

be harsh landlords, recognising the value of thrift as well as the need for display just as their kings, Henry V, Edward IV and Richard III did. They were the versatile counsellors of their kings, they were his soldiers, administrators, diplomats, ambassadors and his relatives. McFarlane stresses the mutual aims, wishes and interests of the kings and their nobles seeing the "inherent" struggle between king and baron as yet another historians' myth. As he points out, strong kings had no real trouble with the overmighty baron, it was Richard II, Henry VI, and Edward V who experienced the problems because they were weak, unwise or too young to rule. The lords preferred strong, efficient rulers whom it was to their profit to serve. This unity of king and lords McFarlane sees as the essence of good mediaeval government. Similarly does he stand both against the myth of Lancastrian Constitutionalism and the New Monarchy and its New Men, preferring to stress continuity in methods of administration and continuity in the bureaucratic families manning the royal government offices and the nobles' estate offices.

The basis of all the broader views put forward is detailed research and analysis of many documents of estates and families. The Neville Earl of Warwick muniments have gone but the Beauchamp Earls and the Stafford Dukes of Buckingham have left an abundance, and to these two houses he devotes a chapter tracing their rise and fall, their incomes and their assets. McFarlane assessed that in the 1450s Richard Neville, to whom the Earldom of Warwick had come by two deaths in the Beauchamp family, had a landed income of £3,900. This was less than that of his Beauchamp father-in-law because about £500 a year went to a Despenser dowager (the Countess of Northumberland) and the £550 Lisle inheritance had gone to Beauchamp's daughters by his first wife, heiress of the house of Lisle.

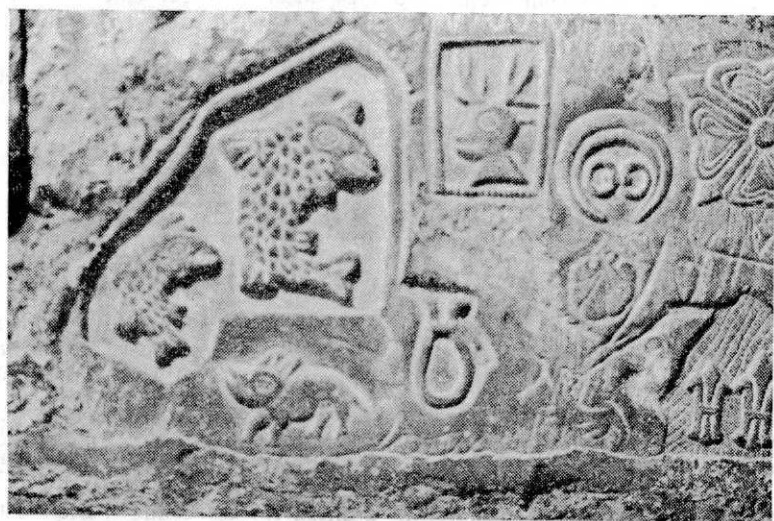
Both the detail and the broader views will interest all members of the Society who read history for pleasure and information. Should you have taken a surfeit of novels this book will provide an excellent antidote.

RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AND CARLISLE CASTLE

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There are many reminders of Richard III scattered throughout England in the form of places with which he was associated. Chief among these is Middleham Castle in Yorkshire, which was his home both as a boy in the household of the Earl of Warwick, and later when he governed the North in the reign of his brother, Edward IV. While Middleham is the most well known memorial to Richard III as Duke of Gloucester, there are others and among these is Carlisle Castle.

Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was granted the Lordship of the Castle of Penrith by Edward IV in 1471 and in 1474 he was made Warden of the West Marches towards Scotland and thus the castle and town of Carlisle came under his jurisdiction. The Wardenship of the West Marches was enhanced the following year when he was made Sheriff (for life) of the County of Cumberland.¹



Photographs by Pauline Routh

and he retained all these three offices until his accession to the throne in 1483. His administration was peaceful and successful and in recognition of this parliament, in 1482, made a special provision to allow the Wardenship of the West Marches to descend to his heirs male together with the possession of Carlisle and various lands in Cumberland.³ Earlier in the same year, on 24th February 1482, he had been granted a licence to buy 2,000 quarters of wheat and 1,000 quarters of barley, rye, oats, meslin, beans and peas in all places in the realm, Wales or Ireland for the support of the additional garrison maintained on the border.³ This was essential for the provisioning of the garrison as there had been an increasing scarcity of food in the Marches because of its size.⁴

One of the chief places on whose strength depended the security of the West Marches was Carlisle, both town and castle. The castle is situated at the northern end of the town on a crag looking northwards into Scotland. In 1471 the castle looked, in main outline, much as it does today. All the major building operations had been completed long before 1471 when Gloucester first arrived in the area. However, it was in a sorry state of repair largely due to the wars with Scotland during the middle of the Fifteenth Century. These wars had been concluded by truce between James III, King of Scots and Edward IV in 1463.

During the whole period of Gloucester's Wardenship there was peace on the Border and it has been assumed that he used the time to repair and rebuild parts of the castle.⁵ Much alteration to the fabric was done at this time to the Inner Ward and to William de Ireby's Tower (the main Gatehouse) as well as to the "Tile" Tower, which is situated outside the castle proper in the Western wall which joins the castle to the town.

The Main Gatehouse has a plaque over the entrance facing the town on which, at one time, was engraved a coat of arms, which is unfortunately now obliterated. There is some doubt as to the origin of the arms as they have been thought in the past to be those of Richard III⁶ which would seem probable as he spent some time there as well as conducting the repair work but more recently it has been thought that they were those of Henry VII.⁷

The association of Richard III with the "Tile" Tower is because of the badge of a white boar carved high up on its southern face, and it is mentioned in Camden⁸ that Richard repaired the tower. There is also a legend that he lived in the tower while he was in Carlisle,⁹ but this assumes that both the keep and the palace were uninhabitable at the time.

Inside the Inner Ward was the royal palace which was built during the reign of Edward I and this was apparently much altered by the Duke of Gloucester.¹⁰ The palace originally stood on the site of what is now the museum of the Border Regiment, however there is very little trace of the original building as it was largely pulled down between 1824 and 1835 leaving only part of the original staircase called Queen Mary's Tower still standing.

The Keep was originally built by the Norman Kings, probably before 1175¹¹ but there had been some alteration done to it during the reign of Edward I. It is built as a square keep with four floors. Originally each floor was one large room but has been divided into two rooms by the addition of a cross wall running north and south. This is particularly noticeable on the first

floor where there is a fireplace which would be much too big to heat the room and it is apparent that it was intended to heat the whole floor. These interior additions have been credited to Lord Scrope who reported to Elizabeth I on the state of the castle, to the effect that it was in ruinous condition and as a result repair work was undertaken. However, it has been thought that this work was some of that done under the Wardenship of Richard, Duke of Gloucester.¹²

On the second floor of the keep, in the interior of the east wall, is a mural chamber which runs to the north and south and leading out of a window embrasure, making three rooms in all. These rooms have been used as cells, and in fact were at one time known as "Major McIvor's Cell," after the character in Sir Walter Scott's "*Waverley*," who was traditionally imprisoned in the castle after the 1745 Rebellion. In the entrance to the cells (in what is actually the window embrasure), are numerous carvings on the walls. It has been assumed in the past that these were the work of prisoners and legend made Major McIvor the artist. The carvings, however, are mainly religious and heraldic devices and from the subjects it can be seen that they date from a much earlier period than the Eighteenth Century.

The religious carvings include pictures of St. Michael weighing souls; the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene; St. Sebastian; St. George and the dragon; as well as a fox preaching the geese, which was a popular subject in the Mediaeval period. The majority of the carvings are heraldic and include the White Rose of York, the Water-bouget of Roos, an escallop and ragged staff of Dacre, a "lion passant guardant, crowned" of Greystoke of Greystoke, a fetterlock of Percy, and the White Boar of Richard III. There are three separate carvings of the boar, two of which are illustrated here, and it can be seen that there is no doubt that they are the Badge of Richard.

As many of the carvings have animals as subjects it had been assumed that they were the work of poachers who were imprisoned in the castle at various times from the Fourteenth Century onwards, but since it has been recognised that many of the carvings are heraldic badges it is possible to date them as belonging to the second half of the Fifteenth Century. An attempt has been made to identify all the badges as well as to identify the author,¹³ but this last seems an impossible task until more is known about the region during the reigns of Edward IV; Richard III, and Henry VII.

Although much of what is known of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and Carlisle Castle during the period 1471 to 1482 is largely supposition and local legend it can be seen that in at least two respects there is tangible evidence of his association with the Castle.

1. Patent Rolls, 14 Edward IV Mem. 16 July 20

2. Victoria County History—Cumberland, p.267.

3. Patent Rolls, 21 Edward IV, pt.1, m.10. Feb. 1482.

4. Tower Privy Seals, 21 Edward IV, file 1—quoted in Victoria County History—Cumberland, f.n., p.267.

5. R. S. Ferguson—Carlisle Castle (Trans. Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Vol. 2, 1874-75).

6. Ibid.

7. G. P. H. Watson & G. Bradley—Carlisle Castle: Cumberland. H.M.S.O., 1937.

8. R. S. Ferguson, p.59.

9. R. S. Ferguson, p.60.

10. R. S. Ferguson, p.68.

11. G. P. H. Watson & G. Bradley.

12. R. S. Ferguson.

13. F. J. Field—The Carvings in the entrance to Major McIvor's Cell, Carlisle Castle (Trans. Cumb. West. Antiq. & Arch. Soc., Vol. N.S. 37, 1937).