	Peel - - - 63S.W.
	Castle Crag, Shoulthwaite Glen - - - 64S.E.
	Maiden Castle - - - 66N.W.
	Dunmallard Hill - - - "
	Maiden Castle - - - 79N.E.

Prehistoric.

<i>Tumuli and Circles.</i>	<i>Ancient Settlements.</i>
Binsey Summit - - - 46N.E.	Weasel Hills and West Fell - - - 48N.W.
Druid's Grove near Wood- hall, site of barrow 48N.W.	Stone Carr - 57N.E. & S.E.
Elva Plain— <i>Circle</i> 55N.W.	Above Falcon Crag - 64S.W.
Two tumuli (long-shaped) and cairn - - - 58N.E.	Threlkeld - - - 65N.W.
Long Meg and her Daugh- ters - - - 50N.	N. banks of Ennerdale - 68S.E.
Studfold Gate— <i>Circle</i> - 62SW.	Ennerdale, banks of Liza - - - 69S.W.
Carling Knott—Tumuli (?) 62SE.	Thirlmere, Deergarth Wood - - - 70N.E.
Grassmoor—Tumulus (?) - 63S.W.	Tongue How - - - 73N.W.
Keswick— <i>Circle</i> - - - 64N.E.	Boat How - - - 73N.E.
	Cawfell Beck - - - "
	Hardcastle

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Hardcastle—Tumulus(?)	- 69NE.	Stockdale Moor	- 73S.E.
Friar Moor—Tumulus	73N.W.	Valley of the Bleng	- "
Near Tongue How—Tu-		Gray Borran	- "
mulus	- "	Greendale	- 79N.W.
Lank Rigg—Tumulus	- 73N.E.	Burnmoor	- 79S.W.
Sampson's Bratfull (oval		E. of Raven Crag	- 83N.W.
barrow)	- 73S.E.	Around Devoke Water	- "
Near Sampson's Bratfull		Ulpha Fell	- 83NE.
(round barrow)	- "	Barnscar	- 83S.W.
Seatallan—Tumulus	- 74S.W.	Knott	- "
S.W. of Seascale Hall—		Brown Rigg	- 83S.E.
Circle	- 78S.W.		
Near Burnmoor — Circle			
and Tumuli	- 79S.W.		
Ulpha Fell—Tumulus	- 83N.E.		

(2.) LIST OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS.

WESTMORLAND AND LANCASHIRE.

<i>Square Camps (Roman).</i>	<i>Round or Oval Camps (various age).</i>		
A Camp	- 26S.W.	Castlesteads	- 7N.E.
		Measandbecks	- 13S.E.
		Castle Crag, Haweswater	20N.W.

Prehistoric.

<i>Tumuli and Circles.</i>	<i>Ancient Settlements.</i>	
Moordivock — Circle and	The Coombs	- 13N.W.
Tumuli	East of Shap, 2 miles	- 14
- 7S.W.&S.E.	East of Ennerdale Tarn	18S.E.
Swarthbeck Gill—Circle	Hartsop Beck	- 19N.E.
13N.W.	S.E. corner of	- 19S.E.
Cairns and Standing Stones	Shap Wells	- 21S.W.
13S.E.	Several old settlements	- 21N.E.
Giant's Grave	Mickledore	- 25N.W.
- "	Iron Gate (Lancashire)	1
Tumuli and Circles	Between Hollow	-
- 14		
Dunmail Raise		
- 18.NE.		
Tumulus at Low Raise		
20N.W.		
Tumulus W. of Shap		
- 20S.W.		
White Raise		
21N.W.		
Circle $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N. Shap Gate		
"		
Tumuli and Circle		- 21N.E.

LANCASHIRE.

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LANCASHIRE.

Banishead Mire— <i>Circle</i>	- 4.N.E.	Moss & Stainton Ground	3.S.E.
W. of Torver— <i>Circle</i>	- 4S.W.	Walney Scar District	- 4N.W.
Knife Ground Plantation		S. of Coniston Copper	
<i>Circle</i>	- 5N.W.	Mines	- 4N.E.
Bloomary Tumulus	- 6N.E.	Bannishead (W. of)	- 4N.E.
Giant's Grave—Long bar-		W. of Torver (1 mile)	- 4S.W.
row	- 7S.W.	W. of Torver Beck	- 4S.E.
		Hawkshead Hall Park	- 5N.W.
		Stonestar, N. of	- 6N.E.
		Heathwaite Moss ($\frac{1}{4}$ mile	
		E. of)	- 7S.W.

DETAILS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS, DESCRIBED IN THE ORDER OF THE VARIOUS SIX-INCH MAPS OF THE DISTRICT.

SHEET 46.*

N.E.—Caer Mote; a rocky hill over 900 feet high. At its north end are the remains of a camp (fig. 1), called The Battery, and the site of a Beacon. A little to the south-east of the rocky summit of the hill, and just west of the high-road running north and south, is another camp, of a *square* form, with outwork, and described by Mr. Jackson in our Transactions. Rather more than a mile east of Caer Mote, between High House and Snittlegarth, is a camp or enclosure supposed to be such, and even marked as Roman on the ordnance map. It is of an oval form, of small dimensions, and somewhat deeply trenched around (fig 2).

The summit of Binsey is marked by a Tumulus, now converted into an ordnance cairn (1466 feet).

SHEET 47.

N.W.—A mile north-east of Uldale are several rudely oval or quadrilateral camps.

S.W.—A little south of Overwater, and near to Whitefield House, are the remains of a large camp believed to be Roman (fig. 3). The outer entrenchments on the south side have been destroyed. It is situated just at the margin of what must have been at one time a continuation of the lake, now in great part a moss.

S.E.—On the summit of Meal Fell the form of the ground is very camp-like, and the position one suitable for purposes of defence.

SHEET 48.

N.E.—Three-quarters of a mile north-east of Woodhall is the site of a Barrow, the spot called Druid's Grove.

* All *Cumberland* six-inch sheets, unless stated to the contrary.

Immediately

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Immediately north of Carrock Beck, on Weasel Hill, are a number of stone cairns, and a solitary one stands on the summit of West Fell.

S.W.—On the summit of Carrock Fell, at a height of 2173 feet, is a fine example of an ancient entrenched camp containing a large stone cairn near the eastern end (fig. 4). The blocks of stone, plentifully strewn upon the hill around, have been piled up to form a rude oval wall, but it is not easy to determine how many of the present breaks of this stony rampart were used originally as entrances, if indeed any were. At the western end the walls terminate upon a natural rampart of steep rock. This must have been a very strong retreat in its time; on the south the Fell is bounded by the deep valley of the Caldew; on the east it is steeply precipitous, and against the base of the fine crags, which extend about a mile northwards from Mosedale, the waters of old Mosedale Lake—now an extensive peat moss—must have washed, probably since the occupation of this district by man; on the north end, again, the ground descends rapidly towards Carrock Beck; and on the west alone is the Fell continuous with its neighbours.

S.E.—Just northwest of Tippy Hills is a small square Roman camp called Hallsteads. Nearly half-a-mile to the northeast of this, close to Pyet Tarn, is the site of Mable Cross. A small earth-work (two sides of a square) occurs on the east side of Low Berrier Wood.

SHEET 54.

N.E.—Papcastle, a Roman Station. In the grounds of Derwent Lodge, Papcastle, is a Roman well.

In one corner of Fitz Wood is a rudely circular or oval camp, called The Fort. A little east of Cockermouth Castle is a supposed Tumulus called Tute Hill; there are, however, many *natural* mounds of gravel in the vicinity.

S.E.—A little N.N.W. of Eaglesfield, human remains have been found on the site of the Tendley Limekilns.

SHEET 55.

N.W.—In fields on the south side of the lane running west from St. Cuthbert's Church are the remains of a moat.

At Elva Plain is a small stone circle composed of fifteen stones, none of them standing up more than 2 feet above the ground, the blocks being ice-borne and ice-scratched boulders of the volcanic series.

On the hill side, behind the school-house, Wythop Mill, have been found traces of an old battle ground. The fine Roman sword, formerly in the Crosthwaite, and now in the British Museum, was found here.

N.E.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN THE LAKE DISTRICT 247

S.W.—The fine old tower of Hutton John and the interesting Keep of Dacre Castle are objects of special interest to the antiquary. In Dacre churchyard are two very roughly and curiously carved stones, representing animal forms.

S.E.—Half a mile E.S.E. of Stainton, near the river Eamont, a Cistvaen has been found.

SHEET 62.

S.W.—Just north of Studfold Gate are the remains of a stone circle.

S.E.—On the summit of Carling Knott are some rather questionable tumuli.

SHEET 63.

S.W.—Running southwards from a small house called Peel is what appears to be a moat, which may at one time have served to surround the little hill, on which the house stands, with water, it being now bounded on two sides by alluvium and on the third by lake.

On the summit of Grassmoor is a very large pile of stones which may possibly be ancient.

SHEET 64.

N.E.—The stone circle near Keswick is too well known to need any description; its special peculiarity being the sort of inner chapel or enclosure which occurs within the south-eastern part of the circumference. One mile east of this circle, and close to the farm house Hollin Root, is a standing and rocking stone, (material, volcanic breccia) 4 feet 6 inches high, and measuring 10 feet 6 inches round the centre. It stands upon another boulder almost entirely buried in the ground. Whether this be an example of a block delicately poised by glacial means or of one placed in its present position by human agency it is impossible to decide with any certainty.

S.W.—Cairns may be seen on the high shelving plateau a little east of Falcon Crag, occupying a commanding position.

It may be remarked, in passing, that several stone celts have been found in and about the Vale of St. John, together with small whorlstones (?) or fishing-line weights.

S.E.—Old fort on Castle Crag, at the head of Shoulthwaite Glen; the north side of the crag is precipitous and the less steep southern side is defended by trenches one within another.

SHEET 65.

N.W.—South-east of Threlkeld railway station, and between Knott and the old mountain road to Matterdale, is what I cannot fail to regard as a prehistoric village. There are cairns (old hut circles) innumerable, placed often at regular distances from one

another, and many curiously walled enclosures. These latter are mostly placed upon the flat summit of a small outstanding hill or platform, and have a remarkable freshness when looked down upon from the hill side above. The foundations of some of these walls may even now be clearly seen, large blocks of stone placed side by side, and the walls, in some cases at any rate, at least 4 feet in thickness. Within the enclosures are several cases of circular foundations or large cairns, and an old road clearly leads to the enclosures and may be traced some way eastwards beyond them. The stone-heaps, cairns, or hut circles are distributed mainly below the enclosures, and eastwards of them. One very important fact should be noted with reference to these. Wherever they occur on a slope, the form of the mounds is just that which would be assumed by the falling in of a circular or domed structure based upon a sloping surface, that is to say, the majority of the stones occur at the lower part of the heap, a comparatively blockless area dividing this lower part from the upper accumulation.

SHEET 66.

N.W.—Half-a-mile north-east of Wreay, and a mile direct west from the lake foot (Ullswater) is a circular fort (fig. 8.) called Maiden Castle, the mound being only perfect in parts and being surrounded by a light trench on the south eastern-side.

On the summit of Dunmallard Hill are the remains of an oval camp, (fig. 9) with double entrenchments on the north. A block of freestone may be seen within this entrenchment.

SHEET 68.

S.E.—Cairns on the northern banks of Ennerdale Water, upon a stream Delta, formed by Dry and Smithy Becks. Close by are three stones called the Lifting Stones.

SHEET 69.

N.E.—On the summit of Hindscarth is a large and probably ancient pile of stones.

S.W.—Many cairns on either side of the Liza east of Gillerthwaite. At the foot of Low Beck, where it opens into the Liza, is apparently a very old walled enclosure.

SHEET 70.

N.E.—Cairns occur by the banks of Thirlmerc, in Deergarth Wood.

SHEET 73.

N.W.—On the southern edge of Friar Moor, by the road-side, is a tumulus surrounded by a ditch, which, however, is partly interfered with by the road.

On

On the east side of the Calder, and just south of the Drove Road, running by Tongue How, are some very interesting remains of a by-gone race. First and northermost is an enclosure, wide-walled and of irregular shape, containing three large stone-heaps or cairns (fig 10). A little south of this is a much larger cairn, or rather tumulus, made up of loosely-piled stones, but honey-combed all over with small pits. Again, to the south of this, a number of circular enclosures and cairns, and one of the larger circular enclosures sunken within and surrounding an ordinary cairn in the middle. Eastwards from these remains, the ground is well covered with the cairns, stone-heaps, or hut-dwellings so often already referred to.

N.E.—Just south of the summit of Lank Rigg is a large tumulus.

On Boat How, a mile E.N.E. from the remains about Tongue How, are many cairns, some with walls yet standing, though imperfect. Again, but little more than another mile E.S.E. from Boat How, on the north side of Cawfell Beck, are more cairns, with an old circle just north of a sheepfold.

S.E.—North of the river Bleng, on Stockdale Moor, is Sampson's Bratfull, a large tumulus thirty-five yards long, twelve yards at the broad end, the other end being pointed. Its position is nearly east and west, the broad end being on the east. In this large mass of piled up stones are many small circular pits, about two yards across. A quarter of a mile north-east of this oval tumulus is a large circular cairn or tumulus sixty yards in circumference, and also containing a number of small circular cells touching one another, similar to those in Sampson's Bratfull. Immediately west of the circular tumulus just described, are several large cairns of the ordinary type, one indeed being nineteen yards in circumference. North of the circular tumulus, are some old walls and cairns, and the ground all round is strewn with cairns.

An old walled enclosure occurs across Cow Gill, near its junction with Worm Gill; half-a-mile higher up the valley of the Bleng than Sampson's Bratfull are other old enclosures and cairns, and an old enclosure may be seen by the side of Swinsty Beck, south of Step Hills. Among Yokerill Hows are cairns and an old wall of semi-circular form. Again, just above the Gray Borran rocks, in the south-east corner of this sheet, are cairns.

SHEET 74.

S.W.—On the summit of Seatallan is a large tumulus sixty-seven yards in circumference. Half-a-mile south-west of this summit, with its commanding view, is a curious spot called Tod Hole. It is a circular crater-like hollow, rocky on one side only, and the bottom
about

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about six feet below the surrounding ground on the west side. In appearance, it is like a spot of sunken ground, but whether natural or not it is hard to say.

SHEET 78.

N.W.—Upon In Fell, rather more than a mile east of Calder Bridge, is a rectangular Roman camp.

S.W.—Half-a-mile south-west of Seascale Hall is the site of an old stone circle.

SHEET 79.

N.W.—Just east of Greendale the ground is covered with a number of cairns, and there seems to be at least one case in which some of the arched and half-sunken walls are yet preserved.

N.E.—Rather less than half-a-mile north of Burnmoor Tam is Maiden Castle, a walled inclosure, about circular in form, and twenty-one feet in diameter.

S.W.—Three-quarters of a mile north of Boot, between Brat's Moss and White Moss, are three stone circles (fig 11). In the largest are thirty-nine stones, and the circle includes, within its area, five small tumuli or cairns. Of the other two circles, twelve stones are seen in the circumference of one, and eight in that of the other. Each contains a single central cairn. Between the two and the large circle are the remains of old walls and cairns. A little to the north, upon Low Longrigg, are many cairns, and another group occurs a little east of the circles.

S.E.—Upon the northern flanks of Harter Fell, half-a-mile S.S.E. of Butterilket, is a small group of loose rocks and crags which seems to have been used as rock-shelters by a former race.

The Roman Camp called Hardknott Castle is, perhaps, the most interesting belonging to that age, in the mountain district. Situated on a fine rocky platform, 800 feet above the sea, it commands the east and west pass through Hardknott and Wrynose. The camp walls are constructed of the stones gathered from the ground around, and in two or three places the bare rock (see deep black spots in fig. 12) shows out along the ruined walls. At the north-west corner are the remains of a circular tower-like foundation, and on either side the entrance on the north-east side are remains of guard chambers. Within the camp are ruined foundations occupying a rectangular area (enlarged in fig. 13), and roughly shewing traces of various compartments, those at the north-east end being longest in a north-west and south-east direction, (see fig. 13,) and those about the centre more square in form. Springing from the *outside* of the south-east wall of the camp, at about the centre, are the remains of an old wall running
across

across the rough ground outside, in an E.N.E. direction, but whether this be really connected with the old Roman camp it is difficult to decide.

Facing the north-east side is a cleared space of ground—a tract cleared of the many rocky fragments lying about—and called the Bowling Green, probably the old parade ground; while at its north-eastern limit is a large mound of stones with a southward slope of fifteen yards across. This may very probably represent the material gathered from the cleared ground. Again, a little to the north-east of this great tumulus—for so it perhaps may be called—are what appear to be old pits and stone-heaps on the steep rocky side of the rising ground beyond.

SHEET 80.

No remains noticed.

SHEET 83.

N.W.—A solitary cairn occurs between Linbeck Gill and Brant-rake Moss. Upon the fell top, just east of Raven Crag, cairns occur, and, in a field hard by, are some large squarish blocks of granite hoisted and perched up in an extraordinary manner, but not, I *think*, by any human agency. Cairns and a tumulus also occur immediately west of Devoke Water.

A few cairns may be seen on the west of the road scarce half-a-mile west of High Ground, and they may be seen in plenty between Devoke Water and High Ground, as well as on the hill-side immediately north of the water. Just south of the lake again are apparently the remains of an old circle and an ancient wall, while a little to the west is a cairn.

N.E.—On Green How, north of Birkerthwaite, are remains of an old wall and a circular enclosure nine yards in diameter (possibly a fold.) Upon Ulpha Fell, east of Syke Moss, are cairns, a tumulus ten or twelve yards across, and the remains of an old wall running E. 30, N.

S.W.—Three-quarters of a mile north-west of the Knott is an old settlement (fig. 14) called Barnscar, irregular stone enclosures with two cairns included, an old wall on the north-east side, and cairns in plenty round the south side. On either side of Knott, cairns also occur, both on the east and west.

S.E.—Cairns may be seen on the east side of Crosby Gill, about Brownrigg, close to Woodend Bridge.

SHEET 7 (WESTMORLAND.)

S.W. and S.E.—Upon Moordivock, the high plateau between the foot of Ullswater on the west and Helton Flecket on the east, are a
great

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great number of prehistoric remains. Close to the bend of High Street (Roman road), at the head of Elder beck, is a stone circle containing a small inner enclosure at one side, like that of Keswick, only not of the same shape. In both cases, however, the inner enclosure is on the same side—the south-east. Upon the moor there are no less than eight tumuli marked upon the ordnance six-inch (fig 15). In one case, at White Raise, just east of Hetley Gate, the stones have been so far removed as to disclose a kist still in place, formed of upright slabs of stone four feet three inches long and two feet wide, and half covered over by a slab of limestone. Between this and another tumulus, one-third of a mile to the E.S.E., I thought I detected blocks of stone laid more or less in line or avenue. Another, a little further to the south-east, (called Standing Stones in the six-inch map,) shows ten large stones standing up around a small tumulus which has apparently been opened. Again, to the south-east are the remains of yet another tumulus, with one conspicuous stone still standing, called Cop Stone.

N.E.—At the south end of Yanwath Wood, nearly a mile north of Lowther Castle, is Castlesteads, a circular fort of triple fortifications, the northern end being cut off by a road (fig 16).

SHEET 13 (WESTMORLAND.)

N.W.—Cairns occur at Coombs, half-a-mile south-west of How Town. A ring of standing stones may be seen at the head of Swarthbeck Gill, just west of the Roman road, High Street, which runs from north to south through the whole of this sheet.

S.W.—The Roman road (High Street) keeps, through this section of the sheet, continuously along the water-shedding line, at heights always above 2000 feet.

N.E.—Between Moorahill and Staingarh, just north of Cordale Beck, are some somewhat curious remains, called in the Ordnance map, "Site of Chapel."

S.E.—North of Measandbecks, some half-a-mile, in a pass between two eminences, are a couple of good cairns, and two standing stones close to Fourstones Hill, with remains of an old wall just south-west of the stones.

In a field just east of Measandbeck are the remains of an old fort (fig. 17).

Just north of the road at the foot of Haweswater are some curious old mounds, called Giant's Graves; they are placed at various angles with one another, and in shape are long and flat-topped. A trench dug across one of them failed to disclose any structure throwing light upon their origin (fig 18.)

SHEET

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SHEET 14 (WESTMORLAND.)

Within this sheet are several cases of Tumuli, and about two miles east of Shap are the remains of an old camp (British) ? and two small stone circles surrounding a tumulus in each case.

SHEET 18 (WESTMORLAND.)

S.E.—Cairns occur a little to the east of Easedale Tarn, just south of Sourmilk Gill.

N.E.—The supposed tumulus of Dunmail Raise is well known.

SHEET 19 (WESTMORLAND.)

N.E.—Cairns may be seen by the side of Hartsop Beck, up the valley west of the Hartsop lead mine.

S.E.—Cairns occur in the south-east corner of this section of the sheet.

SHEET 20 (WESTMORLAND.)

N.W.—At Low Raise, just west of Whelter Crag, are the remains of a supposed tumulus.

Upon the top of Castle Crag, overhanging the parsonage, is a well-placed fort, the eastern side is sufficiently protected by a precipitous crag, and earth-works complete the protection on the west (fig. 19.) Just north of Castle Crag are three somewhat doubtful tumuli standing close to one another.

S.W.—Just west of Shap is a tumulus, and there are several standing stones which may or may not have any relation to the old inhabitants.

SHEET 21 (WESTMORLAND.)

N.W.—Two round tumuli occur on White Raise, north of the head of Keld Gill, and the remains of a circle by the side of the railway, within half-a-mile north of Shap Gate.

S.W.—A little west of Shap Wells, between Blea and Wastdale becks, are many old enclosures—many of them circular.

N.E.—Two cases of round tumuli occur northwards from Oddendale; and one fine stone circle consisting of twenty-nine boulders (all of Shap granite, but three), and measuring twenty-six paces in diameter. In its centre is a small circle of twenty-two boulders surrounding the remains of a tumulus, and eight paces in diameter. Rather more than a mile east of this circle are cases of ancient settlements, spaces enclosed by low mounds of earth and boulders of various forms—sometimes squarish with outer fosse (see fig. 20)—and in connection with these the large boulders of Shap granite are occasionally collected into small groups (hut-shelters ?) or disposed in lines. One of these old settlements occurs close to the Roman road.

SHEET

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SHEET 25 (WESTMORLAND.)

N.W.—There are numerous cairns in the bottom of Mickleden and some old walled enclosures. An old enclosure occurs beneath Kettle Crag.

SHEET 26 (WESTMORLAND.)

S.W.—At Waterhead, between Wanlass Howe and the river, is the Roman Station so well known (fig. 21.)

SHEET 1 (LANCASHIRE.)

Cairns occur south of the Duddon, a little below Iron Gate.

SHEET 3 (LANCASHIRE.)

S.E.—Cairns occur between the Hollow Moss and Stainton Ground.

SHEET 4 (LANCASHIRE.)

N.W.—“Ancient Stone Walls” occur upon the slopes west and north-west of Walney Scar, and cairns and old walls between Torver Botton and Flask Brow, in the south-east corner of this sheet.

N.E.—Cairns and ancient stone walls occur within half-a-mile due south of the Coniston copper works; a circle close to Bannishead Mire, and numerous cairns and old enclosures on either side of the Walney Scar road west of Bannishead.

S.W.—A mile west of Torver there crosses Bleaberry Haws an ancient entrenchment, evidently belonging to the period of the cairns and stone-circles which are grouped closely around it, (see fig. 22,) and which speak for themselves.

S.E.—Cairns again occur about a mile west of the mouth of Torver beck.

SHEET 5 (LANCASHIRE.)

N.W.—In Hawkshead Hall park, a little south-east of the mill pond, is a cairn, and a stone circle occurs east of Knipe Ground plantation, with more cairns a little more than half-a-mile S.S.W. of this last.

SHEET 6 (LANCASHIRE.)

N.E.—A quarter of a mile east of the Duddon, north of Stonestar, is a very interesting remain in the form of a curiously shaped walled enclosure, with clusters of cairns about it—one cluster nearly circular—(fig. 23). Less than half-a-mile north-west of this enclosure is a large cairn or tumulus called the Bloomary.

SHEET 7 (LANCASHIRE.)

S.W.—Some half-mile east of Heathwaite Moss is the site of an old settlement (fig. 24), with cairns, circles, and barrows plentifully scattered over the country around. The enclosure has evidently been strengthened on its south-east side by old tarns, now converted into peat

peat mosses, and a small tarn even now remains within the enclosure—its northern end alone converted into a moss. Other walls run inwards from the bounding ones, and the westernmost corner of the whole enclosure was separated from the rest and well protected by a combination of wall and tarn. In this part occur many cairns and barrows. Immediately north of the whole enclosure and close beside Beckhead Moss (another old tarn) is the so-called Giant's Grave, a long barrow fifteen feet in length, with a headstone. Within distances of nearly a mile to the north and south of the central settlement are numerous cairns scattered about.

(4.) DETERMINATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF REMAINS.

At the outset it may be noticed that having an element of certainty, as to age, in the well-preserved Roman camp, we may at least regard other remains with reference to those that belong to this known historic period. Everyone knows that the Roman camp, in its general form, is square, and is almost invariably situated near to a Roman road, whether any remains of such be or be not at present existing. Besides such well-defined square camps, are many of a round, oval, or irregular form, which probably belong to various periods. Some may belong to the time of the civil war, or at any rate be of some post Roman age. These more generally will be found on the lower ground, just outside the mountains, and are often wrongly called Roman. Others are certainly much older, and may, probably, have been used as places of refuge by the inhabitants who were found in possession of the country by the Romans, or as strongholds of one tribe or another in pre-Roman, and, therefore, in pre-historic times. Of such may be mentioned the rock-forts of Castle Crag, Haweswater (sheet 20 Westmorland), and Castle Crag, Shoulthwaite Glen (sheet 64, Cumberland), and the large oval walled enclosure or camp upon the summit of Carrock Fell. This last contains a stone cairn near the eastern end, and con-

nection is thus made between the older camps and entrenchments of oval or other form, and the distinctly oldest class of remains in the district, including groups of cairns, walled enclosures, tumuli (round and oval) and stone circles. About the ancient date of the stone circles or larger cairns, or tumuli, there can be no manner of doubt; but as the age, both of the groups of smaller cairns and the walled or trenched enclosures, has been called into question, it is necessary to say something about their structure and mode of occurrence. First, then, as to the groups of smaller cairns. I have been repeatedly told, and the opinion has been reiterated in the public press, that these rude piles of stones, averaging some twelve to fifteen feet in diameter, are but clearance heaps, or sometimes that they were used to shelter and protect bracken. Their appearance on ground at all flat is that of a low mound of stones, such as must have been gathered off the neighbouring fell, being of all sizes and irregular in form. Where, however, they occur upon a slope they present very strikingly the form which the material of a loosely-built circular wall or dome-shaped structure would assume on falling,—most of the stones, being collected at the lowest part of the circular mound, and a space comparatively free from stones separating this from that part on the higher portion of the slope. This appearance is quite unmistakable, and could never be the result of stones having been collected from the ground around merely for the sake of clearing it. The mounds usually occur at pretty regular distances from one another, but are placed far nearer together than clearance heaps would be. If the process of ground-clearing, as now carried on by the farmers, is observed in our various dales, it will be seen that the general practice is to make one or several monster piles of stones to serve for a large area, and thus less ground is wasted.

Next, as to the walled enclosures. They are usually far larger than sheepfolds, and to judge by the material
now

now lying along the lines of enclosure, the old walls must generally have been far thicker and more solid than the walls of any modern sheepfolds; thus, in some cases, I have been able to estimate the thickness of such walls as at least four feet. Moreover, within these enclosures there almost invariably occur the remains of cairns or circular foundations, the occurrence of which is quite inconsistent with the sheepfold theory. In some cases too the lines of wall or trench extend considerable distances, and seem to run between or among the groups of cairns, and not unfrequently, as in the case noticed in sheet 7, Lancashire (fig. 22), they terminate against the side of peat mosses, formerly old lakes, which seem to have served as natural defences on one side. The case just quoted is a particularly good example, there being an outer set of walls perfect, except on the south-east, where two old tarns form a natural protection, and an inner set combining with another small tarn to form a second enclosure, within which is a fourth tarn only partly converted into a moss. This enclosure extends over an area of one half-a-mile in length and two-thirds of a mile in width.

Thirdly, if any further proof be needed of the ancient character of either these cairns or enclosures, and their connection as stations or settlements with a pre-historic race, I would point to their almost invariable connection with one another, cairns being found in all instances *within* and around the enclosures.

Fourthly, the frequent association of cairns and enclosures with tumuli—round and oval—and with stone circles (commonly called Druidical), point unmistakeably to their having been settlements of that pre-historic race which raised those tumuli and built those circles. The finding, in some instances, of stone celts in the neighbourhood of such settlements—as for example the several celts found in and about St. John's Vale (near the large Threlkeld settlement),—still further points to a probable connection between

tween the makers of such and the old dwellers in these settlements. As the implements hitherto found have been mostly of the polished stone hatchet or adze class, we have at any rate certain evidence that the Lake District was inhabited at one time by the men of the late neolithic or early bronze period. Some of the implements, and notably a fine one, found beside Loughrigg Tarn, measuring eleven inches in length and three and a-half inches in width, are still in the roughly fractured state, and the Loughrigg specimen has yet all the appearance of being a completed implement. Whether such indicate an earlier part of the stone period it would be rash to decide upon the evidence of so small a collection from the district altogether. In St. John's Vale, in or near which so many stone celts have been discovered, there have also been found small perforated stones, the exact use of which it is impossible to decide. Such stones have been found in other parts, along with the remains of the stone an early bronze ages, and have been thought to be small hammer heads, spindle-whorls, fishing-line weights, or even ornaments. I think it is quite possible that the stones of this class found round what must have been the shores of the old lake of St. John, may have been used as fish-line weights.

Another class of stone implements includes grain-crushers of various kinds, many of which have been found in the Keswick district. Thus, there are several examples in the Keswick museum of large oval-shaped blocks of sandstone, flattened and slightly hollowed out on one side, and many cases of granite querns or hand-mills. One of these last was found high up on the mountains in Longstrath, upon the left hand in going towards the Stake Pass. It is, of course, doubtful whether these rude grinding mills can be ascribed to the same people who formed the stone celts, for we know that in some parts of the British Isles the stone quern has been used even in comparatively recent times,

times, but if they do belong to these oldest known inhabitants of the district, we must infer that they had at least some knowledge of agriculture. The old lake dwellings of the stone age in Switzerland furnish us with examples of several species of wheat, while oats are known to have been cultivated during the bronze age.

I think on the whole we may safely infer that the groups of small cairns, walled enclosures, the tumuli, stone-circles, and stone celts all belong to one and the same pre-historic age, and that that age was the later neolithic and early bronze period. I wish now to make some remarks upon the small cairns, and then describe briefly the *general* character of the tumuli and circles.

What are these small cairns? We have seen how very generally they are connected with walled enclosures, and noticed that these last usually surround cairns, or at any rate, circular foundations. Their form would at first sight suggest burial mounds, and, doubtless there seems often to be every transition from the cairn of ordinary size to the large round tumulus. The objections to the burial theory are these. (1.) The cairns are so numerous, that we must suppose these remains as a whole to represent not settlements but cemeteries. (2.) The peculiar form of the mounds when they occur upon anything approaching a steep slope is against this supposition. (3.) If these numerous cairns—in some cases they may be numbered by scores—be graves, where were the dwellings? On the other hand it is true that among some savage tribes a man's dwelling became his grave at death. Is it possible however that these small cairns can represent rude dwellings? Over the uncultivated areas of England, Wales, and Scotland are numerous remains of the habitations of a past race. In Wales we have the *Cytiau r' Gyddelod* or cots of the Gael. In Scotland many traces of primitive pit dwellings occur, invariably found in groups, and consisting in their simplest form of shallow excavations in the soil,

soil, rarely exceeding seven or eight feet in diameter.* Sir Richard Colt Hoare remarks, in his *Ancient Wiltshire*, (as quoted by Wilson) "We have undoubted proofs from history, and from existing remains, that the earlier habitations were pits, or slight excavations in the ground, covered and protected from the inclemency of the weather by boughs or trees and sods of turf." Akin to such dwelling sars are the "weems" of Scotland, of which little or no trace is to be seen upon the surface of the ground, but which in the granite district of Aberdeen are built of large blocks of granite made to converge towards the top, according to that very ancient method adopted in the infant period of architecture. In the district of Dartmoor again, where blocks of stone lie plentifully strewn around, there are numerous remains of primitive dwellings in the shape of rude circular walls of stones. In the islands of Lewis and Harris bee-hive houses—though acknowledged to be of unknown antiquity—are occupied down to the present day at certain seasons of the year.† It may further be remarked, in passing, that numerous stone querns have been found in connection with the Scottish weems.

The earliest dwelling of man, so far as his remains furnish evidence in England, was a cave, the possession of which he must even sometimes have contested with the wild beasts, when his weapons were but of rudely chipped flint or roughly fashioned horn. A later period must have seen the cave exchanged for a rudely-built hut, the natural cavern for an artificial one, and what more likely than that a slight hollow in the ground should be built round or covered over with a dome-shaped structure of the stones ready to hand upon the surrounding ground. We must remember also that, at that early period, districts now

* Wilson's Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, vol. I. p. 104.

† Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, vol. I. p. 121.

quite free from wood must have been covered with forest, and boughs would readily lend themselves as roofing material for a rude stone shelter. That such was the origin of our groups of Cumbrian cairns, always most abundant where the stone material most abounds, I am in my own mind pretty well persuaded, but the question can alone be finally decided by a systematic exploration. It is, however, a significant fact that in some cases where the cairns occur upon anything approaching a steep slope, the protection of the hill side seems to have been taken advantage of in constructing the rude stone shelter.

I have already observed that there may sometimes be seen every transition from the ordinary cairn to the large and conspicuous tumulus. This may be noted in the case of Friar's Moor (sheet 73, Cumberland), and notably upon Stockdale Moor (same sheet). Thus, in the latter area, there are numerous cairns of all sizes up to about twenty yards in circumference, and close by a large circular tumulus, sixty yards in circumference. There are also several cases of oblong or oval tumuli. One of the best examples is that called Sampson's Bratfull (sheet 73), which is thirty-five yards long, twelve yards wide at the broad end—the other end being pointed. This barrow stands nearly due east and west,—the broader end being at the east,—which Canon Greenwell informs me is usually the case with such barrows. Its whole extent seems made up of the gathered blocks from the tract around, and it, in common with a large circular barrow hard by, is covered all over with small circular pits, giving the whole a honey-combed appearance. Canon Greenwell has noticed a similar appearance in some of the Yorkshire barrows (more earth than stone barrows), and while regarding the structure as very enigmatical, he thinks they may have been made for the insertion of offerings of food (see *British Barrows*, Introduction).

That such barrows as the ones above described are
burial-places

burial-places is most probable, and their exploration would be a matter of great interest, especially as Canon Greenwell, Dr. Wilson, and others have shown that the long barrows were mostly built by a long-headed race who preceded a round-headed people raising round barrows, the former having no knowledge of metals whatever.

These round barrows are intimately connected with stone circles; thus, in its most finished form, the tumulus is immediately surrounded by a circle of stone, and this again environed by another circle at some little distance. This is the case in the circle described near Oddendale (sheet 21, Westmorland), in which the outer circle, at present consisting of twenty-nine stones, measures twenty-six paces in diameter, and has at its centre another smaller circle of twenty-two boulders eight paces in diameter, immediately surrounding the remains of a tumulus. One mile north of this fine example are two cases of small tumuli with only one encircling ring of stones, and that immediately surrounding the tumulus in each case. A third variety is where the *outer* circle alone remains, such as may be seen in the moor north of Boot (sheet 79 Cumberland). Here one large circle of thirty-nine stones includes within its area five small tumuli or cairns, and close by are two smaller circles, each with a single central cairn or tumulus. Lastly, the tumulus often occurs without any encircling ring of stones, as may be well seen on Moor Divock (sheet 7 Westmorland) in several cases.* One of these unsurrounded tumuli has been opened, and the contained kist may now be seen exposed, formed of upright slabs of stone four feet three inches long and two feet wide, the whole being half covered over with a slab of limestone. And just as the tumulus often occurs without the circle, so the circle frequently occurs without the tumulus, a plain circle of boulders or one having an inner enclosure or sanctum at one side, (the

* Opened by Dr. Simpson.

E.S.E.,) as in the case of Keswick and Moor Divock circles.

The solitary standing stone is not an unfrequent companion of stone circles and tumuli, nor is this to be wondered at. In all parts of our Lake District these ancient monuments occur only where the ground is or has been plentifully supplied with boulders, and no marvel if any particularly conspicuous block should be chosen as a meeting-place, left standing when the smaller blocks were cleared away or utilised in the formation of circles and tumuli, and thus the standing stone became a monument in itself, not raised by human hands, but allowed to stand as natural forces had placed it of old, an older symbol even than the circle raised hard by. It must not be supposed for one moment that the labour of making these stone circles in our own district was very great. At the close of the geologically recent glacial period the whole country was in many parts very thickly strewn with boulders, many of them of great size. The material for megalithic structures was then all ready to hand, quarried by nature, and little but setting up in definite form, and clearing the area immediately around and within, was needed to complete a stone circle as we now see it. What parts the hand of time may have completely effaced it is difficult to say, but the uniform appearance of these structures in almost all parts of the world seems to point to a common instinct of distinct races, and we know that even down to our times some of the hill-tribes of India have erected similar structures. As regards the circles of our own island, some ascribe them to Celtic Druids, some say they are of Scandinavian origin, while other authors think they existed prior either to Scandinavian or Celtic descent, and were many of them fashioned by a people—the long-headed race making long barrows—of Turanian or Allophylian origin, who were succeeded in turn by a round-headed race (possibly belonging to the same stock, according to Wilson), these by the Celtic tribes bringing in Aryan knowledge and

the use of metals, while the Romano-British period forms a connecting link between those earlier Celtic times and the dawn of the Anglo-Saxon period, some 1400 years ago. One thing, however, is tolerably certain with regard to this district, and that is, that long prior to historic times our beautiful valleys and mountain flanks were inhabited by a people who had but little knowledge of metals, who fashioned implements out of the hard flint-like felstones of the crags, who dwelt in social groups, probably acknowledged some chieftainship to judge from the frequency of enclosed cairns and hut circles a little apart from the many, buried their *mighty* dead at any rate, under tumuli, and raised stone circles on elevated and commanding situations for purposes of sepulture, worship, perhaps, and for aught we know, judgment as well. As to the origin of this people we are yet much in the dark; they may or they may not have connection with the Aryan stock; suffice it to say for the present that they are British, pre-Roman inhabitants of Britain, among whom the use of metals, first bronze and then iron, must have been gradually introduced. The iron age seems, however, scarcely to have begun ere the Romans came northwards, fought their way first, as Mr. Ferguson thinks, along our Cumberland coast, followed by their fleet, established camps and stations at intervals, then constructed other roads further east, even along the summits of high mountains, until the mountain district was well nigh encircled by stations, and the rude rock-forts, at first used by the natives as places of refuge and defence, were one by one abandoned.

Whether the Romans destroyed much of the forest which at one time clothed a large part of the district, it is impossible to say, very probably they did; however this may be, a gap in our history remains from the time of the departure of the Romans to a period well into our English annals, and ancient Briton and Roman gave way to another and a conquering race, the Anglo-Saxon.

In

In conclusion, I would urge upon the members of our Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society, the importance of doing something towards the investigation of the remains of our pre-historic ancestors. There may be many points of great interest in a mediæval church, many of historic importance in the route taken by a Roman conqueror, but to my mind such interests are trifling compared with a knowledge of some of the earliest inhabitants of our island, accompanied, as it must ever be, with problems of the deepest moment the farther man's history is carried back into primeval times. Shall we allow these ancient settlements to lie around our very homesteads and care to know nothing about them? What endless questions arise as to the habits and social condition of the early dwellers among our lakes, and shall we not attempt to answer them? Assuredly we should. Let us justify our existence as an Archæological Society by resolving forthwith to undertake a systematic examination of some of these remains. I would specially point to the cairns and tumuli of Stockdale Moor (sheet 73, Cumberland), where both long and round barrows exist and cairns without number, as affording an admirable field for a first investigation. Let us also individually be ever on the look out, especially during dry summers, for any remains of lake-dwellings, such as have been found so largely among the Swiss Lakes, and when some years hence any investigations of ours may have thrown new light upon the earliest inhabitants of this district, we shall look with all the greater pleasure upon mountain form and rippling lake, as we think of the history and condition of a bygone race who many thousand years back gazed upon the same scenes, though perhaps with not the same appreciative feelings.

ART. XXVII.—*The Archæology of the West Cumberland Coal Trade.* By ISAAC FLETCHER, M.P., F.R.S.

Read at Whitehaven, Dec. 10th, 1877.

IN endeavouring to put into a connected narrative all that is known respecting the archæology of the West Cumberland Coal Trade, a few observations as to the geographical distribution and geological aspect of its coal field seem to be a necessary preliminary. So far as has been proved by boring, or otherwise, the coal field in question may be said to commence at its southern extremity at St. Bees, where the Main Seam has recently been proved to exist at a depth of 240 fathoms, and, no doubt, it extends in a south-westerly direction, along the coast and seawards, in which direction the strata are dipping, over an enormous area. The coal-bearing strata at St. Bees are overlaid by a great thickness of Permian rocks and shales, the upper portion of which forms the promontory of St. Bees Head, and extends far to the south-west. The coast-line from St. Bees to Maryport is upon coal-bearing strata throughout its length, but at Maryport, under the new dock, there is an enormous downthrow fault to the north, which puts on a thick covering of Permian sandstone, under which there have been no attempts to find coal, though its existence can hardly be doubted. From Maryport its boundary is the line of the Permian sandstone which, speaking roughly, passes in a north-east direction through the villages of Birkby, Crosby, Oughterside, Aspatria, Bolton Low Houses, and from thence, by Westward Cottages and Green Quarries, to Holm Hill, the residence of Colonel Salkeld. Its south-east limit is the escarpment of the carboniferous limestone which underlays the lowest seam of coal worked at Whitehaven, at a
depth

depth of about eighty-seven fathoms. Commencing near Egremont, the limestone, proceeding in a line not far from parallel to the one already described, comes to the surface at or near to the following places, viz:—Cleator, Mockerkinn Tarn, Ullock, Dean, Eaglesfield, Brigham, Broughton Crags, Dovenby, Tallentire, Moota, Warthole Lime Works, Torpenhow, Catlands, Snow Hill, to Caldbeck. Its length is thirty-five miles, and average breadth four miles; but it must be observed that workable seams of coal do not extend over the whole of this area, which is intersected by numerous faults and dislocations running, as a general rule, in a north-westerly direction.

In any attempt to delineate the archæology of the Cumberland Coal Trade, Whitehaven must occupy by far the most prominent place, not only from the extent and importance of its collieries, but because it is unquestionable that here coal was first worked in Cumberland for sale and exportation. Whitehaven owes its existence as a town and harbour entirely to the Coal Trade, and the Coal Trade was there initiated and has been carried on by one family, and one family only,—the Lowthers. The history of the three is therefore inseparably united.

The thickness of the regular carboniferous system or coal-bearing strata at Whitehaven may be estimated at 227 fathoms, reckoning from the base of the purple sandstone,—named by the officers of the Geological Survey, the “Whitehaven sandstone,” a full section of which is visible from the railway, a little to the north of William Pit,—to the carboniferous limestone which, at John Pit, Harrington, two miles and a half north of William Pit, has been proved by direct sinking to be eighty-seven fathoms below the Six Quarters Seam,—the lowest seam worked at Whitehaven, though two workable seams are known to exist below it. Taking Wellington Pit, just south of the harbour, as a guide, the three seams of coal which have been worked on an extensive scale are found
at

at the following depths from the surface a few fathoms above high-water mark.

SEAM.	DEPTH.	THICKNESS.
Bannock -	80 Fathoms -	6 to 7 Feet.
Main -	100 „ -	8 to 10 „
Six Quarters -	140 „ -	5 to 7 „

To the north of Whitehaven, at William Pit, the Main Seam is also 100 fathoms deep, and at Saltom Pit, also on the coast, half-a-mile west of Wellington, it is found at a depth of about eighty fathoms. From Saltom Pit the strata continue to follow the general dip of the district to the south-west at the rate of about one in eight. The west dip again brings into view on the coast section, near Barrowmouth, the Whitehaven sandstone before alluded to. This very peculiar sandstone was first described many years ago by Professor Sedgwick, who considered it as the local representative of the Permian sandstone,—this opinion being chiefly based on the fact that it is unconformable to the coal measures which it overlays. This proves that it was deposited at a period probably long subsequent to the formation of the regular coal measures. The more recent researches of geologists seem to establish conclusively that this sandstone cannot be ranked among the Permian rocks, because at two collieries near Maryport two workable seams of coal have been found above this sandstone, and one of them,—the Senhouse High Seam,—has been worked near Maryport, where it was found upwards of three feet thick. At Mr. Wilson's Pit in Flimby wood the Senhouse High Seam was found, and underneath it the pit was sunk through seventeen fathoms of Whitehaven sandstone. At Whitehaven these seams have not been found, and its thickness, where it is not diminished by denudation, may be taken to be the same as at Flimby, viz., seventeen fathoms. To illustrate its unconformability to the regular coal measures, I may mention that, at William Pit, it is

140 fathoms above the Six Quarters Seam, whilst at Dean Moor, about six miles distant in a north-east direction, it is only twenty-five fathoms above the same seam, and in the intermediate country it is found in varying relations to the underlying coal seams. It contains many of the coal plants found in the regular measures. It may, perhaps, be most properly described as a secondary carboniferous formation, intermediate between the main carboniferous series and the Permian rocks reposing upon it, which I shall proceed very briefly to describe.

As the strata visible on the coast west of Saltom pit gradually pass underfoot, and the Whitehaven sandstone is submerged, we find on the top of it the first representative of the true Permian series,—a *breccia*,—on the coast only a few feet thick, but inland in some places it is found twenty or even twenty-five fathoms thick. This breccia is a very remarkable deposit, but it would be foreign to the objects of this Society to describe it at any length. I will, therefore, only add that it has been thoroughly examined by Mr. Russell, of the Geological Survey, and described by him in an able paper read before the British Association at Belfast, in 1874. This breccia is surmounted by the magnesian limestone which ranges from fifteen to thirty feet in thickness. Above this we find a considerable thickness of alternate beds of red shales, or marles, and gypsum beds, the whole being surmounted by the splendid development of Permian sandstone which forms the promontory of St. Bees Head, and which probably exceeds 150 fathoms in thickness.

The Whitehaven Coal Field is divided into two distinct and separate portions. One embraces the vast tract lying between the St. Bees' valley and the sea, and under the sea, and the other lays to the north-east of the same valley. The former is called Howgill Colliery, and the latter Whingill Colliery.

It may be safely asserted that the whole of the tract of
ground

ground, containing an area of eight or ten square miles, laying between St. Bees valley and the sea, is or has been full of coal. The Six Quarters Seam lays under the whole of it, as do also the Main and Bannock Seams, except along a narrow strip on the west of Pow Beck, beyond their out-crop. The Main Seam crops out to the surface nearly on the line of the low road to St. Bees, and has been worked at a very early period along the line of out-crop from Whitehaven to St. Bees, as far as Partis Pit, near Stanley Pond, on the Furness railway, a distance of two-and-a-half miles. The Bannock Seam crops out at a correspondingly higher level, and another seam, twenty fathoms above it, still higher, on the eastern face of the hill, whilst on the coast-line the Main Seam is found at depths varying from about eighty fathoms at Saltom, to 240 at the recent bore-hole near the sea at St. Bees. Bearing these facts in mind and remembering that the tract in question,—called Preston Isle,—rises to a height of upwards of 400 feet above the level of the sea, whilst the valley nowhere exceeds fifty feet, it is obvious that large tracts of coal can be readily and easily drained by gravitation,—a matter of great importance at all times, but of absolute necessity in almost all instances before the invention of the steam engine. It was on the out-crop of the Bannock Seam, on the hill side close to the town of Whitehaven, and I conjecture about the year 1620, that coal was first worked for sale and exportation in this county.

Early in the seventeenth century, Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, purchased and presented to his second son Christopher, the lands belonging to the dissolved monastery of St. Bees, at Whitehaven. This gentleman (who afterwards was created a baronet) settled at Whitehaven, where he built a house under the cliff and close to the harbour. He died in 1644. He discovered the existence of coal on his newly acquired estate, and commenced to work it for sale and exportation about the year I have mentioned.

He also converted the little creek at Whitehaven into a harbour by protecting from it the south-west winds by means of a small pier. A print is in existence giving "a South-East View of Whitehaven in 1642,"—two years before Sir Christopher's decease,—which shows this small pier and six or eight three-masted ships sheltered behind it. The town appears to contain about forty houses and a small chapel, and a string of pack-horses is shown conveying, as has been surmised with some show of probability, coals to the ships in the harbour. For various reasons I doubt the accuracy of this surmise, and think it more likely they are carrying some other description of merchandise either to the town or harbour. The first authentic document which throws light on the history of Whitehaven, which I have met with, bears no date, but I have no difficulty in assigning it to the year 1705. A copy of this document was lent to me by my friend Mr. R. S. Ferguson, from a broad-sheet preserved in Lincoln's Inn, and is headed "Case of Sir John Lowther, Bart., and the inhabitants of the town and port of Whitehaven with reasons against a bill for laying a duty on coals to make a harbour at Parton, a small creek within a mile of said town."

I shall extract all the important portions of this document.

"In the year 1566, as appears by a survey of the shipping and Trade of the County of Cumberland (taken by a Commission under the Great Seal) there were but six houses and no shipping except one small Pickard of eight or nine Tun at Whitehaven, and only one of ten Tun in the whole county; no mariners except a few fishermen, nothing exported besides a small quantity of Herrings and Codfish, nor anything imported but salt."

"Sir John Lowther's family were the first that introduced any considerable Trade by sea into that County, and by building a Peer and some ships at Whitehaven, they made some advances towards it."

"Nevertheless the town was still very small till Sir John Lowther applied himself with great charge and Industry to raise it."

"The County adjacent afforded Coals sufficient for a staple export,

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but

but a great part of them were in the hands of small freeholders, and could not be wrought without great and expensive Levels, which must go through several people's Lands and draining all upon the Rise would enable such as have none of the charge to under sell and ruine those who did, so that the working of them under these circumstances was impracticable and they were lost as well to the owners as to the County until Sir John Lowther at his own cost introduced the art of carrying on Levels, and of working what was under Level by Engines, a thing unknown in that country before."

"He laid out a considerable sum at Whitehaven in repairing the old, building a new Peer and deepening the Harbour, and made a further enlargement wherein the inhabitants assisted him by a voluntary contribution."

"He took away many Salt Pans of his own that were very beneficial to him because they annoyed it (the town.)"

"And has no other assistance to defray the expense but a small ancient duty upon *Keelage* amounting to about a Farthing a Tun which is paid as an acknowledgement of his being Lord of the Manor, and Proprietor of the soil of the harbour, all which Duty and more he lays out in necessary repairs of it."

"He also procured at his own charge the renewal of a Fair and Market which had been gotten in Times of Usurpation."

After enumerating other great benefits to the town such as granting building leases on easy terms, granting a site for a church and grave-yard, giving a salary for encouraging a common carrier from London, and benefactions to St. Bees school, the "Case" continues: —

"By these and divers other benefactions and encouragements, great numbers of people have been drawn to bring their effects, settle their Families, and build Houses at Whitehaven to carry on a trade there. And the town has now advanced to that degree as to own about Eighty Sail of Ships of a considerable Burthen, many of them are employed in the plantations and other foreign Trades whereby Her Majesty's Revenue is considerably augmented and the whole County much benefited by the employing of Poor, enhancing and taking off the native Products and raising the value of Land."

"In 1680, Mr. Fletcher (Father of the Petitioner for the Bill) attempted to build a Peer and make a harbour at Parton near the Low Water mark (upon the Ground conveyed as aforesaid to Sir John Lowther by King Charles the Second) he having some land adjoining, which he was in hopes to improve by Buildings, if he could draw over

some

some of the shipping and Inhabitants from Whitehaven, a thing altogether impracticable if Sir John Lowther's encouragement had not brought them so near to hand."

"These attempts did for a while prejudice the growth of Whitehaven for several persons who had purposed to bring their effects and to settle there became apprehensive that the Interest of Trade would be distracted or lost between the Two Places and declined fixing themselves at either."

"Whereupon the then Attorney General (at the Relation of Sir John Lowther) exhibited his English Bill in the Court of Exchequer against the said Mr. Fletcher and others his accomplices, setting forth the ill-consequences of such an attempt to the Revenue, to trade, to the Rights of Sir John Lowther, and of Persons who have settled in Whitehaven, and to the Interest and benefit of the County in general, and after the Defendants answer, upon a full hearing of the matter, the Court prohibited the said Mr. Fletcher by a perpetual Injunction."

In 1695, Mr. Lamplugh (who is now the chief Promoter of the Bill pretending to act by some agreement with, and claiming under the said Mr. Fletcher, made a further attempt to erect a Peer at Parton upon the ground granted to Sir John Lowther as aforesaid, whereupon the Court of Exchequer (after hearing the then Attorney General Sir Tho. Trevor afterwards Lord Chief Justice) and other Council on behalf of Sir John Lowther prohibited the said Mr. Lamplugh and his agents by a perpetual Injunction from making or erecting any new Peer upon the Premises."

"Nevertheless there being a little old Peer at Parton to which Mr. Fletcher pretended a Right by Prescription, Sir John Lowther was not solicitous to hinder Mr. Lamplugh from repairing the same so long as he confined himself to the old foundations."

"Whereupon the said old Peer was repaired, and the said Mr. Fletcher and the petitioners for the Bill have ever since and still do, make use of the same without disturbance from Sir John Lowther, and Peoples minds being thus quieted, they set themselves to build houses and promote a trade at Whitehaven more vigorously than before, and there is reason to believe if the said inhabitants meet not with discouragement the good effects of their Industry will duly increase."

"But the bill now desired for making a new Peer at Parton (in a different place from the old one) and to charge the owners of Coals for that purpose was a sensible Discouragement."

* * * * *

"Whereupon

“Whereupon for these Reasons it is humbly hoped that no encouragement will be given to a Bill of so extraordinary a nature.”

“But if the occasions of Trade and shipping require the aid of an Act of Parliament as it can nowhere in the County be applied to better purposes than at Whitehaven; so it is presumed that Sir John Lowther who hath given such an instance of his advancing the shipping Trade of the Country, may with most reason hope for it in favour of a Town which in so peculiar a manner owes to him its growth and improvement.

Notwithstanding Sir John Lowther's opposition, Mr. Fletcher and the inhabitants of Parton were successful with their Bill, and an Act of Parliament was passed in 1705, for enlarging the pier and harbour of Parton. The Mr. Fletcher alluded to was the owner of Moresby Hall, and lord of the manor of Moresby.

So much for the early history of Whitehaven.

The Sir John Lowther who appears in the above “Case” succeeded his father, Sir Christopher, in 1644, and it may be assumed that at that date a harbour had been established at Whitehaven, and the export of coal commenced on a small scale.

The coal worked during the first five-and-twenty years would be very easily obtained, and hardly any capital would be required for working it. We may assume that at first the Bannock and Yard Seams were worked in the hill side adjoining the town, and now built over by the houses at Mount Pleasant and the Gins, by means of drifts driven from various points, and in the position of those Seams it seems probable they might be able to follow them some distance to the dip without trouble from water. The Howgill Colliery must have been on a small and primitive scale in 1644, but Sir John Lowther, who held the Whitehaven estate from that date to the time of his death, in 1706, seems at once to have been impressed with the idea that he had an immense undeveloped source of wealth beneath his feet, of which he determined to avail himself to the utmost. Tradition relates that he resided almost
constantly

constantly at Whitehaven, where he built a mansion called Flatt Hall, on the site of the present Castle, and devoted his whole time and energies to the developement of his colliery property. His first engineering performance of consequence was the driving of a level from Pow Beck, which, starting at a point a little to the west of the present town, was driven in a westerly direction under the farmhouse at Monkwray, and cut the Bannock Seam at about 100 yards beyond. Its length to this point was nearly 900 yards, but I think it highly probable that it was driven on sufficiently far to cut the Yard Seam twenty fathoms above the Bannock. Sir John speaks, in a document just quoted, of his having been the first to introduce "Engines" for the purpose of drawing water below level, and no doubt it would be in this district they were first applied. These "Engines" were pumps so arranged as to be worked sometimes by manual labour and sometimes by the application of horse-power. Probably this level was driven between the years 1650 and 1660, and it drained a sufficient area of coal to serve the requirements of the trade until near the close of the century, but in the meantime the Main Seam of coal, far superior in quality and thickness, had been discovered at a depth of about 21 fathoms; it extended under that part of the town now occupied by the lower portion of Lowther Street, Duke Street, and George Street, and in order to win it, a pit was sunk at the Gins, (a portion of the town which afterwards acquired that name from the number of horse-gins which were erected for drawing water and coals,) about the year 1700. Several other pits were sunk in the same neighbourhood to the same seam, at depths of from 10 to 20 fathoms. The water was drawn by horse-gins, either in vats or by means of pumps, whilst the coals were raised by jack-rolls, or winches worked by manual labour.

From the Main Seam at the bottom of the first pit in the Gins a level was driven in in a south-westerly direction
until

until it intersected the Bannock seam, at a point on which Fish Pit was afterwards sunk. The length of this level is about 1350 yards, and it drained, as it passed in its course, a large area of Main Seam, but the water from this field had to be lifted to the surface by horse power. I have had an opportunity of examining a number of the weekly pay bills for the year 1709, still preserved at Whitehaven Castle, which throw much light on the state of mining operations at that period. It seems there were then seven pits working in this district and yielding in the aggregate about 800 tons per week. Two of them, viz., Gameriggs and Murrah pits were working the Main Seam, Grayson, the Yard Seam, and Fox, Boll, Mawson, and Darby pits, the Bannock Seam, and the average cost of getting coals appears scarcely to exceed 1s. per ton, whilst the selling price at the pits mouth was only 2s. per ton. Haggars were paid at the rate of 10d. per day, Trailers 8d., Bankmen 8d., Winders 8d., and Corvers or Basket makers 1s. At this time carts seem to have come into use, and the cost of carting to the ships was 9d. per ton. The price put on board ships was 3s. per ton. It is to be noted that at this time everybody, including the colliers (or haggars as they were then and still are universally called in Cumberland) were paid by the day, but a very few years afterwards, probably about 1720 or 1730, the far better practice was introduced of paying the colliers by the ton. This seems the proper place to remark that the coal ton in use from the earliest times, and far into the present century was not a ton by weight, but a ton by measure. It contained thirty-six Winchester bushels, and I have ascertained, by careful measuring and weighing, that the pit ton weighs 21 cwt. 2 qrs. 11 lbs., but as these no doubt a little overweight obtained, we may assume that practically it was 22 cwt., and the Whitehaven railway waggon first used, soon after 1730, contained 44 cwt. (and continued of that size for a century afterwards) or

two pit tons. It must therefore be understood, that throughout this paper, whenever "ton" is mentioned, it is the ton I have just described. The ton was subdivided into eight "loads," a term supposed to be derived from the fact, that originally coals were carried on the backs of horses.

The following table shows the output of the colliery for the week ending Nov. 9th, 1709:—

PIT.	TONS.	LOAD.
Gameriggs	169	0
Murrah	228	0
Fox	141	0
Boll	124	0
Grayson	72	7
Mawson	3	1
Darby-	57	2
Total	795	2

Every item of expenditure appears to be included in the weekly pay bills, except the agent's salaries, and the amount of the bill for the above week amounts to £72 14s. 7d., but this includes £32 13s. 5d. for cartage, which being deducted leaves £40 1s. 2d. as the cost of raising 793 tons, or 12d. per ton.

An examination of eleven of these weekly bills gives an average of 743 tons raised per week, and on this basis the total production of the colliery for the year 1709 would be 38,636 tons.

I think we may assume that the working of coal in the manor of Moresby, on the estate of Mr. Fletcher of Moresby Hall, commenced very soon after the opening of the Whitehaven colliery, and at an early period several extensive levels were driven for the purpose of draining that coal-field, but I can find no record of what was done beyond the meagre information given in Sir John

Lowther's

Lowther's Case already quoted. It is certain that in 1680 Mr Fletcher was anxious to extend the harbour at Parton, and, therefore, we may assume that the export of coal there had attained some importance. In an account of some levelling made in 1713, in the neighbourhood of the Keetle and Priest Gill, mention is made of "Mr. Fletcher's Pit on the Moor," and from the same document I learn that coal was then working near the Keetle. "Christian Pit" and "Water Pit" are mentioned, and allusion is made to "Capt. Senhouse's Yard Band last wrought towards Sands Close."

Sir John Lowther died in 1706, and was succeeded by his son Sir James Lowther, who died in 1755, unmarried, and at a very advanced age. Like his father, he resided almost entirely at Whitehaven, and in the course of the fifty years he held the property he expended an immense sum in driving levels and sinking pits. To him must be ascribed the opening out of the Whingill colliery, to the east of Whitehaven. In 1685, Edward Spedding settled at Whitehaven as principal steward of the Lowther estates. His eldest son, (afterwards John Spedding, Esq., of Armathwaite Hall, and sheriff of Cumberland,) succeeded to that important office, and his fourth son, Carlisle Spedding, a man of great eminence from his scientific attainments, was appointed engineer to the Whitehaven collieries about the year 1718.

He invented the Steel Mill,—a machine by which a disk of steel is made to revolve with great rapidity against a piece of flint,—by which a constant shower of sparks is produced, and until the Davy lamp was invented, in 1816, it was the only means of obtaining an artificial light with safety in an explosive atmosphere. It is said that, before entering on his important duties at Whitehaven, he went to Newcastle incognito and worked as a collier in some of the principal mines there, in order to observe the best mode of working coal, and the various machines in use in that locality.

locality. He also made a great improvement in the art of ventilating mines by "coursing the air," as it is termed; but this is a technical matter on which I need not enter.

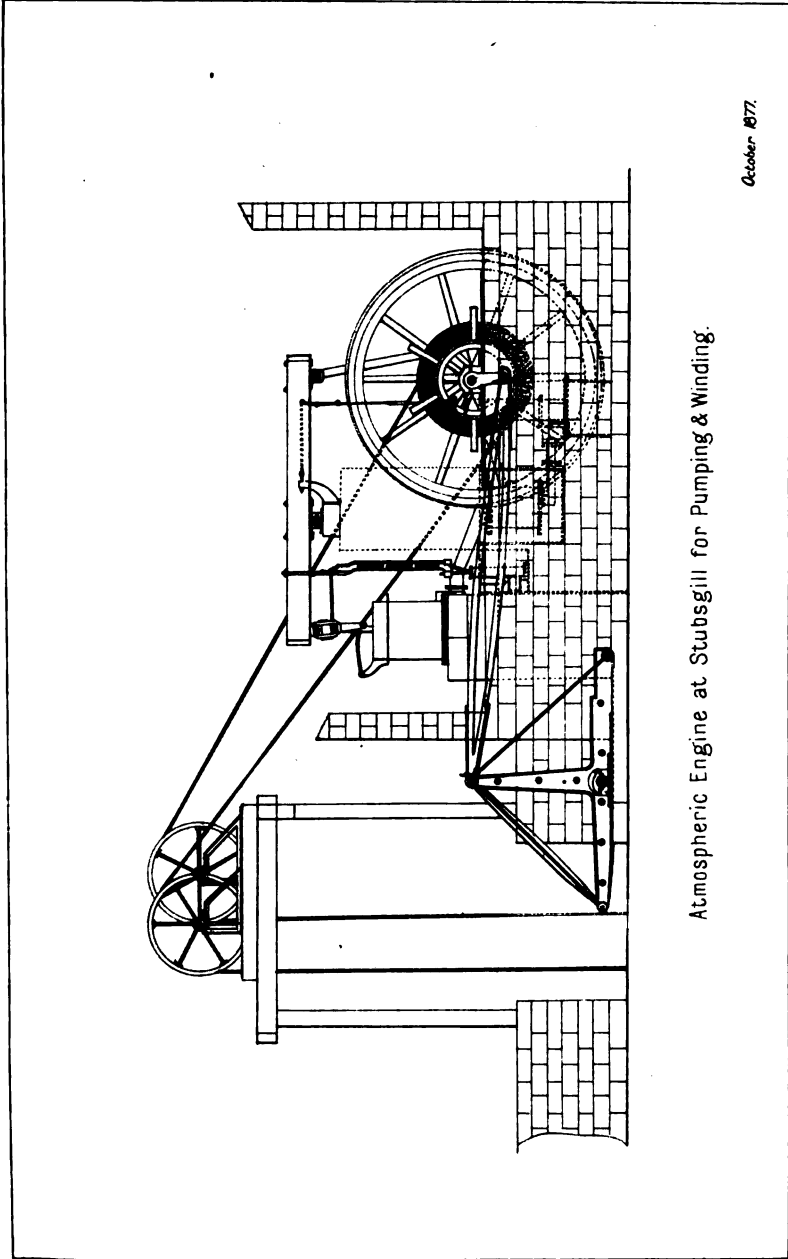
I have already alluded to the pits working at Whitehaven in 1709, and to the fact that those pits, which could not be drained by gravitation, were cleared of water by machinery worked by horse power. But, luckily for Whitehaven, the steam engine assumed a practicable shape for mining purposes just at the time when the increase of water in the Howgill division of the colliery would have occasioned its early abandonment. Tradition says, that in 1718, Sir James Lowther purchased a "fire engine," as it was then termed, which had been erected at some water-works in London, and sent it by ship to Whitehaven, where it was erected at a pit in the "Gins," afterwards known as the "Gins Fire Engine Pit." The erecting and starting of this novel machine for pumping water was probably one of Carlisle Spedding's earliest performances. The pit was sunk to the Main Seam, and was 21 fathoms deep; the pumps were of wood, and probably ten or twelve inches in diameter. It was a most decided success, and all the expensive and inefficient horse machines for raising water were got rid of at once and for ever. It is said this was the second fire-engine erected in England for pumping purposes, but it is certain that it was among the earliest, because Steward observes "that in 1714 there were only four steam-engines in existence, two of which were upon mines in Newcastle. It may be reasonably assumed that this engine was working in London, in 1714, and was one of the four mentioned.

In or about 1710, Newcomen made the first fire-engine that could be applied to any practical use, and it was for many years used for pumping water only. Although we have no drawings or descriptions of the "Gins Fire Engine," there are plenty of drawings of Newcomen's early "fire-engines" (of which this was one) in existence,

and a brief description of the principle on which they were constructed will not be out of place at this stage.

The foundation of the engine was the boiler, about ten or twelve feet in diameter, and shaped exactly like a hay-stack. The lower half was generally made of wrought iron plates where exposed to the action of the fire, and the upper half, above the brick setting, of cast iron. On the top of the boiler was placed a cylinder of cast iron, closed at the bottom, but open at the top. In the early fire-engines this cylinder was generally thirty to thirty-six inches in diameter, and perhaps five or six feet long. In the cylinder was placed a piston, a disk of cast iron about six inches thick, made so as to move up and down the cylinder freely, and made steam-tight by hemp packing at its circumference. A rod from the centre of the piston was connected to one end of a huge beam of wood about twenty feet long, and at the other end a rod was attached which worked the pumps in the Pit. This rod was always made sufficiently heavy to more than counterbalance the weight of the piston at the other end. Steam being got up in the boiler to a pressure slightly in excess of that of the atmosphere, (say 1 or 2lbs. per square inch,) and all being ready for a start, the action of the engine was as follows:— The engineman opened a valve communicating with the boiler, and admitted steam into the cylinder, and another valve or tap from the cylinder to the atmosphere being opened for a few moments, all the air was expelled from it, and its place supplied with steam. A valve was then opened admitting a jet of cold water into the cylinder, which condensed the steam and created an instantaneous vacuum. The pressure of the atmosphere on the top of the piston (14lbs. on the square inch) then caused the piston to descend, and at the same time lifted the column of water by the other end of the beam. This completed the first stroke of the engine, and a repetition of the process by the engineman kept the engine going at the rate of five or six strokes per minute.

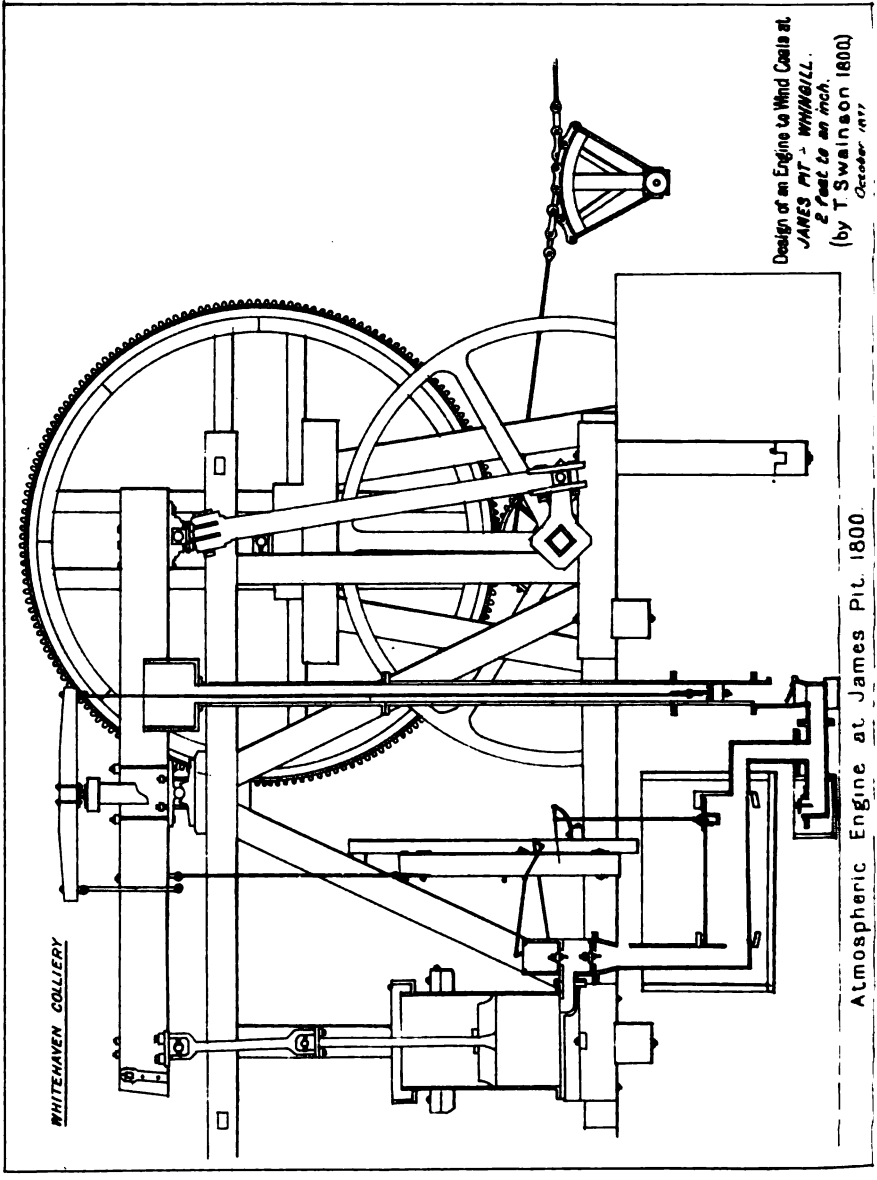
This



Atmospheric Engine at Stubsgill for Pumping & Winding.

October 1877.





WHITEHAVEN COLLIERY

Design of an Engine to Wind Coals at
JAMES PIT - WHITEHALL.
2 Feet to an inch.
(by T. Swainson 1800)
October 1817.

Atmospheric Engine at James Pit. 1800.

This was Newcomen's "atmospheric engine," as he termed it, and of course the description applies to the "Gins Fire Engine." The engine was afterwards made self-acting, and many improvements were made, by the celebrated Smeaton and others, in its details, but in its main features it remained as left by its inventor, and was the only pumping engine used for draining mines, for a period of fifty or sixty years, and, indeed, with the addition of a separate condenser and air-pump invented by Watt, there are to this day many examples of the "atmospheric engine" at work, notably the very fine one at William Pit. I may here mention that a second "fire-engine" was afterwards erected at the Gins, of the same dimensions as the first, and these continued in daily work till about the year 1780, when they were removed, and one engine of much greater power than the old ones was erected in their place.

The successful application of the atmospheric engine at the Gins, situated at the rise and nearly at the outcrop of the Main Seam, led Carlisle Spedding to propose to Sir James Lowther a most comprehensive scheme for developing the Howgill Colliery, by draining a tract of coal which would serve the requirements of the trade for several generations. At Saltom, on the sea shore, half-a-mile to the full distant from the Gins workings, he made a boring and found the Main Seam in perfection, at a depth of nearly eighty fathoms. He proposed to Sir James Lowther to sink a pit there just above high water, and erect a powerful pumping engine, which would drain many hundreds of acres under the land, and an unknown but enormous extent under the Solway Frith. Sir James seems to have entered with enthusiasm into the scheme, and the sinking of the pit was commenced in 1729. This winning was, undoubtedly, the most remarkable colliery enterprise of its day, and a curious incident during the process of sinking led Sir James Lowther to communicate to the Royal Society, in the year 1733, a very interesting paper, no doubt from the pen

pen of Carlisle Spedding. The paper is headed : — “ An account of the Damp Air in a coal Pit sunk within twenty yards of the sea.”

This paper describes a great eruption of fire-damp encountered in sinking Saltom Pit, from which I give some extracts : —

“ Sir James Lowther having occasion to sink a Pit very near the full sea-mark, for draining one of his principal collieries near Whitehaven in the County of Cumberland which was known would be eighty fathoms in depth to the best Seam of Coals, which is three yards thick; the work was carried on very successfully, through several Beds of hard Stone, Coal and other minerals till the Pit was sunk down forty-two Fathoms from the surface, when they came to a Bed of black stone, about six Inches thick, very full of Joints and open Clifts, which divided the Stone into Pieces about six Inches square, the Sides whereof were all spangled with Sulphur, and in Colour like Gold. Under this Bed of black Stone lies a Bed of Coal two foot thick. When the Workmen first pricked the black Stone Bed, which was on the rise Side of the Pit, it afforded very little water, contrary to what was expected; but instead thereof a vast quantity of damp corrupted Air, which bubbled through a Quantity of Water then spread over that Part of the Pit, and made a great hissing Noise, at which the Workmen being somewhat surprized held a Candle towards it, and it immediately took Fire upon the Surface of the Water, and burned very fiercely; the Flame being about half a yard in Diameter and near two Yards high, which frightened the Workmen so that they took the Rope and went up the Pit, having first extinguished the Flame by beating it out with their Hats; the Steward of the Works being made acquainted with it, went down the Pit with one of the men and holding a Candle to the same Place it immediately took Fire again as before and burnt with about the same Bigness, the Flame being blue at the Bottom and more white towards the Top.”

The paper proceeds to give a graphic description of the phenomenon, and of the method adopted to get rid of the annoyance. After satisfying themselves that the feeder of gas was a permanent and not a temporary one, and that it was a source of danger which must be got rid of, they adopted the following expedient.

After

" After this no Candles were suffered to come near it 'till the Pit was sunk quite enough through the Bed of black Stone, and the two Foot Coal underneath it, and all that Part of the Pit for four or five foot high, was framed quite round, and very close jointed, so as to repel the damp Air, which nevertheless it was apprehended would break out in some other adjoining Part unless it was quite carried off as soon as produced out of the Clefs of the Stone, for which End a small Hollow was left behind the framing in order to collect all the damp Air into one Side of the Pit where a Tube of about two Inches square was closely fixed, one End of it into the Hollow behind the Framing, and the other carried up into the open Air four Yards above the Top of the Pit, and through the Tube the damp Air has ever since discharged itself, without being sensibly diminished in its Strength, or lessened in its Quantity, since it was first opened which is now two years and nine months ago." * * * * *

" After the damp Air was carried up in a Tube in the Manner above described, the Pit was no more annoyed with it, but was sunk down very successfully through the several Beds of Stone and Coal till it came to the Main Seam of Coals, which is three Yards thick, and seventy-nine Fathom deep from the Surface, and the said Pit being oval, viz., ten foot one way and eight foot the other, it serves both for drawing the Water by a Fire Engine, and also for raising the Coals."

The paper is dated Whitehaven, August 1, 1733.

In the above paper mention is made that some of the gas was exhibited to the Royal Society in the previous month of May, and some experiments made with it. It would also appear that at this period the Steel Mill had been invented, for the paper says " it is frequent to use Flint and Steel in Places affected with this Sort of Damp, which will give a glimmering Light that is a great help to the Workmen in difficult Cases." The above date gives us the year when the Saltom Shaft reached the coal. Allowing nine months for the remainder of the sinking, which proceeded without " Accident or Interruption," the Main Seam would be reached during the spring of 1731. It is remarkable that the shaft is *oval*. I know of no other oval shaft in Cumberland, except that at Linefitz Colliery, in the Manor of Clifton, sunk about the year 1780. It is smaller and the proportions somewhat different, viz., nine feet by six feet.

Hutchinson

Hutchinson gives an interesting letter from Sir John Clerk, addressed to Mr. Gale, and dated Aug. 19, 1739. In a subsequent letter he describes himself as "being a Coal-Master of near forty years experience." Visiting Whitehaven, he says :—

"Among the extraordinary works of this place I could not but admire those on the sea side to the westward. The sink (at Saltom) goes down perpendicularly eighty fathoms below the sea, and many underneath it. Sir James' riches in part swim over his head, for ships pass daily above the ground where his colliers work. The Coals are drawn up by an engine, moved by two horses, which go a full trot every eight hours, and three changes are employed in a day and a night. The quantity drawn up is about twenty corfs in an hour, each corf consists of an oblong square thirty-two inches long, eighteen inches broad and twenty-two inches deep which costs 7½d. Thus I found the greatest quantity of coals brought up in a year (Sundays excepted) amounted to the value of about £4,200 sterling; out of which Sir James has the colliers to pay, and all the expenses of that work, which made me positively sure that he could not clear above £500 or £600 of free money yearly from this coal work. It is true he has others, but nothing near so great and rich as this is. He draws water from his coal works by an engine with four pumps and four lifts; one of the pumps goes down eighty fathoms, which brings up the water to a cistern sixty fathoms deep, from thence another pump raises it to a cistern of forty fathoms deep from the surface or top of the sink, and a third pump brings it up to twenty, and a fourth quite up to the level of the sea at high water."

"The coal, when brought up to the level of the sea, is put on slips, and conveyed into a cavity of the hill, whence it is drawn up by a second engine. The strata of the coal are five or six in number, the greatest is above six feet in thickness, and sometimes seven or eight; the next is about five feet, one is three feet, and another is about two feet thick. The quantity yet left to work, is in my opinion no great matter, though they talk of two miles under the sea, for a few years will exhaust it; and if the roof gives way in any one place, the coal will not only be drowned in a moment, but above two hundred people will lose their lives."

The pumping engine at Saltom was similar to the one at the Gins, but probably larger. The cylinder was forty inches in diameter, and the boiler, on which it was fixed,
 eleven

eleven feet in diameter. A few years afterwards the water seems to have increased, and a second engine, a duplicate of the first, was erected, and these continued to work until about the year 1782, when the engines "being nearly worn out," were pulled down, and a new engine of gigantic proportions for that day was erected. The cylinder was seventy inches diameter, with a stroke of six feet six inches; it was on the atmospheric principle, but with a separate condenser and air pump three feet in diameter, afterwards added. This engine continued to pump at Saltom until the year 1867, when it was pulled down and broken up, and the water pumped at Wellington Pit by the huge engine erected in that year. Saltom Pit ceased to draw coals in 1848, after a longevity of 107 years.

This winning certainly answered to the full the expectations of its projector: it drained a tract of coal which continues to be worked (at Croft Pit) to this day, and on which a number of pits, some of them of great depth, were sunk shortly after its completion, on the high table-land between it and the old Gins Colliery. In 1737, I find the following pits working in the Howgill district, and Thwaite and Fish Pits in the act of sinking, viz :—Corpsill, Watson, Hind, Saltom, Harrison, Banks, and Parker Pits, and these on the average were raising about 1900 tons per week. Banks Pit seems to have ceased working in this year. I find the following quantities raised in the week ending September 7th, 1737.

PIT.	TONS.
Corpsill - - -	480
Watson - - -	540
Hind - - -	486
Harrison - - -	75
Saltom - - -	342
Parker - - -	15
	<hr/>
Total -	1938
	<hr/>

For

For this week the total cost of the above, delivered on board ship, was £159 9s. 10d., being 19½d. per ton, and the price 3s. 4d. per ton. In the pay bill for Corpsill Pit, for Aug. 10, 1737, there is an entry which tells a sad tale.

“ 5th Friday, Fire Damp Killed 22 at 4 o'clock in ye M.” and also an item of £8 3s. 10d. “ for searching for and taking up 22 dead (men) and 3 Horses, mending Thirls &c. after the Great Fire Damp.”

This, I think, was the most fatal catastrophe that ever occurred at Whitehaven, but all memory and tradition of it seems long to have passed away. Sir James Lowther immediately ordered £100 to be distributed among the unhappy families of the sufferers.

The cost of hewing and trailing at the above date was 5½d. per ton; at Saltom, from 7d. to 9d.

At Saltom the coals were raised by a horse-gin to the surface near the shore; they were then run into a drift some distance into the hill side and lifted by another gin to the summit of the cliff (twenty-seven fathoms higher) by a vertical shaft, when they were put into waggons of 44 cwts. each, and conveyed by means of a wooden railway to the harbour, where they were either shipped or deposited in an immense staith or store-house built along the quay, at the south side of the harbour. About the same time, or possibly a little earlier, a similar railway was laid down from Parker Pit to the harbour, and all the arrangements connected with them, especially the inclined plane from Ravenhill, (where the Saltom Coals were lifted,) were of the most complete and ingenious character.

Before the completion of the Saltom winning, Sir James Lowther seems to have turned his attention to the development of the Whingill Colliery to the east of Whitehaven, which is completely separated from the Howgill Colliery by a large downthrow fault to the east, which at the north wall of the Harbour is about forty fathoms. It passes inland in a south east direction,
nearly

nearly under Richmond Hill, but increases enormously in magnitude in that direction. No connection has ever been made between these two districts except by means of a single stone drift driven to convey water from some workings below level in Whingill district to Saltom, in the year 1798. The physical peculiarities of the Whingill Colliery are quite as favourable for gravitation drainage as in the case of the Howgill Colliery, for the ground rises from sea-level to an elevation of 500 feet, in the neighbourhood of Harras Moor, and upwards of 2,000 acres of land containing the Bannock, Main, and Six Quarters Seams have been drained by a level, driven before 1730, which commences at the bottom of Bransty Brow and terminates at Bateman Pit, where the Main Seam was worked at a depth of fifty-three fathoms. This level is a mile-and-a-half long, and drained more than twenty different pits which were afterwards sunk in the Whingill district.

Several of these pits worked coal below the level, and the water was lifted into it by pumps in some instances, and by vats in others, whilst North, Harras, Lady, George, and James Pits were drained to Saltom Pit by the stone drift from the Howgill Colliery. These pits were all sunk before the close of the last century, and many of them before 1750, and an immense sum must have been expended upon them and the plant necessary for working them. Pedler, Carr, Pearson, and Taylor Pits were all drawing coals as early as 1731, and produced from 300 to 400 tons per week in the aggregate.

The following pits were exhausted before 1755, viz:— Taylor, Hunter, Carr, Fox, Daniel, Green, Watson, Pedler, Harras and many others the names of which are not known.

Wooden railways were laid from all the Whingill Pits to the Arch at the north entrance to Whitehaven, where they were deposited in a large staith, and carted from thence

to the ships. The Arch was built with the intention of carrying the railway over it by an inclined plane to the harbour, but the plan was never executed.

Sir James Lowther and his celebrated engineer, Carlisle Spedding, both died in the year 1755,—the latter being killed by an explosion of fire-damp.

During the half century of Sir James Lowther's tenure of the Whitehaven collieries, and under Carlisle Spedding's engineering, it has been calculated that nearly half a million sterling was expended in developing the collieries.

In addition to the Whingill and Howgill collieries, I should mention that very early in the eighteenth century, and perhaps even earlier, pits were worked at a shallow depth in the neighbourhood of Priest Gill, and drained by levels from the river Keetel, and also at Scalegill, where the Main Seam was only a few fathoms deep. The Six Quarters Seam was afterwards worked in the same neighbourhood.

The following Pits were sunk under the direction of Mr. Carlisle Spedding:—in the Howgill colliery, Duke, King, Thwaite, Ravenhill, Saltom, Kells, Fox, Country, Moss, Arrowthwaite, Parker, Fish, Hind, and probably some others. In the Whingill colliery, Taylor, Hunter, Carr, Fox, Daniel, Green, Watson, Pedlar, Harras, Pearson, and Jackson Pits. Many of the Howgill Pits were of great depth. Thwaite Pit was 149 fathoms to the Six Quarters Seam, and was for many years noted as the deepest pit in the kingdom.

On the death of Sir James Lowther, the Whitehaven estate passed to his kinsman, Sir James Lowther, afterwards created Earl of Lonsdale, Mr. James Spedding, son of Carlisle Spedding, being appointed engineer, and afterwards principal steward. Under the new *regime* the Coal-Trade continued to be prosecuted with great vigour, and as the old pits became exhausted new ones were sunk. Between 1755 and 1802, the date of Lord Lonsdale's death, the

the following winnings were made by Mr. Spedding and his successor Mr. Bateman:— Croft, Wilson, James, Lady, George, Davy, North, Bateman, Howe, Wolfe, Scott, Harras, and Moss Pits. Probably there may have been two or three more. Between the years 1755 and 1780, the average annual output was about 150,000 tons, and the price on board ship about 3s. 4d. per ton.

Mr. Spedding retired from the management of Lord Lonsdale's affairs at Whitehaven in the year 1781, and was succeeded by Mr. John Bateman. He died in 1788, and the following obituary notice of him appeared in the "*Cumberland Pacquet*," August 29th of that year.

"James Spedding, Esq. was for many years principal engineer and steward to the late Sir William Lowther, Bart., and his successor the present Earl of Lonsdale. To the employment of an engineer, he was introduced at a very early age, and succeeded his father (Carlisle Spedding, Esq.) in the management of the Whitehaven Collieries, in Aug. 1755. Afterwards, on the death of his uncle (John Spedding, Esq.) he was appointed steward; uniting two offices and duties of the greatest importance in this part of the Kingdom. In his conduct as steward he displayed great integrity, prudence, and humanity. In his duty as an engineer, the many masterly productions of his genius, by which the Whitehaven Coal-works have been improved and extended, will long remain a monument of his superior skill and unwearied application. He was the last of a family who rendered themselves eminent by equal industry and ingenuity, and of whose great attainments in philosophy, the most scientific men in the course of the last seventy years, have given repeated and ample testimony. To that knowledge, the result of long experience and observation, (joined with the greatest personal intrepidity in the various dangers which frequently attend the practice) not only this port, but the coast in general, owes an indissoluble obligation. The character of the deceased in this particular view, may not improperly be summed up in a short extract from the eulogium pronounced on his father and predecessor, by a writer who well knew how to appreciate the worth he described:—'Nor did he waste his time in vain projects or fruitless speculations but heartily joined theory and practice, wholly applied his talents to serve the real purposes of life and business; and with so much industry, steadiness, and ingenuity, that perhaps he has scarce left his equal, in all respects behind him.' After a severe illness,

illness, which he supported with great fortitude and resignation, he departed this life at his house in Roper Street, in the month of August 1788, in the fifty-ninth year of his age."

Between 1780 and 1800 the average output was about 160,000 tons.

I have already mentioned that at an early period the Main Seam, under a portion of the town of Whitehaven, had been worked at a very shallow depth. The old workings were full of water, which, of course, gave a considerable support to the roof and kept it unbroken for many years. In the course of underground operations, however, this great body of water was suddenly tapped into some adjoining workings, and the small pillars of coal left to support the roof being unable to sustain the superincumbent strata, were crushed, and what is technically called a "creep" set in, the effect of which is thus described in the "*Cumberland Pacquet* :

"About two o'clock, on Monday the 31st of January 1791, in the afternoon, the ground suddenly shrunk in the garden of H. Littledale Esq., behind his house in Duke Street, and the noise of subterranean waters was heard on the spot by a servant there at work. Near the same time, the ground sunk in a garden behind the house once occupied for a Dispensary, in Scotch Street, and in the burial ground behind the Anabaptist's meeting-house in Charles Street, all on the north side of the town. This event caused much alarm, as it was evident it proceeded from the falling in of some of the old coal works; and it afterwards appeared that a great discharge of water had flowed in upon the working pits, and two men and a woman, with five horses were drowned in the works. On Wednesday evening another plot of ground sunk within a few yards of the former settling in Mr. Littledale's garden; and other sinkings, though much more trivial, were observed in different places. The accident was attributed to a workman in a new drift unfortunately striking into a drowned waste or old working. Several workmen and horses were saved from the fate of the others, by remaining in their workings till the water ran off, which was about two hours after its lodgement had been pierced. The number of houses which were in a manner demolished by these sinkings amounted to 18, among which was Mr. Littledale's elegant mansion; and between 60 and 80 families deserted that part of the town.

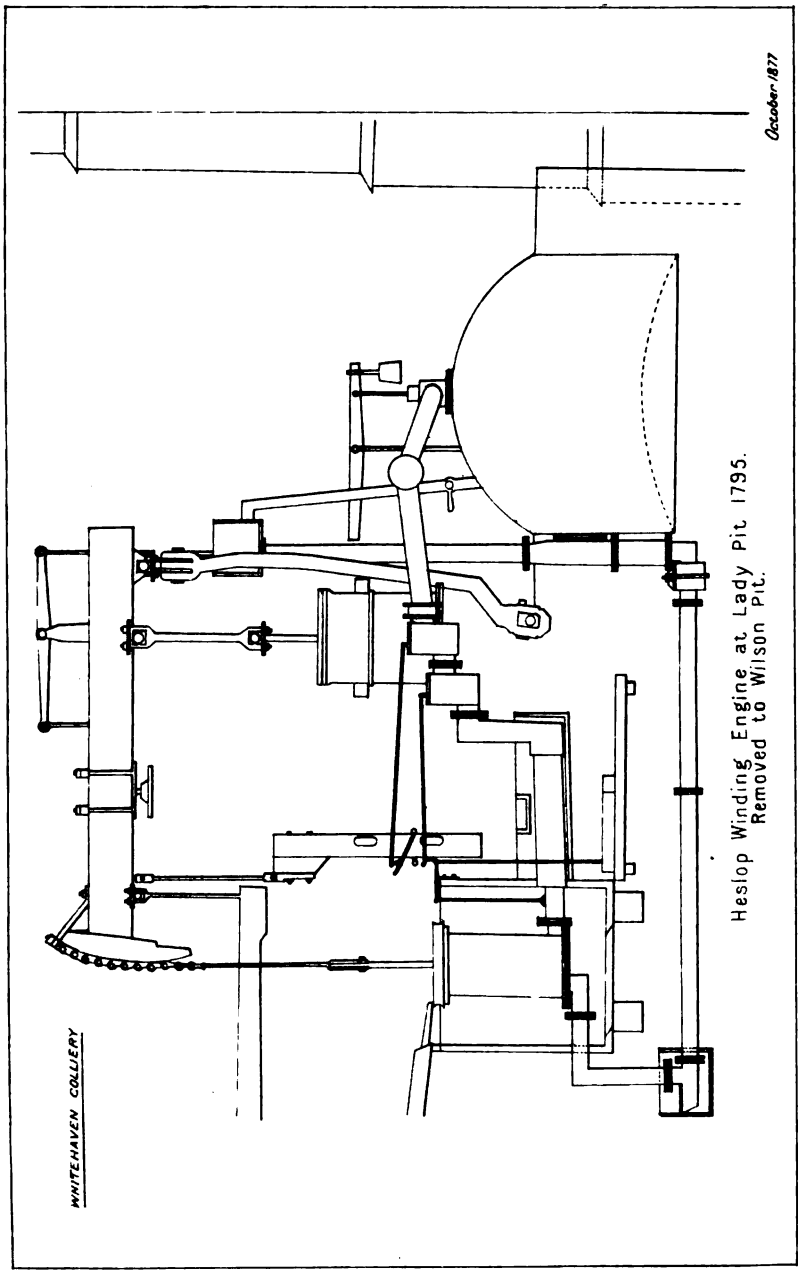
town. The furniture was saved out of all the houses except two. The pavement in George-Street was rent in many places. Skilful coal-viewers were immediately employed to inspect all the old workings which were accessible, and their report that no further danger was to be apprehended, quieted the minds of the inhabitants, and brought them back to those deserted dwellings which were not shook by the alarming accident. No further calamity has ensued."

Mr. Littledale's "elegant mansion" is well known as "Somerset House," and still deserves the phrase, though it bears to this day unmistakable evidence of great damage, as does also the Colliery Office immediately adjoining. Several actions at law were commenced against Lord Lonsdale by Mr. Littledale and other owners of damaged property, upon whose heads, Lord Lonsdale accumulated much unjust popular odium by immediately closing the whole of his collieries, alleging that it was impossible he could carry them on in the face of the legal proceedings which had been commenced against him. These actions, however, were soon compromised, Lord Lonsdale purchased Mr. Littledale's mansion, the working of the collieries was resumed, and no further damage ensued.

It seems incomprehensible that the steam engine should have been in use for pumping purposes for upwards of seventy years before it was applied to drawing coals, but such is the fact, and probably arose from the idea that seems to have possessed our early engineers—an idea wholly unfounded,—that the crank was not a practical medium for converting rectilinear into circular motion, and at a later period that the steam engine could not be made sufficiently delicate in its movements to render in available for winding coals; it is remarkable that its first application to this purpose, was by making it pump water on a waterwheel to the axis of which the rope rolls were fixed. The wheel was provided with two sets of buckets on its circumference, set in opposite directions, so that by turning the stream of water from one set to the other, the revolution of the wheel could be reversed. A machine of this sort was erected at George Pit in the year
1787,

1787, and cumbersome and difficult to manage as it must have been, it was said to be a great improvement on horse power. A model of this apparatus is still in existence at the Granary Yard and will be exhibited to the Society.

The first direct application of the steam engine at Whitehaven for winding was at Davy Pit, where an atmospheric engine was erected in 1794, and another at Lady Pit, in 1795. About the same time an engine of a novel construction, made at Seaton Iron Works, near Workington, by Messrs. Heslop and Millward, was erected at Kells Pit, and drew coals for many years from a depth of 114 fathoms. This form of engine was patented by Mr. Heslop in 1790, and came into extensive use at the various West Cumberland collieries. As the Heslop engine played a very important part in the development of our coal fields, and was (I believe) not in use elsewhere, I may be allowed to give a very brief description of it. I have already described the old atmospheric engine and alluded to the invention by Watt of the separate condenser, for which he obtained an extended patent right. Mr. Heslop's object was evidently to maintain a hot steam cylinder without infringing Watt's patent, and he effectually carried out his object, by adopting two cylinders, one at each end of the beam. One of the cylinders called the hot cylinder worked exactly in the same manner as in the ordinary atmospheric engine, but instead of condensing the steam in the cylinder or using a separate condenser and air pump as in Watt's engine, it was passed into the other cylinder, which was immersed in cold water and there condensed. The cold cylinder was fitted with a piston connected with the beam in the same manner as the one in the hot cylinder, and the early engines were without an air pump. Mr. Heslop made two or three very large pumping engines on this principle, and numerous winding engines, both great and small, all of which did their work most efficiently, and economically as regards the consumption of coal, far more

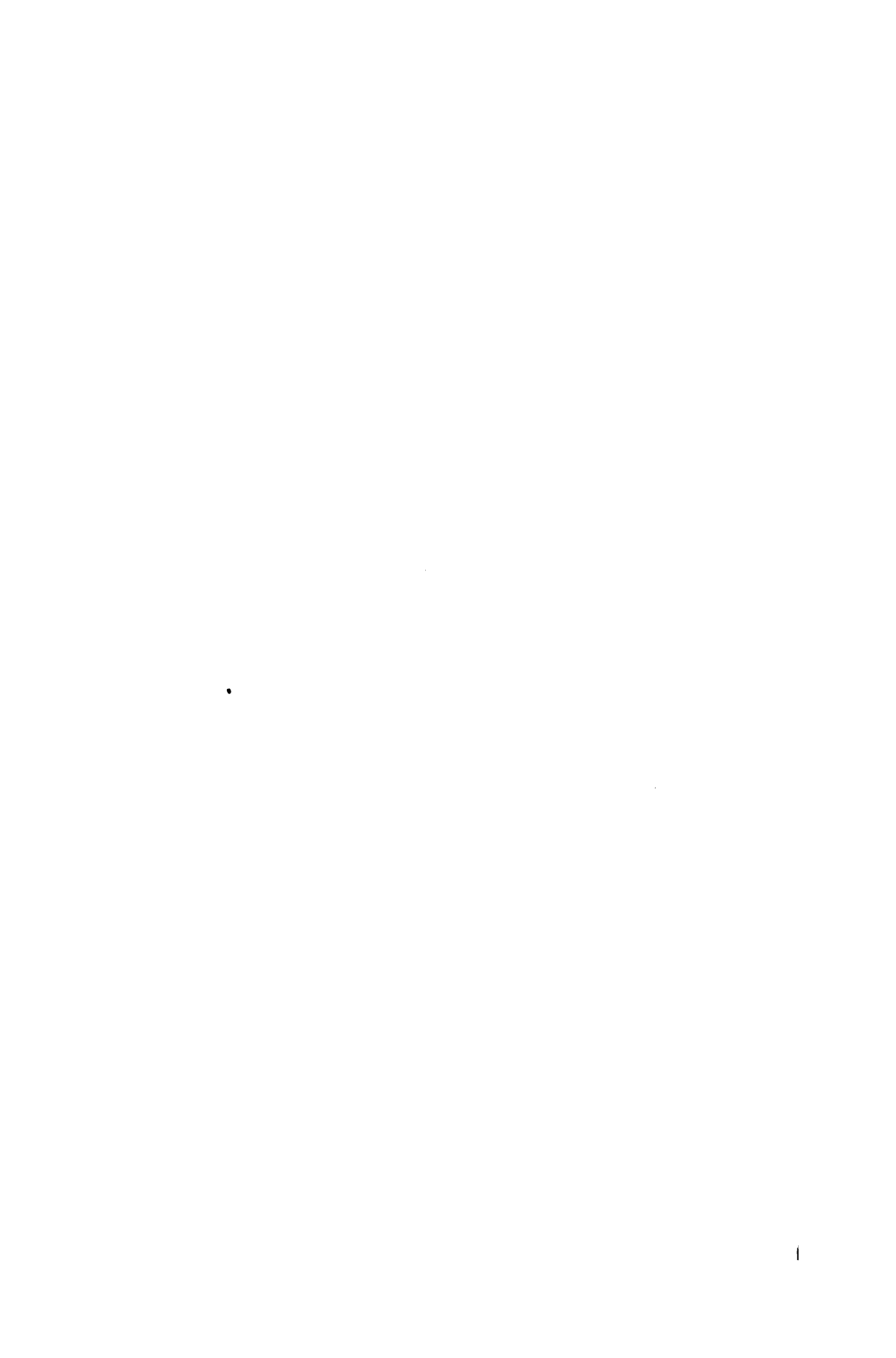


WHITEHAVEN COLLIERY

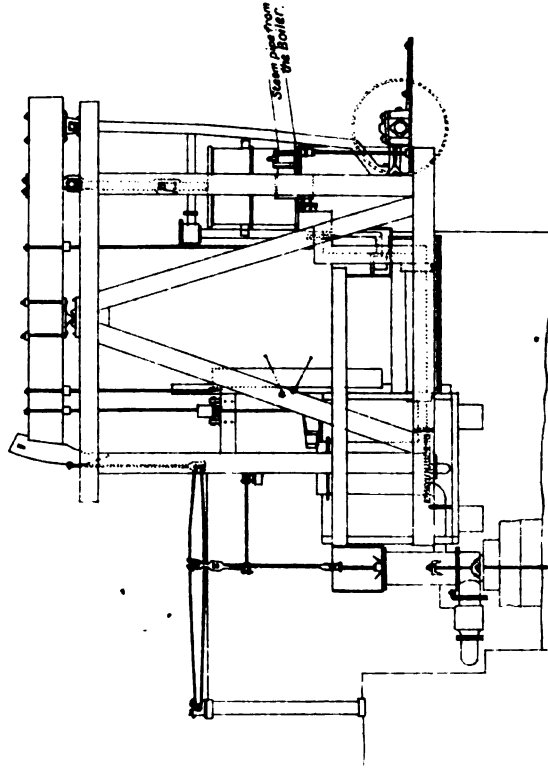
Heslop Winding Engine at Lady Pit 1795.
Removed to Wilson Pit.

October 1877





WHITEHAVEN COLLIERY



Heslop winding Engine at Kells Pit 1795.
Removed to Low Wreah in 1823. Working in 1877.

October 1877

so indeed than the modern high pressure engine which unfortunately has now come into such general use.

The Heslop engine at Kells was afterwards removed to Low Wreah Pit, where she is at work to this day, and is well worth seeing by all who are interested in the archæology of the steam engine. She (an engine is always feminine) is upwards of eighty years of age, her faculties are unimpaired, and apparently she is capable of work for many more years. She is the last of her race, and I believe it is the intention of her noble owner, after the exhaustion of Low Wreah Pit, that she shall be carefully preserved either at South Kensington Museum or elsewhere.

At the close of the eighteenth century I do not think there were more than three or four engines employed in winding in this county. Horses still continued to be employed for this purpose at most of the pits. At the deep pits four horses were used, and were driven at full gallop in many instances. From 1780 to 1800, the average output from all the pits was about 150 or 160,000 tons per annum, and the selling price was 4s. per ton.

I must pass very rapidly over the more recent history of the Whitehaven Collieries. Early in the present century the sinking of William Pit, on the shore to the north of the town, was commenced but was not completed until 1812. At that time this was considered to be one of the best equipped collieries in the kingdom. A very fine pumping engine was erected on the atmospheric principle in 1810. The cylinder is eighty inches diameter, and the stroke eight feet. The beam is of cast-iron, with parallel motion at each end, and the diameter of the air pump three feet. She works a twelve inches pump, lifting 109 fathoms, and at her usual speed of eight strokes lifts 320 gallons per minute, with a consumption of nine tons of coal in the twenty-four hours. She is still working, and is in excellent order. The original winding engine was

a "Heslop" of large dimensions. The hot and cold cylinders were, respectively, forty-four and twenty-eight inches diameter with five-and-a-half feet stroke. This fine engine was pulled down and broken up in 1850, and a high pressure erected in her place. At William Pit the Main Seam workings extend about a mile-and-a-half under the sea, in a direct line, but many of the workings are at a much greater distance from the shaft. A new pit has very recently been sunk, close to William Pit, to the Six Quarter Seam at a depth of 140 fathoms, to which the name "Henry" has been given, and is admirably equipped with all modern appliances. It, however, is out of my province here to describe them. Countess and Castlerigg Pits were sunk by Mr. Peile, who succeeded Mr. Bateman, in 1811. Mr. Peile also drove the Parton level, which commences at the sea at Parton, and goes in an easterly direction about one mile and three quarters. It was stopped before it reached the principal field of coal it was intended to drain.

The most important work carried on during Mr. Peile's tenure of office and under his direction was the great winning at Wellington Pit, the embattled engine house and walls of which form a conspicuous ornament to the town. A pair of pits were sunk 140 fathoms to the Six Quarters Seam which was reached in 1843. It was Mr. Peil's intention to sink these pits a further depth of 160 fathoms and then drift three miles to the full dip of the colliery, at which distance, after cutting the Six Quarters and Main Seam, he expected to reach the Bannock Seam, and thus open out a coal field which he calculated would yield 150,000 tons per annum for at least two centuries. He estimated that it would require twenty years to carry out the project. This certainly was a grand conception, and though much might be said in its favour, it was open to certain objections of great weight. Lord Lonsdale (the third Earl) employed the celebrated George Stephenson to examine and report upon the scheme, which he
condemned

condemned chiefly on the ground that the pits would have to be sunk through 100 fathoms of carboniferous limestone, and the drifts would pass through 2000 yards of the same formation, which, being full of joints and hollows, would probably let in so much water as to render the mine unworkable. There is much force in this objection, but Mr Stephenson raised another which one can only smile at in these days. He says in his report, "besides in a shaft of such a depth it would be found expensive and inconvenient to raise the quantity required, setting aside the danger arising from the breakage of ropes!"

The recent discovery of the Main Seam, at a depth of 240 fathoms, at St. Bees, proves, in connection with what is known at the old collieries, the existence of an immense coal field in that locality. I have calculated that a winning at or near the site of the late boring would open out coal enough to supply an output of a quarter of a million tons per annum for a period of upwards of two centuries.

During the half century ending with 1850, the output of coal ranged from 200,000 to 250,000 tons per annum, the shipping price varying from 5s. to 9s. per ton.

In 1796 Parton Harbour was entirely destroyed by a hurricane.

I must now leave the Whitehaven Collieries and pass on to a brief review of those in other parts of west Cumberland.

HARRINGTON COAL TRADE.

The Harrington coal field lays between Lowca beck, which forms the northern boundary of the Manor of Moresby, and the Manor of Workington. The west portion of this tract contains the same seams of coal as Whitehaven, and these were worked to some extent before 1750, the produce being carted for exportation to Parton Harbour. Close to Micklam Pit there is a very large upthrow fault to the east, over which the Whitehaven

Seams do not exist, with the exception of the Six-Quarters. This Seam, together with the Four-Foot, twenty-seven fathoms below it, and the Udale, at a further depth of thirty-eight fathoms, were very extensively worked by means of upwards of a dozen pits, nearly all of them being sunk between 1750 and 1790, and the produce shipped at Harrington, where a harbour was built by Henry Curwen, Esq. about the year 1760. The port of Harrington must not be confounded with the very old village of High Harrington, about a mile inland, from which the ancient family of Harrington derive their name and title. Wooden railways were laid from the pits to the harbour, along which the coals were conveyed to the ships, and a large export trade was carried on for a period of upwards of a century.

As at Whitehaven, the pits were drained by means of levels driven from the sea. One of these known as the "Snout Brow Level" was of great extent, and drained an extensive tract. The coal below this point was drained by a pumping engine at John Pit, which lifted the water into the level. About the year 1825 Mr. Curwen sunk a pit on a large scale, with a view of winning the Whitehaven Seams, to the west of the great fault I have already alluded to. The pit was sunk on the east side of the fault, and at a depth of eighty fathoms a drift was driven through it which cut the Main Seam, but unfortunately the broken ground adjoining the fault seems to have communicated with the sea, and the colliery was "drowned out." It has been recently re-opened successfully by the skill and enterprise of Messrs. Bain & Co., who have become the lessees of Mr. Curwen's Manor of Harrington.

WORKINGTON COAL TRADE.

No doubt the success which attended the Lowthers in their colliery operations at Whitehaven would naturally lead other owners of property along the coast to search
for

for coal, and there is reason to believe that the Curwens at Workington began to work and export coal at that place before the year 1650. Sandford, whose manuscripts are in the Library of the Dean and Chapter at Carlisle, describing Workington in 1676, says, "a fair haven but not so much now frequented with ships, the coleery being decayed thereabout," and Denton, writing in 1680, says, there is "a salt pan and colliery worth £20 per annum within the demesne." We may therefore conclude that coal had then been worked for some years and that probably the small pits on the crop had become gradually exhausted. These operations appear to have been carried on on a small scale until the invention of the steam engine, which enabled the Curwens, about 1730 or 1740, to sink four pits, which were working in the year 1750, viz., Union, Moorbanks, Hunday, and School House Pits. By means of a level the Curwens were able to open out a colliery on their property adjoining the little chapel at Clifton, which was working in 1750. It could not have been a very lucrative speculation, for the land sale price was only 1s. 4d. per ton, and the shipping price 3s. 4d., from which 2s. per ton must be deducted for the cost of carting to the harbour. Before the last mentioned date, the Lowthers also began to work coal in Clifton on an extensive scale, Sir James Lowther having laid down a wooden railway from his quay on the north side of the harbour to a point near the village of Great Clifton, to which the produce of the various pits was taken in carts. From an inspection of the old plans I conclude that, prior to the abandonment of the Clifton collieries by the Lowthers, in 1781, they must have yielded upwards of 2,000,000 tons. Many of these pits were drained by levels, others by a water-wheel near the Marron at Bridgefoot, and the rest by two large atmospheric engines. One of these, which worked many years, was erected close to the Marron at Little Clifton, and the other at a new pit called Reelfitz, sunk in
1780,

1780, near the Marron, about a quarter of a mile from its confluence with the Derwent. This engine was a very powerful one, having a cylinder cast in two lengths, sixty inches diameter, with about eight feet stroke, working two twelve-inch pumps, each lifting from the Main Seam to the surface, a distance of thirty-five fathoms. In 1781 Sir James Lowther (afterwards Earl of Lonsdale) closed the whole of his collieries in the neighbourhood of Workington at a day's notice, and the circumstances which gave rise to this sudden proceeding are curious and characteristic of the man. In 1763, Sir James granted a lease of a plot of land at Beer Pot near Workington, on a ninety-nine years lease, to Messrs. Hicks, Spedding, & Co., on which extensive works for the manufacture of cast and bar iron were erected. The Spedding, whose name appears in the firm, was Mr. James Spedding, Sir James Lowther's steward and colliery manager. There was a clause in the lease, apparently a proper and reasonable one, that, as long as Sir James worked any pits within a distance of four miles from the Iron Works, those works should be allowed to have coals from the pits at the shipping price. Sir James does not appear to have been aware of this clause in the lease until early in 1781, when it came to his knowledge, and imagining that his interests were thereby prejudiced, he immediately ordered all his pits within the stipulated radius to be closed. This was done, and the plant at the various pits remained untouched (except by thieves) for many years, and, as may be imagined, went to wreck and ruin.

Mr. Cookson, who for several years worked coal in Greysouthern and Clifton to supply some iron works on the Marron, was also obliged to abandon his pits at the same time, they being inundated with the water hitherto lifted by Sir James Lowther's engines. In addition to the Clifton Pits, Sir James Lowther, at the date in question, was also working three or four pits in Seaton, which were abandoned at the same time and for the same reason.

The

The closing of these pits was no doubt a great blow to the trade of Workington, but meanwhile the Curwens were prosecuting their pits with great vigour, a large pumping engine being erected on the shore, near the site on which Lady Pit was afterwards sunk, which drained a large tract of coal. The Workington coal-field is bounded on the north by the Derwent, and lays between two large faults, parallel to each other and to the coast-line. The one is 600 yard seawards of high-water mark, and is a downthrow to the north-west, and the other is one mile inland, and an upthrow to the south-east. Between these faults the Main Seam is found, though over a considerable area in the neighbourhood of the town and harbour it has been swept away by denudation, and its place supplied by hard sandstone. About thirty-four fathoms above the Main Seam, the Moorbanks Seam—six to seven feet thick—has been extensively worked. It has not been clearly established whether this seam is, or is not, identical with the Bannock, at Whitehaven, but my opinion is that it is a seam laying above the Bannock. The rise of the seams is along the coast towards Harrington, in which direction they gradually come to the surface.

When Mr. John Christian Curwen came to the Workington estates he devoted much time personally to his Colliery affairs. In 1794, he completed the large winning on the shore known as "Lady Pit." This pit was eighty-six fathoms deep to the Main Seam, which was found in great perfection. Large pumping and winding engines were erected, and all the equipments were the best of their day. The completion of this winning was celebrated with great rejoicing. At this date Mr. Curwen had nine pits working, from which he annually exported about 100,000 tons, whilst about 50,000 tons more were exported by other proprietors in the neighbourhood, the average price on board ships being about 4s. per ton. A contemporary writer says, "Within these few years Mr. Curwen has erected six fire-engines which

which are employed both in winding up coals and pumping water. Infinite are the advantages resulting from Messrs. Boulton & Watts' improvements in the fire-engine, which can no where be better seen than by these erected here." Between the years 1812 and 1818, the sinking of the great winning at Isabella Pit was proceeded with, and in the latter year the pit was sunk to the depth where the Main Seam was expected to be found, at the depth of 128 fathoms, but unfortunately it was found to be "nipped-out." It was afterwards recovered by drifting a certain distance to the west. I have heard, on good authority, that this winning cost Mr. Curwen £80,000. The pumping engine was the most powerful that had ever been erected in Cumberland, having a sixty-six inch cylinder and nine feet stroke, and worked six sets of pumps, four of them being sixteen inches diameter. She was made by Fenton & Murray, of Leeds, and was on Boulton & Watts' principle. In 1825, about 200,000 tons were shipped at Workington,—one half of which were from Mr. Curwen's Collieries.

On July 29th, 1837, a deplorable calamity happened, by which three of Mr. Curwen's collieries were inundated by the sea, causing an immense loss of life and property. The workings in Lady Pit had been carried on to the rise so near to the bottom of the sea as was considered safe, and sufficient pillars left to maintain the roof unbroken. Mr. Curwen had recently engaged a new manager, of the name of Coxon, who, anxious to increase the quantity of coal raised, most recklessly and culpably removed some of the pillars to which I have alluded; the roof gave way, the sea rushed in in such a volume as to fill the whole of the workings of Union, Lady, and Isabella Pits to the tide level in the course of a few hours!

I have already mentioned that Mr. Cookson worked coal extensively in Greysouthen for many years preceeding 1781. In 1787 a new firm, Walker & Co., leased the coal under a considerable portion of that township, and they
and

and their successors carried on an extensive and profitable business for a period of eighty years. In 1800, another firm, Wilson & Co., in which my grandfather, John Fletcher, was a partner and owner of some of the coal worked by the firm, opened a new colliery in the township. From these collieries a large land sale was carried on, and considerable shipments were made at Workington for many years, the coal being carted there from the pits. A feud existed between the two rival firms which led to litigation, culminating in a memorable Assize trial at Carlisle in 1807, at which it was proved that Walker & Co. had worked a large quantity of coal belonging to Wilson & Co., whose colliery they had also seriously damaged by throwing water upon it, and by other illegitimate expedients. Wilson & Co. obtained a verdict, and upwards of £16,000 damages. This was one of the most important colliery suits ever tried in the north of England, and at the time excited much public interest.

MARYPORT COAL TRADE.

Like Whitehaven and Harrington, Maryport owes its existence entirely to the coal trade. Before 1750 coal had been worked on a small scale for land sale at Dearham, Flimby, Broughton Moor, and on the property of the Christians and Senhouses, in the manors of Ewanrigg and Ellenborough. Extensive coal fields having been discovered within a few miles of the mouth of the Ellen, energetic measures were adopted to establish a harbour there. About 1740 or 1750 the following document (which bears no date) was printed and circulated.

“Reasons for Building a Pier, and making a Harbour at Elnfoot in Cumberland.”

“The Coal-Trade being of mighty Benefit to this County, in respect of the great Sums of Money it brings in *Specie* from *Ireland*, it is of no small Importance to make Provision in Time for Supplying Quantities

Quantities of Coal for Exportation, suitable to the Demands of *Dublin*, and other Parts of *Ireland*."

"Since the great Increase of *Dublin*, where they are still carrying on very considerable Buildings, *Whitehaven* has not been able, with the Help of *Workington* and *Parton*, to supply the Foreign Markets with near the Quantities of Coal that their Consumption requires, and there being few Coals carried to the two last Places in Winter, when they are most wanted for Exportation, *Ireland* will be under a Necessity either of working its own *Collieries*, or of giving great Encouragement to the Scotch and Welsh, which will be so much Loss to *Cumberland*, where there are *Coals* for several Miles along the Shoar, ready for Exportation, if there were Harbours for Shipping them off."

"This Mischief will be likely to increase every Year, as the Trade of *Whitehaven* will be gradually declining, which must certainly be the Case, as the Coals near the Town are almost wrought out, and can not possibly last more than a few Years; after which the Pitts will be so remote, that there will not be above half the Coals shipt there as are at present, and yet *Dublin* will be every year requiring more for its Consumption."

"*Elnesfoot*, having great Quantities of the best Coals adjoining to it, and also very good Roads for leading them to the Ships, (and those Coals being generally in the Hands of Noblemen, and Gentlemen of good Estates, that can lay out Money to work them to the best Advantage, and to the great Improvement of their own Revenues) will be the most proper Place for building a new Harbour."

"The whole County will reap great Benefis from such a Work, because *Elnesfoot* lies near the Centre of it, and more commdious than any other Part of it, for supplying the whole Country with *Tobacco*, *Sugar*, *Wine*, *Tarr*, &c., that come from Abroad, also for exporting the Manufactures of the County, and for helping the Gentlemen to a better Price for their Timber, which may be employed there for Building Ships."

"If *Elnesfoot* be made a Harbour, it may continue one for many Ages, being situated in a fine rich Part of the Country; whereas *Whitehaven* and *Parton* having a very barren and poor neighbourhood, cannot possibly preserve any considerable Share of Trade, after the *Coals* are exhausted, which can now last but a few Years."

"The Building of a Pier and making a Harbour at *Elnesfoot*, will not only preserve and improve the Manufactures now in the neighbourhood, but encourage the setting up of new ones, when they are like to have a Vent for them."

"It will be a Service to the Owners of Ships, as it will be better to have bigger Ships come there for Coals, which cannot run up to the

Keys

Keys at *Dublin*, and beat down the Prices, as the small Ships do that load there now; which make no use of Gabarts, but lye close to the Keys at *Dublin*."

"It will be of little Prejudice to the Coal owners at *Whitehaven*, because they will be able to sell all the Coals they have left till they are quite wrought out."

"It will be no Prejudice to *Parton*, because if they repair the Pier, there is no Fear but all the Coals that can be brought down there will be exported, since *Whitehaven* Trade will lessen for Want of Coals, as fast as the Trade of *Elnesfoot* will increase by the Improvements of the Harbour."

"And the Masters of Ships at *Whitehaven* and *Parton*, had better go sometimes for a Loading at *Elnesfoot*, than have the *Scotch* and *Welsh* be gaining upon then in the Coal Trade."

"The County in general will be greatly benefitted by this Undertaking, as it tends to perpetuate the Coal Trade; and if any of the Coal Owners and Masters of Ships at *Elnesfoot*, refuse to come in voluntarily to contribute to so useful a Work, it will be easie for the rest to procure an Act of Parliament to oblige all to pay, which will meet with no Opposition, when expous'd by the two Noble Dukes, whose great Collieries in that Part of the County, will by these means be prodigiously rais'd in value, and all the Country for several Miles round *Cockermouth*, where those Noble Lords Interests are so considerable, will receive great Benefit by this Improvement."

The two Dukes here alluded to were the Dukes of Whar-ton and Somerset, the former being Lord of the Manors of Broughton and Birkby, and the latter in possession of the Honour of Cockermouth. The Duke of Whar-ton's trustees afterwards sold Broughton and Birkby to the Duke of Somerset, from whom they have descended to the present Lord Leconfield.

"*Elnesfoot*" was converted into a Harbour between the years 1750 and 1760. In the year 1756 several thousand tons of coal were shipped. In 1750, there were only two houses at *Elnesfoot*, but after the establishment of a harbour a town rapidly sprung up, and the name was changed to *Maryport*. Pennant visited the place in 1774, and thus describes it:—

"Keep along the shore to *Maryport*, another new creation, the
PP property

property of Humphrey Senhouse, Esq., and so named by him in honour of his lady; the second house was built only in 1750. Now there are above one hundred, peopled by thirteen hundred souls, all collected by the opening of a coal trade on the estate. For the conveniency of shipping, (there being above seventy of different sizes, from thirty to three hundred tons burthen, belonging to the harbour) are wooden piers with quays on the river Elen, where ships lie and receive their lading."

Soon after 1760, a number of pits were opened on Mr. Senhouse's estate, and also on Mr. Christian's at Ewanrigg. Some years before this date, Mr. Christian became the lessee of the manor of Broughton, adjoining his own property and occupying the high laying tract of land to the south-east, rising to a height of 450 feet above sea-level, and containing many hundred acres of Main Seam, at depths varying from ten to sixty fathoms. Being thus able to unite the two properties for mining purposes, he and his son, Mr. John Christian Curwen, developed the Broughton Colliery with great spirit and foresight. They drove a level from the low ground in front of Ewanrigg Hall to the Main Seam in Broughton, which, with its branches, was nearly two miles long, and constructed a wooden railway from the pits to the "Arches," as they are termed, near the present railway station, and from thence the coals were carted to the harbour. The driving of this level and its ventilating shafts must have taken many years to complete, and cost a very large sum.

In the twenty-six years ending with 1781, 765,530 tons (of thirty-six Winchester bushels each) were raised from the Broughton pits and shipped at Maryport. The selling price to ships was 3s. 4d., of hewing 9d., and trailing 5½d. per ton. Collieries were also opened out on Lord Lonsdale's Royalties at Flimby and Dearham, and before the close of the century upwards of 100,000 tons were annually shipped at Maryport, and meanwhile the price had risen to 5s. and 6s. per ton. I do not propose to follow the history of the Coal Trade at Maryport from 1800 to the large proportions

portions it has since attained, as it does not, properly speaking, belong to the archæology of the subject.

The early history of the Coal Trade on the other portions of the coal-field may be passed over very lightly, because, until the introduction of railways, the pits were worked on a small and primitive scale, and only supplied a local demand. Before the close of the seventeenth century coal was worked at Gilcrux, Oughterside, Bolton, and Sebergham. In 1681, William Orfeur, Esq., of High Close, Plumbland, made his will, by which he bequeathed to his eldest son, William Orfeur, "all my husbandry geare whatsoever, and all loose wood about my house, and all manner of geare belonging to my colliery at Outersyde." At Warnel Fell, in Sebergham, a small Seam of coal, only sixteen inches thick, was worked, and it is to be remarked that the Seam was worked on a system which required no pillars to be left to support the roof, for, according to Hutchinson : —

"This roof consists in general of a black slate metal, and they form of it a sort of wall behind them which prevents the roof from tumbling in, as else it might do, inasmuch as they seldom leave any pillars to support it."

This is in effect the "long wall" system of working, which has been followed in Yorkshire for a long period, and has recently been introduced into Cumberland, in the case of small seams.

GENERAL REMARKS.

Having now described, as fully as the space allotted to me will permit, the West Cumberland Collieries, and brought their history down to the early part of the present century, I will conclude my paper with a few general observations.

MODE OF WORKING COAL.

During the period in question the method of working the
the

the various Seams in the Cumberland Coal-field has been (with rare exceptions) that known by miners as the "pillar and board" system. In this system "ends," as they are termed, are driven about five feet wide, parallel to each other, at distances varying from twelve to forty yards apart, according to circumstances. Between these ends "boards," or workings, are driven. Where the roof is bad these boards are only three or four yards wide, but where the roof is strong they are driven six or eight yards wide. The coal between these boards are the pillars left to support the roof. At moderate depths one half of the coal, and in some instances much less, is left in pillars, but at depths of from 80 to 100 fathoms, or upwards, the pressure of the overlying strata is so great that it is necessary to leave two-thirds of the coal in order to keep the mine open. Under such circumstances, where the boards are six yards wide, the pillars are left twelve yards thick. In modern practice these pillars are entirely removed, and the roof allowed to fall, and thus about four-fifths or five-sixths of the coal may be obtained. Before the present century, however, the pillars were never removed, and the consequence is that in all the old pits at least half of the coal has been left, and can never be recovered. In the old pits at Whitehaven—most of them being of considerable depth—about two-thirds of the coal was left, and will remain until the time arrives when the scarcity of fuel will render it profitable to re-open the pits and work the pillars. Under the sea at Whitehaven, for obvious reasons, the coal is still left in pillars, as on the old system, as a rule. It is probable they might be removed, considering the great depth of the pits, with safety, but the interests at stake are so enormous, that, probably, many generations will elapse before so bold an expedient is adopted.

VENTILATION.

In the old pits at a shallow depth, where fire-damp was
not

not often found, but little attention was paid to ventilation, and in many instances no artificial means were adopted to secure a circulation of air through the workings. One of the earliest expedients adopted was to carry a box ten or twelve inches square down the shaft, and on the top of the box a large horizontal funnel was placed, (called a "horse-head,") so arranged as to turn its mouth to the wind. Another plan, where the pit was drained by gravitation, was to allow a fall of water down one portion of a divided shaft, which in certain instances was found very efficacious. But in mines yielding explosive gases much more powerful means were found necessary; the one most generally in use was to place a large furnace six or eight feet square at the bottom of the upcast shaft, which created a powerful current of air, which, by means of stoppings and doors, could be readily directed through all the ramifications of the most extensive mine.

This method, though very efficacious, was open to the objection that sometimes explosions occurred at the furnace, and moreover it was costly as regards the consumption of fuel. The fan driven by steam-power is gradually and steadily superseding the furnace.

CARRIAGE UNDER GROUND AND ABOVE GROUND.

When coal was first worked it was conveyed from the mine to the surface in small baskets called "korves," from the Danish "korf," carried on men's backs, containing about twelve stone each. In the shallow pits sloping roads were generally driven from the coal to the surface, thus affording ready access to and from the mine without the necessity of vertical shafts. The next step was the adoption of small wooden boxes shod with iron after the manner of a sledge, and dragged or "trailed" by boys. In those days the natural floor of the mine was used for roads, without anything in the nature of pavement or artificial covering.

covering. Sledges on wheels were afterwards introduced, and on the principal road-ways either wooden rails of a very primitive form were used, or in some instances the entire width of the road-way was planked over. I remember seeing an old road of this description in an abandoned colliery at Clifton, which was formed in this manner of elm planks, and though probably more than a hundred years old, it was as sound and perfect as the day it was laid down. Iron rails were first used underground about the year 1812, and for a long period baskets containing six or seven, and in some instances even ten, cwts were in use. These were taken from the main roads, where horses were used, to and from the workings on wheel-sledges. Sidings were formed at intervals on the main roads, where the baskets were arranged in trains of four, six, or eight, according to circumstances, and from thence were conveyed to the shaft by horses. At Whitehaven an improvement on this system was effected, by using large wooden trams with high wheels, on the main roads, each tram carrying two baskets which were lifted on by means of cranes. This cumbrous method has now been got rid of, and the modern practice of using large square tubs, on wheels, with iron cages and conductors in the shafts, has entirely superseded every other.

The mode of conveying coal on the surface has already been sufficiently described in this paper, and need only be further referred to in order to mention that, in 1816, a locomotive engine was purchased by Mr. Buddle, at Newcastle, and used for some time on the Howgill railways, but they being then of cast-iron were inadequate to sustain the weight of the engine, and its use in consequence was discontinued. Some portions of the engine are still in being.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF PITS IN THE WHITEHAVEN COLLIERY.

HOWGILL DIVISION.

Pit.	Depth to			Sunk in Year	Work- ing in Year	REMARKS
	Ban- nock	Main	Six Quar- ters			
	Fms.	Fms.	Fms.			
Gameriggs	...	60	...	...	1709	
Murray	...	...	...	...	1709	
Mawson	...	...	...	1709	...	
Fox	60½	75	...	...	1709	
Ribton	...	...	...	...	1709	
Darby	...	...	...	1709	...	
Grayson	...	...	...	...	1709	
Swinburn	...	...	...	...	1709	
Saltom	56½	75½	118	1731	...	Sunk 20 fms. deeper.
Ravenhill	...	...	...	1737	...	27 fms., supplimen-
Watson	...	45	...	...	1737	[tary to Saltom.
Fish	63	...	...	1737	...	
Hinde	...	...	...	1737	...	
Corpsill	...	...	...	...	...
Parker	...	80	...	...	1737	
Country	...	34	...	...	1742	
Moss	15	37	...	...	...
Arrowthwaite	41	59½	...	...	1742	
Thwaite	90	110	149	1737	...	
Duke	83	127	...	1747	...	
King	99	119	...	1753	...	
Kells (Celts)	101½	114½	...	1750	...	[41½ fms. deeper.
Croft	99	112	...	1775	...	Now Working. Sunk
Wilson	56½	71	...	1757	...	Sunk 18½ fms. deeper.
Pedler	...	45	...	...	...
Partis	...	...	3	...	...
Harrison	...	...	...	...	1737	
Banks	...	45	...	...	1737	
Baxter	...	41	...	...	...	Working before 1731.
Newtown	...	31	...	...	...	Working before 1731.
Gins Fire Engine	...	21	...	...	...
Several Pits at } Scalegill ... }	...	6	...	...	...	Working in 1731.
Several Pits at } Scalegill ... }	...	...	40	...	...	Working before 1750.
William	...	...	...	1812	...	
Henry	...	...	...	1875	...	
Wellington	...	...	...	1843	...	} Now working.

LIST

LIST OF PITS AT WHITEHAVEN COLLIERY.

WHINGILL DIVISION.

Pits.	Depth to			Sunk in Year	Work- ing in Year	REMARKS.
	Ban- nock	Main	Six Quar- ters			
	Fms.	Fms.	Fms.			
Lady ...	In the shallow Pits this Seam would not be found.	75½	120	1765	These Pits all working in 1788.	These dates are taken from a re- port by Mr. Bate- man, in 1781, and are only approxi- mately correct.
North ...		100	...	1773		
George ...		80½	...	1777		
Davy ...		59	101	1763		
Pearson ...		40	77	1731		
Bateman ...		...	53	1771
Howe ...		57	...	1778		
Jackson ...		68	106	1751		
Little William ...		34	...	...
Taylor ...		19	57½	...			1731
Hunter ...		17	53	
Carr ...		40	77	
Fox ...		40	77	
Daniel ...		33	Exhausted before 1755.
Green	
Watson	Exhausted between 1755 and 1781.
Pedler ...		22	1731	
Harras ...		88	
Wolfe ...		59	95	
Scott	35	Exhausted before 1731.
Moss ...	...	...	...	...
James ...	85	1800	Working to this day	
A number of Pits at Priestgill & Ste- phen's Riddings	...	...	...	...
Wreah	Sunk in present century.	
Castlerigg ...	...	...	...	...
Countess ...	...	...	...	...
Moresby		

APPENDIX II.

“THE ANSWER OF SR. JOHN LOWTHER, TO YE PETITION AND PAPERS EXHIBITED BY THE LORD MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.”

(1680.)

“That by the greate and sole Charges, Industry, and divers other unexampled encouragement, given to trade by Sr. John Lowther and Sr. Christopher Lowther his father A considerable navigation is brought in ye County of Cumberland, where there never was any trade before, or very little, by erecting a peere at Whitehaven, by inviting persons from all places, both in England, Scotland, and Ireland to come and inhabit there, and granting the said Inhabitants ground to build upon, at small and Inconsiderable Rents, procuring them a Market from his Mastie and several other advantages, wch ye said Towne enjoys and which Sr. John Lowther has done for them, as building of Wharfs, Mills, and such like things, as are wanted in places newly inhabited, and for which he has not three in the hundred for his money layd out, and done singly for the encouragement of Trade, and his Mastie minding the further Advancement of ye said Towne, and to prevent the erecting of any peere or Wharf near thereunto, by wch ye Shipps resorting thither might be anticipated, his Mastie by his letters pattent, did not only conform in Sr. John Lowther, his heirs, the said peere and benefitt thereof But did also grant to him all the Ground between the High and low water mark, all along by ye sea coast.”

“That for answer to ye matters set forth by ye petition presented by the Lord Mayor of Dublyn, Sr. John Lowther saith:—

“That the Reasons suggested by the said petition are these:

“That Dublyn being supplied with Coals from Whitehaven, are ye most durable and servicable beyond what they have from any other place.”

“That the old Mines next ye peere are poor and almost spent.”

“The peere at Whitehaven is much decayed and dangerous. That Sr. John Lowther by ingrossing ye Trade to himself occasions Whitehaven Coals to be sold at much dearer rates than formerly.”

ANSW. “That in all ye said particulars the petitioners (with submission) are utterly mistaken.”

“1st. That 'tis most certain that at Whitehaven there are Coals sufficient to supply Dublyn for all generations, and ye Mine that is pretended to be spent, is not soo, but for that Sr. James Lowther has

many other Mines, more easy to be wrought, and wch turn to better accompt, he has thought fitt to cease working where he formerly gott Coals, and has opened a new Mine where Coals are had much cheaper than in the said old Works, and may be got in greater quantitys than the Markett will take off."

"2nly. That the peere at Whitehaven is now in better repair, and larger, and more commodious, than ever it was, and to make it yett more commodious Sr. John Lowther is that time enlarging it further into the sea, 140 Foot, and had done it er now if not obstructed by these pretences, And when ye Addition is made to it, noo one can say but that the peere at Whitehaven will be sufficiently Capacious for all ye shipping the Coal Trade can imploy, or any other navigation those Northern parts can have occasion for."

"3rdly. The Price of Coals at Dublyn is so far from being inhanced, that whereas they were formerly Twenty-four Shillings a Chaldron in Winter, and Twenty Shillings in Summer, since Whitehaven gott the Trade, they are now about Fifteen or Sixteen Shillings a Chaldron in Winter and Twelve or Thirteen in Summer, and Sometimes Cheaper, insomuch that the Lord Mayor has several times waved his ancient priviledge of taking out of every Shipp half a Chaldron of Coals, at the rate of Twelve Shillings the Chaldron, for that it would be to his loss to make use of itt, and that they will be yett Cheaper rather than dearer. Dublyn is so sensible thereof that they are now designeing an Imposition hereon, by Act of Parliament of Twelve pence per Chaldron for some particular Charities within that Citty, thereby declaring that in their own opinion, that such further Charge may be imposed, without prejudice to that Citty."

"The Petitiors are equally mistaken in their Reasons, and discouragements suggested in the other prayers."

"For the pretenses of Sr. John Lowther serving the Coal Traders with Writts, or his stopping up the Highways, or cutting their Sacks, or hindering them from staithing, or delaying the Loading of the Shippes, or the like."

"Are all of them in the manner suggested untrue, and nothing of ye nature done in such manner as is suggested."

"And what is or hath at any time been done, and all the Charges that hath thereby accrued, to all the Coal Traders at Whitehaven, by Writts, cutting of Sacks, and the like, hath not in Twenty years amounted to Forty Shillings, and was done only for ye better regulating of ye trade and to prevent the Harbour from being blocked up in ye way pretended, was only upon leave, and noo man wronged thereby."

"And 'tis most certain that ye further enlarging of the peere at
Whitehaven,

Whitehaven, and encouragement of the Trade there without any new peere at Parton will be the most effectual means for a constant and and cheape supply of Coals at Dublyn, for the increase of Trade, and Navigation, and Shipps of great burthen, and the advancement of his Magties Customs, for that one large and commodious peere is considered better than two little ones, and the Custome house Officers attend with less charge and with more security to the King's Revenue, for the many small Creeks tend only to the Imbezzelling the customs. Besides that 'tis unjust that when Whitehaven brought in effect from nothing to a port or Haven of so great Trade and consideration, And this by ye sole charges and Industry of Sr. John Lowther, and his family, That Sr. John Lowther and his family should now be prevented of ye benefitt thereof by pretenses that in truth are of noo avayle either to Dublyn or any other, and therefore Sr. John Lowther doth insist, and humbly hope that he shall be dismissed from any further Attendance upon this Accompt."

In conclusion, I wish to thank Lord Lonsdale and Mr. Curwen for ready access to important documents and records. To Mr. Alleyne Robinson, Mr. Liddell, and Mr. Hetherington, I am indebted for much valuable assistance and information.

ART. XXVIII.—*The Earlier Registers of Waberthwaite and Millom.* By the REV. CANON KNOWLES.

Read at Whitehaven, December 11th, 1877.

I AM but trying a prentice hand at such a paper as this. But whether I succeed in pleasing you or not, believe me, that when the preliminary difficulty of reading old hand-writing is fairly mastered, few books are so delightful as an old parish register, and many are far less instructive.

Now and then, as at Kenilworth, you get an episode of the civil war of Charles the First ; or, as at Waberthwaite, a set of certified copies of certificates of burials in woollen, or, as has before been noticed by others, traces of pestilence widespread, but unrecorded in history. Or odd entries excite your curiosity and lead you to fresh learning, and items, strange enough now, make you acquainted with the minor customs of our forefathers, while others tell you the date when the great changes took place, which, as an antiquarian, you have long deplored, in the fabric of the old parish church, and others again shew the gradual rise in value of labour and materials.

Neither the Millom Register nor that of Waberthwaite is of the highest antiquity,—the former begins 1590, is defective, from May 15, 1595, in the burials, to June 1597. Then these entries run on till October, 1638, with half-a-dozen of 1660, 1661, on fol. 52. The baptismal entries run till October, 1637, and the matrimonial till July 22, 1645. But many pages of Churchwardens' accounts are bound with the book and add to its interest. It is now well bound and well cared for.

The register at Waberthwaite begins only in 1657, and ends in 1724. It is of parchment, unbound, and a good deal

deal injured by damp. In a small quarto are bound up later entries of ceremonies solemnized, and many accounts of churchwardens from 1679.

I will begin with the fabric and furniture of the church. At Millom we find the roodloft standing in 1633, for John Newby received 8d. for mending it.* At Waberthwaite, the new steeple (such is the dignified name for the poor little bell-gable) cost £4 10s. in 1796, and in 1707 the canopy, no doubt over the pulpit, cost 5s. 6d. Here, as elsewhere, we find 'bent' bought (*e.g.* 12d. 1755), and at Millom charges for dressing the church.

But, if I be not wrong, one entry at Waberthwaite, 1717, to Christopher Walls for "Tableing," the church 6d., shews that in this little corner the practice, which was once, if not now, strictly legal, was long retained of removing the holy table from the east wall at the time of communion.

A quaint entry puzzled me for some time; it occurs regularly till 1774 :

"From the Parishe for receiveing 14s. 3d."

This is explained by the entry, that takes its place and is equally quaint :

"From the Cuminicats (or Cumnicats)—*i.e.*, Communicants—15s. 10d.

The rustic mind seems almost to have conceived that the offertory was a payment for the sacrament.

The surplice, you all know, drops letters or adopts them with charming facility. It becomes, under the pen of the accountant, "syrpcloth," with y, i, u, or e, and even, though I think not in these books, "sirplate."

Of books for the "chirche," Millom has a good entry in 1617.

"A Byble, ii Comunio Bookes, Paraphrase of Erasmus, Marlorett upon Saint Mattheue, harding and I uell, a booke of Homelies, the Booke of Canons, Articles."

* The small quire (or priest's) door is called the 'heck.'

In 1634, "the booke of libertie," I presume "the book of Sports," cost 8d.

I feel very grateful to a certain family named Benson who, in the end of the 16th century and first quarter of the 17th, took the trouble to illustrate the church discipline of the time.

On the 27th of March, 1595, Jenet Benson was "to be," and I hope she was, "sorye for her sines" by order of "Mr. Commissorye at Botle."

Myles Benson about the same time, another untoward fellow, paid xiid for "sleepinge and not goinge orderly to church."* Three poore persons got a groat each.

And again, in 1608, probably after many warnings,

"Barnard Benson did his penance in the parishe Chirche of Millom, the 19th of March, and payed to the poore of the Chirche *x_s*. which was openly delivered in the pulpit *vs. viijd.* at Millom and *ijj. ivd.* at Ulfall."

In this 17th century, wine for the holy communion cost 8d. a quart—9d. in 1694.

The church law was not disregarded at Millom, (fol. 17).

"According to the canons laity sett down, 4 sydmen (Synodsmen) are to be appointed every year, one of whose duties is to keeke the dogges out of the chirche." 1605.

The church officers have an allowance of 2d. a day for superintending work done at the church, and for going when required by church business to Bootle, they get 4d. ; to Muncaster 6d. ; Gosforth or Egremont 1s. ; Cocker-mouth 2s. 6d. ; Dalton-in-Furness 4d. ; Carlisle 5s. 6d.

In 1635, one of them, Edward Reckel, (?) Junr., a church Juryman, has this note against his name "Ab-solution" (? full payment) "published in Mill. C. Oct. 18, 6s."

Now, if you please, to the registers of ceremonies solemnized, and first of burials.

* The Churchwardens had power to levy a fine of 12d. on any person that did not duly attend divine service.

Wabberthwaite is rich in certificates of burials in woollen, under statute of 30 Charles II., St. 1 c. 3 § 3.

"Burials since 1 day of May 1695 which was the time That the Late act of birthes burials marriages and Batchelers was put in execution."

"November 5th 1685 Jack my Lady foote Bóy Buried."

"November 15th 1698 Richard Brockbank, born in Ulpha, an olde Servant at Muncaster Hall, who left a Hundred and Sixtie pounds to the free School."

"1709, Janý 8. John Parker a Yeoman-man."

"William Pearson Carpinter, Buired in Meryland in Virginy, August first 1721.

At Millom, the number of burials varies in ordinary years from eighteen to twenty-seven, but 1597, (the entries for which are imperfect,) 1623, and 1624, were here marked by unusual mortality. In 1614, the deaths fall to 12, but in 1631 rise to 41. In 1636 to 47, in 1618 to 42, but in 1623 to 93, and in 1624 they are 55.

Be it remembered that even in these times of pestilence nearly one-seventh of the whole number were buried inside the church*

"July 9 1633 John Murthat of Wringes buried 'I have (heard) him say that he was 5 score 11 years of age.'"

One suicide :

"May 10 1597. Hugh Bowness who wilfullye hanged him selfe."

Three cases of drowning on Duddon Sand.

A few quaint entries occur :

"Sept. 15, 1593. Ould park wife."

"Nov. 10, 1608. Ellen Parker alias ould Nell."

"June 11, 1609. John Greene sonne of Robt pyper" (who is elsewhere given as Greene) but this is by the by a baptism and so out of place.

"July 28, 1609. Richard Wilson, Shepheard at the beck."

"April 9, 1616. Richard Troughton alias Sandigappe, drowned upon Duddon Sands."

* Out of 26 entries of burials in one page, 1608-9, ten are marked (C) for burial within the church, shewing the prevalence of a most objectionable fashion. So most of the Lancashire and Cheshire Wills, published by the Cheetham Society, express a wish for interment within particular chapels or parish churches."

Some 50 years later "Will Murwheat (Morethwaite) Sumner," who got I suppose 6d. for serving citations.

I am sorry to say that in twenty years I count up sixteen burials of children dying unbaptized, if I may reckon "a wenche of Richard Taylor's."

I shall close this list with one from Waberthwaite of local interest.

"July 4, 1678. William Walls of Newbigginge 66 died and was buried betwixt the Cross and the Quire."

Now for the baptisms at Millom.

It speaks well for the parish morals that out of 529 entries only twelve illegitimate children are noted, and it is rather singular that 288 are boys and 241 girls.

Among boys' names in this same list :

John	occurs 57 times
William	40
Thomas	36
George	20
Anthony	16
Richard	15

We find also, not only Matthew, James, Christopher, Gawen, Lancelot, Rowland, but Ferdinand and Barrantine, both these genteelly introduced by the Lords Seigneurs of that place, the last probably through some alliance, and Ferdinand through Katherine of Arragon from the five Kings of the Spanish Peninsula.

Among the girls, Elizabeth of course in a loyal manor takes the lead with 45 votes, An, Anes, Ane or Anne has 42, Margaret 36, Ellin or Ellen 25, Isabell, Janet, Briget, Frances or Francis from 16 to 11. And probably from Protestant reaction the best of all names, Mary, only six.

One folio, July 1605 to March 1607 is, I think, missing.

On one loose page at Waberthwaite is a wonderful list of baptisms in the one family of Henry Walls, of Newbigging, and Elizabeth his wife; the first child, Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, born and baptized in 1636; the second, Henry, 1656, the ninth, a second Henry, 1679,—forty-three years after Elizabeth. Did the Henry of 1656 marry another Elizabeth?

One entry only of the marriages. October 29, 1598, at Millom.

“Stenne Troughton }
 Anne Myres } bothe of this pise.
 Secuerties for the marige.

Tomas Taylor
 and Antony Troughton”

And to come now to less^l spiritual matters. The provision by a rate or cess of some sort was called at Millom a “cast,” at Waberthwaite, in 18th century, a “purvey,” till 1805. Thus we find:

“Dec 29th, 1625. Caste 3*li* 3*s* in 5 parts Above Millom, Beneath Millom, Chapel Sucken, Thwayte, and Upha.”

And in 1760,

“Two purveys 15*s*. 1*d*.”

The Culyet of Millom was, I presume, a collection of free-will offerings made from house to house. The word was, and perhaps is still, used at Christ Church, Oxford, as equivalent to “collecta,” a collection.

Church money was lent out on security at seven-and-a-half per cent.

Who were the Millom Proctors, who used to receive 2*d*. for each baptising, 1*d*. for burying, 8*d*. for a marriage? Were they officers of the lay-rector? We find a good many entries, *e.g.*, 1610, of the discharge of their claims which, as to Baptism, were simoniacal.

The earliest notice of overseers of the poor is, I think, dated 1656.

A quaint Millom entry may find a place here: “George Wigglesworth in Whitechapel parish in East Smithfield

RR

near

near the Swan with two neckes, a Bishoprike-Man,"—what does this last term mean*? — in the year 1635.

Again on the same page (fol. 69, b.)

"3 Bro. Tho. Hunter, Edward Hunter, and John Hunter Taylor in Bishopgate Street died about xi years since."

At Waberthwaite I find no entries of foxheads, ravens, marts, and badgers. A badger or a foxhead was worth a shilling reward at Millom. And here a "pelle" and a "seefe" were bought for fourpence, doubtless for liming the church; and a gallain to beare water in for tenpence. A new stee in 1725 cost five shillings. (W.)

At Waberthwaite in 1679 we have

"Item for Keeping the Glasser and his hors 6d."

"1681. Item for arear and for being overcear 6d."

"Item for dealing morse (? moss) 6d."

But what is this in 1747?

"To the Gaianser 6d."

* Probably, as I am told, "From Durham."

ART. XXIX.--*Observations on the Parentage of Gundreda, the Daughter of William, Duke of Normandy, and wife of William de Warenne.* By Sir G. DUCKETT, Bart.

Communicated at Whitehaven, December 11th, 1877.

IT is, doubtless, known to the members of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society, that the second husband of Gundreda, Countess of Warwick, was William, surnamed of Lancaster, Baron of Kendal. She was the daughter of William de Warenne, the second Earl of Surrey, by Isabel de Vermandois, and consequently grandaughter of Gundreda, the fifth daughter of William, Duke of Normandy, the subject of the following notice.

This connection with Westmorland would alone entitle the paper, now submitted to the members of the Society, to figure in its Transactions, but the additional fact of the Countess Gundreda's marriage with Roger de Glanvill, as her third husband, after the decease of W. de Lancaster, renders the much controverted point of the parentage of her grandmother, a matter of historical interest for the northern counties, seeing that such husband was sheriff of Northumberland from the 31 Henry II., to 1 Richard I. The authorities for these authenticated facts are given below.*

In turning to page 149 of the "Yorkshire Archæological Journal" (vol. iv.); to certain pages of "Notes and Queries" (5th S. iv., pp., 386, 476); and to Murray's "Handbook for Sussex" (under Lewes), one's attention is forcibly drawn to a question, which, it would have been imagined, ought long since to have been set at rest, viz.,

* Dugdale Bar. i, 73, 421 sq; John Rous of Warwick [Hist. MS. Bibl. Cotton.]; Ordericus Vitalis [Hist. Eccles.]; William of Jumièges [Ed. Duchesne 1619]; Milles' "Catalogue of Honor" [Ed. 1610]; Mon. i, 708a, n. 60; Mag. Rot. i Ric. 1. Northumberland; Madox's Exchequer ii. 236; 3d Report App. p. 321; William of Poitou [Ed. Guizot].

the parentage of Gundreda, as wife of William de Warenne (Guillaume de Varenne), 1st Earl of Surrey.

The writer in the otherwise ably written paper, in the periodical first named, in enumerating the several Yorkshire Tenants in Domesday, runs counter to the opinion usually received until of late years, and quoting Ordericus Vitalis, assumes Gundreda to have been the sister of one Gherbod, a Fleming. This relationship seems first to have been assigned to her by Dugdale on the same authority, and after him, in more recent times, by Mr. Stapleton,* F.S.A., and a writer of merit, Mr. Freeman,† author of the "Norman Conquest."

It seems inconceivable that Dugdale, from whom so many have gleaned their information, should have overlooked the Conqueror's charter giving to the monks of St. Pancras the Manor of Walton, in Norfolk, and the Foundation Charter of Lewes Priory, still extant, which are uncontestedly clear, and of themselves sufficient to refute any doubt on this subject. As a question of history, it is a matter of regret, and to ourselves of supreme astonishment, that the arguments which of late years have been set forth by the late Mr. Blaauw,‡ to whom the merit is due of having so successfully controverted the attempt to cast a doubt on the parentage of Gundreda, as the Conqueror's daughter, should not long since have settled this disputed point. It only shews on what slight (or rather worthless) grounds a false position may be held, and its evil consequences propagated.

A solitary passage, on the authority of this nearly contemporary historian, Ordericus Vitalis, extracted from his so-called "Ecclesiastical History," is forcibly insisted on, and thus from time to time revives the attempt to disprove the marriage of William de Warenne with a daughter of

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 1-26.

† *History of the Norman Conquest*, vol. iii. app. p. 645-658.

‡ *Archæologia*, xxxii. p. 108-125. See also some remarks by Lord Stanhope,—*Proc. Soc. of Ant.*, vol v., p. 138-139.

the Conqueror. The passage alluded to has been construed as an inference that Gundreda was simply the step-daughter of the Conqueror, namely, the daughter of Queen Matilda by a former husband, being therein recorded as the *Sister of Gherbod*, a Fleming to whom the Conqueror had first granted the City and Earldom of Chester, although the assertion is supported by no other chronicler, resting solely on the authority of the historian in question, and notwithstanding that the work is of considerable length, is nowhere again repeated by him.

After recapitulating the lands and counties which the Conqueror had portioned out to certain of his Norman followers, Ordericus, in passing to the county of Surrey, which was granted to William of Warenne, observes as follows: — “et Guillelmo de Guarenna (Warenna) qui *Gundredam sororem Gherbodi* conjugem habebat, dedit Sur-regiam. Cestriam et comitatum ejus Gherbodo Flandrensi jamdudum rex dederat” (Ord. Vit. ‘Historia Eccles.’ Pars ii., Lib. iv., c. vii.; Migne, ‘Patrologia,’ clxxxviii, pp. 271, 331, 515, 583). His reason for granting him the Earldom of Chester we believe to have made apparent in the sequel.

Now, with a view to refute the perversion of the real facts as respects Gundreda, we may observe that the question of her parentage is open to two entirely opposite considerations. First, as to the authority of Ordericus Vitalis as an authentic historian, if, as *primâ facie* it would seem, he has used the word “soror” in its usually accepted sense, in which case, as will be evident, its employment is capable of entire refutation; and secondly, irrespective of any implied want of authenticity, whether Ordericus has not employed the word in the sense we are disposed to take it, which puts the question in a totally different light, as we will shew hereafter.

Mr. Blaauw, observes in his paper in the “Archæologia” [xxxii., 108], in answer to Mr. Stapleton (who had undertaken

dertaken to disprove the marriage of William de Warenne with a daughter of the Conqueror, on the ground of Gundreda being the Queen's daughter by a divorced husband, named Gherbod), that "on matters of the royal pedigree his acknowledged errors are so numerous, as to deprive him of much authority;" that he wrote his Chronicle "when a very old man, with a confused memory of details;" that he has erred again "in making Matilda to survive the Conqueror," and again in stating the grant of the Earldom of Surrey to have been conferred in that monarch's time, whereas it was bestowed in that of his son Rufus.

The foundation charter of the Priory of Lewes, dedicated to St. Pancras, expressly states Gundreda to have been the *Queen's Daughter*; the words of William de Warenne on the occasion of his founding that house, indubitably prove Queen Matilda to have been her mother, and can be taken in no other sense: the words are, "pro salute dominæ meæ Matildis Reginæ *matris uxoris meæ*." It is therefore selfevident from this fact, that Gherbod the Fleming must equally have been *Queen Matilda's son*, but although sufficient opportunity is afforded to Ordericus, he *never once* mentions him as her *son*, neither does he in any part of his 'History' represent the Queen to have been united to a previous husband, in fact no trace of such an assertion can be found in any contemporary, or subsequent chronicler. As to the pretended marriage of (Queen) Matilda with Gherbod the Fleming, and her subsequent divorce, which Mr. Stapleton endeavours to maintain, Mr. Blaauw explains at some length how the confusion may have arisen [Archæol. xxxii, 120], and we have elsewhere given additional reasons in disproof of this supposition. None of the Norman chroniclers, he observes, with any exception, "has dropped the smallest hint of any husband or child, or consequently any such divorce on the part of Matilda previous to her marriage with the King." All authorities
in

in fact concur in proving the reverse ; they all allude to Duke William's affianced bride as a young unmarried girl, *puelle (puella)*, and the only inference is that William of Normandy was *Gundreda's father*.

Sir H. Ellis, in his 'Introduction to Domesday' (i. 507), observes:—"Gundreda was really a daughter of the Conqueror." William de Warenne's second charter of foundation granted to Lewes Priory in the reign of Rufus, states this fact distinctly:—"Volo ergo quod sciant qui sunt et qui futuri sunt, quod ego Willielmus de Warennâ Surreiæ comes, donavi et confirmavi Deo et Sancto Pancratio, et monachis Cluniascensibus, quicumque in ipsâ ecclesiâ Sancti Pancratii Deo servient in perpetuum; donavi pro salute animæ meæ, et animæ *Gundredæ uxoris meæ*, et pro anima domini mei Willielmi regis, qui me in Anglicam terram adduxit, et per cujus licentiam monachos venire feci, et qui meam priorem donationem confirmavit, et pro salute dominæ meæ Matildis reginæ, *matris uxoris meæ*, et pro salute domini mei Willielmi regis, filii sui, post cujus adventum in Anglicam terram hanc cartam feci, et qui me comitem Surregiæ fecit." (Cott. MS. Vesp. F. XV; Lappenberg, p. 216.)

Gundreda is also acknowledged by the Conqueror himself as his *daughter*. The charter, by which the King gave the manor of Walton in Norfolk to the same Priory, distinctly styles her *his daughter*. He gives it, "pro anima domini et antecessoris mei Regis Edwardi . . . et pro anima Gulielmi de Warennâ, et uxoris suæ *Gundred filiiæ meæ* et hæredum suorum." (Intro. Domesd. i. 507.)

Again, in the Ledger Book of Lewes are these words:—"Iste (William de Warenne), primo non vocabatur nisi solummodo Willielmus de Warennâ, postea vero processu temporis a Willielmo Rege et Conquestore Angliæ, *cujus filiam desponsavit*, plurimum honoratus est." (Watson's Memoirs, i. 36.)

Those who, relying on Ordericus Vitalis, seek to disprove

disprove this fact, insist that the words "*filia mea*" in the Conqueror's charter are an interpolation, but a minute inspection of the original MS. in the Cottonian Library (Vespas. F. iii., fo. 1), in no way warrants this belief; on the contrary, from the faded and obliterated state of the charter, the words "*filia mea*" are simply interlined *in explanation of words which were originally written*, but which have disappeared from decay. The whole charter has faded, and has been rubbed with gall. Mr. Blaauw remarks on the words "*filia mea*" thus:—"A close and repeated examination of this MS. by Weston Styleman Walford, Esq., and myself, have furnished very sufficient proof that the words of the original should be read thus:—"Pro anima Gulielmi de Warena et uxoris sue Gondrade filie mee et heredum suorum," not "pro me et heredibus meis," as substituted by Mr. Stapleton (Archæol. Jour., iii. 2), for the words "filie mee et heredum suorum" (Archæologia, xxxii. 117).

Among the original benefactors of the Abbey of Lewes, Gundreda is named conjointly with her brother Henry I. of England. "In Norfolcia (among other possessions) Karletuna, quam dedit Matildis regina, *mater Henrici Regis et Gundredæ Comitissæ*" (Ex libro Computorum, olim Prioratui de Lewes spectante) (Dugdale).

The different extracts thus cited establish Gundreda as *the Conqueror's daughter* beyond a possibility of doubt; indeed an impartial study of them can lead to no other conclusion. There still remain, however, a few additional arguments to be urged on the subject, which, we can scarcely hope, after the able and conclusive remarks of that regretted antiquary, Mr. Blaauw, will prove of greater force in upsetting the hypothesis of Mr. Stapleton and his followers, receiving, as may be said, its *coup de grâce* at his hands. The article in question of this gentleman,* in

* 'Archæological Journal,' iii., pp. 20 seq.

disproof of the degree of affinity of Gundreda to the Conqueror, savours strongly of that "laborious trifling," of which we have somewhere read; throughout the whole paper facts are assumed, and very decisively treated as such, whilst the authorities adduced in support of them not only entirely fail in proof, but act in a contrary direction, reminding one very much of the Prophet Balaam, when taunted by Balak, King of Moab, "I brought thee to curse my enemies, but behold thou hast blest them altogether."

There are many reasons to prove the fallacy of the hypothesis under consideration. The very wording of the epitaph* on Gundreda's tomb at Lewes is conclusive of her affinity to the Conqueror:—"Stirps Gundrada *ducum*," clearly pointing to her paternal descent from the *Dukes* of Normandy; whilst on her mother's side, that on Matilda's tomb at Caen, "Germen *regale* Mathildem," is conclusive of *royal* not ducal descent, her mother having been the daughter of Robert, King of France, the son and nephew of kings, from other kings descended. "*Regali ex genere* descendentem nomine Mathildem," are the words also of William of Jumièges (lib. 7, c. xxi.); and William of Poictou, (who was the Conqueror's chaplain), in his "Life

* These well known epitaphs scarcely need repetition, but we give them to save the trouble of reference:—

Stirps Gundrada *Ducum*, decus evi nobile germen,
Intulit ecclesiis Anglorum balsama morum;
Martir
Martha fuit miseris, fuit ex pietate Maria,
Pars obiit Marthe, superest pars magna Marie.
O pie Pancrati, testis pietatis et equi,
Te facit heredem, tu clemens suscipe matrem;
Sexta Kalendarum Junii lux obvia carnis,
Ifregit alabastrum

The epitaph of Queen Matilda, given by Vitalis (Ed. Prevost, iii. 192-3), is:—

Egregie pulchri tegit hæc structura sepulcri
Moribus insignem, germen *regale*, Mathildem,
Dux Flandritæ pater, huic exstitit Hadala mater,
Francorum gentis Roberti filia regis,
Et soror Henrici regali sede potiti,
Regi magnifico Willelmo juncta marito, &c., &c.

of the Conqueror," entirely corroborates the foregoing facts of her marriage and descent. Besides, as we have observed, until a recent date, with the exception of Dugdale, who was misled by Ordericus Vitalis, in the way in which he has applied the word "Soror" in his "Ecclesiastical History," Gundreda was always considered the Conqueror's daughter. Leland, for example, in his *Collectanea* gives us the following extract:—"And these things that folow I translaid owte of an olde French Historie yn Rime of the Actes of the Guarines onto the death of Fulco the II."

"The Genealogie of the Countes of Guarine *alias Surreie :"

"William the firste Counte Guarine married Gundreda the Doughter of King William Conqueror."

A very material point in this controverted matter are the dates of the Conqueror's birth, his marriage, and his death; and still more so those of Gundreda, as conclusive of the illogical nature of what may be called "the Stapleton doctrine," relying as its sole argument upon a previous marriage of Queen Matilda.

Without adducing other proof, if reference be made to Thierry ('*Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normans*'), it is plain that the birth of William of Normandy may be fixed at about the year 1025 (or between 1024-1031).† Matilda was married to him, if we take the *Roman de Rou* of Wace chronologically, after he had fortified Ambrières, near Mayenne.‡ Pluquet [Ed. of

* Guarenne, Varenne, Warene.

† According to William of Malmesbury, the Conqueror died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and his death occurred in 1087.

‡ Par conseil de sa barunie,
Prist une fame de haut lin,¹
En Flandre fille Balduin,
Niece Robert li rei de France,
Fille soe fille² Cunstance;
A maint noble home fit parente,
Mahelt³ out nom, mult bele e gente.
['*Roman de Rou,*' Ed. Pluquet, ii., 58.]

¹ Lineage.

² Fille de sa fille.

³ Mathilda.

Wace's

Wace's 'Roman de Rou'], observes—"No Norman historian has thought proper to fix the date of this marriage, and we are constrained to seek it in the 'Chronicle of Tours.' Here we are told that the marriage was celebrated in 1053, the same year in which must be placed the revolt of William of Arques against his nephew, William of Normandy (the Conqueror in question). It seems that this projected marriage between the Duke and Matilda was an affair of long standing, inasmuch as it had been prohibited by the Council of Rheims in 1049; the Count of Flanders being enjoined not to bestow his daughter on the Duke, or the latter to take her to wife."

The reasons which the French editor of the "Roman de Rou" assigns for the incorrectness of the date (viz. 1053), although adduced in respect of Agatha, another daughter of the Conqueror, apply with equal force to Gundreda.

We know from Wace's Chronicle that the Conqueror called for, and mounted before the Battle of Hastings, his Spanish war horse:—

Sun boen cheval fist demander,
 Ne poeit l'en meillor trover;
 D'Espaigne li ont enveié
 Un Reis par mult grant amistié.

['Roman de Rou,' ii. 193. Ed. Pluquet.]

as to which Pluquet makes this significant remark:—
 "It is possible that this horse was sent to the Duke by (Alphonso) the King of Galicia, to whom was betrothed (against her will) Agatha (or Adelaide), the same daughter who had been previously affianced to the Anglo-Saxon King Harold. Constant to her first love, this young princess implored the Almighty to take her to Himself rather than that she should become the wife of the Spanish monarch, and as we know, the prayer was so far heard, that she died previous to the consummation of the event.

This

“This touching anecdote, recorded by Ordericus Vitalis (l. v., p. 579), leads one to conclude that the ‘Chronicle of Tours’ has assigned too late a date to the marriage of William and Matilda, in placing it in the year 1053. It is highly improbable that Harold would have inspired so violent a passion in a young girl of *eleven years*, and we have already observed the more probable date of this marriage would have been in 1049.”

We have additional reason for assigning the year 1049, as that of the marriage of Matilda and Duke William, which Pluquet places in the very year in which the Council of Rheims had prohibited it. According to William of Jumièges, (who was contemporary with the events he relates, and dedicated his work to the Conqueror), it was not until *after the marriage* that the fact of their near relationship was brought to the cognizance of the Pope. Seeing that if he pronounced a divorce between them (as Jumièges observes), a probable war would ensue between Flanders and Normandy, the Pope wisely determined that Duke William and his consort should atone for the crime, and from which he absolved them, on their agreeing to found two separate monasteries. The result was the monastery of the Holy Trinity was founded by Matilda at Caen, whilst that of St Etienne was founded by the Duke at the same place. [Gemmet, lib. vii., c. xxvi.]

A similarity of reasoning applies to Gundreda. We are told that in 1070, (but according to our view, between 1073 and 1077),* she and her husband went on a pilgrimage to Rome, as detailed by W. de Warenne himself in his second charter of foundation of Lewes Priory [MS. Cott. Vesp. F. xv.; Mon. v., 1 sq.] Assuming the Conqueror and Matilda to have been married in 1053 (as in

* It was within those dates that the contest between Pope Gregory VII., (Hildebrand) and Henry IV., the Emperor of Germany, was going on, the main cause of their journey not being prosecuted. Pope Gregory did not succeed to St. Peter's chair before 1073, on the death of Pope Alexander.

the case of Agatha), Gundreda would have been scarcely marriageable unless she had been the first-born child. The death of Gundreda, may, from her epitaph, be safely placed in 1085, so that although it has been said that she died in her thirty-fifth year, she might thus have been the offspring of a marriage in 1049, though scarcely at the date of 1053.

That William of Normandy was Matilda's first and only husband is plain from the following facts. From Domesday [B. vol. i., fo. 100] we know that Queen Matilda had conferred upon her the lands of the Saxon noble Brictric (Brihtrik or Bric'trich Mau), the son of Earl Algar. [Intro. Domesd. i. 452.] Thierry mentions her name as the first inscribed on the partition roll of the territory of England, receiving as her portion this same Saxon's lands. It is recorded of her, that being in love with the young noble in question, when a representative at her father's court from King Edward (the Confessor), her advances to him were not reciprocated* [Dug. Mon., i. 154; Wace's "Brut d' Angleterre," i. 73; Thierry's "Conquest of England," i. 428 (Hazlitt)], and that she thereupon resolved on marrying William of Normandy.

It thus becomes clear, that Matilda of Flanders could

* Malde de Flandres fu née
 Meis de Escoce fu appellee,
 Pur sa mère ke fu espusé
 Al roi de Escoce ki l' out rové,
 Laquelle jadis, quant fu pucele,
 Ama un conte d' Engleterre,
 Bric'trich Mau le oi nomer,
 Après le rois ki fu riche her;
 A lui la pucele envela messenger
 Pur sa amur à lui procurer;
 Meis Bric'trich Maude refusa,
 Dunt ele mult se coruça,
 Hastivement mer passa
 E à Willam Bastard se maria.

[MS. Cott. Vitellius A. x., fo. 129.]

The continuator of Wace, who wrote temp. H. III., and is the authority for this fact, has, however, been guilty of more than one anachronism, in confounding two subsequent Matildas, viz., the daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and the daughter of Henry I. of England, married to the Emperor of Germany.

not have been married at the time of this occurrence, neither were her affections set on William of Normandy, until after the Saxon's slight, in fact one was a consequence of the other; so that had her marriage with him been indefinitely postponed, on the ground of its being within the forbidden degree of consanguinity, (as some maintain,) and the prohibition by the Council of Rheims, and thus not consummated for some considerable time. although the very reverse is stated by William de Jumièges (lib. vii. c. xxvi.), it is contrary to all likelihood that she, in the interim, would have contracted marriage with another person (as alleged by Mr. Stapleton), or have been in addition the mother of three children, the improbability of which is otherwise sufficiently apparent. What are we further to understand by these words:—*Laquelle jadis, quant fu "pucelle;"* what by the same word, "*puella,*" twice occurring in the "Chronicle of Tours," with reference to Matilda and her marriage with William of Normandy; and again by the following in Benoit's "Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy"?—

"Cist out une fille trop bele
Maheut out nom jeune "*pucelle.*"

[Harl. MS. 1717].

On the other hand, with regard to the alleged brother Gherbod; how could Ordericus Vitalis, whether his errors were many or few, who says of Matilda of Flanders that she derived her descent from the Kings of France and Emperors of Germany, have reasonably intended to imply that she was the mother of this Gherbod the Fleming? We know that some of his assertions are unfounded; they have been corrected by Mr. Blaauw in his already quoted paper in the "Archæologia:" by Ellis, "Introduction to Domesday," i. 506, 429, 502, 364; by Masseres, p. 217; they have been pointed out by Lappenberg; and Watson ("Memoirs of Warren," i.); but we are disposed in this case to consider that he meant otherwise, as we shall proceed

ceed to shew, or else how comes it to pass that throughout his whole work, Ordericus never hints at any connection or supposed marriage with any one on the part of Matilda? Gherbod is never once mentioned as Queen Matilda's son; sooner or later in his narrative of events it would not have escaped his notice, had such been the undoubted fact. He would certainly have intimated as much when saying that the Conqueror had given him the Earldom of Chester. Instead of—"Cestriam et comitatum ejus Gherbodo" "Flandrensi jamdudum rex dederat," his words would have been somewhat to this effect: Cestriam, &c. Gherbodo, *filio videlicet Mathildis postea Reginae Anglorum rex dederat.*

If there is any foundation whatever on the part of Ordericus in naming her "sister" to Gherbod, we would suggest that she was simply his *foster-sister*, for we see improbability stamped on the face of any other supposition. We arrive at this solution of the point in question, that "*soror* Gherbodi" has been used in the sense of "*seur de lait*," for these reasons. In old (and Norman) French "*seurer*" signifies to *wean from suck*; (*seurée*, weaned from suck; *qui est seuré*, that is *weaned*). We know apart from this, that "soror" is often used figuratively, but inasmuch as the old Norman French of Vitalis's time would readily suggest "soror," so are we convinced that the term is used by him without respect to consanguinity. A very singular application of the word in the same sense, may be found among the "Collection of Latin Inscriptions," by Jo. Gaspar Orellius, published at Zürich, in 1828. The derivative word "*sororia*" [maiden's paps], may be also taken as indicating analogy, in connection with the above words, *seur*, [*soror*,] *seurer*. There is something in the very wording of the passage which implies this sense:—"Sororem Gherbodi conjugem habebat." Gherbod must have been her *foster-brother*. In the early days of chivalry foster-brotherhood was one of its peculiarities, and the foster-sister or brother was socially more than the brother

or

or sister by blood. That the family of Gherbod was one of more or less pretension, may be inferred from the instances of the name which can be quoted; and bearing this in mind, the relative position of Gundreda to Gherbod becomes quite explainable. In the case of the former, the rank of the wife of the avoué (or protector) of St. Bertin, would be quite in unison with that of a mother called upon to foster a child of Royal birth; whilst the subsequent elevation of Gherbod to the Earldom of Chester is in accordance altogether with the custom of those ages, and the spirit of foster-brotherhood; his promotion to honour, as Gundreda's foster-brother, being a natural consequence of such position.

This simple view of the matter goes far also to explain the otherwise unintelligible and far-fetched story of a former "*divorced husband*," the burden of Mr. Stapleton's song, of which we confess, apart from the question of Royal and Ducal descent, we never could see the exact bearing, as applicable to Matilda, and the disproof of her affinity to Duke William, as under our hypothesis the "*divorced*" husband would thus have been simply a "*foster-father*."

A few instances of the use of the word "foster," will rather elucidate the peculiar applicability of the word, taken from the older writers:—

Chaucer says of some one:—"She was *fostered* in a nunnerie."

[The Reve's Tale.]

Again, of another:—

"*Fostered* she was

With milk of Irish breast; her sire an Earl, her dame of Prince's blood."

[Surrey.]

Again, Bacon:—"The Duke of Bretagne having been a host or a kind of parent or *foster father* to the king, in his tenderness of age and weakness of fortune, did look for aid this time from King Henry."

[Bacon.]

In Ireland *Foster children* do love and are beloved by their *foster fathers*, and their sept, more than of their own natural parents and kindred.

[Davies.]

In

In the opinion of the Irish, *fostering* has always been a stronger alliance than blood.

My father was your Father's client, I
His son's scarce less than *foster brother*.

[Byron's "Doge of Venice."]

There still remains in the Islands, though it is fast passing away, the custom of *fosterage*, &c.

[Johnson, "A Journey in Western Islands."]

In the foregoing we have thus adduced different unanswerable arguments in favour of the royal parentage of Gundreda. That the occasional errors attributed to Ordericus should be able to be brought home to him is not a matter of much surprise, but in the main his authority, as a nearly contemporary historian, is trustworthy, his assertions generally supported by other chroniclers and historians, and on this one particular point, the parentage of Gundreda, he has not erred, *if* the above is the sense in which he intended the passage to be understood, and that he did so is evident, seeing that on the score of "*consanguinity*" all evidence goes otherwise to prove the expression totally unfounded and (one may add) impossible.

That the word "*soror*" may be interpreted in its strictly classical sense, foster-sister, as well as real sister, irrespective of any employment as a term of mediæval Latin, or the greater latitude habitual to it, the following inscription (Orellius, 3007, [Zürich, 1828,] offers a very strong presumption, and in support of our hypothesis we lay considerable stress upon it:—

IULIA HELLAS | HYGIAE DOMINAE ET SORORI
BENEMERENTI | FEGIT. QUAE VIXIT |
ANNOS XXXV.

Here we have unmistakably combined *mistress* and *sister*; the one owing allegiance to the other, her superior in blood, though equal on the score of *fosterage*. We do not find,

TT

either

either in Ducange or elsewhere, any word, classical or mediæval, which would have suggested itself to Ordericus so applicable to represent *scur* (de lait) as the one he had used, unless he had said "collactea" or (collactanea), an expression corrupt even to him as a mediæval writer, and which, with French uppermost in his mind, we can quite understand his rejecting for the purer word "soror."

Finally, should others concur in the same view with ourselves on this question, it will happily tend to reconcile the opposite opinions of some modern writers on this disputed subject.

ART. XXX.—*A Contribution to the Map of Roman Cumberland.* By JOHN DIXON, ESQ., Whitehaven.

Read at that place, December 11th, 1877.

THE Roman occupation of West Cumberland appears to have been maintained by the principal stations of Old Carlisle, Papcastle, Ellenborough, Moresby, and Hardknot, aided by several smaller camps, as Malbray, one on the right or northern bank of the Derwent, near Burrow Walls, Egremont, Muncaster, Cold Fell, Ponsonby Fell, Maiden Castle, and others. Some of these have had but little notice. The finding of a large fragment of an altar near Burrow Walls* reasonably leads to the conclusion that an important creek, such as the Derwent was in those days, would not be left unguarded by a military people like the Romans. The same consideration applies to the passage of the Ehen, at Egremont, on the main road leading north and south.

The existence of these numerous fortified places, indicating a troubled frontier and a hostile population, leads to a consideration of the roads, wisely designed and skilfully made, by which they were kept in communication, many remains of which still exist. "The Roman armies, in their advance into a barbarous country, were accustomed to raise earthen ramparts round their camps in which they rested between successive day's marches. If they intended, as was generally the case, to return for a second or third campaign, they opened pathways through the woods or across the morasses, marked out by two parallel trenches, and to these they gave the name of *limities*. If they contemplated a more permanent occupation, they proceeded

* Engraved in the Lapidarium Septentrionale, No. 905.

to build a road in place of the *limes*, excavating the loose soil between the trenches, and filling in the space with successive layers of concrete and squared stones, raised often to a considerable height above the surrounding country." And, although centuries of change, the effect of floods in some places, of cultivation in others, and the growth and accumulation of soil everywhere, have so altered the face of the country that we may now be unable to draw a perfect map of Roman Cumberland, yet the portions of roads still existing are so numerous that a careful examination of the district, aided by reliable tradition, will, I am persuaded, enable us with certainty to fix upon many more, and also to identify as of Roman origin numerous roads now in common use.

On the south-east of the country, on or near the old pack-horse road from Whitehaven to Kendal, the Roman road is found to the north of the "Shire Stones." It follows the right bank of the Duddon by Gaitscale to Black Hall, from where it makes to the Hardknott Pass, on the south side of which it is found well paved a hundred and fifty yards in length and two-and-a-half yards wide. A little way down the western side, the same length of road is found four yards wide, leading in a direct line to the south side of the camp. From Hardknott northwards, there is not for many miles any certain trace of the road, but the presumption is that the present road to Whitehaven is on or near it. Approaching Egremont, at two places where the turnpike road has been opened, traces of a well-paved former road were found near to "Street Bridge," not far from which is "Causeway," corrupted to "Keesay" Bridge. Most worthy of note is that paved road recently found at St Thomas' Cross, where, for a hundred and forty yards, or as far as the cutting extended, there was discovered at a varying depth below the existing surface, a compact pavement resembling undoubted Roman work as seen in East Cumberland. This more ancient road dipped to a little ravine on the
south,

south, which is evidently crossed at an open wath, the passage of which would be always easy; it was composed of the boulders of the neighbourhood, roughly paved in, and pointed in the direction of Egremont.

At Egremont the road would cross the Ehen by an easy ford where the old bridge stood; both banks of the river are low, and the stream shallow. The position of this ford has evidently given name* to the place. There is every reason to suppose that this ford would be carefully held by the Romans, as it long continued to be by invaders who came after them. The general opinion of those who have examined the place is that a station occupied the ground whereon the castle stands.

North of Egremont the road was in the early part of this century dug up and removed from farm lands: it would lead to near Croft End, and there turning, pass through a field south of Cleator Hall, and thence along the present main street of Cleator village, a few fields to the north of which we again come with certainty upon it in a field called "London Street," at about a hundred and thirty yards from Wath Brow. The road here was, within living memory, used by carts on their way from the Moor to Cleator, with the street of which it is in a direct line. When land here is turned over by the plough, the site of the road may be known by the difference in colour of the soil and the abundance of boulder stones, used in constructing the road. Producing the line of this road northward, there are evident traces of it proceeding through fields to the Mere Stone, north of which it would for some distance be identical with the existing highway. Again the road is found in Frizington Park, a compact well-made road about twenty feet broad and eighteen inches below the

* Still preserved in the peasant speech of the district, Anglo-Saxon *Egor-muth*, or with its Danish termination *Egor-mond*; the Wath or Ford on the main-road north and south being directly from the mouth of a rivulet. The Norman termination, *mont*, was given by Le Meschin, who built his castle on the supposed site.

present

present surface; and here also, as in Cleator, the road can be readily found when the soil has been ploughed. Near to the road in Frizington Park extensive foundations were a few years ago dug out. This portion has happily been laid down on the Ordnance Map, and if its line be extended in a south-west direction it will coincide with the road near Wath Brow and the main street of Cleator. North of Frizington Park the road must, on account of the nature of the ground, have diverged to the right or left to join that in Lamplugh. Most likely it would take to the right hand, by Pasture Gate, where the road northward is in good line with that in Lamplugh. The Roman engineers no doubt preferred a straight line of road, as do our railway engineers, and like them, if circumstances or the nature of the ground required, would diverge to the right or left. It is to be remarked that the road in Lamplugh is in direct line with that from Ennerdale to Calderbridge, and this may help to account for the camp on Cold Fell, and for the presence of an inscribed Roman stone formerly in a fence near Hale. Paved roads are said to exist near the camp on Ponsonby Fell. On the slope of Lowca Brow, north of Moresby, is found the same indication of an old road that led me to fix upon the one in Cleator. North of Ellenborough the same stony appearances may be found. It is more than probable the present road from Moresby to Cockermouth is in many places on a still older road of the Romans. By the side of it flourishes one of the most local of British plants, *senecio saracenicus*, a medicinal plant said to be most frequently found near Roman sites, and from its specific name may have been introduced by the Moors, who garrisoned some of the Roman stations.

In offering a contribution to the map of Roman Cumberland, I notice the number and position of the Roman camps, indicating a strong military occupation, that the necessity of rapid communication between these camps would demand a system of good roads, and that in some remarkable

markable instances we find these roads still existing, and evident portions of them in actual use. I incline to think that others may yet be found, and suggest that good search be made in spring and autumn when fields are ploughed, and, where it can be done, a trench one or two feet deep dug across where the road is looked for. The aid of etymology is doubtful, but it is a help not to be altogether despised. When we find the same name occurring near undoubted Roman sites, and again find it but little changed where such occupations may be looked for, we may pause and consider both the name and situation.

ART. XXXI.--*On and off the Roman Road from Papcastle to Lamplugh Woodmoor.* By WILLIAM DICKINSON, ESQ.
 Read at Whitehaven, December 11th, 1877.

IN tracing the route of the Roman way from Papcastle to the southward, the line of the crossing of the Derwent has been ascertained and the whereabouts approximately defined. The campstead and the road from the Maryport camp is known from the careful survey by the late Mr. Dykes,* and in a field between the village of Papcastle and the river is a portion of the road well-marked; and a continuation is seen in the next field, leading to the river, where some traces of buildings are discernable, and where the crossing by ford or bridge has been. Sufficient evidence of the camp or castle is found at Papcastle, and the final abandonment by the Romans, in a hurried manner, is told by the discovery there of a large quantity of grain at the depth of a few feet from the surface. The grain is chiefly barley, and in a blackened state, as if charred by fire, or by heat, generated on the buried grain becoming moistened in the soil or under the *debris* of the buildings.

Being "on and off" the line of road, it may not be irrelevant to occasionally notice outside matters and things as we go along; and here may be mentioned, that Salathiel Court,† a self-taught eccentric, was a native of Papcastle, who over a hundred years ago, earned notoriety and transportation by certifying that—

" Behind a hedge in stormy weather
 He join'd a w—— and rogue together."

* Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society's Transactions, Vol. I., p. 169.

† For Salathiel Court, see Hutchinson's Cumberland, Vol. II., p. 115.

A specimen of his penmanship, now exhibited, will shew that the untaught genius had attained a tolerable degree of perfection in old times.

There are strong indications of Cockermouth Castle having been built, in a great measure, of roughly squared stone from the ruins of the Roman stronghold, supplemented from the millstone-grit quarries of Brigham, and occasionally the quarrymen meet with ancient wedge-marks when quarrying the surface stone there. Entering Brigham township, the track of the road runs diagonally through a field belonging to Mr. William Fletcher, of Brigham Hill; and, skirting the wood, gradually ascends the limestone bluffs of Hotchberry and Tendlay, where six skeletons and a sword were found, and from whence an extensive view of the country is had, including a long stretch of the Roman road. It passes on the west of the village of Eaglesfield to another elevation southward.

This village has the honour of being the birth-place of the philosopher Dr. John Dalton. From the first-named hill may be seen, on the east, Moorland Close, the birth-place of Fletcher Christian, whose connection with the mutiny of the Bounty, and with the peopling of Pitcairn island, is a matter of history. Moorland Close is a farm building of the olden time, and is one of the very few still having the arched entrance to the farm-yard, with strong folding doors; and it also possesses some interesting mementos of Christian.

About thirty years ago a twisted ring of fine gold was found by a quarryman in clearing the surface of the limestone rock at Eaglesfield, near the line of the Roman road. It was sold to a watchmaker at Cockermouth, who was of opinion it was of Roman workmanship. The line is traceable half-a-mile to the south of Eaglesfield, where it tops a hill having a good out-look on every side.

From here, to eastward, may be seen the earthen ring of a British enclosure, containing an acre or more, called

Castlesteads, and in the same direction the rock terraces of Pardshaw Crag are seen; which though not in connection with our present subject, claim a passing notice as having been the occasional arena from which George Fox addressed his followers in the times when his tenets were in disfavour. And from the same rock pulpit, in 1857, Neil Dow harangued his thousands with greater favour and present effect.

At the northern base of and near to this prominent crag of Pardshaw is a stony platform called "White Causeway," and adjoining this is a raised ring of compact gravel and small boulders, enclosing an acre or more of swampy basin, and nearly surrounded by more of the same snipe-ground character. Whether this moss ring is of natural or artificial origin is matter of conjecture, and it is very singular and curious.

Before the commons were enclosed a number of small terraces, or small raised earthworks, were dotted here and there irregularly from this ring to Cockermouth. Now these have been partially reduced or obliterated by the operations of agriculture, but some are still visible on the several declivities facing northward. No tradition exists relating to the origin or uses of any of these works, but many of them have the appearance of the hastily constructed defences of advancing or retreating warfare.

A little to the west of the line of road passing Eaglesfield were found the two battle axes, or stone celts, now before us. Duly mounted, they are formidable implements of destruction. One is $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, with a chip lost from the point, by $3\frac{3}{4}$ broad and two inches thick, and weighs $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. The other is 8 inches long, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and $1\frac{3}{4}$ in thickness, weighing $1\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.

They are of olive-grey flinty-ash rock, and no little skill and patience would have to be applied in blocking them out of the solid rock or boulder, and to get them into working shape as they appear. There has been no attempt to
polish

polish or ornament them. The larger of these, mounted and swung by the powerful and practised arm of the stalwart ancient Briton, would be sufficient to maim and capture a wild bull, or to crack the skull of a wolf or wild boar, and the smaller one would make short work with a man.

Following the same route in nearly a direct line to the village of Dean, we find what are called hiding places of the Britons of old. As such, they have hitherto been undisturbed. They are parallel excavations in a swampy hollow, and of oblong-square form; and though they might be covered with branches for shelter and to deceive an enemy, they would be more uncomfortable than even a wild animal would select for its lair. In the same field are two earthen mounds about seventy yards apart, and which may have been places of sepulchre or, more likely, butts for practice with bow and arrow. Approaching the village of Ullock, the Roman roadway there was plundered of its boulders about twenty years ago to effect an improvement in agriculture. A quarter of a mile to the west of this, in 1876, some very perfect and well-burned vases were found in a railway cutting, by the workmen of Mr. Harrison Hodgson, some of which are in his possession. The figures in the drawings here exhibited represent the exact sizes and colours of two of the smallest.* More, and of different sizes and shades of colour, were injured or destroyed by the workmen before being recognised. They were found within a bow-shot of where stood a circle of large boulder stones, most of which had been from time to time removed, and the last of them was ignominiously sunk and buried within the last half score years.

Passing into the parish of Lamplugh the first indication is Street-gate, a name strongly suggestive of the Roman way which passed near, and its apparent founda-

* They are of the kind called "incense cups," and are exactly similar to those found at Garlands, Carlisle.—*Editor*.

tions have lately been unearthed between that place and Todhole, where there are some remains of a small building, probably a shelter for workmen.

Proceeding onward, a considerable length of the road is well ascertained in the enclosures approaching to and on the most elevated part of what is called Woodmoor. On this part a stone hammer was found a few years since, and is now in the Distington Museum. Another has since been found, and it is in the possession of Mr. Dickinson, of Redhow, on whose property it was found. It is nearly in the form of the sledge hammer at present used by blacksmiths and freestone quarrymen. The stone is of a light fawn colour, and appears to be of syenite kindred, and no rock of the kind is within many miles of the neighbourhood. The labour of manufacturing this article, with the imperfect tools we may suppose to be then available, must have been very great. It is very hard and well polished, and has a fluted band above and below on the sides, and a well formed shaft-hole suitable for a strong handle. This implement is calculated to crush a man at every blow, and is heavy enough to stun a bison—a more formidable and dangerous animal than any of the beasts of prey then roaming the wilds of Cumberland. Thus far, the line is here and there distinctly traceable, and its onward course, we hope, will be duly investigated ere long.

On the east, and "off the line," is the family seat of the Lamplughs, whose high, square tower, with walls of nine feet in thickness, was blasted down with gunpowder about 1812 or 1815 to supply materials for building the present offices. The ancient stronghold, having been built to resist the enemies of the country, came to destruction by the hands of the trustee owners of the day. "Off the line" again, at a short distance on the west of the farm of Gatra, is the worn-down earthen ring of a British encampment or place of shelter for cattle in times of danger.

Although the main road between Cockermouth and Egremont

Egremont runs alongside of the line at varying but short distances, it is remarked that no part of the Roman road is utilised as a highway, as is found in other places. The cobble boulders of the neighbourhood, varying in weight from a pound or two to half a hundredweight each, have been borne by hand, at the imperious command of their victors, by our skin-clad and bare-footed predecessors, whose only crow-bars for prizing the stones out of the earth would be their sturdy fingers, or the burned end of a sharpened stake, or the Roman implements supplied to them and compelled to be used.

The Roman carts and waggons could only be available on the roads made by themselves, or by their order in the forced labour of the natives.

Though limestone is abundant along the greater part of the seven miles from Papcastle to Lamplugh Woodmoor, very little of it appears to have been used in the formation of the road. Sandstone has been laid down as a foundation in some parts, though no quarry of it is found in the precise line, but at varying short distances — the main material and the surface covering being cobble. These and the sandstone being more easily obtained, the compact limestone rocks have been avoided.

ART. XXXII.—*Whitehaven : its Streets, its principal Houses and their Inhabitants.* By WILLIAM JACKSON, F.S.A.
 Read at Whitehaven, December 11th, 1877.

ALTHOUGH the names of streets are constantly in our minds and current on our lips, yet whenever street nomenclature forms the special subject of conversation, some ridiculous incongruity or some startling departure from every day propriety, is sure to be brought forward to illustrate the discussion, and so the subject becomes invested with an air of absurdity which does not properly appertain to it. One notable instance of the first will be alluded to in the following paper, where a locality, formerly so remarkable for its beauty and so charming to every sense as to deserve and obtain the name of Mount Pleasant, is now become repulsive instead of attractive—a place to be avoided rather than visited. But in truth, such examples illustrate the exception and not the rule, and street nomenclature is especially valuable in investigating the history of our large towns. It shows who was the popular hero of the hour, and conveys a compliment far more lasting than a mere monument (*are perennius*). It indicates to us the impression made by some great event, or it informs us who were the ancient lords of the soil, in all cases giving a clue to the date of erection.

Examples of every kind may be found in Whitehaven, and the modern origin of the town enables us to trace them, without much difficulty, to their respective sources.

The history of Whitehaven has been so intertwined with that of the Lowther family, that it will be necessary to give a brief account of one of its offshoots, and its early connection with the district, prefatory to the immediate subject of this paper.

I find

I find from an old admittance, dated October 22, 1631, that Sir John Lowther, of Lowther, was then lord of the manor of Saint Bees, which he must have bestowed upon his son soon after; for Christopher, his second son, admits George Brisco to a tenement June 13, 1632. Christopher is therein styled of Lowther, where he probably continued to reside until the death of his father, September 15, 1637. In the absence, at present, of positive information, I conclude from a careful analysis of other dates, that subsequently to this event he married Frances, one of the four co-heiresses of Christopher Lancaster, of Sockbridge. They had only three children, two sons and a daughter, who was probably the eldest child, for the two sons were born at Whitehaven: Christopher, the eldest, being baptised at Saint Bees, May 26, 1641; and John, November 20, 1642. The father was buried there, April 27, 1644, having been pre-deceased by his son of the same name, May, 1641.

The death of Sir Christopher, who had been created a baronet, June 11, 1642, was not, in a pecuniary sense, injurious to his son and successor; for Sir John was then little more than eighteen months old; and it saved the Whitehaven branch of the great Lowther family from taking part in the unhappy struggle between King and Parliament, and from the consequent necessity of compounding for their estates in very heavy fines, as the parent and kindred houses were compelled to do, for having embraced the Royal cause.

His cousin Sir John, of Lowther, had to pay a fine of £1500, and his uncle William, of Swillington, one of £200.

But these sacrifices secured Sir John, of Whitehaven, equally with themselves, a share in the Royal favour, which was bestowed upon them with no grudging hand after the Restoration.

Sir John attained his majority in 1663; having, together with his sister Frances, been under the guardianship of
Henry

Henry Mill, as I learn from letters of administration granted to him in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, March 19, 1654, Sir John's Grandmother Eleanor (*née* Fleming) having renounced the administration. Probably the marriage of his mother to John Lamplugh, of Lamplugh, was held to have excluded her; nay, the children may have been taken from her on that very account. Who Henry Mill was I cannot tell.

Sir John appears to have set himself to work zealously to develop his property, and to secure the influx of inhabitants endowed with talent and energy equal to his own. Though sympathizing heartily with the Restoration and enjoying the smiles of Court favour, he took a decided part in connection with his relative and namesake, Sir John Lowther, subsequently the first Viscount Lonsdale, in bringing about the Revolution. He was, beyond all doubt, a Lord of the Admiralty from that period to 1694, but I believe, and think it may be inferred from certain statements made by Pepys, that he was in some way connected with that department at an earlier period. In other ways the family had relations with it, for the head of the Marske branch, Anthony Lowther, whose son became of Holker, married Peg Penn, as Pepys familiarly calls the daughter of the admiral of that name and the sister of the famous founder of Pennsylvania. It was, no doubt, through their connections with that department of the State, of which James, Duke of York, subsequently James II., was the head, that the grants of 1660 and 1678 were obtained, or, at least, facilitated. Sir John's decision of character was painfully manifested in the disherison of his eldest son, Christopher, who had become a reckless spendthrift, and had rendered it manifest to his afflicted father that no hopes were left of his reformation. His marriage, which was contracted in opposition to his father's wishes, left no fruits, and the baronetcy ultimately reverted to the younger son, James, to whom Sir John left
all

all his estate, and who possessed it from 1705 to 1755. His character was curiously opposed to that of his elder brother, for his parsimony earned him the title by which he is best remembered, (to distinguish him from another Sir James,) of Farthing Jemmy. Upon his death Sir William, of Holker, enjoyed the estate for a brief twelve-month, and after his decease it passed, under the entail created by the preceding Sir James, to another of the same name who had succeeded to the family estate at Lowther; since which time Whitehaven has lost the great advantage it, up to that period, enjoyed, of being the regular dwelling-place of those principally interested in the estate.

A drawing taken in the year 1642, synchronises closely with the advent of the Lowthers, and gives us a very correct notion of the place as it existed under the Wyberghs, the Challoners, and, perhaps, as it was before the suppression. The mole, however, owes its origin to Sir Christopher, and still exists, though with considerable additions and some alterations, in the old wall.

The town consists of about 40 or 50 houses, and an ancient chapel. The original nucleus of the town was that portion extending alongside of the road leading from the foot of Rosemary Lane, by the present Swingpump Lane and Quay Street, to the haven.

A market was granted by Charles II. in 1660, when Sir John was only eighteen years of age; but I learn from documentary evidence that Sir John was engaged, and well qualified to engage, in the management of his affairs when still little more than a boy in years. It seems to me that he must have alienated, to the Gales' and other families, much of the land which he possessed lying between the Market Place on the south, the haven on the north, Quay Street on the west, and the beck on the east; who thereupon, after no long interval, built houses, calling the intervening lanes after their own names; and thus we come to have in this part Gale Court, Gale Lane, Gale

Backlane, Nicholson Alley, Hamilton Lane; all names of families connected with the town, some from a very early period.

Westward of Quay Street we have Littledale Lane and Bardywell Lane, both names to be found in our register from the commencement, and probably those of owners of property here previous to the advent of the Lowthers. A well existed on the property of the Bardys, access to which was of the utmost consequence to the inhabitants. Many and many a time threats are made to inflict pains and penalties on those who befouled this valuable fountain. I quote one of October 14, 1715:—“We find several orders relating to the repairing of Bardy’s Well not duly complied with, and do therefore desire Mr. Clement Nicholson, Mr. Anthony Whiteside, and Mr. Anthony Addison, to agree with some proper workmen to deepen ye said well, and amend the said well as they think proper, and to be paid out of the publick money resting in Mr. Henry Johnson’s hands, if so much remains.” The well actually remained until our own day, when a well-known character, Mrs. Peggy Scott, of the Manx Boat public-house, was allowed to build over it, and immortalize her second husband, Mr. James, by calling the group of houses James’ Place.

Ribton Lane owes its name to another of our ancient families who had property on its site.

Rosemary Lane is so called after a plant which, no doubt, grew there; it was regarded as emblematic of recollection, and, as such, lovers were wont to pledge their affections by presenting each other with sprigs of rosemary. We may imagine the youths and maidens of those days strolling into the country that way, but scarcely those of our own. The hapless Ophelia, when soliloquizing over her flowers, says, “there’s rosemary, that’s for remembrance.”

Leaving Old Town, at one time, no doubt, a group of
houses

houses standing apart from those in Quay Street, and crossing the beck, we come to New Town, a name given as the town was spreading. Pipehouse Lane marks the site of a manufactory, which we might well expect to find a flourishing one in a town which was, at one time, only third in the kingdom for its importation of tobacco.

Preston Street is of considerably later origin, and shows the original boundary of Preston Quarter.

Pow Street indicates the course of the beck of that name, and James Street would be called after James, when Duke of York. The part of Whitehaven of which I have been speaking presents no trace of plan, but has been built according to the sweet will of each owner of property. It affords the strongest possible contrast to that portion of the town east of the beck, which shows unmistakable evidence of the ruling and organizing mind of Sir John. I am not aware that there is any town of the said period in England that is laid out with such precision, and considering that Sir John must have been well acquainted with Sir Christopher Wren, who had very advanced ideas regarding the laying out of towns, (which, however, he was not allowed to put into practice after the great fire of London, though it would have been better if he had,) I cannot divest myself of the idea that Whitehaven may owe something to his genius.

King Street owes its name to Charles II., whose grants of lands to Sir John were of far greater importance than their mere intrinsic value. It was long occupied by the leading merchants, whose respective residences opened into it, and was originally formed to be, as it still is, the main line of road leading through the town; many of the traders had their warehouses at the back of their residences, facing the East Strand; indeed, I am told that in the cellar of one may still be seen a mooring-ring, considerably below the present level of the street. Gradually the opposite side of the Strand got built upon, and so the street

street of that name was formed. King Street it was, therefore, that gave the line to all the streets running parallel to it.

Chapel Street would be formed on the east side of King Street; it took its name from the chapel which, with the small burial ground attached, covered the site of the premises belonging to Mr. Musgrave, also that of the present "Pack Horse," and extended across Lowther Street to, if not including, the Savings Bank, and over Chapel Street to the back of the printing offices of *The Whitehaven News*. I ought to state that no burial ground appears to have existed when the view of 1642 was taken, but there is proof that in the interim a walled-in ground had been formed, and it is a matter of notoriety that human remains and a tombstone have been discovered.

But this old chapel interfered greatly with Sir John's matured plans after he had become the owner of The Flatt, and he was very desirous to lay out a street from his private gate, down which the harbour might be visible, crossing King Street at right angles. Moreover, the ancient fabric was wretchedly insufficient to accommodate the increased number of worshippers, and so, after much negotiation and not without great difficulty, which can well be imagined, for in nothing is human nature more tenacious and less amenable to reason than in matters relating to places of worship and of sepulture, he succeeded, by the gift of a large piece of land and a considerable donation of money, in winning the consent of the inhabitants to the removal of the original and the erection of the present chapel, known as St. Nicholas' or the Old Church in contradistinction to those subsequently built. The assiduity which Sir John bestowed upon this street is manifested by certain clauses to be found in some, if not all, the grants. I quote from one,—“The house to be three stories high, not less than twenty-eight feet from the level of the street to the square of the side walls, the windows of the first and second stories
to

to be transomed, and the same, together with the doors, to be of hewn stone." A sketch in my possession with which I have been favoured by a zealous collector of old lore, to whom I am indebted for some valuable information, represents the houses which occupied the site of the present Savings Bank, and well illustrates, even in their decayed state, the conditions I have quoted. The result of all this care was the construction of a very handsome street—in which the narrowness of King Street was avoided— which will compare very favourably with any other of its time, and is not unworthy of the present day.

Church Street, the origin of which name is self-evident, followed as a matter of course; and Queen Street, the lower portion of which is the original street, and owes its name to Catherine of Braganza, the ill-used wife of the debauched Charles, was twisted round into due parallelism.

The materials of the old chapel were used by Sir John in the erection of a new school house, which gave its name to Schoolhouse Lane.

Plumblands Lane was so designated because a portion of it was built on a field known as Plumblands Close, but the origin of that name I have not yet clearly ascertained.

College Street, or College Lane, preserves a curious record of an establishment founded by John, first Viscount Lonsdale, at Lowther, of which his friend and relative Sir John, of Whitehaven, with whom he maintained the most cordial relations, was one of the trustees. The establishment was intended for the education of the higher classes in the northern counties, but within forty years of its foundation the charity funds and building were first diverted to the establishment of a carpet manufactory, of whose excellence some curious specimens still remain, and it was then suppressed.

Addison's Alley owes its name to one of the great *Spectator's* relations.

New Street would be contemporary with those I have just

just named, and owes its other and popular name of Brick Street to a few of the houses in it being built of that material, of which Sir John Lowther about that period had established a manufactory.

Duke Street was called after James II. when Duke of York. It preserves the old line of road to Hensingham, by the side of which ran a beck emptying itself into the haven near the present Bulwark, and I find the following note in an old manuscript respecting it:—“We find the pavement of the bridge at the head of King Street to be broak, and the way to the south end of Tangier Row not paved, as also the bridge broken down, and it belongs to the publick. We do order the overseers of the highway to repair the same.” Tangier Street, Senhouse Street, and Hick’s Lane, all took their names from Tangier House and its owners, respecting whom I shall speak at large presently.

Most of the part I have been mentioning, occupying the central portion of the valley, had been used by the public as common, “upon which the coal leaders turned out their horses, the inhabitants dried their clothes, and the fishermen their nets,” and was known as Sandy Hills, being of that irregular nature of surface always found where sand is subjected to the action of the wind. The name, though considerably limited in its area, is still preserved in Sand-hills Lane. This district was subjected to baser uses than those I have mentioned, for under the date May 2, 1707, I find, “whereas it was recommended that some convenient place or places were appointed by us for all laying of all filth, ashes, or rubbish. We therefore order that all the inhabitants of Whitehaven, do, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, carry and lay all filth, ashes, and rubbish to two several places, one being between the new school-house, Mr. Christian’s new house (which I may now state was at the north-west corner of Lowther Street and Scotch Street) on the sand-hills, and the back side of Duke Street.”

Irish

Irish Street was formed, and consequently named, at an early period, but it did not increase rapidly. I suppose the name was given to it because the port largely traded with Ireland and there were many Irish settlers, certainly not because the dwellers in the street belonged to that nationality, for I cannot detect that any of them did.

Cross Street tells its own origin, for it crosses from Lower Queen Street to Irish Street.

Scotch Street is perhaps rather later in date than most, if not all, of those I have named. I suppose since there was an Irish Street there must be a Scotch Street.

Roper Lane had been a rope-walk at its foot, and at a later period, about or just subsequent to 1713, when Trinity Church was erected, the upper and wider part, east of Queen Street, was laid out.

The whole of the streets I have mentioned owe their origin, I believe, to Sir John Lowther, though very few houses, perhaps, were in existence in some of them for many years after his death. He was interred at St. Bees, January 17, 1705-6. They may all be traced in Matthias Reed's bird's-eye view of the town, published in 1738.

About the year 1750, I come upon the names of Charles, Peter, and Catherine Streets. As to the first I will indulge in conjecture, for I have nothing to offer but supposition. It might be so-called from a grateful recollection of all Charles had done for the family; or it might be called with reference to Charles Street, Berkeley Square, in which the town residence of James, the first Earl of Lonsdale, was situated, to whom it probably descended from the Whitehaven Lowthers.

Peter Street baffles me entirely.

Catherine Street may be so named in honour of various Catherines, two of whom, the most likely to have been its sponsors, may be particularly mentioned. Catherine Pennington became the wife of Robert Lowther, of Mauds Meaburn, for a time Governor of Barbadoes, and was
mother

mother of James who succeeded to the Whitehaven estates in 1756. She was the sister of Sir John Pennington, the co-member with Sir James in the representation of Cumberland from 1748 to the death of the latter. Her mother was the daughter of John, first Viscount Lonsdale. Another, and a contemporary Catherine, was the wife of Sir William Lowther, of Swillington, the last baronet of the first creation. She also, by her mother Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Ramsden, was a granddaughter of the first Viscount Lonsdale; so that these two Catherines were cousins. Ewan Clark wrote an elegy on the death of the latter in the Corydon and Damon style of last century, celebrating her virtues under the name of Dorinda. If Clark had written nothing better than the follow stanza, which is a fair specimen of the piece, his name would deserve to be forgotten:—

“ The stone that shall stand at her head,
Shall speak this indelible strain,
Here lies, for Dorinda is dead,
The glory, the pride of the plain.”

George Street, from the date of its commencement, would be called after George II., and indicates that attachment to the Hanoverian dynasty which the Lowther family felt, exhibited, and suffered for in the “Forty-five.”

High Street and Hilton Terrace are comparatively late erections, and indicate, by their names, the elevated position of the first, and the builder of the second.

The Ginns occupies the ground where some coal-mines were worked by these machines, which have become obsolete since steam has been utilized as the great working power.

The Newhouses, a long line of cottages built late in the last century, certainly present a striking object in any view of the town; but a closer acquaintance with them is not desirable.

The

The plot of ground situated south of the market-house, bounded by Pow Street on the east, and Swingpump Lane on the west (the latter being quite a modern name for the old road running from St. Bees to the harbour by way of Quay Street or Old Street), was principally occupied by the Old Hall, its court fronting to the ancient road, and its back to the beck; together with its stable, barn, tithe-barn, and horse miln; whilst the gardens were on the western side of the road, and stretched up to the foot of the hill. This was certainly the abode of the Wyberghs; and probably of Sir Christopher Lowther, until the new house which he erected near the foot of Quay Street, at the south-western angle of the harbour, was ready for his reception. This property was granted or sold at various times to the two John Gales, father and son; the earliest grant being in the year 1665, when Sir John Lowther was only twenty-three years of age; but the language of the grant in 1686 is worthy of notice—for Sir John states that it is made “for and in consideration of the good and faithful service of the said John Gale.”

John Gale, sen., probably came to Whitehaven about the year first-named; the family tradition states that he came from Newcastle-on-Tyne, in which place he had located himself for a while after retreating from Tralee, in Ireland, owing to the troubles there. It is to be noted that a number of the principal families who settled in Whitehaven about this period came from that town, and were mostly Presbyterians or Independents.

I am disposed to think that Sir John discountenanced persecution, and we know from the life of Ambrose Barnes that Dissenters had a very uneasy time at Newcastle, as they had elsewhere generally, during the period from the Restoration to the Revolution. This alone would show the liberality as well as wisdom of Sir John's plans, which is evidenced also by the fact that he granted land on liberal terms for the erection of a chapel, one of the

earliest of those built subsequent to the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689. The grant bears date February 14, 1694, and it is stated in the foundation deeds that the same is for Protestants dissenting from the Church of England, whether Presbyterians or Congregational. The original grant is made to Elisha Gale, one of the three sons of John the original immigrant; the others being John the eldest, already named, and Ebenezer, the second son. It is very noticeable in our history generally, how soon after the withdrawal of persecution many members of those families who had been the most zealous in the cause of dissent conformed; and Whitehaven was in this respect a microcosm of the kingdom at large, for of the three sons I have named, John and Ebenezer became regular attendants at St. Nicholas' Church. The latter, indeed, was much interested and very zealous in the building of the present old church. The three brothers all occupied houses built on the site of the old hall and its various out-buildings. They allied themselves with the principal families of the town and country, and one branch of the family, under the adopted name of Braddyll, attained considerable local eminence; but the companionship of the "finest gentleman" in Europe, and outrageous expenditure in other ways, brought them from their high estate; and the manor of Cleator, Catgill Hall, and all their Whitehaven property, have passed into other hands; and Gale Court, on the site of the gardens belonging to the Old Hall, and Gale Lane in another part of the old town, are all that remain to remind us of a family once so closely connected with the locality.

The buildings on the site of the Old Hall and its out-buildings were sold on the death of John Gale, who died 26th April, 1768, and were conveyed, in 1770 and 1771, to various parties; John Douglas, potter, being one, and John Bragg, butcher, another. The property has been much altered of late years, but a staircase of the last decade

cade of the seventeenth century still exists, and perhaps some other remnants.

The next point to which I desire to direct attention, is the engine-house used for pumping the sewage to its outlet in Saltom Bay. This marks the site of the second house occupied by Sir Christopher Lowther, and in which, if my conjecture be correct, he died. Probably Sir John might occupy it for a few years after attaining his majority, before he removed to his new house of the Flatt. I find that it was possessed by Mr. Henry Addison in 1689, but how long he had previously held it I am at present unable to determine. The exact relationship between this gentleman and the great author of the *Spectator* I cannot fix. I don't think they were quite so near as first cousins, but the relationship was recognized.

Henry Addison died in 1689, or the following year, and his widow survived him no less than 47 years, during the whole of which period she continued to reside at this mansion, whose grounds, stretching up to the hill on the west, were so beautiful that it became known as Mount Pleasant. This house is mentioned in the Act, 7th Queen Anne, as one of the points indicating the boundary of the harbour. Jane, the only daughter and heiress of Henry Addison (I learn from the Saint Bees register), married October 29th, 1699, Hugh Simpson, an attorney, and Clerk of the Peace for the County, and by him had at least two sons. The eldest, Lancelot Simpson, succeeded his father at Musgrave Hall, Penrith, and heired this property. He is mentioned as owner of it in the Act, 2nd George III., for the enlargement of the harbour of Whitehaven, and the improvement of the roads leading thereto. He died unmarried, and it passed to his niece Elizabeth (daughter of his brother Thomas, also an attorney of great eminence), who became the wife of James Wallace, Attorney General, of Carlton Hall, near Penrith. She sold the same, in 1773, to Robert Fisher and Henry Bragg, and
from

from them it passed to James Hogarth, merchant, in 1781 ; subsequent to which period the beautiful gardens were covered with buildings occupied by the poorest and most wretched classes ; so that the name which formerly correctly described the site seems now only to be applied in mockery and derision.

Passing to the next Lowther dwelling, I find that "The Flatts" was the property of a William Fletcher in 1599, and I believe it had belonged to the same family for at least fifty years previously—perhaps for many years before. One of this name was steward to Sir Thomas Chaloner, and I hope to be able, at some period, to ascertain the correctness of my supposition that he was a member of the family of Fletcher, whose offshoots became, respectively, of Moresby, of Tallentire, and of Hutton ; in which case it would almost certainly follow that the great wealth which that family acquired was made by commerce at Whitehaven.

On the 7th August, 1622, I find, by our parish register, that Michael Johnson married Dorothy, the daughter of the said William Fletcher, who (Dorothy) had been baptized at Saint Bees, October 6th, 1602. Her mother, Ann, was buried February 13th, 1652. This pair had several children born at the Flatt, the latest being "1628, vi. die Aprilis, Georgius filius Michali Johnson, de Flatt, bapt." Many years after, in a dispute concerning the right of presentation of a minister to Saint Nicholas' Chapel, it was stated and not denied, that Sir John was liable for a sum of £20, which had been bequeathed for certain charitable purposes, and as I understand, secured on this very property, and if so, it proves the Johnson ownership. We just catch a glimpse of the corner of this mansion in the view of Whitehaven in 1642 ; the troop of pack-horses are coming from the direction of Hensingham by the ancient road which formerly ran at the back of The Flatt, and hence, by way of Love Lane, to the head of Duke Street.

Sir John Lowther purchased this property some time before
fore

fore, and rebuilt the mansion previous to 1694, for in that year Ralph Thoresby visited Whitehaven, and he particularly alludes to "Sir John's stately house of The Flat." This structure, with its gardens and pleasure grounds, is well exhibited in Matthias Read's bird's-eye view of Whitehaven in 1738, and the old road still ran close to the north-west corner at that period.

The last change that it underwent was some time after the succession of that Sir James Lowther, subsequently created Earl of Lonsdale, who came to the property in 1756. Probably it was after the grand contest for the representation of Cumberland between himself and the Portland family, which took place in 1768, for it had been remarked that he had become embarrassed, owing to the heavy pecuniary calls which resulted from this political contest. By way of answer Sir James determined to rebuild the Flatt, and he engaged no less noted an architect than Sir William Chambers, to whom we owe one of the noblest of our national buildings, Somerset House. I have this statement, which is not generally known, and which I own was surprising to myself, from a source which, I believe, places it beyond cavil. Though Sir William cannot be said to have been so successful in Cumberland as he was in London, the Castle, as we now call it, is not without some fine features. Perhaps it was about this period, but at any rate subsequent to Sir James' day, that the road was diverted from its old course and taken, by way of Lowther Street and through the Flatt walks, to the point just below the back of Corkickle where the old road continued its original course.

This is not an unfitting place to draw attention to the number and beauty of the old pavements which once were so prominent a feature, opposite to, and in the courts of, our old houses, and of which many of us have a recollection. There is one well worth notice in the inner court of the Castle, representing a hunting scene; the cobbles found

found on the seashore, formed by the various igneous rocks of the district, (prominent amongst them being those of the syenite of Red Pike), supplying the various colours requisite for pictorial representation. A small pattern may still be seen in the court opposite Tangier House, and a few, but sadly diminished number of anchors, &c., exist here and there.

The next, and perhaps in some respects the most interesting, of our old houses to which I shall draw your attention, is the house with a court before it in Quay Street, originally called Old Street, but popularly known by another and now usually looked upon as inexpressible name. Up to a late period the original transoms of the windows were in existence. This house, most probably erected late in the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century, occupies the site of an ancient firehouse, as it is called in a document bearing date June 23, 1595, in which Anthony Sanderson, of London, sells the same to Thomas Robinson, of Wapping, mariner. I am somewhat puzzled by this name of firehouse; had it occurred at a later period it would have seemed to be an allusion to that most unpopular of all taxes, the hearth-tax. But that imposition was only voted in Parliament, 15th Charles II. The following lines indicate how obnoxious it was:—

“The good old dames whenever they the chimney man espied
 Unto their works they haste away, the pots and pipkins hide;
 There is not one old dame in ten, search all the nation through,
 But if you talk of chimney men will spare a curse or two.”

In 1605 Thomas Robinson sells the property to Robert Fletcher, of Whitehaven, merchant; William Fletcher being also named in the deeds; and, I believe, both were members of the family to which I have already drawn attention in my account of The Flatt. John Nicholson became the owner in 1631, and the Clement Nicholson,
 who

who is appointed one of the Trustees under the Act of Queen Anne, was certainly of this family.

On the 19th of September, 1737, Ann Bigland became connected with the property. I cannot give her husband a place in the pedigree of the Biglands, of Biglands, near Ulverstone, but as they were connected with the Gales, and held property in the Old Town very near this house, I think he must have been a cadet of that ancient family. On July 24th, 1810, I find the well and favourably known Dr. Joshua Dixon disposing of the house. He was baptized at the Old Church, 12th August, 1744, and died 7th January, 1825. One of the many good acts of his well-spent life was the establishment of the infirmary. He derived the property from his mother, whose maiden name was Eskridge, to which family it had descended from Ann Bigland, but who must have been connected with the Nicholsons, for Clement Nicholson is mentioned on Joshua Dixon's tombstone in the Old Churchyard.

The said Joshua conveyed the property to Isaac Long and John Hale, coopers, in whose hands it remained until November 18th, 1820, and it was during their ownership that the court, whose entrance is on the south side, obtained the name of Cooper's Court.

There is an old painting, almost erased, of Egremont Castle on a panel over the fireplace, on the left-hand side of the entrance; no doubt, one of the many works of that kind executed by Matthias Read.

Tangier House (which gave its name to the row of houses built in a line with its court front, and subsequently, when both sides were built, to the present street,) owes that name to the African settlement which was the white elephant in the dowry of Catherine of Braganza.

How vast an amount of money was wasted on it by England we do not exactly know; how much anxiety it cost poor Pepys, the readers of his diary may form some idea of; but one Englishman seems to have made money there

there, for Captain Richard Senhouse, grandson of Peter Senhouse, Esq., of Netherhall, returned thence, and buying a large piece of ground here, April 11th, 1685, supplemented by a smaller grant in 1688, built this mansion and warehouses, and laid out gardens on the same. He was residing there up to 1690, but, in the following year I find a Mr. Richard, in place of Captain Richard, occupying the house, which he continued to do up to, and perhaps later than, 1701. They might be one and the same, but I note the difference.

The mansion became the property of Humphrey Senhouse, Esq., of Netherhall, subsequent to that date. It was occupied during the year 1715 by Alfrid Lawson, who, in 1749, succeeded his brother in the baronetcy and the estates of Isell, Brayton, Hensingham, &c. Then, from 1716 to 1720, by Henry Blencowe, who married the daughter of Ferdinando Latus, Esq., of both of whom I may, at some future time, speak in connection with other Whitehaven houses belonging to them, for here they were only tenants.

In October, 1722, Gustavus Thomson, Esq., of Arkleby Hall, became the owner of this property, and in that year sold off a portion to one Christopher Thomson; perhaps it was part of the dowry of his wife Joanna, one of the two daughters of the Humphrey Senhouse already mentioned. Bridget, the other, married John Christian, at Crosscanonby, May 14th, 1718. (It was in recollection of his maternal ancestry, and probably also with another allusion, for it is said to have been the place of his somewhat sudden birth, that Lord Chief Justice Law, her grandson, selected the title of Ellenborough when he was elevated to the peerage.)

I may be allowed to enlarge a little upon Gustavus Thomson and his family, for their story has not been told, and is well worth the telling. Soon after the glorious Restoration, for such jolly doings would scarcely have taken

taken place in the days of Puritanism, or else would have been kept more *sub rosa*, Mr. Potter, of Weary Hall, in the parish of Bolton, attended the races at York, and was unfortunate in his betting transactions; money was wanted to pay his debts of honour, and then and there he sold his advowsons of Bolton and Plumbland to Mr. Richard Thompson, of Kilham in Yorkshire, for £100 down. It is sad to think that for a few years Mr. Thompson received no interest on his capital, but in 1686 fortune smiled, for the Rev. Daniel Hechtetter, of the Hechstetters of Keswick, Rector of Bolton, died; and in the very same year the Rev. Joseph Nicolson, father of William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, was laid beneath the Communion table at Plumbland. Mr. Richard Thompson was at last in a position to recoup himself, and well he availed himself of the opportunity. He presented both rectories to the Rev. Michael Robinson, with an agreement in the background that he—the patron—was to receive £60 per annum for fourteen years, after which the rector was to have both livings clear for the rest of his life; but alas! for poor Michael, he died in the very terminal year of 1700. Mr. Richard Thompson was not quite prepared for this stroke of good luck, for his sons were all laymen, and Gustavus, who was the one pitched upon to succeed to this ecclesiastical prize, was in the army; but there were no penny papers in those days; a Mr. Green, usher at Cockermouth school, kept the two livings going for a twelvemonth, during which period Captain Gustavus Thompson dyed his red coat into a black gown, and all went on serenely. He held both livings until his death in 1710.* In addition to being owner of these two livings Mr. Thompson was squire of Arkleby Hall, which the Penruddocks,

* I deem it right to state that several points in the above statement have been called in question by an antiquarian friend who, besides his very extensive general genealogical knowledge, has in this case at his command special sources of information. I think he has at least proved that a brother Henry was in holy orders at this very time.

sorely impoverished by their support of Charles, had been obliged to alienate. Mr. Thompson had three sons; his successor at Arkleby, Gustavus; Richard, ancestor of the present Sir Thomas Raikes Thompson, Baronet, of Hartsbourne, Hertfordshire; and another to whom was given his mother's maiden name of Godbold, baptized at Plumbland, February 8th, 1703-4. Gustavus it was who, May 4th, 1721, as the Crosscannonby register tells me, married Johanna Senhouse. Apparently he went to reside at Whitehaven during the period when Arkleby Hall was being rebuilt, for 1725 is the date over the front door there.

On September 9th, 1725, Gustavus sold Tangier House to Mr. Gilpin, having previously granted a three years' lease of the same to Ferdinando Latus, Esq. The grandfather of Gustavus seems, in his own person, to have exhausted the family good fortune; for when this third successor tried to better himself by gambling in South Sea stock, he was a holder when the great crash took place, and was sorely smitten. He was obliged to sell the two rectories to Sir Wilfred Lawson for £500, and ultimately Arkleby fell into the same hands. His son, Gustavus, became vicar of Penrith in 1748, and on the 13th of April, 1749, I find the following entry in the Plumbland register:— "Gustavus Thomson, Vicar of Penrith and Chaplain to Richard, Lord Bishop of Carlisle, who died at Penrith, and was buried in Mr. Senhouse's vault in Cannonby Church." This is the last trace of the family of Thomson that I can find in Cumberland.

William Gilpin and his family commenced their occupancy of the house subsequent to 1730, on the termination of the lease granted by Ferdinando Latus, and there is no family except the Lowthers to whom Whitehaven is so much indebted; but I prefer to tell their story, which is really a very interesting one, more at large than any others; and for that reason, and because this was not their earliest dwelling

dwelling in the town, I postpone saying anything regarding them until another occasion.

On the 3rd of July, 1745, William Hicks became the purchaser of this property from the Gilpin family for £800. I suppose him to be the son of another William Hicks, a witness to one of the Old Hall deeds, dated 22nd March, 1687. He married, April 1728, Sarah, the second of the four co-heiresses of Enoch Hudson, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a rigid Presbyterian; the third married Richard Gilpin, elder brother of the William whom I have just mentioned; and the fourth daughter, Hannah, married Mr. Robert Ellison, of Whitehaven, of whom I shall also seek to speak at a future time. William Hicks was sheriff of Cumberland in 1736. He was appointed a trustee of the James Street chapel, of which he was a member, March 5th, 1732. He is named as one of the trustees of the Whitehaven roads in the Act of 1740. He was buried in the churchyard of Saint Nicholas, July 1st, 1758.

His son of the same name was sheriff of the county in 1772, and by his wife Priscilla had a family. Elizabeth, one of the daughters, married Arnoldus Skelton, who took certain property belonging to her father at Papcastle. Another, Ann, married in August, 1782, Roger Fleming, of Whitehaven, to whom she bore Daniel, the fifth baronet. This William died in 1788, and the property, having been long encumbered, was sold by his widow Priscilla, then of Flimby, with the concurrence of the rest of the family, June 1797, to Anthony Adamson for £1100, by whose assignees after the failure of the bank, the business of which was conducted on these premises, and in which he was a leading partner, it was conveyed, January 4th, 1826, to George Harrison and others.

The house in Lowther Street lately purchased by the Cumberland Union Banking Company, has not the least interesting history of any of the Whitehaven houses. The land was bought by Richard Senhouse, apothecary.

Mr.

Mr. Senhouse, it is to be feared, outbuilt himself, for no sooner had he finished his mansion, nay, it may be previous to its completion, on the 7th of May, 1705, he mortgaged the premises to Thomas Carleton, of Appleby Castle, an offshoot of the Carletons, of Carleton Hall, near Penrith. No interest being paid the debt rapidly accumulated; and on the 8th of March, 1710, Thomas Lutwidge became the purchaser. Richard Senhouse was the second son of Peter, fourth son of John Senhouse, Esq., of Netherhall.

He was apparently twice married, for I find an entry in the Old Church register that Anne the wife of Richard Senhouse, was buried, February 20th, 1704. On the 24th February, 1708, he was certainly married to Miss Mary Greggs, who must have survived him, for she is buried as relict of Dr. Richard Senhouse, January, 1728-9.

Subsequently, on the 16th May, 1732, Peter, son of Dr. Richard Senhouse, was christened when he must have been several years old.

A John Senhouse, tide waiter, an elder brother of Richard, is named several times in the Old Church register, and there are several other entries relating to members of the Senhouse family, besides the other John to whom I shall subsequently allude.

The offices of tide waiter and landing waiter in the Customs must at that period have been more dignified than they are at present, for they were held by different members of good families in the neighbourhood. Daniel Fleming, grandson of one baronet of Rydal and grandfather of another, occupied one of these posts in the Customs. The fact was that the Lowther family virtually had the appointment of these positions, and naturally gave them to cadets of kindred families; thus at once providing for their friends and extending their own interest.

The Lutwidge family, of which Thomas was one of the
representatives

representatives in Whitehaven, is said to have come from one of the two principal sources of Whitehaven immigration; Ireland in this case, and in others Newcastle, as I have stated. They were amongst the strongest supporters of Presbyterianism. Thomas was one of the witnesses to the agreement of October 4th, 1694, for the purchase of the site of the chapel in James Street, and subsequently one of its trustees. He married for his second wife Lucy, daughter of Mr. Charles Hoghton, whose father, Sir Richard, was one of the strongest pillars of the Puritan cause in Lancashire. Most, if not all, of their children are registered as members of this chapel. But the fires of persecution having been extinguished, it was found that the line of demarcation of opinion between the orthodox and the heterodox was perhaps not so wide as that between different schools of thought in the former body, and they seem to have conformed; for subsequently to about 1730, all the family entries are to be found in St. Nicholas' Church, apparently as members of the congregation worshipping there.

This property was held by the family until May 24th, 1801, when it was sold by Charles, grandson of Thomas the first owner, with the concurrence of Admiral Skeffington Lutwidge the last heir of entail, for £1260, to Sir Joseph Senhouse, then residing at Arkleby Hall. This Sir Joseph Senhouse was third son of Humphrey, of Netherhall; he had prosecuted a successful career in the service of the East India Company, and had married the co-heiress of John Ashley, Esq., of Ashley St. Legers, Northamptonshire. He was, I believe, one of the knights created by George III. at the time of his escape from the attack made upon him by an insane woman called Margaret Nicholson; but as the populace were rather incredulous about the reality of an attack, and disposed to throw ridicule over the whole matter, the batch created on that occasion were very disrespectfully called Peg Nicholson's Knights.

Knights. Sir Joseph held the property until June 4th, 1821, when it was sold to George Harrison for £1800.

The mansion we all remember standing at the corner of Lowther Street and Scotch Street, was built upon a site granted by James, subsequently Sir James Lowther, November 24th, 1716. It extended seventy-five yards back to the plot of land then belonging to William Ferryes, the builder and owner of the mansion commonly known as the "Cupola." The front into Lowther Street had a length of $44\frac{1}{2}$ yards. The purchaser, Walter Lutwidge, was, I believe, a brother of Thomas, the gentleman to whom I have alluded, although he is not named in the pedigrees, which are also silent respecting James Lutwidge, probably a third brother, a retired sailor, who died from an attack of apoplexy in the month of August, 1737, aged about fifty years. Walter Lutwidge occupied a leading position in the town, and was High Sheriff of the county in 1748. His son, Thomas, had a son of the same name and several daughters. One of these, Elizabeth, married John Cookson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne; whose uncle William, a mercer in Penrith, by his wife Dorothy Crackenthorpe became, through his son Christopher, the grandfather of the present William Crackenthorpe, Esq., of Newbiggin Hall, Westmorland; and by his daughter Anne, who married John Wordsworth, he was also the grandfather of William Wordsworth, whose name, though not without lustre, is actually omitted in the Cookson Pedigree; as is the fact that the said William Cookson was a mercer; a statement, however, which is not shrunk from in the life of the great poet.

Thomas Lutwidge, grandson of Walter, by his will dated March 25th, 1794, bequeathed all his property to his sister, Mary Arbackle, for her life after paying sundry legacies, amongst which was one of £100 to the Rev. James Kirkpatrick, minister of the Dissenting Chapel; indicating that he still adhered to the early tenets of his family.

family, as indeed is proved by the fact that he was a trustee of the chapel just named at the time of his death. The reversion he left to his nephew, Isaac Cookson the elder.

The same Isaac seems to have sold the mansion and grounds in lots; the largest purchaser on the 2nd December, 1799, being Mr. Peter Dixon, who and his family were known for many years as successful manufacturers in Carlisle. On the 12th March, 1840, the central portion of the original mansion was sold to Edward Carr Knubley, Esq., and was bought about three years ago by the Wesleyan body, who have erected thereon a place of worship of considerable architectural pretensions.

Another portion of the property which had been severed from the original plot in 1840, was secured by the Independents for their new chapel, and if the claim which I understand they put forward be correct, that they really ought to have been allowed to hold the original Dissenting place of worship in James Street, they are not inappropriately housed on the old homestead of one of their fellow worshippers.

The original doorcase of the mansion and a chimney piece, also of the date of erection, most fitly found their way to Holmrook for £25; the iron paling of the court and the gates, which were also contemporary, and probably came from the Bloomeries of Surrey, were purchased by Mr. Humphreys-Owen, of Glan-Severn Montgomeryshire, for £40.

The receivers of the leaden down spouts bore the arms of the Lutwidges, three caps of maintenance, and the date in one case was 1735, and in two others 1728. The crest of the family, a lion rampant, was stamped on many of the joints. These, I regret to say, were melted down.

The house belonging to Mr. Towerson, and standing at the corner of Roper Street and Scotch Street, can scarcely be classed amongst the old houses of Whitehaven, but it nevertheless

nevertheless awakens some interesting reminiscences of one of our principal families; a family to whom the town is also much indebted, which survives in two branches, and the old ability of which is well represented by James Spedding Esq., one of the Mirehouse stem, who,—and what higher literary praise can be bestowed?—has edited the works of Francis Bacon, “large-browed Verulam,” in a manner worthy of his author.

On the 12th November, 1730, Thomas Coats sold to Joseph Deane, gentleman, a piece of land, 22 yards in front to Roper Lane, as it was then entitled, and 30 yards along Scotch Street to Carter Lane. A portion of this garden was sold by Joseph Deane, February 23rd, 1743, to Mr. James Spedding, and subsequent purchases were made to which I need not do more than allude.

Mr. James Spedding was a member of a family of which I find the first detailed mention in the will of Sir John Lowther, dated October 8th, 1705, wherein he says, “I bequeath to John Spedding and William Cuppage, each of them, two years’ wages, and for that they are fully apprized of all the particulars of my estate, especially my collieries. I recommend them both in a particular manner to my son, James Lowther, to be employed in controuling the steward’s accounts, or otherwise, as he shall think fit.” He was one of the trustees mentioned in the agreement for the erection of Trinity Church, dated the 12th February, 1713, and also one of the first two churchwardens; and he was a contributor to the building fund of £20. I can scarcely believe that this was the same John, who, in connection with his younger brother Carlisle, was appointed trustee of the will of Sir James Lowther, September 14th, 1754, who therein says, “I give unto John Spedding, my steward, £1000 for his long and faithful services; and for the like account I give to his brother, Carlisle Spedding, £500.” The firm, amongst other engagements, carried on a large business as timber merchants at home and abroad. One
of

of their transactions, as it possesses at once a local interest and gives some idea of their dealings, I may mention: when the Greenwich Hospital Commissioners, in that frightful utilitarian spirit which has not yet been banished from amongst us, determined to fell and sell the magnificent woods of oak, birch, ash, and yew, which towered along the shores and on the islands of Derwentwater, James Spedding & Co. became the purchasers of the timber, December 29th, 1748, for £5,300, no mean sum in those days.

Carlisle, the younger brother of whom I have spoken, was the gentleman who, under the pseudonym of "Dan," went to Newcastle and engaged himself as a common labourer in the pits to learn the best methods of mining practised there, and was only discovered when, becoming the victim of an accident, he was inquired after with an anxiety that betrayed his importance. He was the inventor of an ingenious machine for obtaining light when the mines were in a dangerous state from the presence of fire damp. A boy was employed to turn by a handle a disk of steel with great velocity against a block of flint, thus producing a constant shower of sparks which it was supposed were incapable of igniting the gas, but this did not prevent him losing his life from an explosion of that dangerous gas. A monument to his memory and that of his wife, Sarah, *née* Towerson, was erected by his son under the tower of Trinity Church.

He was succeeded by his son James, who built this house; and I would draw your attention to the entrance, and to a charming architectural device in connection with the same. The door is surmounted by a pediment, supported on two fluted Ionic columns, slightly engaged, standing on pedestals; the pediment is not carried to a point, as is usual, but each side terminates in a volute, leaving an opening at the apex; a console is placed on the centre of the cornice, and on this stands an acorn,

whose point projects through the opening in the pediment. The architect, who might perhaps be James himself, was clearly not a mere draughtsman but possessed true artistic insight, for the shield of the Speddings bears three acorns, a fact also not without significance when we recollect they were extensive timber merchants.

James Spedding married for his first wife, Mary, the daughter of Mr. Henry Todd, the head of a family which had been settled at St. Bees for a century at least, and of which the late Rev. Henry John Todd, the well-known and eminent literary man, was a member.

By this wife he had a daughter, Elizabeth. She, by her marriage with Peter John Heywood, of the Nunnery, Isle of Man, had several children ; one of whom was Peter Heywood, whose persecution by Captain Bligh, who persisted in considering him as one of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, in which vessel he was a midshipman, elicited so much public commiseration, especially in this town. James Spedding died 22nd August, 1788, and a monument to his memory was erected in Trinity Church. A well-deserved eulogium may be found in Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*. By his second wife, Elizabeth, a member of an offshoot of the Harringtons, he had a numerous family whose descendants still reside in the neighbourhood. An elder brother of James, the Rev. Thomas Spedding, was the first minister of St. James's Church, the incumbency of which he held from 1752 to 1783. The house remained the property of the family who had built it, until July 30th, 1868, when it was conveyed to its present owner.

The last house that I shall introduce to your notice is one of special interest to ourselves, for it is the one in which we are at present met. Part of the ground on which it is built was granted, June 1st, 1736, by Sir James Lowther to John Hayton, joiner, of Whitehaven, who already possessed some here. I presume that he was specially alive to, and desired to supply with due profit

profit to himself, what he conceived was a public want. Certain it is that on the 28th April, 1758, he mortgaged the premises he had built on the site to William Ponsonby, who had married Catherine, daughter and heiress of John Senhouse, by whom he had a daughter and heiress, Isabella, who married Major Humphrey Senhouse, all of Whitehaven; showing how very intimately the Senhouse family continued to be connected with the town. In the mortgage deed the premises are described as "commonly known as the Assembly Rooms;" that they had been built with this object in view I can scarcely doubt; that they had been used for this purpose a number of years is proved.

John made his will May 7th, 1770, and died January 29th, 1775. In his will he describes himself as lime burner, and bequeaths to his wife his premises in Howgill Street, "commonly known as the Old and New Assembly Rooms." John was a member of the Church of England we may be certain, for Thomas Sewell, minister of Trinity Chapel, was one of the witnesses to his will.

On the 4th of June, 1785, the mortgage, which continued to be of its original and very peculiar amount of £222, was transferred by Catherine, widow of William Ponsonby, Humphrey Senhouse and Isabella his wife, and Elizabeth Ponsonby, spinster, who died unmarried, to John Lewthwaite, a member of another family which was closely connected with the town for several generations, which connection I am desirous to trace more minutely on a fitting occasion; suffice it for the present to say that this John was the grandson of James Lewthwaite, of Broadgate, and his wife Agnes, daughter of William Dickson.

On November 2nd, 1798, Mary Hayton, who must have been very far advanced in years, and William Lewthwaite joined in a conveyance of the property, the former for £303, and the latter for £222, the amount of his mortgage to

Joseph

Joseph Williamson, of Parton, merchant. This gentleman subsequently founded a school at Parton, and endowed it with an estate in Arlecdon parish. The property was not long held by Mr. Williamson, for May 20th, 1809, he sold it to Thomas Hastie for £900, retaining £600 mortgage on it, which remained until the 18th June, 1811, when it was bought by Christopher Brockbank on behalf of John Littledale, collector of customs, for £970. He married Miss Hannah Whiteley, and by her had two sons, Harold and Edward, who founded a business in Liverpool of great magnitude. After the death of Mr. Littledale's widow, Mr. T.C. Dixon became the purchaser and occupier. From him it passed to Mr. Alsop, who sold it to the Scientific Society. *Esto perpetua.*

During the time it belonged to John Hayton and his widow it was the scene of all the great public balls in the town—the “Almack's” of Whitehaven. *The Cumberland Pacquet*, from its origin in 1774 to the period I have named, 1798, contains very frequent notices of the festive and fashionable gatherings that took place under its roof. The very first allusion is to be found in the number for November 3rd, 1774, from which it appears that on the occasion of the election for Cumberland, which had just taken place, in which Sir James Lowther and Sir Henry Fletcher were returned, Sir James gave a grand entertainment, during which two oxen and three sheep were slaughtered and roasted whole; and at night there was a ball at Mr. Hayton's Assembly Rooms, for those whose tastes were too refined to feast at a banquet where the respective occupations of butcher and cook were brought into such close proximity. *The Pacquet* also tells us that on the 8th of December the assembly was extremely brilliant—Sir Robert Grierson and his brother, and Sir William Douglas and his lady, then of Arkleby Hall; he was subsequently Marquis of Queensberry. The first minuet was danced by Henry Ellison, Esq. and Lady Margaret Dalzell.

In

In 1787 there was a more than usually attractive ball on the occasion of the Whitehaven Hunt, when Wilson Braddyll, Esq., and Lamplugh Irton, Esq., were the stewards. The company (so says *The Pacquet*) "was brilliant and numerous, and conducted with the greatest propriety. The *contra* dances (by thirty-four couples) continued till two o'clock the next morning. The whole number in the room was forty-three ladies and forty-two gentlemen." One of those present on that evening was Jane, the daughter and heiress of Matthias Gale, of Catgill Hall, or, as it ought to be, Catgill Howe. She had been eleven years the wife of her cousin, Wilson Gale, whom we have already mentioned as taking the name of Braddyll. Sir Joshua Reynolds has immortalised her beautiful face in one of his charming portraits. I wish Romney had been allowed a trial as well, but Romney was born at Dalton, where he is buried, and Conishead Priory, the seat of the Braddylls, is within half-a-dozen miles, and no man is a prophet in his own country.

"*Ainsi va le monde !*" Where the stately minuet was performed with a precision and a dignity which characterised that grand old dance ; where the lively cotillon was executed with all the elegance and grace which indicated its French origin ; and where, as the blood warmed, the *contra* dance was indulged in with a fervour and energy which our fastidious day has voted to be vulgar and plebeian ; here, this evening, the Whitehaven Scientific Society entertains the Archæological Society of Cumberland and Westmorland, neither of which, I hope, is too dignified to look back a century, at the scenes which have been enacted, I believe, in this very room, at any rate, on this very ground.

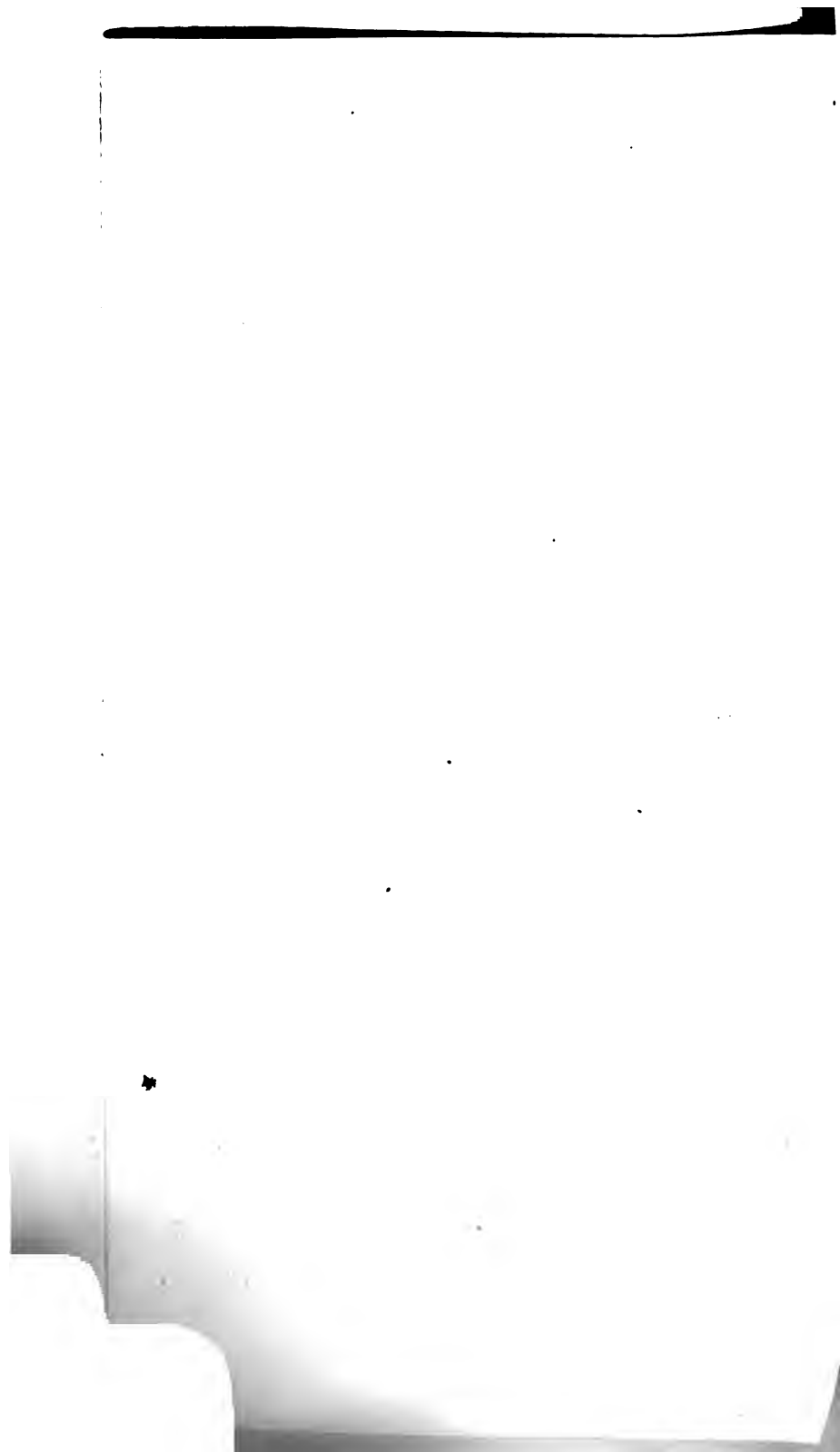
I had just completed the foregoing paper when I was favoured with the sight of a plan of Whitehaven which,
by

by the kind permission of the Earl of Lonsdale, in whose possession the original was discovered, I have had lithographed.

It does not bear any date, but that may be very closely fixed by the fact that the Old Church was built, or at any rate being built, whilst the site of the Presbyterian Chapel the ground for which was granted 14th, February, 1694, is still a blank.

Some parts of the plan it will be perceived were changed some never executed.

17 + 20/10/18



ART. XXXIII.—*Numerals formerly used for Sheepscoring in the Lake Country, No. 1.* By REV. T. ELLWOOD.

Read at Furness Abbey, August 16th, 1877.

SOME years ago, when in communication with Mr. Ellis about versions of the dialects of Cumberland and Furness, he sent me as specimens three or four versions of a system of numerals which were used for sheepscoring in the northern countries. They were, I believe, all the versions he then had, and he had obtained them chiefly from Yorkshire. As his circle of information on the subject widened, however, he obtained numerals bearing a strong affinity to them from Westmorland, from Durham, and from Northumberland, and he learned from Dr. Trumbull, of Hertford, Connecticut, the president of the Philological Society, that there were numerals in use at present, or had formerly been in use, among the North American Indians of Maine, of Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, almost identical in sound and bearing the same peculiarities and alliteration and rhythm with those found in the north of England. In 1874, Mr. Ellis read a paper on the subject before the Philological Society, of which he was then president, and this paper he has most kindly given me the fullest permission to use. Since that time, however, several other important versions have been obtained, and I have myself obtained three—one found in the Isle of Man, which seems to have found its way there from Cumberland: one, as far as five, which I obtained from Ritson, of Wastdale Head; and one from Coniston, High Furness, which had been used there many years ago by the sheep farmers, and which enables us to stamp this curious and unique system of numerals as extending to Lakeland. I will read to you the versions which are
more

more immediately in the province of the Westmorland and Cumberland Antiquarian Society, but I think you will find, upon contrasting them with the whole of the other systems which I have here, that they possess all the distinctive features which are to be found in those of the other northern countries, and which are to be found also among the versions used by the North American Indians.

Their distinctive peculiarities are that they run in pentads or fives, accounted for, I think, by the practice of counting upon the fingers, of which we have also a reminiscence in the word digit; and that there is a sort of rhythm and alliteration about them which gives the sound and form to the whole system.

Some of the North of England versions bear a much closer affinity to the North American Indian versions than they do to each other; and the Manx *fheed*, Durham *feeba*, the Maine Indian *frith-en-y*, and the Gaelic *fichead*—which are here given for the sake of comparison—have a common form, of which there is no trace to be found in any other versions hitherto found. *Yan-a-boon*, *taen-a-boon*, &c., which are found in the Westmorland and some other versions, are evidently put for *one-above*, *two-above*, &c. No one who has lived long in the north will have any difficulty with *yen* or *yan*, which is found in most of the systems, and yet it has, no doubt, all the family features of *one*—Latin *unus*, and Greek *en*. In the same way, *pimp*, *pip*, *mimph*, *mimph*, *pep*, and *pepsy*, are, I think, but cognate forms of Greek *pente*, Latin *quinque*, a trace of which you will find in the name of the county in whose neighbourhood the Indo-Germanic family of languages had their origin, namely the Punjaub, or country of the Five Rivers.

In two instances there are numerals for eight, which seem to be somewhat strongly assimilated with the Gaelic *oa-akh*, and they are often called, when found in Yorkshire, the Scotch (that is, the Gaelic) sheepscore numerals; but I shall endeavour to show before I have completed my paper,

paper, that they have evidently come from the Welsh. The *dick* (ten) of Westmorland and *dick* of High Furness are identical; and in the forms—*dick*, *tick*, and *dicks*, they will be found throughout almost the whole of the versions, including *dick* in the versions of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It is evidently the *deg* of the Welsh or British, and the *decem* and *deka* of the Latin and Greek. *Feigh* of the Manx version is, I think, a softened form of the same word.

I have now given you the history and connection of them as far as I thought needful to introduce the subject. Other particulars will be found in the various versions which I have here written down, and I am anxious, before sitting down, to touch upon the two points of whence and where they came. I think anyone who will take the trouble to compare them with the Welsh numerals will agree that they had their origin from Wales. We have many Welsh or British words in the proper names of High Furness. Whatever may be said about some of the derivations given by Evans, at any rate there is no doubt that Black Combe is from the Welsh—*cwm*; and Walney, pronounced Wauney in the dialect, is the Welsh *Waunau*, which signifies plains or downs. Pen, the name of the immense mass of rock on the banks of the Duddon in Seathwaite, is the Welsh Pen or Head, which appears in the Welsh names of Pen-y-bont, &c. Of course the sheepscoring numerals of Wales were just as likely to find their way to Furness as were those proper names, and, from internal evidence, we have just as much proof that the one is Welsh as the other. With regard to when or how they came, I cannot tell. You will find that wherever they have been found, either here or elsewhere, they have generally come orally from the oldest inhabitants; and on the other side the Atlantic they have been often obtained from the last squaw, or whatever may be the proper designation of the old women of the North American Indian

Indian tribes, and the numerals and the Indians seem in some cases to have died out together. And the numerals seem to be dying out in Lakeland in very much the same way. Some of the sheep farmers whom I have spoken to on the subject have been able to give me one or two of the numerals, and others, though they had heard them formerly, could not remember them so as to reproduce them.

Considerable discussion followed this paper, in which the Rev. Canon Simpson, Rev. T. Lees, Mr. Jackson, Mr. R. S. Ferguson, Mr. Browne, and Mr. Fell took part. As the subject was considered a very interesting one, it was moved by Canon Simpson that further discussion upon it should be postponed until the Society's meeting at Whitehaven in the Winter. See also, *The Athenæum*, volume for July to December, 1877, pp. 338, 371, 402, 433, 469, 629, and 662.

ART. XXXIV.—*Numerals formerly used for Sheepscoring in the Lake Country, with their affinities, No. II.* BY REV. T. ELLWOOD.

Read at Whitehaven, December 10th, 1877.

AS the question of the origin of these numerals was left, in a great measure, undecided by the Meeting at Furness Abbey, it was resolved that the discussion thereon should be resumed at this meeting. I have since then obtained several other important versions of these numerals, which will be found in the tables given herewith, and an animated correspondence, arising in a great measure out of the paper which I read at Furness Abbey, has been for several weeks carried on in *The Athenæum* newspaper on the same subject. In this discussion it has been maintained by eminent philological authorities—as I believe it is also maintained by some members of this Society—that the numerals have come down orally from the ancient British kingdom of Strathclyde. To this question I shall not attempt to give either a negative or an affirmative answer, but content myself with placing before you such additional evidence upon the subject as I have been able to obtain since our last meeting. I am not aware, however, that we are able to conclude from any available test of language that the Welsh branch of the Celtic was spoken in the kingdom of Strathclyde, and till that can be proved we cannot definitely settle the question, for whatever else may be undecided about these numerals there can be no doubt whatever that of all the branches of the Celtic family they have the greatest affinity to the Welsh.

The most ancient form of the Welsh branch of the Celtic is to be found in the *Grammatica Celtica* of Zeuss, and this valuable work I was enabled, through the kindness of Rev. Dr. Longfield, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University

University of Dublin, whose pupil I formerly was, to consult in the library of Trinity College in that University. Zeuss gives the most ancient forms of the Welsh numerals as follows:—

ANCIENT BRITISH NUMERALS.

Feminine.

1 Un		11 Un-ar-dec
2 Dou, (or) Deu	Dui	12 Deudec
3 Tri	Teir	13 Tri-ar-dec
4 Petuar	Peteir	14 Petuar-ar-dec
5 Pimp		15 Pymthec
6 Chwech--(In composition Chwe)		16 Un-ar-pymthec
7 Seith		17 Deu-ar-pymthec
8 Wyth		18 Tri-ar-pymthec
9 Nau, (or) Naw		19 Petuar-ar-pymthec
10 Dec		20 Ucent

Zeuss does not tabulate the numbers between eleven and nineteen, inclusive, but they can (by analogy) easily be inferred from his notes. They proceed, as he shows from ten to fifteen and from fifteen to twenty, by fives; *e.g.*, teir *llong ardec*, thirteen ships; *pedeir blyned ardec*, fourteen years; *teir eglwys ar dec*, thirteen churches; *un dyn ar pymthec*, sixteen men. It will be observed that in the examples thus quoted from Zeuss the noun, which I have particularized by putting it in italics, is placed between the two component parts of the numerals, and that the noun and the component parts of the numerals between which it stands become, through an agglutinative process, almost as one word. It does not appear from Zeuss that these numerals are ever found in extant forms unless joined to a noun as in the instances I have cited, and this is, I think, a point of some importance in determining the origin of our own numerals, for had they come down from the ancient Cumbrian kingdom of Strathclyde, the cognate Welsh nouns would in some cases have been found associated with them. Familiar, however, as some of our dalesmen are with *yan*, *tean*, &c., I have never found any

any of them who had the remotest idea *blyned* meant year, *llong* meant ship, or *dyn* meant man, or even that *dafad* meant a sheep.

The two great divisions of the Celtic speech are the Cymric, or Welsh division; whose numerals I have just given, which comprises the modern Welsh and the Breton, which is now spoken by about one and a-half millions of people in Brittany in France, and the Goidelic division, which comprises the Gaelic of Scotland, the Irish, the Manx, and the Cornish. In only one of those divisions (the Cymric) and, moreover, in only one of those subdivisions (the Welsh) do the numerals proceed by fives up to twenty. In all the other systems sixteen is represented by $10 + 6$. In the Welsh there is a separate word, *pymtheg*, for fifteen, and then it proceeds *un ar bymtheg*, &c., differently from all the other Celtic systems; and in this it exactly corresponds with the numerals of Lakeland—they have *bumfit*, for fifteen, and *yen-a-bumfit* for sixteen, &c. Now this *ar* of the Welsh, according to Pugh's Welsh Grammar, p. 108, means *over*, or *in excess of*, and so *un ar pymdec*, or *bymtheg*, means, literally, *one over*, or *in excess of*, fifteen, and hence we get the key to our own system for in *yen-a-bumfit* *a* represents the Welsh *ar*, and thus *yen-a-bumfit* means *one over*, or *in excess of*, fifteen. But *bymtheg*, or *bumfit*, is really itself a composite word, and is made up of *pimp*, or *pump*, = 5, and *dec* = 10, so that *yen-a-bumfit* really means 1 in excess of $5 + 10$.*

You will observe in the version obtained from Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, that after fifteen the system proceeds *yan-e-boon*. Now this word *eboon* or *aboon* is noteworthy as being the exact translation in our northern dialects of the Welsh *ar* = *over*, or *in excess of*. According to the German work of Professor Pott, (*Quinare und Vigesimal Zahlmethode*, Halle, 1847,) the same idea of above, or in excess

* Of course those remarks apply equally to the other composite numbers, e.g., *Tyan-a-bumfit* = 2 in excess of $5 + 10$. *Tethera-a-bumfit* = 3 in excess of $5 + 10$, &c.

of,

of, may be traced in the English systems of numerals for our eleven evidently comes from the Gothic *ainlibin*, and, according to Pott, *ain* is one, and *libin* is *over*, or *in excess of*.

Another reason for supposing these numerals to be Welsh is derived from a comparison of them with the North American Indian versions, which are in most cases almost exactly like the sheepsoring numerals of Lakeland.

Dr. Trumbull, who got them in some cases from the Indians, says, they have no affinity whatever with the Indian systems of notation which are very complete in themselves. The numerals found in Rhode Island are extremely like those given by Mr. Browne, as from Borrowdale, and according to Mr. Spurrel, Rhode Island, was colonised by Isaac Williams, a native of Carmarthen, in North Wales. He and his fellow countrymen no doubt carried those numerals there with them, and thus found in the words of their native language one of the strongest reminiscences of their early home.*

I have endeavoured to tabulate, for the purpose of comparison, the Lakeland numerals as far as ten, and to place them side by side with the various branches of the Celtic and the Sanscrit as the best and earliest extant type of the Indo-Germanic family of languages as given in "Pictet de l'Affinite des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit, Paris, 1837." And a glance at this table will perhaps do more to show their points of affinity than any explanation of mine.

I sent to enquire of Max Muller, Esq., Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford, who has taken a kind interest in this our enquiry into the origin of our Lakeland numerals, whether any earlier and more radical form of the numerals of the Indo-Germanic family than those of the Sanscrit could be obtained, and I was told in reply that such were at present unknown, but that

* The earlier settlers probably used these numerals in trading with the Indians for peltries &c., and thus taught them to the Indians. Later comers, hearing the Indians use these numerals, and not having heard them before, and not knowing Indian, would at once set them down as Indian.—R. S. F.

it was probable they would be found, if they existed at all, amongst the mountain shepherds of Tibet.

With regard to the word *gigget* or *jigget* for twenty, I can make little or nothing of it. One authority derives it from *ucent* Cymric for twenty. The modern Welsh word for 20, *viz.* — *ugain*, or the Cornish word *iganz*, in Table II, seem to approach it more nearly.

As the object of this paper is rather to introduce a discussion than to exhaust and decide the subject, I have probably said more than enough. I am anxious, in conclusion, to thank A. J. Ellis, Esq., formerly President, now Vice-President, of the Philological Society; Professor Rhys, Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford; R. S. Ferguson, Esq., Editor of Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, and other gentlemen whose names will be found accompanying the various versions, for the very kind aid they have afforded me, and to say that as it is impossible to overrate the extreme importance of those numerals if they have come down from the ancient British Kingdom of Strathclyde, I trust that the discussion will not be terminated until it has been satisfactorily evidenced whether the numerals can be considered to be an oral testimony to the existence of that Kingdom or not.

Note by the Editor. Some confusion has been caused by these numerals being called "Scotch," and by their having been used by cattle drovers, often Highlanders, for counting their cattle: hence some have concluded them to be Gaelic, imported by Highland drovers. But at one time every stranger, or strange thing in Cumberland, was called "Scotch," the great set of travel being southward. The shire toll of Cumberland, a toll (*inter alia*) on all cattle entering the county, is older than the beginning of the 13th century; it was not worth the collection, and was not collected from Westmorland into Cumberland, but was of great value from Scotland into Cumberland. The antiquity of the toll, and the fact that these numerals were (until steam abolished

abolished drovers and their droves) used for counting the cattle, makes it possible that they may have come down from the early Cumbrian toll collectors, and have come to be called Scotch, just as in America they have come to be called Indian. This lends colour to the Strathclyde hypothesis, and would seem to show that the language of Strathclyde was Welsh, but at present the speculation is hazardous.

APPENDIX.

TABLES OF NUMERALS.

1. CONISTON, HIGH FURNESS.

Coniston, High Furness, North Lancashire: Communicated by the Rev. T. Ellwood, rector of Torver, Coniston, as the recollection of Mrs. Ellwood of what she was taught, when a girl, by her mother, the wife of a considerable landowner and sheep farmer in Coniston—

1 Yan	6 Haata	11 Yan-a-dick	16 Yan-a-mimph
2 Taen	7 Slaata	12 Taen-a-dick	17 Taen-a-mimph
3 Tedderte	8 Lowra	13 Tedder-a-dick	18 Tedder-a-mimph
4 Medderte	9 Dowra	14 Medder-a-dick	19 Medder-a-mimph
5 Pimp	10 Dick	15 Mimph	20 Gigget

These numerals have been known at Coniston from time immemorial.

2. BORROWDALE, KESWICK.

Obtained by Rev. T. Ellwood from W. Browne, Esq., Tallantire Hall. Mr. Browne says with reference to them, "I got this list of numerals when I was a boy (I am now about 68 years old) from my cousins the Ponsonbys, at the time that Captain Ponsonby was residing at Barrow Hall, close to the entrance of Borrowdale. It is just 60 years since this list of numerals was got from the Shepherds of Borrowdale as being then used by them—considering the retired character

character of the vale at that time, and the slowness of the people to take up anything new, and their small intercourse with others from whom they could learn them—I think there is an absolute certainty that they must have been in use there *very long* before A.D. 1818.

1 Yan	6 Sether	11 Yan-a-dick	16 Yan-a-bumfit
2 Tyan	7 Lether	12 Tyan-a-dick	17 Tyan-a-bumfit
3 Tether	8 Hover	13 Tether-a-dick	18 Tether-a-bumfit
4 Methera	9 Dover	14 Mether-a-dick	19 Mether-a-bumfit
5 Pimp	10 Dick	15 Bumfit	20 Giggot

3. MILLOM, CUMBERLAND.

Obtained by Rev. T. Ellwood from Mr. J. Hellon, of Dunnerdale, Seathwaite. Learned by him 30 or 40 years ago, as he thought, from Isaac Jones, an old Welshman who came to work at the Old Duddon Smelting Works at Millom Hall. "Upon inquiring more particularly of Mr. Hellon, he says they did not come direct from Isaac Jones to him. My own impression is therefore that they may have come originally from the secluded mountain valley of Seathwaite, High Furness, rendered classic ground by 'the Wonderful Walker' and Wordsworth's references in "The Excursion." T.E.

1 Aina	6 Ithy	11 Ain-a-dig	16 Ain-a-bumfit
2 Peina	7 Mithy	12 Pein-a-dig	17 Pein-a-bumfit
3 Para	8 Ower	13 Par-a-dig	18 Par-a-bumfit
4 Peddera	9 Lower	14 Pedder-a-dig	19 Pedder-a-bumfit
5 Pimp	10 Dig	15 Bumfit	20 Giggot

4. ESKDALE, CUMBERLAND, (AT THE FOOT OF SCAWFELL).

Communicated to Rev. T. Ellwood, by Dr. Kendall, of Coniston, obtained by Dr. Kendall from a servant who brought them from Eskdale, whence he came. As received from the servant the numbers from 11 to 14, inclusive, were *yaen-a-pimp*, &c., which really represents the numbers 6, 7, &c. The exact order has evidently become confused at that point.

1 Yaena	6 Hofa	11 Yaen-a-dec	16 Yaen-a-bumfit
2 Taena	7 Lofa	12 Taen-a-dec	17 Taen-a-bumfit
3 Teddera	8 Seckera	13 Tedder-a-dec	18 Tedder-a-bumfit
4 Meddera	9 Leckera	14 Medder-a-dec	19 Medder-a-bumfit
5 Pimp	10 Dec	15 Bumfit	20 Giggot

5. KIRKBY

5. KIRKBY STEPHEN, WESTMORLAND.

Obtained from Mr. Ellis, Transliterated into Glossic from the palaeotype of Mr. J. A. H. Murray, who wrote from the dictation of Mr. W. H. Thompson, of Kirkby Stephen, where it is called *Gaelic*. Observe that *d'* is dental *d*. :—

1 Yaan'	6 Hai'tes	11 Yaan'edik	16 Yaan'eboon
2 Tyaan'	7 Sai'tes	12 Tyaan'edik	17 Tyaan'eboon
3 Taed'ere	8 Hao'ves	13 Taed'eredik	18 Taed'ereboon
4 Maed'ere	9 Dao'ves	14 Maed'eredik	19 Maed'ereboon
5 Mimp	10 Dik	15 Boon buom buum	20 Buom'fit buum'fit

6.

Obtained from W. Browne, Esq., of Tallentire Hall, who says:—
“ These numerals were obtained as the result of a number of letters of inquiry in the Cumberland and Westmorland dales. They are from a female traditioner who got them as a girl thirty years since from a woman of fifty years old, who got them from an old woman of eighty years of age when the woman of fifty was about fifteen. The aged lady had known of them time out of mind, that makes 30 + 35 + say 65 = 130 years.

1 Ein	6 Hatus	11 Ein-a-dic	16 Ein-a Boon
2 Tein	7 Latus	12 Tein-a-dic	17 Tein-a-Boon
3 Tethera	8 Sour	13 Tethera-a-dic	18 Tether-a-Boon*
4 Wethera	9 Dowr	14 Wethera-a-dic	19 Wether-a-Boon
5 Pimp	10 Dics (or Dix ?)	15 Bumfit	20 Jiget (or Giget ?)

7. WASDALE HEAD, CUMBERLAND.

Obtained from Mr. Ritson, as used in sheepscoreing. A more perfect version was promised, but owing to the remoteness of the district has not been obtained :—

1 Yen	2 Taen	3 Tudder	4 Anudder	5 Nymph
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* The jingle and euphony and the pronunciation of the “ Wethera-a-dic ” and “ Tether-a-Boon ” look very old. Then the simplicity of utilizing the Ein, Tein, &c., by invoking their aid three times is very simple in its mode of rude adaptation of language. The “ one aboon 15 ” for sixteen is amazingly near to the simplest form of natural language.

8. EPPING,

8. EPPING, ESSEX.

Communicated by R. S. Ferguson, Esq., editor of Transactions of Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, obtained by him from A. Harris Esq., who obtained it 42 years ago from an old lady in Epping, Essex.

1 In	6 Lethera	11 In-dick	16 In-a-bumfit
2 Tin	7 Methera	12 Tin-dick	17 Tin-a-bumfit
3 Tethera	8 Co	13 Tether-a-dick	18 Lether-a-bumfit
4 Fethera	9 Debera	14 Lether-a-dick	19 Methera-a-bumfit
5 Fip	10 Dick	15 Bumfit	20 Gigot

9. KNARESBOROUGH, YORKSHIRE.

Communicated to Rev. T. Ellwood by W. F. Hunter, Esq., 1, Ainslie Place, Edinburgh, as taught him when a child by his nursemaid, a native of Knaresborough, in Yorkshire.

1 Yah	6 Seezar	11 Yah-dick	16 Yah-de-bumper
2 Tiah	7 Leezar	12 Tiah-dick	17 Tiah-de-bumper
(one syllable)			
3 Tethera	8 Cattera	13 Tether-a-dick	18 Tether-de-bumper
4 Methera	9 Horna	14 Methera-a-dick	19 Methera-de-bumper
5 Pip	10 Dick	15 Bumper	20 Jigger

Mr. Hunter says he has never heard of anything used in Scotland resembling this.

10. MIDDLETON, TEESDALE, DURHAM.

Obtained by Rev. W. F. Bell, Laithkirk Vicarage, Mickleton, Barnard Castle, from a youth who learnt it from his grandmother, a person of about 80, now living at Middleton.

1 Yan	6 Sezar	11 Yan-a-dik	16 Yan-a-bum
2 Tean	7 Azar	12 Tean-a-dik	17 Tean-a-bum
3 Tether	8 Catrah	13 Tether-a-dik	18 Tether-a-bum
4 Methera	9 Horna	14 Methera-a-dik	19 Methera-a-bum
5 Pip	10 Dik	15 Bumfit	20 Jiggit.

11. THE

11. THE CORNISH NUMERALS.

Communicated to Rev. T. Ellwood by Professor Rhys, Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford and extracted by him from Norris' Cornish Drama, vol ii., p. 243.

1 Un, or, onen	11 Ednack, or, unnack
2 Deu, dyw, dew	12 Dewthek
3 Try, (<i>fem</i>) tyr, ter	13 Tardhak, or, trethuk
4 Pes-war, pedyr (<i>fem</i>)	14 Peswarthack
5 Pymp	17 Pymthek
6 Whe	16 Huetag, or, whettak
7 Seyth	17 Seitag, or, seytek
8 Eath, or, Eyth	18 Eatag, or, eytek
9 Naw	19 Nawnzack, or Naunthck
10 Dek	20 Igan, or, ugens

In a version obtained from Rathmell, near Settle, Yorkshire, 20 is represented by *iggan*.

12. THE BRETON NUMERALS (FROM BRITTANY IN FRANCE).

Communicated by Professor Rhys, and extracted by him from Le Gonidec's Grammar, p. 23.

1 Unan	6 Chouech	11 Unnek	16 Chouezek
2 Daou, diou (<i>fem</i>)	7 Seiz	12 Daouzek	17 Seitek
3 Tri, teir (<i>fem</i>)	8 Eiz	13 Trizete	18 Triouech*
4 Pevar, peder (<i>fem</i>)	9 Nao	14 Pavarzek	19 Naoutek
5 Pemp	10 Dek	15 Pemzek	20 Ugent

It is of importance to observe in the classification of the ancient British numerals that neither the Cornish nor the Breton counts in the second ten by fives, as the Welsh does. In this, the sheepscore numerals agree with the Welsh branch of the Celtic, and differ from the Cornish and Breton branches of it.

13. MAINE (NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN).

Used by the extinct Wawenoc's, in Maine, as written by Dr. Ballard. Sent to Mr. Ellis by Dr. Trumbull, Hartford, Connecticut. †

1 Een	6 Een-pimp	11 Een-geeget	16 Een-bumfra
2 Teen	7 Teen-pimp	12 Teen-geeget	17 Teen-bumfra
3 Tother	8 Tother-pimp	13 Tother-geeget	18 Tother-bumfra
4 Fither	9 Fither-pimp	14 Fither-geeget	19 Fither-bumfra
5 Pimp	10 Gleeget	15 Bumfra	20 Frith-en-y

* Literally three-six. † v.p. 397.

14. HEBRON, CONNECTICUT (NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN).

Written in Glossic by Dr. Trumbull, from the dictation of a gentleman of Hartford, Connecticut, about 60 years old, who had been taught the scoring when a child by an old Indian woman who used to come to his father's house in Hebron, Connecticut, 20 miles south-east of Hartford, to sell baskets, brooms, &c. "She must have been," says Dr. Trumbull, "a Narragausett Piquot or Mohegan Squaw." The woman used to stroll the country gipsy-like to sell the articles of her own manufacture.

1 Een	6 Sat	11 Een-dik	16 Een-bungki
2 Teen	7 Latta	12 Teen-dik	17 Teen-bungki
3 Tudhur	8 Poal	13 Tudhur-dik	18 Tudhur-bungki
4 Fedhur	9 Defri	14 Fedhur-dik	19 Fedhur-bungki
5 Pip	10 Dik	15 Bungki	20 Gigit

15. CINCINNATI, OHIO, UNITED STATES (NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN).

The following version was communicated to A. J. Ellis, Esq., in February, 1875, by Mr. H. Jenner, of the British Museum, who had heard it that day from Mr. E. A. Guy, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S., who was visiting the Museum. He stated that he had been taught it when a child by his mother, a native of the same place, who told him that they were the same numbers as those used by the Indian hunters, and that she had learned them from the white hunters and trappers who came in from the forests. He said that he never knew any one but his own brothers who knew them, and they were stated to be used by the Miami Indians, a now extinct tribe formerly living in the south of Ohio.

1 Een	6 Soter	11 Een-dick	16 Een-bumptege
2 Teen	7 Loter	12 Teen-dick	17 Teen-bumptege
3 Tother	8 Poter	13 Tother-dick	18 Tother-bumptege
4 Feather	9 Debber	14 Feather-dick	19 Feather-bumptege
5 Fib	10 Dick	15 Fib-dick	20 Unick

The two last versions and most of the preceding ones now appear in print for the first time.

TABLE

SHEEPSCORING NUMERALS.

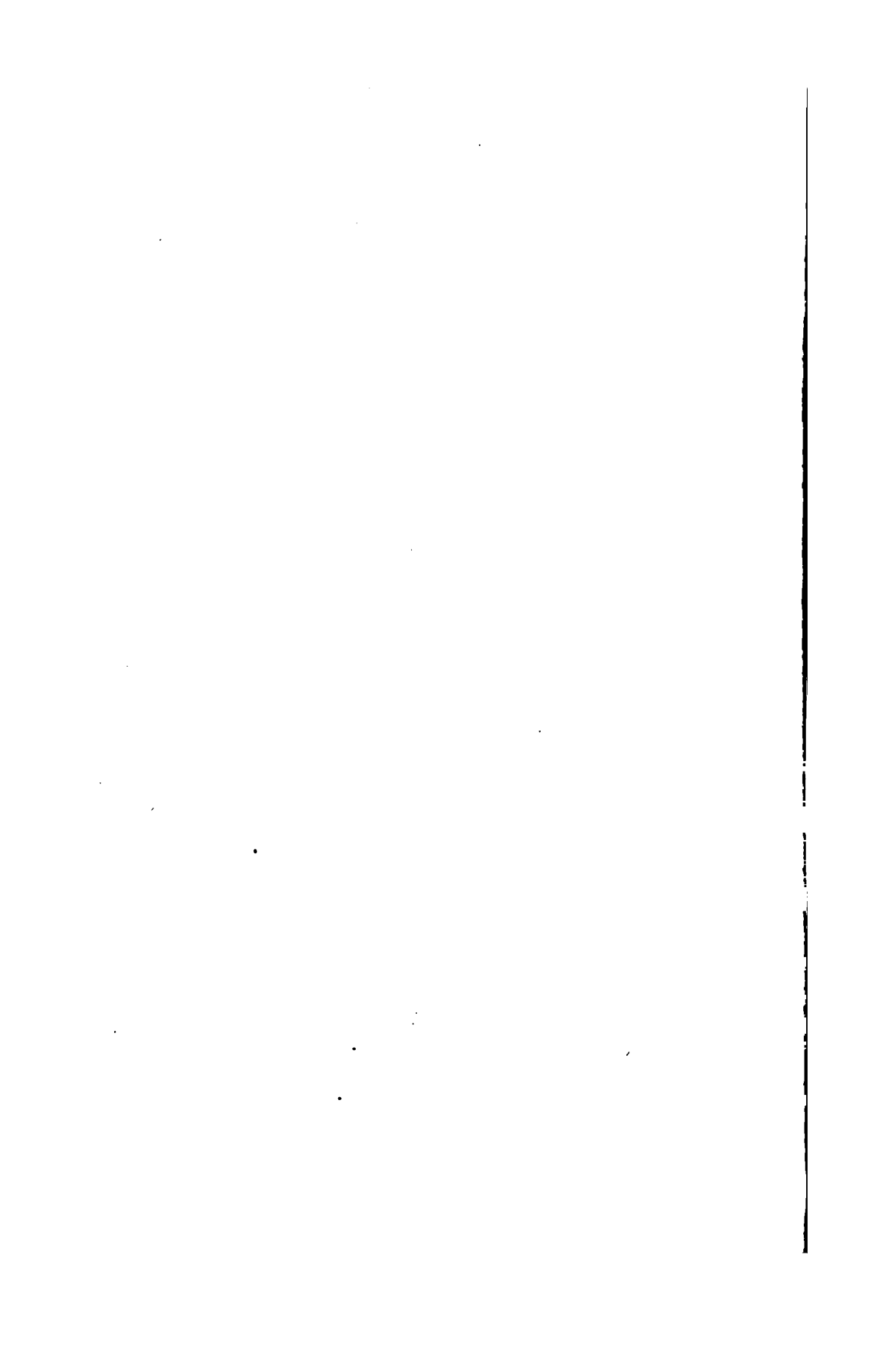
TABLE EXTRACTED FROM "PICTURE DE L'AFINITE DES LANGUAGES CELTIQUES AVEC SANSCRIT,"
PARIS, 1837.

	SANSCRIT.	OLD IRISH.	ERSE.	OLD WELSH.	BRETON.	CORNISH.	MANX, obtained for this paper.
1	eka	an or aon	aon	un	unan	un or onen	unnane
2	dui	di, da, or do	da	dau	dau	deau	jees
3	tri	tri	tri	tri	tri	tre or trei	three
4	c'atur	ceathar	ceathar	pedwar	pevar, peder	peswere	kiare
5	pancan	cuing	cuing	pump	pemp	pemp or pymp	queig
6	s'as	se	se	chwech	chuech	huik	shy
7	saptan	seacht	seachd	saith	seiz	seith	shiaght
8	astan	ocht	ochd	wyth	eiz	eath	hoght
9	navan	naoi	naoi	naw	nao	nau	nuy
10	dasan	deich	deich	deg	dek	deg or dek	jeigh

The Manx for 20 is *feid*. Gaelic or Erse for 20 is *feichid*. An old version from Weardale,
Durham, gives *feha* for 20. Compare Maine Indian *Frithery*.

Note

Note—Dr. Trumbull took the Indian version, No. 13, from the Historical Magazine, 2nd series, vol. iii., p. 129, New York, Mar., 1868, and also received them in a private letter from the late Rev. E. Ballard, D.D., Secretary of the Maine Historical Society, by whom they were communicated to the above Magazine. R. K. Sewell, Esq., of Wiscasset, who gave the Historical Society a brief description of the Wawenoc tribe, stated in his paper that there had been preserved a clear traditional record of the sounds embodied in this system of numeration extant as early as A.D. 1717, well understood and often used by the aged white men of that day, who had been long resident in the Sheepcot waters in the Wawenoc territory, and on terms of intimacy with the surviving natives, and this information was given by a worthy man now [1868] in his 81st year. The Wawenocs were a tribe of the Abnaki nation, and their territory is said to have extended from Sagadahock, the mouth of the Kennebec River, eastward to the Musongas River, along the coast of Maine, including the peninsula of Pennaquid, now in Lincoln Country, Maine. Only two or three families of this tribe were living in 1747, and a few years later these removed to Canada to join the Abnaki settlement begun at St. Francois and Becancourt. Dr. Trumbull does not find the Wawenocs mentioned as a distinct tribe after 1750. They are referred to by a historian of Maine, in 1804, as extinct. Dr. J. G. Kohl, in his history of the discovery of Maine, says:—“Also among the Wawenoc Indians of Maine, near Pennaquid, certain numerals have been handed down by tradition bearing a resemblance to the Icelandic, which may have been derived by them in their barter with the northern strangers.” Dr. Ballard informed Dr. Trumbull that Mr. Kohl relied on the Norse or Icelandic 1, eyn; 4, fiorde; 5, fim; which are usually spelled 1, einn; 4, fjogur, fjorar, fjorir; 5, fimmm. But upon comparing the whole Norse numeral system it will be found that there is not so much resemblance as between the Norse and Welsh. As Dr. Trumbull correctly observes, “if these numerals were in common use by the Wawenocs of the 18th century, it is more probable that they borrowed them from the English sailors or colonists after 1607, than that they learned them from Thorfinn in the beginning of the 11th century, or Madoc and his companions in the 12th.” I obtained this valuable note from Mr. Ellis, and I think upon carefully collating our versions obtained in the Lake Country with the Icelandic which, owing to its isolated position, has remained the best and most unchanged type of the ancient Norse, that there is (except in the numerals named above) just as little affinity between the Lakeland numerals and the Norse, as there is between those of the Indians and the Norse. There is, however, evidence that the Norsemen did leave their traces in the language of Cumberland and the Lake District. Haaf is the Icelandic for sea, and the fishermen of the Solway to this day call their sea nets the haaf-nets. Hause (German *hals*, meaning neck,) is the Icelandic term for the neck or pass which joins two mountain valleys, and is used in exactly the same sense in Lakeland at present, e.g., Seatoller Hause, the pass between Buttermere and Borrowdale, Tarn Hause, &c., &c.



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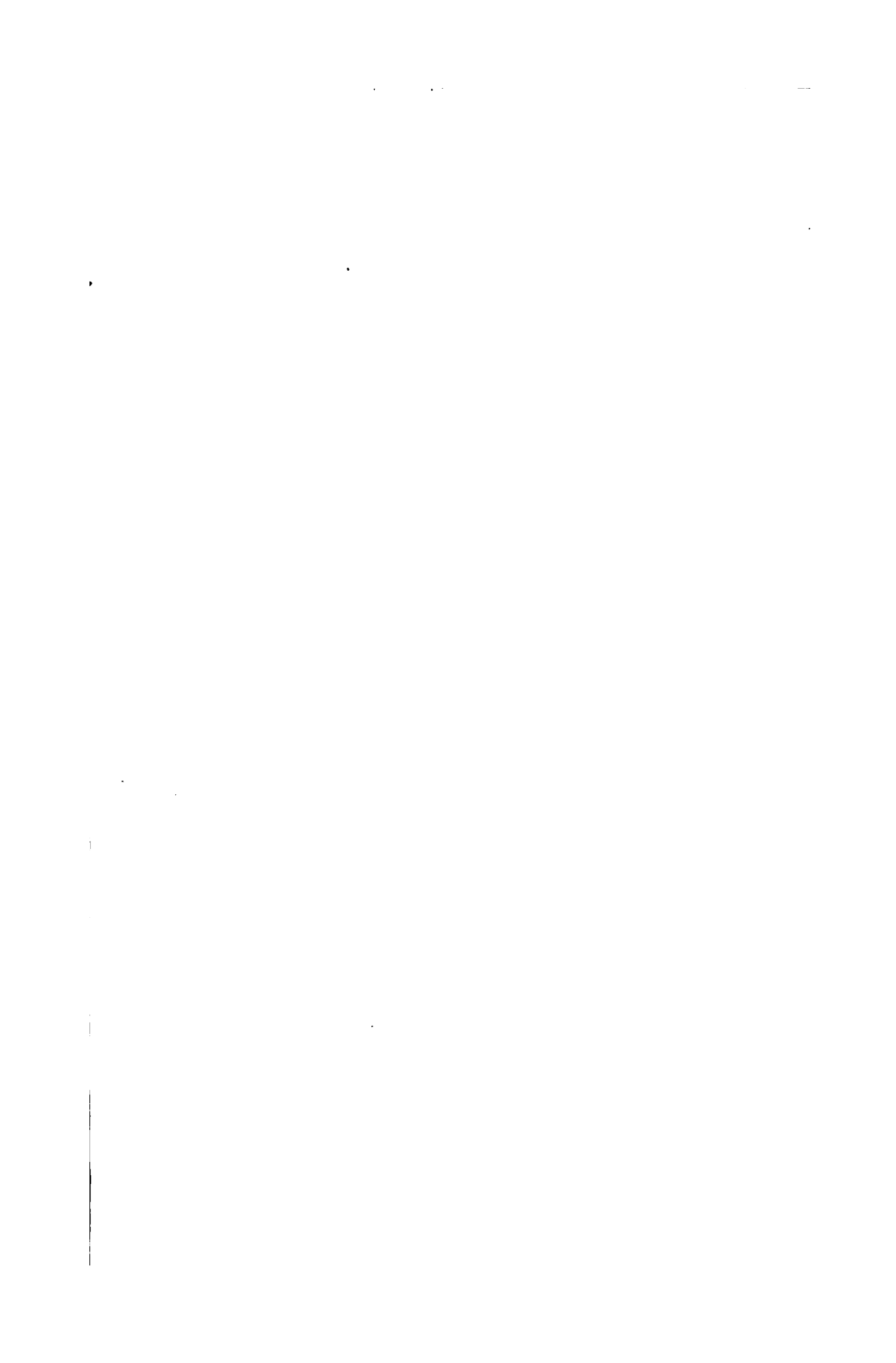
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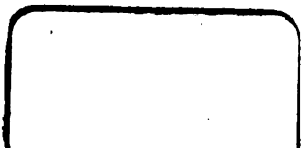
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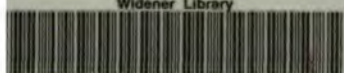
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