City of Hereford Archaeology Unit
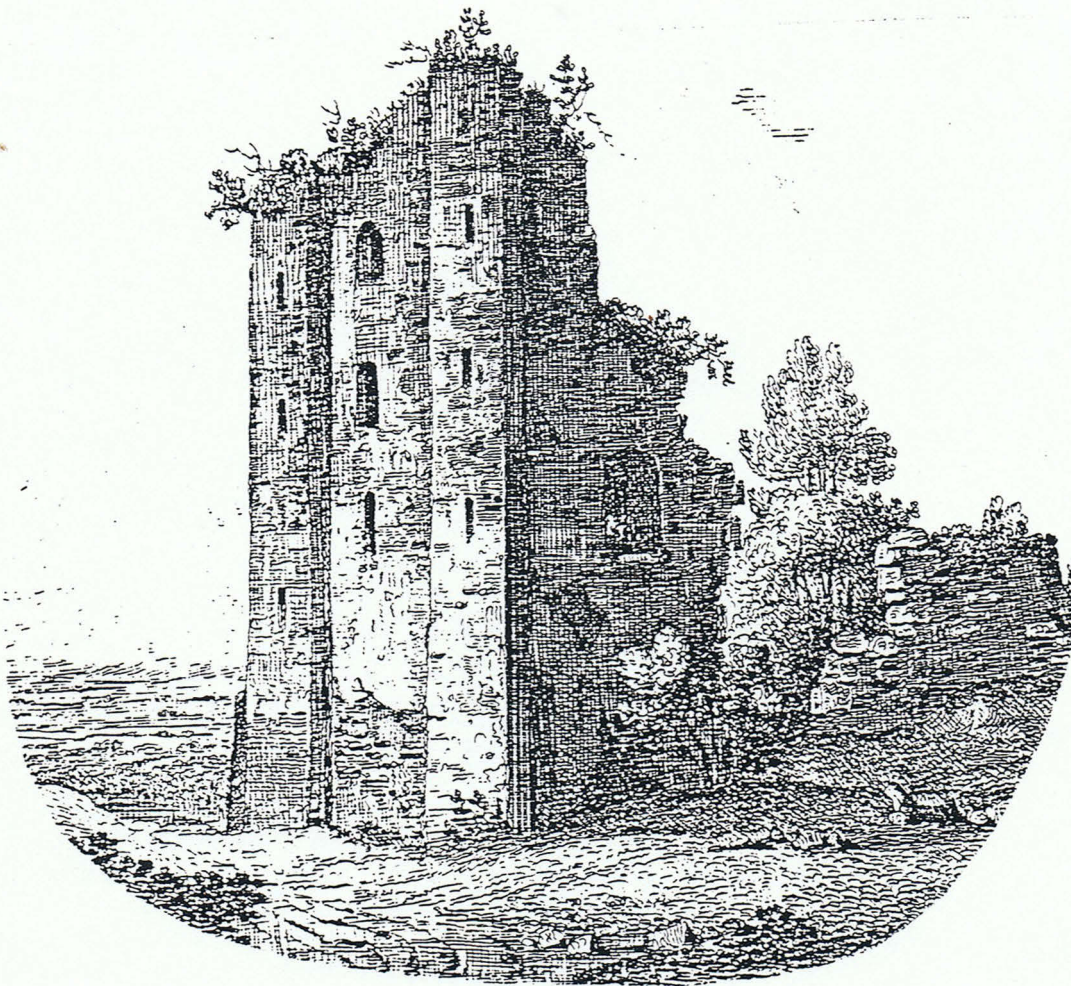
CLUN CASTLE, SHROPSHIRE

AN OUTLINE HISTORY

Richard K Morriss
January 1990

Hereford Archaeology Series 69

The City of Hereford Archaeology Committee was founded in 1974 and is a registered charity. manages the Archaeology Unit, which has a permanent staff of six people. Besides dealing with the buried archaeology of Hereford a Saxon city dating back to the 7th century the Unit has specialised in recent years in the archaeological recording of historic standing buildings and historical research. This work has usually been on commission basis on behalf of English Heritage, potential developers and the Unit now has considerable experience in this field.

Front Cover: *Engraving of Clun castle by William Pearson, c.1820.*

CLUN CASTLE, SHROPSHIRE
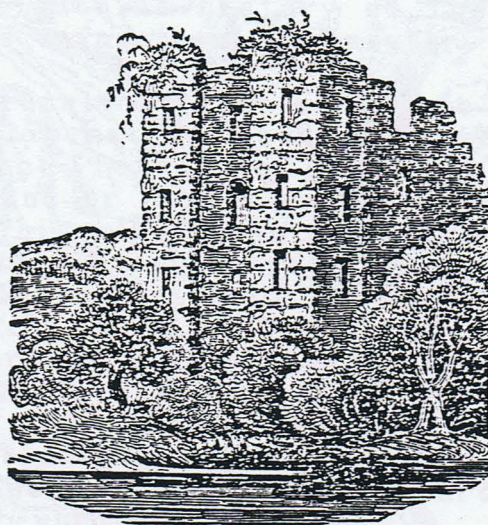
Engraving of Clun castle c.1860 (in Dukes)

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SHROPSHIRE
Grid Ref: SO 299809

Introduction

In 1989 English Heritage were negotiating with the Duke of
Norfolk's estate to take into guardianship the ruins of Clun
Castle, Shropshire, an important border fortress in a most at-
tractive setting but badly in need of urgent repair and a long-
term programme of renovation. In order to ensure that such work
is carried out correctly a full-scale and in-depth survey of the
fabric will be required. In advance of this work, the City of
Hereford Archaeology Unit was commissioned towards the end of th
year to produce an outline history of the castle and its im-
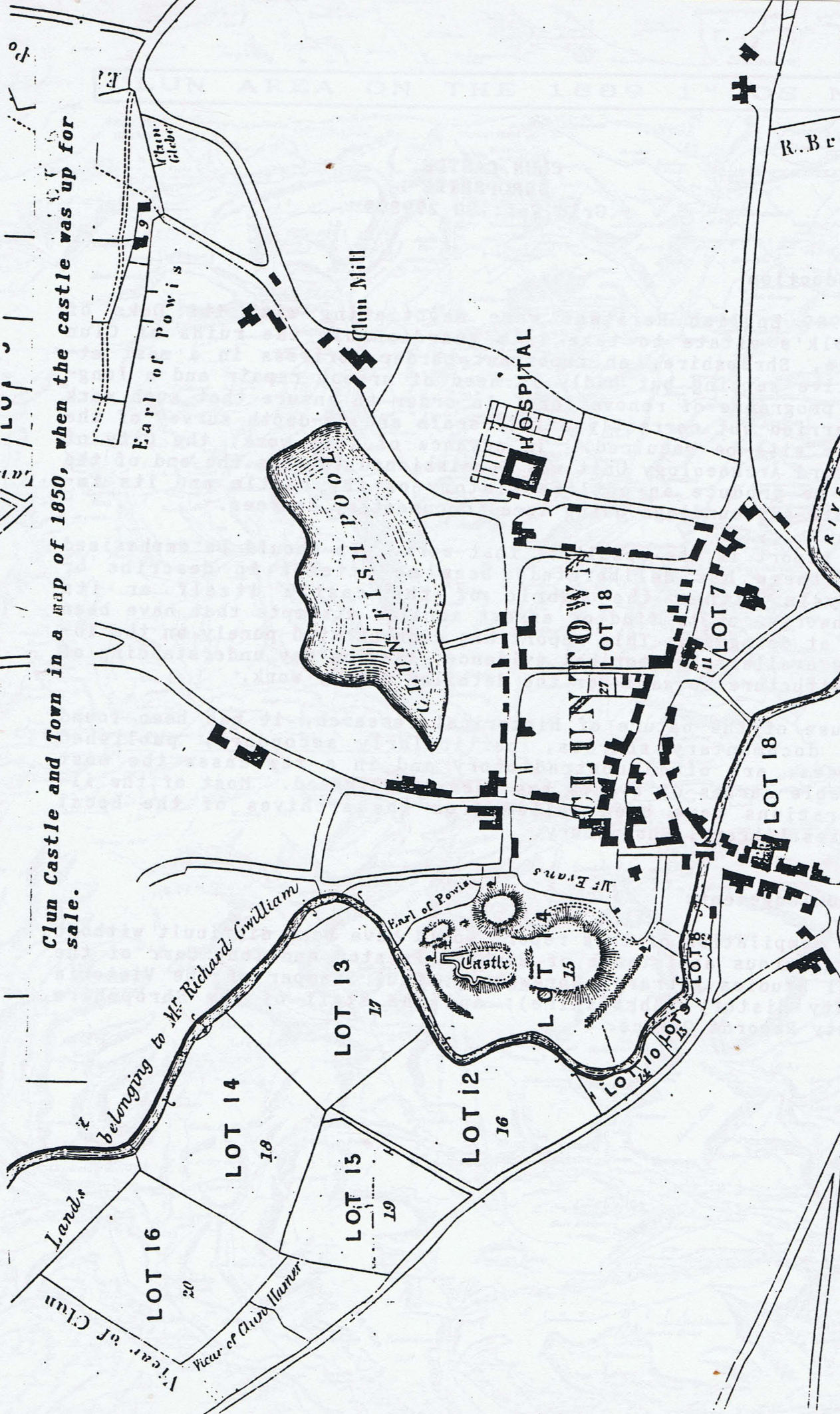mediate surroundings using local documentary sources.

This report is the result of that work. It should be emphasised
that there has deliberately been no attempt to describe or
analyse either the fabric of the castle itself or its
earthworks, or to find or assess earlier attempts that have been
1ade at doing so. This report has concentrated purely on the
locally available historical evidence, leaving any understanding of
the structure to wait for the detailed survey work.

Because of the nature of historical research, it has been found
that documentary sources, particularly secondary, published
sources, are 6ften contradictory and in a few cases the most
probable series of events has been promulgated. Most of the il-
lustrations have been culled from the archives of the Local
Studies· Library, Shrewsbury.

Acknowledgements

This compilation of this report would have been difficult without
the generous assistance of Richard Preston and Tony Carr of the
Local Studies Library, Shrewsbury; Paul Stamper of the Victoria
County History (Shropshire); and the staff of the Shropshire
County Records Office.

Clun Castle and Town in a map of 1850, when the castle was up for sale.

Labels on the map:

- R. Br
- Vicar Glebe
- Earl of Powis
- Clun Mill
- HOSPITAL
- CLUN FISH POOL
- CLUN TOWN
- LOT 18
- LOT 7
- 27
- 11
- RIVER
- Mr Evans
- Earl of Powis
- Castle
- LOT 4
- 15
- LOT 13
- 17
- LOT 12
- 16
- LOT 14
- 18
- LOT 15
- 19
- LOT 16
- 20
- LOT 10
- LOT 9
- LOT 8
- Lands belonging to Mr Richard Gwilliam
- Vicar of Clun
- Vicar of Clun House

medieval Latin, 'curia' is usually considered to mean c
or house, rather than a legislative court (Latham,126).
no mention of the motte-and-bailey castle probably buil·
the next half-century and it seems likely that the manor
and water mill of 1086 were both of Saxon origin.

There is also no mention of a church at Clun in 1086,
this does not automatically mean that no such church
existed. Several authors have assumed that it was the
mother church of a vast Saxon parish (Anderson, 465).
Other writers, commenting on the architecture of the
present church prior to its restoration in 1877 considered
that parts of the nave were clearly of pre-Conquest date
and that the church was probably larger: (Bagshaw,709;
Hulbert,271). If there was a Saxon church in Clun it
presumably occupied the same site as the present church,
on the opposite bank of the river to the castle and the
main part of the present town. There are references to
this church in middle of the 12th century.

The location of the Saxon manorial hall is more
problematical. One writer, in 1847, considered that the
earthworks of the castle were of Saxon origin, re-
used by the Normans but this seems unlikely (Anon
(1878),41-2). A more logical position for the manoria
1 hall would have been near to the church, withthetwo
principal buildings of the manor thus forming the nucleus
of the Saxon settlement on the south bank of the easily
fordable river. There is a distinct contrast between the
fairly rigid s tern of the main built up area of the
present villc north of the river and the area around the
church whic support this hypothesis. (Rowley (1986),
112-3).

The first recorded mention of a castle at Clun does no·til
1140, but most authorities assume that the first built
either by Picot de Say or his heir before the 11th
century (Salter,33; Jackson,19). Picot, real n, was one
of the chief vassals of Earl Roger de Montgomery, 1086
held no less than 27 manors under him of which the most
important was Clun (Eyton,II,227). Picot, who appears
tohave been made, or to have made himself, Baron of Clun,
was still alive in the 1090's and was then succeeded by
his son, Henry died in or soon after 1130 (Sanders,112-3;
Jackson,19;

His heir, probably his son, was Helias de Say. At
Domesday, Clun was in the Hundred of Rinlau - subsequently
called Purslow. In the first half of the 12th century,
the manors of Clun and Obley were separated from
Purslow to form the honour of Clun (Eyton,II,228; Salt,244
et seq). The Honor, effectively a Marcher Lordship,
contained the town of Clun and the five townships of that
Manor, along with the large Manor of Tempsiter which
contained 23 townships and straddled Offa's Dyke. lords
of Clun also held the remaining portion of the Hundred of
Purslow, excluding Bishops Castle, for most of the
medieval period and the unique legal status of the Honor

Welsh Marches (Salt,244-5). The area was neither Welsh nor English, and its laws were a combination of the two subject to the whims of the ruling Baron. There was, throughout the Middle Ages, a special Welsh court at Clun to deal with the 'Walchera' tenants of the Manor (Rowley (1986), 73)

Another member of the de Say family of Clun, Thierry de Say - possibly a younger brother or cousin of Helias - was in possession of the Manor of Stoke, near Ludlow, in c.1150. Although the Manor passed into other hands in the early 13th century, the de Say name had by that time been added to that of the Manor, which became known as Stokesay (Oman,143).

Despite their obvious local importance, and the fact the Helias was reputed to have killed Princes Howell and Cadogan of Wales in 1142, the de Says were not as effective in making territorial in-roads into Wales as were the Mortimers of nearby Wigmore Castle (Oman,141). Isabella de Say, the Lady of Clun is said to have held Clun in 1145 (Jones,2). According to most sources, she was the daughter and heir of Helias de Say, but other writers consider her to have been his grandaughter and the daughter of Inglerand de Say (Anderson,465; Clough,xxv). It is possible that Inglerand died before his father, which would then account for Isabella being Helias' heir. Isabella became the second wife of William FitzAlan of Oswestry, but the exact date of this marriage is not known. It was probably in or around 1155 but could have been earlier (Eyton,VII,23; Clark-Maxwell,342-3).

The result of the marriage was that the two powerful Marcher Lordships were united. William died in 1160, leaving an under-age heir, also William, and by 1165 Isabella had married Geoffrey de Vere, brother of William de Vere later Bishop of Hereford and of Robert de Vere one time Constable of England (Clark-Maxwel l,343). Geoffrey De Vere died in 1170 and the in-defatigable Isabella married for a third time sometime between 1176 and 1188; her new husband was William Botterel (Sanders,113).

It is likely that when William FitzAlan II came of age he lived at Oswestry, leaving Clun to his mother and Bottere1. Bottere1 seems to have held the Barony of Clun when a Welsh force under the command of Prince Rese of South Wales attacked the castle in 1196 prior to the Battle of Radnor (Eyton,II,229). According to one source the siege was bitter and long.but the castle was even-tually taken and, according to the Welsh chroniclers, reduced to ashes (Powel,180). This could. be exaggeration on behalf of the victors, but has also been taken to. imply that the castle was still only wooden. Isabella, the Lady of Clun, died in 1199 after donating the advowson of Clun and its dependent chape1s, including the mysterious St. Thomas' in Clun, to Wenlock Priory, although for unknown reasons the Priory did not receive any tithes until 1271 (Clark-Maxwell,342).

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William FitzAlan II added the Barony of Clun to his other estates on the death of his mother but the time taken for the castle and town to recover from the attack by the Welsh is not known. Oswestry was to remain the principal seat of the family but in 1204 FitzAlan must have been confident enough in the political stability of the area around Clun because he obtained permission from King John to hold an annual three day fair to be held in November (Eyton,II,229). William died in 1210 leaving an under-age heir, William FitzAlan III, and the Crown took over the Honor, leaving it in the hands of Thomas de Erdinton, described as the Custos of the Barony of Clun (Eyton,II,230).

William FitzAlan III died at Clun castle around Easter, 1215 before reaching his majority (Eyton,II,230). His successor, John FitzAlan, presumably a younger brother of William FitzAlan II, was implicated in a Welsh rebellion later in that same year. Llewellyn the Great took Shrewsbury and his ally Giles de Beon, Bishop of Hereford, was subsequently employed 'in the disposal of Clun castle' (Hulbert,273; Parry,104). It is unclear whether Clun castle had been taken by the Welsh again or whether it had still not been properly rebuilt following the attack in 1196. In 1216 King John led an attack on the Welsh and the rebels, marching from Hereford up to the FitzAlan stronghold of Oswestry, which he destroyed (Hulbert,273). It seems certain that Clun castle would have been visited en route, though whether or not it was taken is unknown.

John FitzAlan was reconciled to the Crown after the rebellion had been put down and was allowed to regain the family estates, including the Barony of Clun, in the autumn of 1217 (Eyton,II,330). However, by 1233 there were rumours of further troubles with the Welsh and FitzAlan's loyalty to the Crown was again in question. Henry III had installed his own garrison in Clun castle under Baldwin de Vere and it was presumably this force that repulsed a strong attack by the Welsh in the following year, during which the town was burnt (Eyton,VII,252; Jones,3).

John FitzAlan survived the conflict and kept control of his lands until his death in 1240 (Eyton,VII,252). He had married Isabel sister of Hugh d'Aubigny (or de Albini), Earl of Arundel and was succeeded by his son, John FitzAlan II. When d'Aubigny died, without issue, in 1243 his title and part of his extensive estates passed to John FitzAlan II by right of descent from Isabel (Clough,xxv; Kenyon,129). However, until 1244 John was still a minor and a ward of the King; the Marcher estates and the castles of Clun, Oswestry, Shrawardine and Montford were in the hands of John le Strange, Sheriff of Shropshire (Eyton,VII,253).

In the mid-13th century Clun appears to have been quite prosperous, reflecting the increasing wealth and influence of the FitzAlan family, and was larger than Oswestry (Griffiths,220). The Manor of Clun in 1267 was worth £12 19s 10d per annum, a large sum considering the state of the borderland (Eyton,II,231). The town itself had aquired a second annual Fair, held in May, as

well as its Saturday market (worth £10 per annum), and in 1272 there were 183 burgages (Anderson,465; Eyton,II,232). Neverthertheless, the borderland was still a dangerous place and subject to occasional skirmishes including one, apparently, at Clun in 1264 when a Marcher force beat the Welsh (Dukes,119).

In 1258 John FitzAlan II was made Captain-General of in the Marches, but was succeeded in this role by his law, Roger de Mortimer (Eyton,VII,254). FitzAlan sided with Henry III against de Montfort and was captured at Lewes in 1264 (Eyton,VII,255). It seems clear that FitzAlan was still living in the Marches rather than in Sussex; he died in 1267, and was buried at Haughmond Abbey.

The Barony was briefly held by John FitzAlan III, who died in 1272 leaving as heir his young son, Richard. An Inventory was made of Clun castle which gives a good insight into its condition at the time it came

> At Clun there is a small Castle competeently built
> but the head of the Tower of [?] is necessary to
> be covered, and the Bridge of the Castle ought
> to be repaired; and without the said Castle there
> is a bailey inclosed with a ditch, and there is a
> certain gate in the wall and a certain part of
> the wall is be the length of 200 feet, and in the
> same Bailey the houses, to wit, a Grange, a Stable,
> and a Bakehouse in a decaying state (Salt,245)

Salt's transcription was made in the 1850's from an original held by the Earl of Powis, then also the titular Baron of Clun (Salt,244). Other versions seem to have been based on translation rather than transcription (Eyton,II,232; Anderson 465, One apparent ommission from the survey is any mention of a chapel within the castle hinted at in a 1348 confirmation of donation of an earlier donation to the advowson of Clun to Wenlock Priory (Maxwell,346).

Because of Richard's minority, his lands were held in trust by nominees of the King, and Clun, its castle; and most of the Marcher estates were the responsibility of his grandfather, Roger de Mortimer (Eyton,II,232). It: Mortimer made Sir Thomas Botterel, of Aston Botterel, of Clun castle (Eyton,I,226).

In 1277, whilst still in the hands of de Mortimer, Clun obtained its one and only murage grant. It has been suggested that traces of a ditch exist near to Newport Street in the north, and to Bridge Street in the south; the eastern line of the defences could be reflected by Frog Street, with the castle defending the west (Turner, 204). There is a mention in a document of 1589 of burgages 'lying in Frog lane' and bordered on the east by 'le Towne Dytche' which seems to support the idea that the defences

were built (SRO 4066/2/1). It seems clear that by this time the main portion of the town, including its market place, was now on the north side of the river away from its original Saxon nucleus around the church. It could also be inferred that the chapel of St. Thomas' had been built to serve this newer development.

The town was typical of many small planned border settlements of the period but does not appear to have been a borough by anything more than prescription. There is no evidence of any Royal authority or charter and the town had no national privileges; it was a similar arrangement to that of Ruyton of the Eleven Towns in northern Shropshire, the charter for which, given by Edmund FitzAlan, in 1308, still survives (Kenyon,127). A reference to a much earlier charter, of 1173, has not been substantiated (Faraday,18). There is a mention of 85 burgesses in Clun at the start of the 14th century, by which time the town had two water mills (Eyton,II,233). The discovery of a medieval pot-waster in 1932 may indicate that there was a kiln within the e:astle (Davies, 120).

By 1293 Richard FitzAlan had come of age and whilst in Clun granted fairer rights to those occupying the Welsh portion of the Honor. Despite this, the town and castle seem to have come across hard times and after Richard's death in 1302 an Inquest found the castle to be worth no more than the cost of its upkeep, approximately £20 per annum (Eyton,II,233). However, there is a reference in 1301 to the obligation of the township of Obley to cart timbers to Clun castle, possibly reflecting some repair work (Clough,xxxii). At the same date there is a mention of 'The garden in the small park' which was worth 3s 0d with its grazing, which was presumably also associated with the castle (Clough,51). The tolls of the market and fairs had been reduced to just £5 per annum and there were 60 vacant tenements (Griffiths,220).

There was obvious friction between the FitzAlans and the Mortimers, despite their marital links. Edmund FitzAlan, who had succeeded Richard, had granted further privileges to his Welsh tenants in 1317 but for a time had lost Clun castle to the Mortimers when that family had been in revolt against Edward II (Salt,251). In 1326, Edmund was at Haughmond and, describing himself as 'Earl of Arundel! and Lord of Clun', granted a Charter to all the burgesses of Clun affirming their hereditary rights and pardoning those who had been forced to swear allegiance to Roger de Mortimer', 'enemy and rebel against the King' (Salt,251; Eyton,II,234). This Charter was confirmed by each Earl of Arundel until 1492 (Salt,252).

However, FitzAlan's victory over Mortimer was only temporary and within a few months of the Charter he had been executed in Hereford for high treason and his estates were forfeited, allowing Mortimer once more to take them over, along with Clun castle (Dukes,119; Eyton,II,235). Mortimer met a similar fate soon afterwards and Clun reverted to the rightful owner, Richard FitzAlan II, in 1331 (Clough,xxii). A writ signed by Richard at
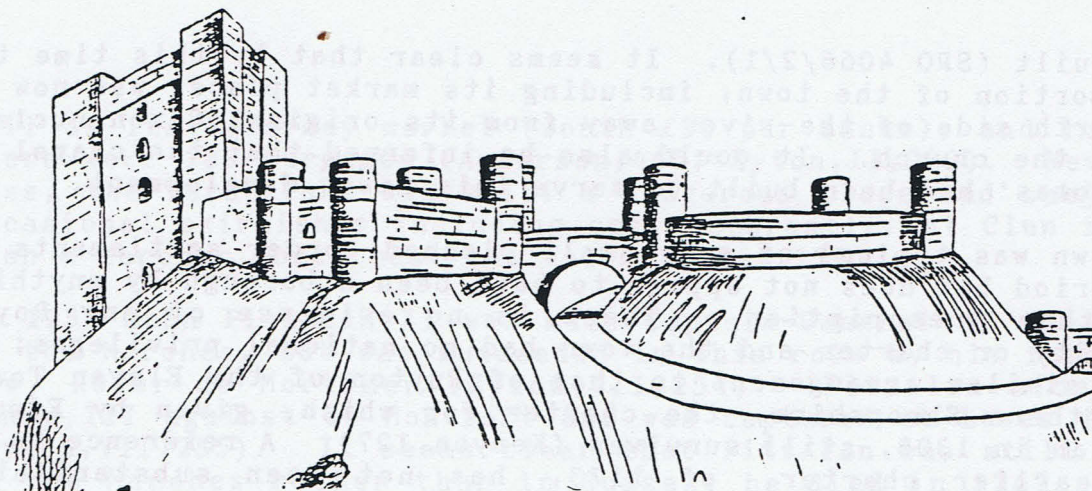
Clun Castle as it appeared in the Middle Ages.

Reconstruction of Clun castle as it could have been '....
Middle Ages' (in Jones)

The North West View of Clun Castle, *in the County of* Salop.
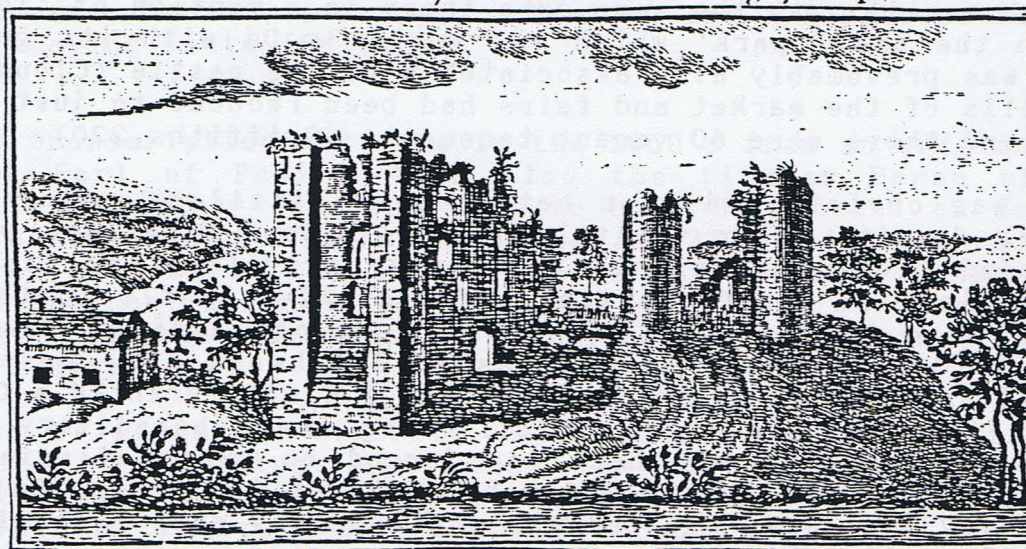
Copy of Buck's 1731 engraving of the castle from the north

Berwick in 1333 for the release of a prisoner held in Clun castle shows that he was by then fully restored to the Barony (Eyton,II,235). In addition, Richard obtained the earldom of Surrey and the pertinent estates in Surrey, Sussex and Wales on the death of his uncle, the last of the Warrennes, who died without issue in 1347, as well as the lordship of Chirk given in recompense from the seized lands of the Mortimers (Clough,xxv).

By the middle of the 14th century it appears that the FitzAlan's considered Arundel their main residence, mainly due to Earl Richard. He spent most of his life in the south-east and became the first of the FitzAlan's to be buried in Sussex, his predecessors being mainly buried at Haughmond Abbey.(Clough,xxvi). From this time onwards the FitzAlan's only visited their Marcher estates on official business and, more importantly, for hunting. The survey of 1301 showed that up to 70 deer could be taken each year in the Clun Forest (Clough,52; Davies,58). According to one source, Edward III visited Clun castle in 1362 and hunted in the Forest (Hulbert,273). This hunting called for large numbers of horses and in 1397 the Clun stud contained no less than 160 horses (Davies,120). Clun castle was probably treated almost as a country retreat by the Earls of Arundel, just as many of the other Marcher lords treated their various border castles.

Nevertheless, it was also one of the administrative centres of their estates, and a prison, and was clearly kept in reasonable condition throughout the century. For example, the castle must have been sufficiently secure in 1370 for the auditors of the Earl of Arundel to report that his lordship had over £19,000 in cash, probably in the castles of Holt and Clun, and in the following year there was still £3,267 at Clun(Davies,195). The FitzAlans and the Mortimers were two of the most important families in the March, and indeed, the kingdom, throughout the 14th century and when Richard FitzAlan II died in 1376 he was 'the medieval equivalent of a multi-millionaire' (Clough,xxv).

Richard was succeeded by his son, Richard FitzAlan III who added to his father's fortunes but, despite being the 'Admiral of England' eventually fell foul of Richard II and was beheaded in Cheapside, London, in 1397 (Dukes,119; Powicke & Fryde,130). The Honor was once again forfeited and was, theoretically, made part of the enlarged County Palatine or Principality of Chester along with the other FitzAlan lands in the March (Tout,28). Clun itself was given to the Duke of Albermarle but was to revert to Chester on his death (Tout,28). Following the accession of Henry IV soon afterwards Clun reverted to its former owners and the last Earl Richard's son, Thomas FitzAlan, who had been in exile with Bolinbroke in France, was restored to his lands and titles by vote of the House of Commons (Dukes,119; Jacob,1,21). Thomas was in possession of the estates during the Glendower uprisings when much of the March area was subject to attacks from the Welsh and was given effective command of the defences of the northern portion of the borderland (Bradley,177).

It is not known whether Clun. was garrisoned during the uprising, although several historians have claimed that the castle was taken by the Welsh. Some of these are clearly unreliable, including one who asserted that the castle was taken, for the first time in its history, by Glendower (Woolhope,(1867),64) It has also been claimed that a small earthwork to the north of the town was built as part of the siegeworks and that the rectangular earthwork to the south of the river was erected to enable Glendower to 'batter' the castle; given the military tactics employed by the Welsh it is clear that these claims are unjustified(Bagshaw,708,quoting Lewis). The most successful period for the Welsh was undoubtedly 1404-5 when the whole of the Ma:rches was effectively in Glendower's control. This could have been the year in which the township of Berfield, in Tempsiter, waste by the Welsh, an act referred to in a later document of 1427 (Salt,249). Towards the end of the last uprising Arundel's forces captured most of a raiding party that had crossed into Shropshire and the Earl himself took Rhys Ddu, one of Glendower's captains, to his trial in London; the unfortunate man was hung, drawn and quartered (Bradley,298).

Thomas left no male heir and was succeeded in 1415 by his cousin, John FitzAlan IV, Baron Maltravers (Clough,xxii). It seems reasonable to assume that from the mid-15th century the castle ceased to be occupied either as a military stronghold or as a country retreat. The FitzAlans were well established in their more comfortable Sussex estates and by 1540 Leland described the castle as 'sumewhat ruinus'.

Following the Act of Union of 1536, which united England and Wales, the Marcher Lordships were effectively divided up between the old English and new Welsh counties(Williams,4-5). The Honor of Clun, then called 'Clunesland' was incorporated into the new Welsh county of Montgomeryshire: (27,Henry VIII C26). However, the Act allowed for alte at:i new boundaries and Clun was soon transferred into Shropshire

The last FitzAlan Earl of Arundel, Henry, was implicated in the conspiracies of his son-in-law, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (who had married Mary FitzAlan), and the Clun estates were forfeited to the Crown in 1572 after the Duke's execution following the unsuccessful Ridolfi plot to put Mary, Queen of Scots on the English throne (Salt,261; Bindoff,212-3). In 1580 Henry died without a male heir and some of the estates passed to his grandson, Philip Howard, son of the executed Duke, but the dukedom itself was temporarily held in abeyance; Philip died in 1595 (Jones,5; Powicke & Fryde,452)). Clun remained in the hands of the Crown until restored to the family on the accession of James I (Salt,261).

In 1603 the Clun estates were granted by the new King to Thomas and Henry Howard, Earls of Suffolk and of Northampton grandchildren of Henry FitzAlan (Salt,261). These two ordered a Court of Survey to be held for the

declared that it had been 'an ancient. Borough Incorporate .... for the whole time whereof the memory of man does not exist to the contrary' and now had around 100 burgage tenements occupied by 'divers and many Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, Venerables, Yeomen, Husbandmen, Craftsmen and Tradesmen' (Salt,262). The purpose of the survey was presumably to assess tke value of the Clun estates because it appears that junior members of the family were to be given possession of them. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, had sole control of them at the start of the 17th century and it was he who founded the almshouses in the town, known as Clun Hospital.

Sir Robert Howard held the Clun estates at the start of the English Civil War but, despite some assertions to the contrary, it seems clear that the castle was too ruinous to be repaired and garrisoned (Auden,296). Considering the importance of this area during the conflict and the many types of building in Shropshire deemed for defence, such as the houses of Upper Lea Manor .House and Albright Hussey and several church towers, the castle must have indeed been in a poor state. In Clun itself the only building to .be used by troops for military purposes was the tower of St George's and the church was badly damaged by Royalist troops (Auden,297). The whole area around Clun appears to have sided with neither King nor Parliament; the lack of effective leadership from the absentee Lord might have accounted for this, although the unknown effects of the plague, which afflicted Clun in 1639, may also have had a bearing on the situation (Hist Manus Comm, 433).

Howard, despite being a Colonel in the King's army, was clearly not very enthusiastic about fighting for any side, which might also account for the lack of importance attached to the castle (Axon,211). The assertion by Charles Warner, Vicar of Clun in the latter part of the 19th century, that the castle was finally demolished in the war by the Parliamentary troops has been disproved (Auden, 296). The suggestion that the .castle was dismantled just before the Civil War on the orders of the Long Parliament seems equally unlikely. The buildings of the castle were probably dismantled gradually over the years to provide building stone in Clun itself.

According to one source the castle was still being used as an occasional residence until the death of Robert Howard in 1653 but further work on the surviving structure would be needed to verify or disprove this (Jones,5). The Howard's still held the castle in 1672 but there seems to be no apparent reference to it in the Hearth Tax returns of that year. At least some of the castle grounds were being leased to the Morris (or Morrys) family (SRO 4066/1/15). In 1677 the Howard's finally decided to sell the castle and their Clun estates, probably following the death of the Hon. Henry Howard, although a dispute between Henry's widow and the Morris's in 1681 over the land suggests that the sale was not straightforward (SRO 4066/1/7).
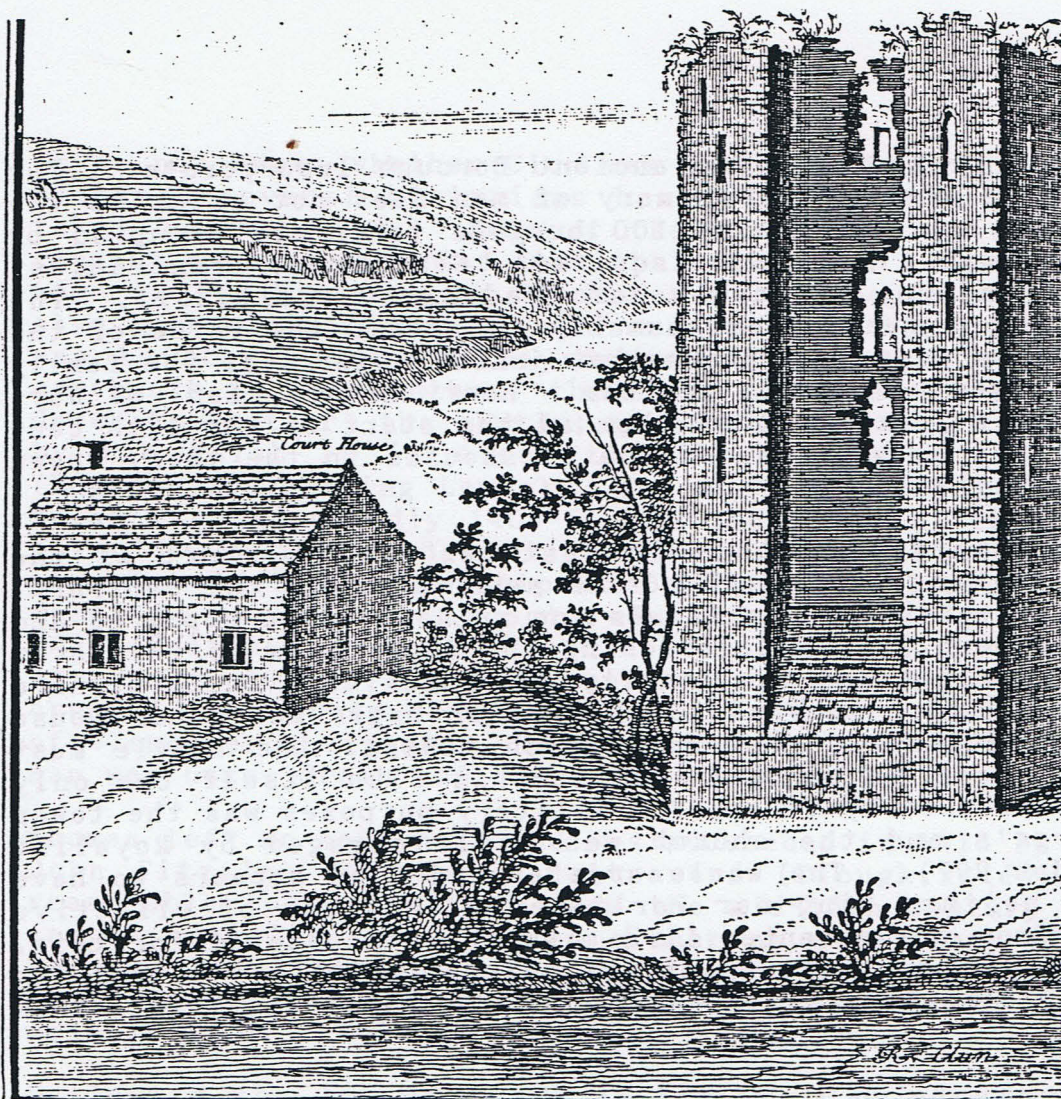
Detail from S & N Buck's 1731 engraving of the cas[tle]
the north-west part of the keep, with the 16th ce[ntury] [Court]
House on the left.
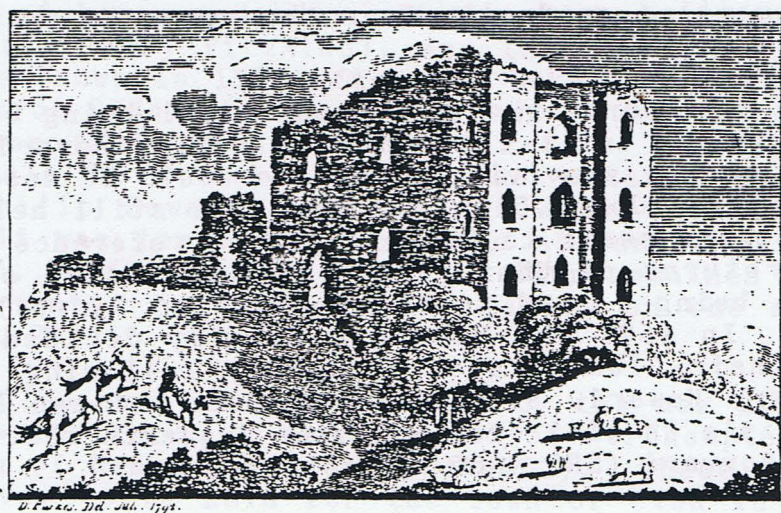
Parkes engraving of the castle from the north-eas[t]

In 1677 Thomas Morris the elder, of the Hurst, Clun, leased to his son, also called Thomas, 'the great meadow in Clunn called the lower poole meadow; dwelling house and fulling mill beneath the meadow; several parcels called the Parkes, the Castle yard and castle ditch (SRO 4066/1/2)'. The division, if any, of the castle is uncertain; 'castle ditch' is self-explanatory, but 'castle yard' might have included the whole castle or just one of its baileys. This appears to have been a re-lease as the freehold of the castle seems to have been sold to John Walcot who, in 1684, styled himself 'lord of the honour of Clun' (SRO 4066/1/12).

The Morris's were to continue as lease-holders of this area and there is mention of a fulling mill and two water corn mills in the vicinity in 1715 (SRO 4066/10/14-16). Lord Clive purchased the castle and estates towards the end of the 18th century (Pearson,81;SSP,(April 1880),36). He then, by this purchase, claimed to be the titular Baron of Clun, which up until that time as still claimed by the Dukes of Norfolk. His son, the Earl of is, held the castle and estates in the early 19th century but the middle of the century much of the land, including the castle, was owned by Philip Morris Matthews. He seldom used the last part of his name and appears to have been a direct descendant of the Morris family of Clun; it seems likely that the family had continued to lease the land in and around the castle since the 17th century. The castle and estates were put up for auction in 1850.

The castle, at least, was not sold, for in 1894 the then Duke of Norfolk bought the castle and some of the surrounding area from Morris Matthews, presumably as a symbolic gesture to his family's past (Byegones,viii,434). By the start of 1895 the Duke had 'practically completed the restoration of Clun castle', but the nature and extent of this work is uncertain (Byegones, 2nd series,iv,3). The castle has remained a property of the Dukes of Norfolk up until the present time, managed for them by the local parish council.

Clun itself is today little more than a village and had been in decline since the 17th century. In 1813 it was described as 'a small and neglected town .... (with) .... little worthy of note' (Nightingale,257). It still had its weekly market in the mid-19th century, by now held on a °Tuesday, and five annual one-day fairs (Bagshaw,708). It was still, in theory at least, a Borough, and had two Bailiffs, each of whom carried a silver mace in official processions, a Recorder and a Sergeant-at-Arms (Hulbert,271).

It had a small Court House in the castle bailey, which appears on the Bucks' engraving of 1731. This stone building under a gabled roof probably dated from from the 16th century and was already considered old in 1669. In that year the 'bayliffes and bur-

gesses of the burrow and corporason' of Clun were concerned
losing the use of the building and their-appeal to Henry
Howard contains a useful description of it:-

> 'And in answere as for our part of the court house, and
> the dungeon underneath, it was built in our late Queen
> Elizabeth's time. Questionless, ye one part, where
> ye said lord keeps his court barron, by said Lord ye
> other part, where we keep our corporason and King'
> Court, by us, as well as our market house, and buil
> upon our own burgesses undivided land, as for example
> it is separated with a greet hill [possibly 'wall'?]
> and there being two dores, ye one into the Lords end,)
> other into our end, and that we have kept our corporason
> and King's Court ever since it was built, and areasted
> there with the sace [possibly 'mace'?] at all times and
> imprisoned allways several persons in our dungeon ar
> repaired our said end; which possession is a good title
> whereas no one can gainsay to the contrary
> (Kenyon,134).

The Court House seems to. have been pulled down some after
1780 when the present Town Hall was built in the
Market F Towards the end of its life the borough
court was still in reasonable condition with its floor and
wainscotting intacl the Lord's court was little more than
a floorless and roofless barn (Kenyon,134). The town finally
lost its Borough status in 1886 along with the other
FitzAlan crypto-borough of Ruyton-XI-Towns and many other
similar boroughs throughout the country (Hulbert, 271;
Kenyon,128; Faraday,26).

*The seal of Edmund FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, 1317 (in Graz
& Ryelands,Pl III)*

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